

**A Common Ground:
Early Strategies of the Hamilton Art School, 1885-1888**

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the founding and early history of the Hamilton Art School. Anchored in a contextual reconstruction of nineteenth-century Hamilton with particular emphasis on social, cultural and economic developments, the thesis provides an analysis of the institutional and personal strategies that led to the establishment of a curriculum that offered both the artist and the artisan a common educational ground. The particular challenge, in the nineteenth century, of establishing an inclusive and accessible educational programme that addressed the needs of both technical and fine art training is discussed in relation to issues of class and gender. The final chapter centers on a pivotal fund-raising event – the Hamilton Art Exposition – that serves as the strategic site for understanding the intentions and motivations of the founding members of the Hamilton Art School.

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List of Abbreviations

GTR	Grand Trunk Railway
GWR	Great Western Railway
HAA	Hamilton Art Association
HAE	Hamilton Art Exposition of 1888
HAS	Hamilton Art School
HALSA	Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science, and Art
HMI	Hamilton Mechanics' Institute
MLA	Mercantile Library Association
OSOA	Ontario School of Art
OSA	Ontario Society of Artists
RCA	Royal Canadian Academy
VSAD	Victoria School of Art and Design
WFC	Wesleyan Female College

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Introduction

The artist and the artisan are brought together on common ground and the taste of the studio is joined to the skill of the workshop in ministering to the common wants of men of all classes.¹

This statement – repeated verbatim in the Hamilton Art School’s second and third Annual Reports – lies at the core of this thesis, as it is through this particular social lens that I have chosen to focus a discussion of the inception and early history of the Hamilton Art School (hereafter HAS), founded in 1885. Attempting as it did to serve the artistic needs of a broad cross section of the population – the artist and the artisan, and, by extension I will argue, the professional and working classes – the HAS struggled to occupy and fix a common ground where it could meaningfully serve the interests of its disparate constituents. This proposition forms the locus out of which this argument unfolds, as I contend that the evolution of the HAS was conditioned by concerns and issues of class and that the various strategies adopted by the Board of Directors to both promote and preserve the School were equally circumscribed by their desire – indeed their need – to reach the city’s various socio-economic communities.

While the question of class and nexus of artist/artisan form the core of this thesis, pragmatism is the connective tissue that ties the narrative together. What emerged from the research was the resoundingly practical nature and/or approach of Hamilton’s early civic leaders and organizations. Markedly pragmatic and utilitarian strategies prevailed in the city’s foundational civic, cultural, and intellectual organizations and philanthropic

¹“Hamilton Art School: A Prosperous Year Completed for the Institution,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 6 September 1887, 4; and “Hamilton Art School: A Splendid Institution That Is Not Receiving Support,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 15 September 1888, 4.

activity, in the directed attempts to establish the HAS, and in a highly successful first fund-raising event for the organization. That efficacious and practical concerns would circumscribe the emergent city's newly founded organizations is, of course, not surprising; but the degree to which this circumstance was a defining factor, particularly with respect to cultural enterprises, is of note.

During the period under consideration, roughly 1830-1888, the city, still in its infancy, was concerned with establishing sound civic and economic infrastructures, and this circumstance in turn defined the particular character of, and motivations behind, the city's foundational institutions and organizations. But the degree to which a pragmatic approach manifested itself, particularly in the establishment of the HAS and its first major fund-raising attempt, is, I maintain, rooted in the particular complexion of nineteenth-century Hamilton's demographic and social constitution and civic priorities. As such, Hamilton is assessed as a distinct case study within the broader moral, educational and didactic spirit characteristic of the Victorian period.

This thesis is organized into three chapters, each conceived to evolve out of the preceding discussion. As such, Chapter One is a foundational discussion of Hamilton from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. A profile of the city and its particular maturation into an industrial centre within the Dominion is assessed alongside intellectual and cultural developments in the forty years following its incorporation in 1846. A detailed and focused consideration of those civic, intellectual and cultural organizations and individuals germane to the establishment of the HAS form the body of Chapter One. Organizations generally considered to be progenitors of the art school movement, such as the Mechanics' Institute, as well as the locally grown Hamilton Association for the

Advancement of Literature, Science, and Art, are assessed in light of the respective roles they played as antecedents to the HAS. This discussion is then followed by an appraisal of various organizations and individuals engaged in purely artistic endeavors so as to provide a broad cultural sketch of Hamilton prior to HAS's inception. This assessment of Hamilton's economic and cultural landscapes is balanced by an examination of the manner in which voluntarism and charity work played a critical role in nineteenth-century Hamilton. Those who supported culture and advancement of the arts, did not do so to the exclusion of the benevolent organizations considered critical to any society attempting to transcend its pioneer status. What surfaces in this chapter is the portrait of a nascent city, striving to establish a firm economic and civic footing. Culture was thus pragmatically positioned in relation to broader civic priorities. As Chapter One will demonstrate, cultural efforts – such as the HAS – were often absorbed into larger enterprises of more immediate practical and thus greater civic need. As my discussion of the evolution of art education in Canada will show, a similar dynamic occurred at the national and provincial levels.

Chapter Two traces the emergence of art education in Ontario and positions the founding of the HAS within this broader framework. It is within this discussion that the issue of class is introduced as an ongoing element in the discourse surrounding the emergence of art education in nineteenth-century Canada. Here, I argue that due to the singular adoption of England's South Kensington program of art education – a technical training system for artisans and mechanics – and in the absence of an organized complementary fine art education program, Canada's newly formed art schools – the HAS among them – had to be culturally and economically inclusive.

The particular evolution of Canadian art schools in the late-nineteenth century is a crucial cornerstone of this thesis as I argue the uniquely varied role these schools were obliged to play early in their histories. In Europe, the separation of an artist's training from that of an artisan, effected during the Renaissance,² signaled the proverbial fault-line that came to divide fine art from technical art training. The evolution of the Academy system in Italy, France, and England, among other European centres, ostensibly ensured that this cleave was a permanent one; vocational and professional art education were separate enterprises with distinct bodies organized to serve the needs of each. A similar circumstance would ultimately emerge in Canada in the twentieth century, but the situation in the nineteenth-century Dominion, with underdeveloped civic and cultural infrastructures, resulted in an educational art program that, not surprisingly, experienced growing pains.

As Canada's civil society developed, educational and cultural pressures were exerted on the federal government to support and invest in programs that simultaneously encouraged and promoted the study of art and culture, and trained the country's growing number of artisans. From the outset the emergence of art education was couched in primarily economic rather than cultural terms, as the growing need for a well-skilled technical and manufacturing workforce came to be of paramount importance to the country's economic future and viability. In the absence of a Canadian aristocracy endowing or supporting cultural programs, or a reliable, widespread private financial base for commissions, the emergence of fine art programs in Canada was the result of

²Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 243.

industrial and economic motivators.

The development of fine art patronage in Canada can be understood in relation to the country's industrial history with the first attempts to form a public policy on art resulting from the growing wealth and political pre-eminence of manufacturers in the urban centres of Montreal and Toronto following Confederation in 1867. Unlike Britain and continental Europe, Canada did not have an aristocracy supporting its fine art tradition. There were neither the private commissions of a landed gentry nor the institutions of aristocratic origin such as a royal academy. Each attempt to establish fine art societies and associations therefore bore the imprint of the new industrial society both in terms of art patronage and public policy.³

In an undeveloped cultural landscape, artistic matters were absorbed into, and promoted within, the more public context of provincial and federal governmental agencies concerned with promoting manufacturing and industrial affairs. The fact that fine art education was incorporated into a utilitarian framework for technical education is central to this discussion as their coupling shaped the particular complexion of Canada's first art schools and defined the subsequent scope and range of their educational responsibilities. And while the all-encompassing concept appeared to unilaterally meet civic, educational, economic as well as cultural goals, the decision to combine vocational and professional art training was not without inherent incongruities.

In the nineteenth century, the terms 'artist' and 'artisan' carried with them associations of class distinction; the former usually signifying someone of moderate to well means, the latter regularly identified with the working or laboring classes.⁴ While

³Ellen Louise Ramsay, "The Promotion of the Fine Arts in Canada, 1880-1924: The Development of Art Patronage and The Formation of Public Policy" (Ph.D diss., University of London, 1988), 42.

⁴Pamela Gerrish Nunn, *Canvassing: Recollections by Six Victorian Women Artists* (London: Camden Press, 1986), 3-4. Here, Nunn is referring specifically to women, class and education, but I propose that these designations can be equally applied to society

there were certainly exceptions to this rather categorical distinction, it was within this particularly rudimentary framework that much of the discourse surrounding the emergence of art education in Canada occurred and circulated. These fixed and ingrained designations ran throughout the nineteenth-century discussions, and became metaphors for broader educational, social, and civic issues particular to a nineteenth-century ideology. In effect, the artist was associated with a middle or upper-class upbringing, was concerned with acquiring a fine art education that would prepare her/him for a teaching or professional art career or was simply seeking a means to further cultural and aesthetic refinement. By contrast, the artisan, the product of a middle or working-class home, sought technical training with a view to securing a position in the emergent industrial and manufacturing nation. I propose that within these two designations there existed a more complex series of social and cultural dichotomies: upper and lower classes, fine and applied art, professional and amateur/technician, high art and mass culture.⁵

It is not the purpose of this paper to argue a particular definition of class – who was situated where on the socio-economic ladder and why. Rather I have chosen to adopt the terms of artist and artisan as they were used in the nineteenth century – in an attempt to understand perceptions, interests, and positions. Adopting the terms in this way allowed for an investigation of how those nineteenth-century individuals involved in the establishment of Canada's early art societies and organizations, chose to position their

generally.

⁵Of course, these broadly defined classifications obscure the degree of complexity inherent in each group as well as the range of interests and experience particular to the nineteenth century's emerging middle class.

efforts and strategically move within their institutional and social worlds.

The issue of class is the thread that weaves its way through this paper and is raised throughout in an effort to position its relative importance with respect to the discourse surrounding the emergence of art education in the latter years of the nineteenth century in Canada. While class is mentioned in virtually all accounts of nineteenth-century art schools, it is done in a way that treats it as a matter-of-fact rather than attempting to investigate the ramifications and complexities inherent in an enterprise, such as the HAS, that sought to engage a range of social, cultural, political and educational interests and needs. This paper thus foregrounds the issue of class in a consideration of the various strategies employed by Hamilton's early promoters of art education.

Concern regarding greater interest in the education and further refinement of well-to-do daughters was common during the early history of art schools in Canada. This perceived disregard for the technical facet of the schools further injected the discourse with issues of class. Those attempting to establish art schools in their home towns were well aware that in order to succeed, this tacitly contentious circumstance required tactful and very public articulation. Certainly, the HAS advanced itself, not unlike other Canadian art schools, chiefly as a technical school that also offered fine art education, publicly privileging the former tenet over the latter. This position was made evident through an ongoing program of articles published in the city papers where the objectives of the HAS were advanced to the general public. This strategy was a kind of sanctioned, seemingly democratic tactic to position the HAS precisely where the Directors needed it to be – squarely between the artist and the artisan, or more specifically, the business and labouring classes. Another, most consequential strategy, however, and one that reflected

a most tangible interest in reaching the widest audience possible was the HAS Board's decision, in the fall of 1888, to mount an ambitious art fair.

This fair, ultimately called the Hamilton Art Exposition of 1888 (hereafter HAE), is the subject of Chapter Three. My decision to anchor this paper with a discussion of the HAE hinges on the particular form the event took. Conceived as it was after a World's Fair, the chapter will propose that the decision to use this model played into the overall context of the HAS's democratic aims, and desire to 'minister to the common wants of men of all classes'. As I will outline, there were several elements particular to fair culture that made the Directors' choice not only an entirely suitable, but indeed a prescient one. Conceived to reflect both high and low/mass culture, the translation of a World's Fair ideology to the purposes of the HAS was a most compatible application. I further develop this argument by applying Victor Turner's notion of liminality⁶ in order to introduce the transgressive nature of fair and exhibition culture – a potentiality that is crucial to the fair's relevance in the present discussion. The ability to suspend habitual routines in an extra-ordinary space (the fair) created the necessary potential for the disruption of standard social conventions. Indeed, at the fair, social mingling was not only reasonable, it was encouraged. "In so far as the fair was *purely* a site of pleasure, it could be envisaged as a distinct entity: local, festive, communal, unconnected to the 'real' world."⁷ Fairs created and occupied unique environments characterized by oppositional

⁶Victor Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual*, eds. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), 36-52.

⁷Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 30.

elements: the exotic and the familiar, the artificial and the real, the urbanite and the villager, the performer and the observer, highborn refinements and popular amusements. Here, it can be argued, the upper and lower classes participated as one of these binary systems.

...even the smallest fair juxtaposed both people and objects which were normally kept separate and thus provided a taste of life beyond the narrow horizons of the town or village. Part of the transgressive excitement of the fair was not its 'otherness' to official discourse, but rather the disruption of provincial habits and local tradition by the introduction of a certain cosmopolitanism, arousing desires and excitements for exotic and strange commodities. The fair 'turned the world inside out' in its mercantilist aspect just as much, if not more, than it 'turned the world upside down' in its popular rituals.⁸

The fair site or terrain – occupied by a range of socio-economic groups – was arguably a more common ground than might be imagined, for the visitor's first-hand experience of a Venetian gondola, or the fruits of Pomona,⁹ would certainly have placed her/him in the minority of fair-goers. The majority of the audience – a widely ranging demographic – would have shared a common wonder in their encounter with the 'exotic'.

The organizers' decision to incorporate amusements into an exhibition format rather than hosting a traditional art exhibition spoke directly to the intent of the occasion as a populist vehicle for social mingling. The combination of art and amusements served to bridge several social interests and agendas, and the decision to broaden the event's appeal for a more general audience betrayed an interest in being as accessible as possible. As a means to this end, the HAE was a resounding success.

An analysis of institutional and individual strategies forms the framework of this

⁸Stallybrass and White, 37.

⁹These were two features of the HAE.

thesis. Adopting a sociological approach that follows Janet Wolff, I maintain that art is to be understood as historical, situated and produced rather than transcendent of time, space and society.¹⁰ As Wolff argues, “Everything we do is located in, and therefore affected by, social structures...the existence of these structures and institutions enables any activity on our part.”¹¹ While this paper does not consider the produced object but rather the organizations and societies surrounding the production of art, it necessarily anchors the discussion within a sociological framework.

Critical to the application of this methodology is an understanding of the relationship of the individual to these social systems and structures – the role of human agency and how action and production are circumscribed by a complex of socially structured determinants. Archival research yields dates, facts, associations, and organizations but it also unearths the names of individuals integral to an understanding of social systems, for ultimately it is the individual who conceives, forms, and articulates their direction. Of course this dynamic is not a unilateral one, with individuals acting ‘in vacuii’. Wolff, following Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann posits: “society is constructed, historically, by people and groups of people, and those people themselves have been constructed in and by society (through socialization and internalization).”¹² The duality of this dynamic is such that the structures are “both the product of human

¹⁰Janet Wolff, *The Social Production of Art* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 1-8.

¹¹Wolff, 1981, 9.

¹²Wolff, 1981, 19.

agency and the conditions for human agency.”¹³ Thus the individual is a participant – historically determined – in an ongoing process of cultural determination. It is thereby a dialectical relationship between individual and structure that provides the greatest possibility for investigating meaning. Working from this premise, I endeavour to consider equally the individual (Hamilton’s civic fathers, the founders of the HAS, the HAE organizers) and the structure (Hamilton’s nineteenth-century educational and intellectual organizations, the HAS and the HAE). I turn as often to the player as I do the play. In my quest to discern the nature of human agency in nineteenth-century Hamilton, I have attempted to listen to people’s voices, read their words and sift through a variety of nineteenth-century accounts in an effort to locate and understand the ideas and motivations driving the activity that surrounded the establishment of art schools nationally and regionally.

The particular strategies that I have chosen to investigate range from the manner in which the HAS Directors chose to position and advertise the school, tacitly using the pages of Hamilton’s two daily newspapers to advance their endeavours, to the very public staging of the HAE. An assessment of the first strategy necessitated the systematic analysis of the newspapers which provided ongoing – if unvaried – accounts of events otherwise unattainable. Reliance on them for the gathering of information, opinions and data requires qualification. I acknowledge that reports as printed in the nineteenth-century press are not objective, disinterested accounts of the events and people they discuss. Rather, during this period press coverage was an impressionistic and powerful

¹³Anthony Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method* (London: Hutchinson, 1976); as quoted in Wolff, 1981, 22.

vehicle for civic 'boosterism' that reflected the ideology of the dominant classes. Importantly, this circumstance suited my purposes quite well as it was precisely these same interests that determined the direction, positioning, and fate of the HAS. Close reading of newspaper accounts reveals both the assumptions and expectations of those quoted and discussed as well as providing a view into the city's civic and cultural priorities. A skeptical and critical reading of the material results in both a wealth of information and insight into the consequential element of agency.

The most conspicuous strategy, however, for the purposes of this investigation was the HAE of 1888. The event, arguably the major cultural affair of the decade, was an undertaking of grand proportions. Suggested as a potentially lucrative fund-raising possibility, the cause was taken up by the wives, daughters and sisters of Hamilton's leading (male) citizens. As a discreet strategy driven by economic and social agendas it was an entirely appropriate site to locate and investigate issues of class and gender. I will show how these various strategies were equally conditioned by and conditioned the discourse around class that circumscribed art schools in the nineteenth century.

The HAE also raises and foregrounds a significant sub-text in this thesis – the question of gender. The application of feminist discourse thus plays a secondary, but integral role in this discussion. And while I refrain from a full discussion of gender until the third chapter, women's tacit presence should be noted throughout the body of the text. Women's participation as students, teachers and volunteers is of consequence to the history of art education both in Canada and in Hamilton. A not inconspicuous female lineage can be traced from the beginnings of art education in Hamilton as women participated in a variety of productive and meaningful ways. Chapter One outlines how

the city's first organized program of art study emerged from the syllabus of the Wesleyan Female College (WFC) as early as 1861. When, as discussed in Chapter Two, the HAS opened its doors in the spring of 1886, it was a female teacher who undertook the onerous responsibility of organizing the inaugural program and instructing all classes,¹⁴ until such a time as a male teacher could be hired to run the overall program.¹⁵ As teachers, women were an ongoing presence and as students – at both the WFC and the HAS – they came to represent a good percentage of the city's overall student attendance in art programs. However, their most conspicuous, and publicly significant role with respect to the HAS in its early days was as volunteers and philanthropists; the success of the HAE was entirely the result of their commitment, energy and skill. So important was the success of the event that it is likely the HAS would have been forced to close had the revenues generated not been added to its ailing coffers. Women's active charitable and philanthropic community participation, exemplified in the HAE, provided them with opportunities to lead at highly public levels while acknowledging and affirming their particular and perceived strengths. The HAE, as a crucial 'rescue mission', was unquestionably a most lasting legacy to art education in the city, and as such women's roles as managers, supporters and participants become critical factors in this analysis.

This thesis thus moves from a general consideration of the social and cultural landscape that anticipated an art school in Hamilton, through a discussion of how class

¹⁴Until, due to high enrollment, another teacher was hired to assist her in the first term.

¹⁵Note is made in newspaper reports that a 'male principal' is to be hired to run the program.

and gender emerged as recurring themes in the evolution of art education in Canada and Hamilton, to a kind of strategic site in which ideas, issues and systems discussed in the first two chapters played themselves out. Ultimately this thesis reconstructs a late-nineteenth-century industrial and cultural world in order to understand the particular evolution of an art school and the pragmatic organizational and personal strategies that were both conditioned by and conditioned that society.

Literature Review.

As noted in the Introduction, this thesis adopts a sociological and feminist methodology in its analysis and assessment of both primary and secondary material. The majority of texts consulted thus reflect these particular theoretical positions. Janet Wolff's sociological framework is the overarching precept within which this discussion unfolds. As the theoretical substructure it has informed the nature of the literature considered. By and large, the majority of texts examined were the province of social and cultural historians and art historians, complemented by the work of feminist scholars. Interestingly, the analogous undercurrents of both approaches provided a most fertile theoretical coupling as much feminist theory, grounded in an enquiry of social and cultural structures, augments and builds on much sociological writing.

Before considering the three broad categories of literature consulted, I will begin by identifying texts in which there is some discussion of the HAS. In fact, the rarity of such an occurrence was one of the factors that piqued my interest in the topic as it appeared to be a rather gaping hole in Hamilton's cultural history. Of course, historians and curators alike have provided much of the foundational history surrounding the HAS's inception and original role; these include Stuart MacCuaig's two histories, *Climbing the Cold White Peaks: A Survey of Artists in and from Hamilton 1910-1950* and *The first 100 Years: Women's Art Association of Hamilton*, and Ross Fox and Grace Inglis' *The Art Gallery of Hamilton: Seventy-Five Years (1914-1989)*. All provide important foundational information and position the HAS within Hamilton's nineteenth-century cultural history. However, as the titles attest, the focus of their respective studies lay elsewhere, and as such the discussion of the HAS is introductory and contextual rather

than central to these texts, each devoting only a few precious paragraphs or pages to the institution. An unpublished paper by Grace Inglis on John Sloan Gordon (an early student and teacher at the HAS), was the most comprehensive account of the HAS.¹⁶ Providing a detailed outline of courses offered, and discussing the HAS's connection to the South Kensington system, the paper discusses the HAS within the provincial system of art education and was a most helpful aid in tracking down further sources.

Beyond these four studies, reference to the HAS appears, to lesser or greater extents, in a number of histories of Hamilton, most notably Mabel Burkholder's seminal 1938 study, *The Story of Hamilton*. Other texts include C.M. Johnston's *The Head of the Lake: A History of Wentworth County*, Marjorie Campbell's *A Mountain and a City: The Story of Hamilton*, Lois Evans' *Hamilton: The Story of a City*, and John Weaver's *Hamilton: An Illustrated History*. The important nineteenth-century text *Hamilton, The Birmingham of Canada* printed in 1893, references the HAS, albeit in six lines, within its discussion of 'Schools and Educational Interests'. All of the sources provided useful and fairly consistent data on the HAS. However, because these considerations were all otherwise focused, their respective treatments were brief. As such, a concentrated discussion of the emergence and early history of the HAS was in large part a reconstruction project, but not one without some firm foundations already in place.

Apart from the texts noted above – which served as my starting points – the literature consulted for this project can be broadly grouped into three subject areas, each specific to the nineteenth century and reflective of my chapter breakdown: Hamilton, art

¹⁶I warmly thank Ms. Inglis for generously allowing me access to this paper as well as her associated research materials.

education in Canada, Ontario and Hamilton, and exhibition/fair culture. For the purposes of brevity and manageability, I have restricted the following discussion to those sources on which I relied most heavily, or that I consider crucial to my arguments.

There is a substantial amount of literature published about Hamilton. A highly researched and chronicled city, scholars – particularly social and cultural historians – have turned their investigations toward the industrial city because, as Bryan Palmer explains his particular reasoning, “Hamilton, as opposed to other Canadian cities, seemed an appropriate target of study because it exemplified the transformation from handicraft production to modern industry, a locale where class polarization and struggle were essential features of the nineteenth-century past.”¹⁷ One social historian on whose data I have relied heavily, and to whose texts I continually returned is Michael B. Katz. His various ongoing studies of Hamilton have produced a wealth of quantitative and analytic data; they include: “Social Structure in Hamilton, Ontario” in *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History*; *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* and *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism*. I found his demographic findings and analyses particularly useful in coming to terms with the city’s particular religious, ethnic and commercial profiles. Significantly, his work provided me with crucial assistance in understanding who my ‘agents’ were and how and where they fit into the overall social fabric of the city. In the end, it was often his numbers, figures and statistics that enabled me to come to my conclusions.

¹⁷Bryan Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s Press, 1979), xii.

I relied on a number of historical texts that traced Hamilton's voyage from a pioneer village to an industrial centre. I found Weaver's *Illustrated History* and Louis Gentilcore's *The Beginnings: Hamilton in the Nineteenth Century* to be particularly comprehensive. More specialized studies pertaining to intellectual, educational, and cultural currents in Hamilton, such as Freda Waldon's two studies *Early Provisions for Libraries in Hamilton* and *The First Hundred Years of the Hamilton Association*; Brian Henley's *The Hamilton Association, 1880-1900*, and Bert Den Boggende's *The Vassar of the Dominions': The Wesleyan College and the Project of a Women's University* were equally thorough and insightful. Perhaps the most useful documents for my purposes in regards to Hamilton, however, were Thomas Bailey's edited three volume series, *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography*. Their importance to this project cannot be overstated, as the series – an ongoing compilation from a legion of historians and researchers – is a rare wealth of information; without it much of this study would not have been possible. Indeed, it was only in consulting these dictionaries that I was able to sketch overall demographic portraits, particularly of the HAS and HAE organizers. Any attempt to independently retrieve this kind of material would have proven prohibitive.

Thus the sources I consulted regarding nineteenth-century Hamilton provided substantive contextual material for an understanding of Hamilton's commercial, intellectual and cultural milieus, as well as biographical and quantitative information necessary for an investigation of agency in relation to the city's particular civic structure.

Literature surrounding the evolution of art education in Canada is also plentiful; however, texts devoted exclusively to art schools in the nineteenth century are comparatively rare. While there is no broad study that chronicles this evolution,

a handful of art schools have been the focus of excellent in-depth studies. The Ottawa School of Art has received one of the most thorough considerations in Eva Major-Marothy's unpublished manuscript, "Towards a History of the Ottawa School of Art, 1879-1949." Her discussion of the intended role of government schools in the nineteenth century and the positioning of the Ottawa School of Art within the broader Canadian context provides a rare example of comprehensive research in this area. Two other art schools in particular have received serious scholarly consideration: the Victoria School of Art and Design (VSAD) in Halifax and the Ontario College of Art (OCA), in Toronto. The latter is the focus of Marie Fleming and John Taylor's *100 Years: Evolution of the Ontario College of Art* and is discussed in Fern Bayer's *The Ontario Collection*. Both works trace the OCA's roots to its forerunner as the Ontario Society of Artists' School. Lengthier studies exist for the VSAD in the form of Donald Soucy and Harold Pearse's *The First Hundred Years: A History of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design* and Robert Stacey and Liz Wylie's *Eighty-Two: 100 Years of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design*. Both texts offer a broader discussion of the emergence of art education in Canada and raise the issue of class. Moreover, each opened discussions of Canada's adoption of South Kensington's utilitarian program; while the former provided the most substantial discussion around this phenomenon that I could find in print. By extension their bibliography provided rich suggestions for further reading in this area. Pearse and Soucy also offered the most comprehensive consideration of how issues of class played themselves out in a nineteenth-century art school context; their work thus provided a situational parallel to Hamilton that assisted me in coming to terms with the HAS's

particular evolution.¹⁸ Indeed, many of their observations and postulates proved equally ascribable to Hamilton.

My understanding of art education's particular evolution within manufacturing lobbies and governmental legislation – at federal and provincial levels – was informed by Ellen Ramsay's "The Promotion of the Fine Arts in Canada, 1880-1924: The Development of Art Patronage and the Formation of Public Policy." Her dissertation was invaluable in locating this discussion within the social and economic structures particular to an emerging Dominion. Moreover, her discussions of the Ontario Society of Artists' Art School and the Royal Canadian Academy provided sound and relevant information and analyses. Rebecca Sisler's *Passionate Spirits: A History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1880-1980* and Hugh Jones and Edmund Dyonnet's *History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts*, fleshed out this area of the discussion. My selections for this portion of the thesis were driven by an attempt to locate the HAS's evolution in a broader social and economic context. Focused studies of early Canadian art schools provided important comparative material for my assessment of Hamilton.

The final broad category of literature considered pertained to nineteenth-century exhibition and fair culture. My investigation began with Keith Walden's rich and recent study, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*. This cultural history of the Industrial Exhibition opened critical avenues of exploration and thought that I, in turn, applied to my purposes. While

¹⁸There are a number of parallels and connections between VSAD and the HAS. While some are noted in the body of this thesis, a more focused study would assuredly yield a most insightful study.

Walden's analysis focuses on an annual fair "more oriented to immediate commerce than encyclopedic presentations"¹⁹, I found much of his theoretical framework and approach, either directly relevant or adaptable to this discussion, particularly his application of Victor Turner's concept of liminality and Stallybrass and White's discussion of transgression. Equally, it was from Walden's extensive review and use of existing literature around his topic that I was directed to a number of key texts that foregrounded issues of class and hierarchy in relation to both local and World's Fair culture; for while there is a significant amount of writing about World's Fairs, Walden was indispensable in identifying texts particularly germane to my approach. These included: Neil Harris' *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America*, Lawrence Levine's *Highbrow / Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* and Peter Stallybrass and Allon White's, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. These texts triggered a mental connection between the HAS and the HAE as two 'structures' equally conditioned by discourses of class and accessibility.

All of the texts considered provided me with some degree of relevant background and/or analytical information as well as theoretical possibilities. What this thesis thereby attempts to offer is the unique adaption and application of these disparate sources and theories to a specific site – anchoring facts, social systems and discourses to the evolution of a particular institution and event.

¹⁹Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), xv.

Chapter One

The Ambitious City: Nineteenth-Century Hamilton

A popular writer described Hamilton in 1858 as “the ambitious and stirring little city,” the name stuck; only “little” she is no longer, being the third city in the Dominion, having a population of over 50,000, and her enviers have missed out the “stirring,” so if you seek for news of Hamilton in the general newspaper, you must look for it under the heading “The Ambitious City”.

Through Canada with a Kodak, Countess Aberdeen, 1893

“Ambitious” did indeed characterize how many Hamiltonians came to perceive their active and prosperous city in the late-nineteenth century (figures 1-3). Economic and social vitality coupled with a significant population boom at mid-century²⁰ provided important stimuli for the formation of an appropriately positive and encouraging self image. The purpose of this chapter is to sketch a portrait of this nineteenth-century city as a contextual background against which to consider the evolution and early history of the HAS. As such, it does not endeavor to provide a comprehensive history of the city, but rather is a focused discussion of those social, civic, and economic forces, organizations and individuals that presaged the establishment of an art school and – to varying degrees – set the stage for its founding.

I begin with an historical summary of Hamilton’s emergence as an industrial centre within the Dominion in order to foreground the relevance of an art and technical school in an industrializing city. This is followed by a consideration of the general intellectual and cultural foundations – those nineteenth-century organizations dedicated to

²⁰ Hamilton’s population was 10,000 in 1851; six years later it would number 25,000; from R. Louis Gentilcore, “The beginnings: Hamilton in the nineteenth century,” *Steel City: Hamilton and Region*, eds. M.J. Dear, J.J. Drake and L.G. Reeds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 108.

enlightenment and education – that formed the sub-structure of Hamilton’s intellectual social fabric, and were, for all intents and purposes, the immediate forerunners to the art school movement.²¹ A more directed discussion of artistic or visual culture follows in order to provide a sense of the level and nature of artistic activity before the inception of the HAS. And finally, I briefly consider the issue of philanthropy with a view to understanding the motivation behind, and particular shape of, cultural support in nineteenth-century Hamilton.

The intention is to address the cultural, social and economic determinants relevant to the viability, conception and ultimate positioning of the HAS in an effort to furnish a meaningful perspective for further consideration. An understanding of Hamilton’s cultural landscape – the institutions, organizations and people that defined this milieu – is paramount to a consideration of the climate and society into which the HAS opened its doors for the first classes in the spring of 1886.

²¹In particular the Mechanics’ Institute and the Hamilton Association are positioned as the two direct ‘ancestors’ of the HAS.

Geography

Hamilton's geographical position is significant to an understanding of its early economic and social development. Settled at the south end of Hamilton Bay (formerly Burlington Bay), it is located at the western extremity of Lake Ontario. It occupies the alluvial plain lying between the Bay and the Niagara escarpment, which forms the outer rim of the lake basin. As such, the city served as the center of a prosperous agricultural region, characterized by a harbour whose exploitation had spurred its initial growth. Hamilton's position as a central port enabled it to effectively compete with neighboring centers. Even before its incorporation as a city in 1846, the village was supremely placed to do business with areas to the west, south and north. It was not, therefore, unrealistic for the city fathers to believe that Hamilton could eventually surpass Toronto (located forty miles to the east) as the leading port in Canada West (Ontario). Indeed, it has been suggested that the Burlington Bay/Hamilton region was economically and culturally part of a transatlantic world conditioned by its links with immigration, commerce, and politics.²² This geographic and economic advantage would mark the city's growth to the end of the century.²³

Importantly, Hamilton's unique geographical surroundings offered the visitor and resident one of the most picturesque settings²⁴ in southwestern Ontario, providing added

²²John Weaver, introduction to *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography*, vol.1, edited by Thomas Bailey (Hamilton: W.L. Griffin, 1981) 3.

²³Gentilcore, 103.

²⁴Certainly the landscape of the Burlington Bay and Hamilton areas would have provided added incentive for the artist, whether it be to settle down or simply visit and record the natural splendors.

settlement incentive for the burgeoning population. From 1834 to 1841 Hamilton's population more than doubled, increasing from 1,367 to 3,414.²⁵ Mass immigration from the British Isles into British North America directly affected Hamilton and the surrounding area. A large and prosperous Scottish contingent, one of the prominent ethnic emigrant groups to settle in the region, would play an important role in Hamilton's civic and cultural activities early in the city's history.

Industry and Manufacture

This steady population growth at mid-century nourished a growing economy, and it was during this period that Hamilton's early achievements in industry began to develop in earnest, positioning the city as a prime industrial centre. Drawing upon industries that had been established in the preceding decades, a thriving industry that manufactured precision items was well underway by the 1850s and 1860s.²⁶ The making of stoves became an early and unique achievement for the city, and by 1842 the manufacture of stoves, pumps, and agricultural implements were highly sought after products further marking an early success with the manufacturing of iron and steel.

Hamilton's "symbolic" move from town to city and regional center occurred at mid-century when great strides were made in transportation. The development and construction of the Great Western Railway (GWR) was of paramount importance. With Hamilton's particular location at the head of navigation routes on Lake Ontario with a

²⁵Gentilcore, 106.

²⁶John Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1982), 41.

prosperous hinterland, the railway was a prime means of strengthening and extending the city's economic and financial power.

Efforts to bring a railway through Hamilton had been longstanding; as early as 1834 a charter had been secured to build a line between Hamilton and London. The efforts were, however, unsuccessful. The GWR, on the other hand, came to be known as 'Hamilton's railway' as it was promoted by Hamilton businessmen who raised the capital for the project in England and the United States. Upon completion, the GWR route not only offered the most direct passage west to London, Ontario but also firmly established the city as a regional, national and international transportation nexus, and a major center on the U.S. immigration route from the east coast (New York and Boston) and the midwest (Chicago and Milwaukee).²⁷ The establishment of the GWR was a crucial factor in the development of increased economic, industrial and manufacturing possibilities within the city proper. And the introduction of steam power, a by-product of the railway, furthered the process by encouraging new industrial uses for steam engines that became the power source for the foundries and machine shops that would drive industrial growth.

Thus during the 1840s and 1850s Hamilton became one of the most important centers for manufacturing, with a high proportion of the population employed in this sector. By 1861, 10% of Hamilton's population of 19,000²⁸ was employed in textile plants, tanneries and leather goods firms, brickyards, carriage and wagon works,

²⁷Gentilcore, 109-111.

²⁸The decrease in population from 25,000 in 1851 is due to a brief but substantial depression between 1857 and 1862.

breweries, distilleries, food processing firms, lumber and planing mills, flour mills, stove manufactories, and small foundries – all of which were outgrowths of successful industrial ventures in the preceding decades.²⁹

Another benchmark of success that furthered the city's positive image, was the civic father's commitment to establishing important public services which included an organized police force, sewers, street lighting and the construction of an advanced waterworks plant. Thus the twenty year period following incorporation in 1846 was critical to Hamilton's early profile both regionally and nationally. With the population now nearly doubled, Hamilton's leaders continued to consolidate and invest in the modernization of the transportation system, public services and educational facilities – measures that, by 1870, ensured an enviable urban image that would be sustained into the latter part of the nineteenth century. And while land speculation and trade continued to represent the most dynamic areas of economic growth, the shift from a primarily commercial to a primarily industrial city was firmly underway.

Despite the city's early commercial successes, a later decision to route another railway, the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR), straight through Hamilton's hinterland effectively eliminated any chance of competing with Toronto as the major trade center for the region.³⁰ In response, Hamilton civic leaders began to actively promote industrialization as an economic policy. Their motivation to do so may be found in part in some of the following: entrepreneurs already had access to capital markets in both Britain

²⁹Gentilcore, 111.

³⁰Michael Katz, *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 4-5.

and the United States; basic industrial infrastructure already existed in the extensive workshops of the GWR; new technologies could be easily imported; the railroad had created an adequate transportation system linking together a solid domestic market of imported manufactured goods; and there was a large supply of cheap mobile labour in the city.³¹ By 1871, the industrial census demonstrated clearly that Hamilton had emerged as a “modest but unmistakable industrial center.”³²

Indeed the years between 1870 and 1890 have been termed Hamilton’s ‘Industrial Period’, and given that this period coincides with the establishment of the HAS it merits further consideration and discussion. By 1891, Hamilton was the fourth largest city in Canada. Not surprisingly, this increase in population was directly associated with a growth in manufacturing activity.³³ The local manufacturing ventures cited above, a vigorous textile industry, epitomized by the Sandford Manufacturing Company (the largest clothing establishment in Canada in 1891 employing over 3,000 workers), and international connections (eg. imports of coal from Pennsylvania and pig-iron from Britain and the United States) together created a prospering industrial and manufacturing economy. Iron and steel manufacturing, however, continued to anchor industrial activity during this period by providing increased employment opportunities for laborers as well as tradesmen.

However, it must be noted that these larger companies, such as Sandford, with

³¹Katz, 1982, 5.

³²Katz, 1982, 5.

³³Gentilcore, 115.

national and foreign interests were balanced by a substantial local industrial and commercial market. Indeed, the majority of the one hundred and fifty manufacturing establishments located in the central area of the city were traditional industries that manufactured consumer goods for the local market such as boots and shoes, wood products, some metals and clothing.³⁴

Electrical power also became a beacon of industrial prosperity for Hamilton as a number of daring entrepreneurs succeeded in establishing the cheapest and most reliable system of transferring electrical power anywhere in Ontario.³⁵ This feat only further enhanced Hamilton's burgeoning industrial base, attracting such major companies as Westinghouse (in 1896), Otis Elevator (in 1900) and International Harvester (in 1903). By the turn of the century, Hamilton was on the threshold of major industrial growth which would only be fully realized in the twentieth century (figure 4).

A most persuasive and telling argument of Hamilton's commercial and industrial position at the end of the nineteenth century is a contemporaneous account given by a handful of British visitors who, having missed a train from Niagara to New York, visited the city in order to pass time in August of 1889. It was they who coined the name "The Birmingham of Canada"³⁶ – a moniker the city proudly adopted as its own:

Of all the places we had visited during our trip on the American Continent, the prettiest, cleanest, healthiest, and best conducted was the City of Hamilton, Canada; and from our inspection of the vast and varied manufacturing industries,

³⁴Gentilcore, 116.

³⁵Gentilcore, 123.

³⁶*Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada* (Hamilton: Times Printing Company, 1893).

its one hundred and seventy factories, with its 14,000 artisans, the large capital invested, and the immense output annually, we concluded it was well named the Birmingham of Canada, and has undoubtedly a great and glorious future before it.³⁷

In 1893 the moniker was adopted for a souvenir publication – *Hamilton: The Birmingham of Canada* – printed by the Canada Life Assurance Company with the aim of promoting Hamilton’s profile both nationally and internationally.³⁸ The text provided an introduction to the city and its various industrial, cultural and educational pursuits, and clearly aimed to position Hamilton as an industrial leader within the Dominion:

No other Canadian city has won for itself the industrial celebrity that Hamilton has attained ... In one point, however ... Hamilton resembles the larger and older hive of industry in her thrifty application of skill and capital to widely diversified industrial operations. This has been her distinguishing characteristic for at least a generation. Within that period, manufacturing establishments on a scale and with equipments in keeping with the latest demands for cheap and efficient productions, have successively sprung up within her limits. Her increasing workshops have steadily added to her population and enhanced her wealth. Scarcely an important branch of industry is left altogether unrepresented.³⁹

As a promotional document, produced by Hamilton’s civic leaders, the content and particular emphasis of the book provide an important insight into Hamilton’s civic image toward the end of the nineteenth century. Here, the discussion and promotion of industrial growth and the importance placed upon its continued prosperity is undeniably foregrounded.

³⁷*Birmingham*, 9. This is an excerpt from a letter, written by the English visitors and sent to the Secretary of the Hamilton Board of Trade, and reprinted in *Birmingham*.

³⁸The World’s Fair, held in Chicago in 1893, would draw large numbers of Europeans to the area, and as such it was likely felt that the publication of a promotional book about Hamilton would be a timely undertaking for the city.

³⁹*Birmingham*, 14.

It is clear that the city could boast significant industrial achievements and saw the development of this area as a key factor in establishing their unique economic position within the Dominion. In this context, the establishment of an art school dedicated to the study of industrial or technical arts as well as fine art, was not only a suitable civic educational undertaking, it was of paramount importance to Hamilton's positioning as an industrial center because continued growth and success in this area would require a skilled and available workforce. While the preceding discussion helps to explain the economic and civic underpinnings and motivations of an 'industrial' aspect of the HAS, let us now turn to a consideration of the cultural and intellectual developments that grew up alongside Hamilton's industrial accomplishments.

Cultural and Intellectual Foundations

Although a town only in its infancy during the 1830s, Hamilton and area managed to establish a handful of important literary endeavors aimed at developing an informed and literate general public. As early as 1822, the neighboring town of Dundas had boasted a circulating library. Advertised by Sir William Lyon Mackenzie and Edward Leslie, the library was located in their pharmaceutical establishment.⁴⁰ A decade later, Hamilton kept pace with Dundas and Ancaster⁴¹ by opening a circulating reading room that paved the way for the first circulating library in the autumn of 1833.⁴² Contemporaneously, developments in publishing laid the groundwork for what would become a healthy newspaper and publishing trade. Hamilton's first newspaper, *The Gore Balance*, began publication in 1829 and was soon followed by the *Free Press* newspaper, and two magazines – *the Canadian Casket* and *Canadian Wesleyan*.

Concern for adult education and public access to books and published materials found a most important promoter in the Hamilton Mechanics' Institute (hereafter HMI). Founded in February of 1839, Wentworth County's first Institute became a significant educational and cultural organization. The Mechanics' Institute Movement, begun in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had begun to establish Institutes in

⁴⁰C.M. Johnston, *The Head of the Lake: A History of Wentworth County* (Hamilton: Wentworth County Council, 1967), 215.

⁴¹The town of Ancaster opened a similar circulating reading room in 1824 that offered international periodicals; Johnston, 215.

⁴²Johnston, 215.

Canadian centers during the 1830s.⁴³ The Institutes, through various programs of study and lectures, museums and art exhibitions were among the first organizations whose express purpose was the intellectual betterment of its membership. The HMI began by establishing a library of the first order; Institutes were then established in Dundas and Waterdown in 1843, thereby initiating a substantive literary and intellectual base for the area. The high moral and intellectual aspirations are well articulated in an excerpt from Waterdown's constitution, "the object of this organization shall be the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of knowledge by means, first, of a library containing Philosophical, Historical, Biographical and Mechanical Works...Secondly, lectures on any useful and important branch of knowledge. Thirdly, by the discussion of questions in relation to appropriate subjects."⁴⁴

With the mandate of adult education and a targeted membership, the HMI was an important forerunner to the HAS. Conceived after the Scottish prototype, the stated aim of the HMI was to further technical and scientific education among the working classes.⁴⁵ The degree to which it succeeded in serving this membership was raised by Adam Brown,⁴⁶ President of the Institute, in 1861:

The professed object, as the name implies, is the improvement of our artisans and

⁴³Maria Tippet, *Making Culture: English Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 52.

⁴⁴Johnston, 214.

⁴⁵Freda Waldon, "Early Provisions for Libraries in Hamilton" *Wentworth Bygones* (Hamilton: Head of the Lake Historical Society, no.4, 1963), 27.

⁴⁶Importantly, Adam Brown would play a pivotal role in the organization of the 1888 HAE, the subject of Chapter Three.

working classes in every grade; but there is reason to fear this design has in many instances been lost sight of, or perhaps we should say, the original idea has been considerably amplified, as other classes of the community rather than operatives constitute not unfrequently the majority of subscribers and attendants.⁴⁷

Indeed, as one study of the HMI has demonstrated through an analysis of membership and participation, the organization came to serve more commonly the needs of the upper and middle classes as opposed to the working classes.⁴⁸ It has been argued that this was likely due to the interests of those in control – men of stature, far removed from working-class life.⁴⁹ And while Brown's comment suggests an awareness, at the directorial level, of the inherent problem, few adjustments were made to the program or services.⁵⁰

While the lack of working-class participation, particularly at the managerial level, is regularly foregrounded in discussions surrounding Mechanics' Institutes, Bryan Palmer points to the tacit and important role this organization often played in the associational life of the labouring classes:

For the mechanics' institutes cannot be divorced from their local context, in which the strength of the working-class environment would contribute to the vibrancy of the working-class presence in these early buildings of adult education. Nor must we mistake the hegemony of the propertied elements, so common in many

⁴⁷As quoted in Bryan Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 50.

⁴⁸Cheryl Hall, "“Good Intentions”: A Study of the Programs and Membership of the Hamilton and Gore Mechanics' Institute, 1839-1882" (Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections Department, unpublished paper, Pamphlet File: Weaver, n.d.).

⁴⁹Hall, 1-10; and Palmer, 49-52.

⁵⁰Hall, 9. In April of 1882, the HMI closed its doors due to financial difficulties. The construction of an elaborate new Hall in 1850 to house the HMI is often cited as the ongoing financial burden that ultimately led to its demise; Hall, 3-4 and Waldon, 1963, 33.

institutes, for an acquiescent working-class constituency. Merchants, manufacturers, and clerks could often control local institutes, while workingmen utilized the services and facilities for their own purposes, often expressing distinct dissatisfaction with the policies and practices of the directors. It is necessary to recognize both the dreary demise that so many institutes suffered, stifled by the efforts of men who knew all too well what was best for other men, and the submerged involvement and struggle of workingmen, who learned much in the process.⁵¹

Certainly the HMI played a role in the lives of a great many Hamiltonians, and as one of the first Canadian centers to establish an Institute, the city showed an early commitment to adult education and intellectual development. Many of the impulses that sought to establish and develop the HMI would be those promoting the art school movement in Hamilton. Significantly, much of the discourse around class and access to education would again surface with the inception of the HAS, and perhaps those who would come to control the HAS had learned something from the particular challenges faced by the HMI, as well as the accusations leveled at those running the organization.

The establishment of the HMI did not, however, preclude more lending libraries from opening their doors. In 1846 the Mercantile Library Association (hereafter MLA) was organized through the efforts of the Young Men's Debating Club. Comprised primarily of young barristers, the Debating Club had been established in 1834 and was intended as a kind of intellectual training ground for the city's emerging legal pundits. The discussion group, organized by the school teacher James Cahill, was organized as a "literary society, at which scientific, philosophical and political questions are discussed; the debates ... are well sustained and it will doubtless prove an excellent school for

⁵¹Palmer, 50.

training young barristers in the habit of extemporaneous speaking.”⁵² The MLA’s constitution, like that of the HMI, was concerned with intellectual and moral betterment through ongoing education and edification, providing a library and a Reading Room as well as lectures or “other such means as may best tend to our improvement.”⁵³ However, unlike the HMI, the MLA was an arguably exclusive organization, and before long it became evident that Hamilton could not support libraries in both institutions. In July of 1859, the two organizations resolved to merge their efforts.⁵⁴

Thus by mid-century, the city of Hamilton, had firmly planted a number of its cultural roots. Three daily newspapers,⁵⁵ two subscription libraries, three bookstores and a “News Room” supplied by the *Hamilton Gazette* formed the literary and intellectual nucleus of the newly incorporated city of Hamilton. Indeed an instructive benchmark to gauge an emerging city’s broad educational priorities is a consideration of its public library system and the efforts associated with its development. Hamilton was exemplary in this area; by 1893 the city possessed one of the most impressive libraries in the Dominion.⁵⁶

⁵²Johnston, 215.

⁵³Johnston, 216.

⁵⁴Johnston, 218. This amalgamation is important as it saw the ostensibly private MLA absorbed by the more publicly-spirited HMI.

⁵⁵*Gore Balance, Free Press Newspaper and Hamilton Gazette*

⁵⁶Its holdings numbered over 16,000 volumes while offering 175 papers and periodicals to its 7,250 borrowing members. Organized into departments which included a circulation department, a General Reading Room, and a Ladies’ Reading Room, it was estimated in 1892 that the library had served over 260,000 visitors; *Birmingham*, 29.

It would not be until the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, that Hamilton would begin to come into its own culturally, establishing a number of organizations in the area of arts and literature. The most significant was the founding of the Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science, and Art in 1857 (hereafter HALSA). As the first cultural enterprise to privilege ‘art’, the HALSA, together with the HMI that focused on technical education, became significant forerunners to the HAS (founded in 1885). The main objects of the HALSA were “the formation of a Library, Museum and Art Gallery, the cultivation of Literature, Science and Art, and the illustration of Natural History and the Physical Characteristics of the Country.”⁵⁷ A formal organization dedicated, in part, to the cultivation of art was an early beacon pointing to the city’s cultural priorities of the day. Significantly, the HALSA folded art into a broader moral, and educational experience; a similar strategy would occur with the HAS. But while the proposed program, which stipulated the creation of an Art Gallery, certainly looked promising, this particular component of the organization would, in fact, be the slowest to develop.⁵⁸

Indeed, of those Hamiltonians who mobilized to establish the HALSA, none were artistically oriented. Regardless, its establishment is significant as it provides the earliest evidence of a broadly defined, organized effort to further and develop intellectual and

⁵⁷*Journal and Proceedings of the Hamilton Association 1882-1883*, vol.1. (Hamilton: Spectator Printing Company, 1884), 13.

⁵⁸It should be noted that while a Museum was established, it served rather to meet the needs of the scientific and biological rather than artistic interests of the organization. The first Librarian and Curator was Arthur Harvey – a writer at the *Hamilton Spectator*, interested in meteorology and horticulture.

cultural knowledge in Hamilton.

It might seem surprising that the HALSA chose to form when it did – as the two analogous organizations engaged in similar endeavours – the MLA and the HMI were themselves experiencing difficult times. However, as outlined by Freda Waldon in her history of the HALSA, their decision to organize was most likely the result of their seeing themselves as distinct from these enterprises.⁵⁹ Through their efforts to establish a scientific library and museum, they undoubtedly considered their activities to be on a more scholarly level and thus requiring of independent means and purposes. Furthermore, the organization’s advocates were Hamilton’s intellectual élite and although ‘publicly’ concerned with general betterment and popular education, they were most likely driven by a desire to educate and discuss at a higher level, that is, within the membership of the organization.⁶⁰ The fact that the HALSA is not listed among the societies in the City Directories until 1881-1882 would support the notion of a club organized exclusively for the betterment and enlightenment of its members – for all intents and purposes, a private club.

Hamilton’s ambitious venture may also be considered in light of contemporaneous scientific enterprises occurring elsewhere in the Dominion at the mid-

⁵⁹Freda Waldon, “The First Hundred Years of the Hamilton Association,” in *The Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art. 100th Anniversary 1857-1957* (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson Ltd., 1958), 29-40.

⁶⁰Indeed, the first twenty five years of the HALSA were a private affair as their initial meetings and lectures were open only to members. However, by 1882 their ‘meetings’ became public, and papers were read for “members’ and friends” consumption. It would be interesting to document attendance at these sessions, as the highly specialized nature of many of the lectures would most likely have precluded attendance from the average citizen. Unfortunately, no attendance records were located.

nineteenth-century mark. Certainly, as Waldon suggests, Hamilton's leading citizens would have been aware of the Canadian Institute (now the Royal Canadian Institute) founded in Toronto eight years before the HALSA.⁶¹ Further exposure to international developments occurred in the summer of 1857 when the *Hamilton Spectator* published a full account of the proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held in Montreal.⁶² Other precipitating factors in the establishment of the HALSA may have been the presence in the city of a number of widely recognized and eminent scientists of the day including John Rae and Thomas C. Keefer.⁶³ Another persuasive suggestion for inception may lie in the early unsuccessful efforts by founding members of the organization to bring Victoria College, located in Toronto, to Hamilton or to found a college here.⁶⁴

Of particular relevance for this thesis was the degree of HALSA participation among the Scots. As John Weaver notes in a broader discussion of nineteenth-century cultural affairs in Hamilton:

In view of the prominence of the Scottish mercantile community and the usual

⁶¹Canadian Institute Proceedings were published in the *Canadian Journal* from 1852.

⁶²Waldon, 1958, 31.

⁶³Keefer was responsible for Hamilton's first waterworks. An eminent engineer, he ultimately became the Dean of Canadian engineers – his advice being sought on virtually all major Canadian engineering projects of his day. John Rae, the Arctic explorer, resided in Hamilton for a period of two years between 1857-1859, becoming the HALSA's first vice-president in 1857 and serving as president in 1858.

⁶⁴Perhaps in the absence of a college in Hamilton, the formation of the HALSA provided the city's learned men with an intellectual forum for ideas and discussion; Waldon, 1958, 36.

interest in education among the Scots, it is to be expected that they had a major role in the [Hamilton] association's early years. The first president, Dr. W. Ormiston, was a clergyman from Scotland; the second president, John Rae, was born in the Orkney Islands ... The ever-active Dr. Craigie served as recording secretary. That Buffalo and Scotland should amplify the formal culture of Hamilton underscores the American and United Kingdom connections which invigorated other fields of endeavour.⁶⁵

It is important to note that a heavy Scottish presence would re-emerge later in the formation of the HAS in 1885, and more specifically with those involved in the organization of the HAE (see Chapter Three).

The HALSA was organized into 'sections' with the most active being the Biological and Geological wings of the organization, regularly reading papers and publishing reports in their Proceedings. The one division directly relevant to the development of fine arts, where the majority of 'fine art' papers were delivered, was the Photographic Section.⁶⁶ Formed in April of 1892, it occupied a central position within the organization until 1911, when it published its last report in the Proceedings. Samuel John Ireland, the first Principal of the HAS, was elected a member of the Council in 1888 and 1889, soon after his arrival in Hamilton. Undoubtedly, his position as Principal of the HAS made him a suitable and desirable Council member. It should be noted, however, that although he delivered several lectures, his overall participation appears to have been

⁶⁵Weaver, 1982, 77.

⁶⁶ 'Hints on How to See Pictures in Nature' was delivered by Thomas H. Wilkinson, noted Hamilton watercolorist, in November of 1892, and 'Composition of a Picture' was delivered in 1895 by S. John Ireland, Principal of the HAS. Both were presented to the Photographic Section of the Association.

minimal.⁶⁷

Thus a consideration of the HALSA's early years yields little in the way of art in particular or the 'fine arts' in general. What does emerge, however, is a profile of Hamilton's intellectual leaders as individuals who saw themselves participating in an ongoing scientific discourse both within the Dominion and the broader European forum.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the organization's identification of 'Art' within the scope of its constitution and founding mandate, was a promising sign for future developments. The fact that the cultural sector of the HALSA never evolved speaks rather to the relative dearth of artistic activity and personalities within Hamilton at mid-century, a city still in its infancy. This is not to be confused with a lack of cultural supporters, as I believe the city, in principle, was anxious to develop in all civic areas. However, as the ensuing discussion will reveal, those individuals necessary to create a stimulating artistic culture – artists, art educators, art historians, collectors, and patrons – were few in number and, therefore, the city lacked the critical mass necessary to mobilize the community around significant artistic endeavours. These circumstances remained in place until the HAS opened in 1885, thus providing the necessary locus for civic support of artistic culture.

⁶⁷He is listed as delivering 'The History of Pottery and Ceramic Art' in March 1889; 'Colors, Kromatics and Permanency of Pigments' in 1889/90; and an untitled paper in 1899/1900.

⁶⁸Its focus on this area of the mandate ultimately led to its renaming as the Hamilton Scientific Association by 1902.

Artistic Culture in Hamilton before 1885

For the purposes of this discussion, artistic culture will be defined as individuals and organizations engaged in activities relating specifically to the fine arts and will include practicing artists and art teachers as well as any institutional body, however loosely structured, that furthered artistic study and/or discourse in Hamilton prior to the founding of the HAS in 1885.

In various nineteenth-century histories of Hamilton, a handful of artists' names consistently emerge. The most renowned among them is William Blair Bruce (1859-1906) – undeniably the city's most famous native son. Born in Hamilton, his artistic aspirations soon took him, in 1881, to France and later to Sweden. Despite ongoing connections with his hometown, particularly through the efforts of his father, William Bruce Sr., his actual contributions to the artistic environment in Hamilton were peripheral at best. While his activities overseas were reported in Hamilton's newspapers, no doubt inspiring local civic pride, his decision to leave the city in order to study and paint abroad reflected the artistic and cultural limitations of his hometown.⁶⁹

There were, however, individuals who identified themselves as professional artists in the annual City Directories. These directories, consulted in a systematic fashion, provide a gauge as to the number of artists residing in Hamilton. All extant copies dated prior to 1885 were consulted, in order to provide a benchmark for the level of artistic

⁶⁹This nineteenth-century European pull was certainly not particular to Hamilton, rather it was a nationwide phenomenon in which most aspiring young artists would travel to the Continent for a period of study in one of the European Académies, most commonly the Parisian Académies Julian and Colarossi. Here, I acknowledge and thank Dr. Arlene Gehmacher for her insights concerning William Blair Bruce.

activity in Hamilton prior to the opening of the HAS (See Appendix A).⁷⁰ Nearly twenty years after incorporation, Hamilton listed only five individuals as “artist” within the Business Directory. By 1880, the situation had only slightly improved, with the numbers increasing from five to eight artists. While these statistics do not include amateur artists and are therefore somewhat inaccurate, they do provide the researcher with a sense of the number of people actively engaged as working professional artists in Hamilton.⁷¹

However, it would be simplistic to conclude that these numbers provide the true picture of artistic activity in Hamilton at this time. Rather, what becomes evident is the number of itinerant artists, either passing through the city, or moving in and out of Hamilton over longer periods of time.⁷² And although not permanent residents, their presence in and around Hamilton would certainly have contributed to the general artistic culture.⁷³ The degree to which they might be designated “professional artists” was largely conditioned by the nature of their work, and their ability to integrate their

⁷⁰Appendix A lists artists from nine directories dating between 1864 and 1888. Again, I thank Dr. Gehmacher for providing me with personal research data relating to these Directories.

⁷¹Undoubtedly there would have been many individuals engaged in some form of amateur artistic activity, but who would not have listed themselves as artists within the City Directories.

⁷²In a few instances a name will appear in one Directory, disappear for several and then reappear years later. This circumstance was common to many nineteenth-century artists who would travel between smaller cities looking to broaden their patron and commission base. Also, Michael Katz, in his various studies, identifies transiency as a defining nineteenth-century social phenomenon.

⁷³The point is to identify a level of activity that sustained itself in an ongoing manner in order to provide a sense of cultural activity within the city during this period. And if we may use Directories as a measure, we find only a handful of individuals committing themselves to the city in a continuous and persistent fashion.

production into the marketplace. In the nineteenth century this would have been predicated on one of three things: independent means, the operation of portrait studios and/or the teaching of art. An assessment of those artists listed in Appendix A suggests that the last two options most closely approximate the situation in Hamilton.⁷⁴

Before the opening of the HAS, there were few opportunities for formal and organized art education in the city, with the exception of art classes at the Wesleyan Female College, to be discussed later in this chapter. However, a handful of artists offered private classes in their studios. Certainly, these artists would have considered themselves professionals in the field, and, in retrospect, their names comprise the list of Hamilton's significant nineteenth-century artists.⁷⁵ Two artists in particular merit further discussion: Julian Ruggles Seavey (1857-1940), because he stands as Hamilton's most noted artistic forefather and Henry Martin (c.1832-1904?) because of his lengthy association with the Female Wesleyan College.

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Julian Seavey spent three years studying art in Paris, Rome and Germany before settling in Hamilton in 1879.⁷⁶ He remained in the

⁷⁴Of the artists who could be traced, Richard Pauling (act.1841-1870) and Alexander Davidson (act.1859-1876), both appear to have run portrait studios, while the other artists were associated with art education.

⁷⁵While this list is lengthening with further research into the history of Hamilton's artists, it continues to reflect those individuals financially capable of advertising themselves through the newspapers and socially capable of promoting their activity and services to the city's élite.

⁷⁶The following biographical data has been drawn from Stuart MacCuaig, *Climbing the Cold White Peaks: A Survey of Artists in and from Hamilton 1910-1950* (Hamilton: Hamilton Artists' Inc., 1986), 63-66; and J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 283.

city until 1884 when he relocated to London, Ontario to teach at the Hellmuth Ladies College, a post he would retain for eleven years. Following his residency in London he transferred to Alma College in St. Thomas for a period of two years, returning to Hamilton in 1895. Prior to his hiatus from Hamilton in 1884, Seavey had established himself as an artistic presence in the city, advertising in newspapers and City Directories his classes in “Painting, Sketching, Drawing, and Decorating in all branches.”⁷⁷ It is interesting to note the date of Seavey’s departure – a year prior to the establishment of the HAS – and to remark on whether he would have been considered a suitable candidate for the principalship. Trained in the French Academic style, his purely ‘fine art’ education might have precluded him from serious consideration, particularly in light of the direction the HAS’s Directors chose to take in hiring a graduate of England’s South Kensington System. Perhaps Seavey was aware that his experience would be judged inadequate for the broad purposes to which the HAS aspired and therefore chose to relocate to London’s Ladies’ College.

Indeed, it was at Hamilton’s ladies’ college that Seavey’s contemporary Henry Martin made significant contributions in the area of art education. The Wesleyan Female College (hereafter WFC) (later renamed the Wesleyan Ladies College) opened in 1861, after a number of well-to-do Methodists purchased an imposing Hotel located in the heart of the downtown core; arguably it was the best of its kind in the Dominion: “[the College] is not only one of the first ladies’ colleges of the Province, but stands at the head of the list in its accommodation, equipment and record ... No other college in the

⁷⁷Display advertisement in *Hamilton City Directory*, 1880-81, 331.

land affords better advantages than the Hamilton Ladies' College."⁷⁸ Headed from 1878 by the broad minded Dr. Alexander Burns, the WFC was an educational success story. Catering largely to the city's wealthy daughters,⁷⁹ the WFC offered a curriculum encompassing "the ornamental and the solid" [academic].⁸⁰ Music, Art and French constituted the ornamental program, and an active syllabus in each produced a number of well educated young women in the area of the 'polite arts'. While music was unquestionably the most developed program offered within the ornamental curriculum,⁸¹ art classes provided a formal visual education unparalleled anywhere in the city.

The WFC's first art teacher, Harriet Harrison (act. 1863-7) taught a principle program of study in drawing and painting that was "systematic, comprehensive and artistic", with special attention given to the "laws of perspective....elementary penciling from models...original sketching, and coloring in Oil, in Water, or in Pastel".⁸² Her successor, Mrs. M.A. Maccarthy,⁸³ instructed the art program from 1868 until 1878, and

⁷⁸"Ladies' Colleges: Some Leading Educational Institutions," *Globe*, 11 August 1894. (Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections Department (hereafter HPLSC), Archives File, Wesleyan Female College).

⁷⁹"The background of a number of early students whose names were [also] mentioned in the 1861 census confirms this. Invariably their fathers were owners of businesses, professionals, or described as gentlemen"; as quoted in Bert Den Boggende, "'The Vassar of the Dominions': The Wesleyan Female College and the Project of a Women's University, 1861-1897," *Ontario History*, vol. 85, no.2 (June 1993): 100.

⁸⁰Den Boggende, 101.

⁸¹The school was renamed the Hamilton Ladies' College and Conservatory of Music in 1889. Den Boggende, 102, note 37.

⁸²Den Boggende, 103.

⁸³Little is known of either Maccarthy or Harrison, although the latter is listed as a "Painter and Teacher" active between 1863-7 in Harper, *Early Painters*, 149.

retained Harrison's particular course of study as outlined in the WFC's annual catalogues. It was, however, with Henry Martin's appointment in 1879 that the art department began to evolve and occupy a greater position within the school.⁸⁴ And it was Martin's name that was synonymous with the WFC's art department in the late-nineteenth century.

Martin, a founding member of the Ontario Society of Artists (hereafter OSA) – the organization instrumental in establishing the government School of Art and Design in Toronto in 1876 – lived in Hamilton from 1875-88.⁸⁵ His artistic presence in the city, and more importantly his position as art teacher at the WFC is a crucial facet in the history of art education in Hamilton. By 1884 the WFC was officially associated with the government school: “the studies will be the same, with the same examinations and chance of Provincial prizes.”⁸⁶ The affiliation, however, was short lived. As Bert Den Boggende suggests, the falling out likely occurred following the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London, England. Eight students from the WFC sent work to the exhibition, only to have Dr. S.P. May, Superintendent of the Education Department and responsible for the art collection, publicly criticize their work at a speech given at Alma College (St. Thomas), citing it as inferior to that produced by Alma College students. His comments, based solely on the copy works submitted to the Colonial exhibition elicited a direct and pointed response from Martin which clearly articulated his particular approach

⁸⁴The fact that Martin was a man undoubtedly goes some way in explaining the sudden profile and concurrent ‘legitimization’ of the department.

⁸⁵Harper, 216.

⁸⁶HPLSC, Archives File, Wesleyan Female College. *Catalogue of the Hamilton Wesleyan Female College*, 1885, 12.

to art education.⁸⁷ He maintained that he had broadened his particular curriculum, choosing to emphasize a *fine* art approach as opposed to a technical one: “as soon as the necessary elementary knowledge has been mastered, I have given them work which shall take them away from wooden blocks, compasses, and foot-rules to the beauties of nature, the varied scenery of the world in which we live, the pathetic incidents of home life, and heroic events of history.” His students apparently agreed, showing little interest in the program as set out by the government schools and rather showed more enthusiasm and preference in “gaining some acquaintance with pictorial art.”⁸⁸ It is not surprising that this would have been the case at a Ladies College, where the affluent female students would have had little interest in any kind of preparatory classes in the area of industrial or applied art. Their interests would have lain in an art education more fully devoted to the pure study of art as practiced in the European academies and *ateliers*. Indeed, Martin’s tone is one of tacit superiority, suggesting that his proposed form of education offered a more elevated and intellectual approach to the study of art, as opposed to the more practical vocational training advanced by the government schools. In the end, Martin’s art department was designated a ‘School of Art’, a clearly defined three year program of study that included the study of art history as a requirement for graduation. Most

⁸⁷He countered that Alma College students followed a course of study very close to that promoted by the Ontario School of Art, to which of course the WFC was also affiliated. In an article from the *Christian Guardian*, Martin quotes from the *School System of Ontario* noting that the purpose of these schools was “to prepare such teachers as may be required for teaching industrial drawing in Public and High Schools, Mechanics’ Institutes, and Industrial Art Schools; also to provide technical instruction and Art culture to persons employed in the various trades, manufactures etc. requiring artistic skill.” Quoted in Den Boggende, 103-104.

⁸⁸Den Boggende, 103-104.

interestingly, students' works were examined by members of the Royal Canadian Academy (hereafter RCA), further positioning the WFC's endeavors within the sphere of professional – as opposed to vocational – art training.

This event in the history of art education in Hamilton is important for two reasons: it clearly positions the city's only formal art program squarely in the realm of professional, academic art training, and available only to the daughters of the well-to-do. And it also offers a possible explanation as to why Henry Martin – Hamilton's most recognized art teacher and therefore a likely choice to head the city's new art school – might have been overlooked. His particular educational approach and training appear, like that of Seavey, to have endorsed the academic over the technical.

Other artists contributed to Hamilton's artistic affairs of the day through their sustained presence in the city. John Herbert Caddy (1801-1883), an itinerant engineer trained at the Military Academy at Woolwich settled in Hamilton in 1851. Considered an amateur artist, he devoted himself to painting full-time following his retirement in 1856, opening a studio and offering private lessons as well as teaching at the WFC.⁸⁹ His watercolours, characteristic of nineteenth-century topographical work, chronicle Southern Ontario's various environs and serve as documents of the area's natural surroundings. However, his artistic impact on the city is difficult to judge. While he would have been considered among Hamilton's accomplished senior artists, the documentary nature of his work would likely have positioned him on the amateur side of the artistic spectrum. While he devoted himself to the city for a period of thirty years, he is little discussed in

⁸⁹Frances Smith, *John Herbert Caddy 1801-1887* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1985), 39.

Hamilton's nineteenth-century accounts,⁹⁰ and as a result it could be argued that he appears to have been passively rather than actively engaged in the artistic community.

This aspect of 'retrievable' information raises an important point about drawing conclusions regarding the level of artistic activity in Hamilton before 1885. Many personal histories have yet to be written, and until further research is undertaken, available sources tend to determine our understanding and perception of any given period in history. While I have consulted Directories in order to obtain objective statistical data,⁹¹ assessing regular levels of activity would entail a more detailed systematic analysis of Hamilton's daily newspapers, a process outside the scope of this project. However, in my discussion I have drawn on the extant body of disparate material and "micro" histories in an attempt to provide a foundational sense of Hamilton's artistic climate before the introduction of the HAS.

What emerges is a portrait of a young city populated by a handful of artists, some of whom made significant contributions in the area of art education. The lack of an organized artistic locus in Hamilton prior to 1885, be it a formal art school, private or public gallery or artistic collective, hindered the development of a vigorous artistic community. It should be remembered, however, that Hamilton, still in its infancy as a city was concerned primarily with establishing itself on firm economic footing and

⁹⁰His name does appear as a committee member of the Hamilton and Gore Mechanics' Institute's *Exhibition of Fine Arts, Manufactures, Machines, Natural History, Curiosities etc.*, 24th May, 1865.

⁹¹The term "objective" requires some qualification. Women who practiced art, but did not earn their living this way (a rare circumstance for the nineteenth-century woman) would not have been listed, nor likely those practicing on the fringes of 'recognized' society.

maintaining fundamental civic responsibilities. A crucial correlative was how cultural activity and ambitions were supported and positioned in a regional nineteenth-century Canadian city.

Philanthropists and Cultural Supporters

Where cultural pursuits were concerned, it is important to note that such activity, while undoubtedly an interest, would have been considered a leisure pursuit. Pure cultural philanthropy, that is the support and promotion of enterprises devoted exclusively to the fine arts were, for all intents and purposes, in an embryonic stage in mid-to-late-nineteenth century Hamilton. As has been outlined, cultural activity in the area of the fine arts can be characterized as minimal. Rather, activity and advancements in this area appear to have been motivated by broader concerns for civic and social development, as opposed to focused efforts to develop and further purely cultural enterprises.⁹² The relative dearth of organizations and endeavours devoted exclusively or even tangentially to artistic affairs signals that priorities lay elsewhere. Indeed, it was in the establishment and promotion of foundational civic requirements that Hamilton philanthropists located their efforts throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Michael Katz, in his various analyses,⁹³ has noted the relative importance

⁹²The relative failure of the art portion of the HALSA supports such speculation.

⁹³Michael Katz's three studies are: *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); and "Social Structure in Hamilton, Ontario" *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 209-244. These works use Hamilton as a case study for a broader discussion of the development of social and familial organization in the nineteenth century. As well, each considers an historical period prior to the establishment of the HAS. *The People of Canada West* assesses the period 1851-1861 while *The Social Organization* extends its discussion to 1871. While the precise profile of the city would have altered into the 1880s, I draw on Katz's findings in order to provide a picture of Hamilton's foundational social structure in the mid-nineteenth century.

Hamiltonians placed on voluntary service and philanthropic activity.⁹⁴ Of course, benevolent work of some kind was considered an essential service in many evolving nineteenth-century cities. And while public service was traditionally considered – indeed expected to be – the province of the well-to-do, as Kathleen McCarthy argues, this assumption obscures the inclusive nature of much of the public’s response to charitable activity.

Volunteer efforts were shaped and marshaled by a variety of factors. Prevailing notions of stewardship urged men and women, the well-to-do and those of more moderate means, to participate, each in his or her own special way... Periodic religious revivals ... helped to kindle the voluntaristic spirit, sending the middle classes into the slums to labour in concert with the rich, binding them to their impoverished brethren with ties of familiarity and aid.⁹⁵

Increasing public concern over widespread social ills associated with industrialization, coupled with minimal governmental intervention, resulted in widespread voluntary participation in the nineteenth century.

In an era of primitive communications and limited governmental responsibility, voluntarism played a unique role in maintaining stability and community cohesion, forging a personal bond between rich, middle class, and poor. Civic stewardship – noblesse oblige – this was the ‘social glue’ which bound urbanites to their neighbors.⁹⁶

Hamilton was no exception as charitable work played a prominent role for a growing number of individuals – from a range of social classes – throughout the nineteenth century. As Palmer’s study suggests, working-class participation in voluntary

⁹⁴Katz, 1975, 29.

⁹⁵Kathleen McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 4.

⁹⁶McCarthy, 1982, 6.

associations has often been overlooked and that “skilled workingmen certainly, and even some labourers, were common in all of the societies, and in many their role was far from subservient.”⁹⁷

As institutions were established to care for or confine the sick, the poor, the homeless, the criminal or the mentally ill, scores of volunteers, both male and female, provided time and money to ensure their ongoing presence and success. In Hamilton, several important benevolent institutions were organized in the nineteenth century, among them: the Ladies Benevolent Society, Hamilton Health Association which ran the Hamilton Sanatorium, Home Mission Society, Children’s Aid Society, St. Andrew’s and St. George’s Benevolent Societies, the Girls’ and Boys’ Homes, Home for Aged Women, Home for the Friendless, Orphan Asylum, and House of Refuge.⁹⁸ The names of community-minded and civically-spirited citizens who devoted energy to these organizations were largely synonymous with those furthering any cultural activity – including the HAS – in Hamilton.⁹⁹

At this juncture it is important to digress slightly in order to introduce a particularly important ethno-religious group within Hamilton’s broader philanthropic community because of their ongoing presence in educational and cultural enterprises: the Scottish Protestants. In 1871, Hamilton’s population was comprised of Irish (26%), Scottish (17%), and English (28%) immigrants while native born Canadians constituted

⁹⁷Palmer, 39.

⁹⁸*Birmingham*, 27.

⁹⁹The particular philanthropic profile that evolved in conjunction with the HAE will be discussed in depth in Chapter Three.

nearly 19% and Americans only 4.5% of the population.¹⁰⁰ Katz's multiple classification analyses show that while the Scots (particularly those of Presbyterian faith) did not necessarily comprise the greatest demographic in terms of size, they were well represented in the business class:

Scottish Presbyterians, who made up 10 percent of the work force in 1851 and 12 percent in 1871, continued their *overrepresentation* throughout the business class, though their scores declined in some specific categories. They composed a representative share of skilled workers and a low proportion of laborers. The non-Presbyterian Scots were a small group growing in strength among the occupational categories in the business class and also among female domestics.¹⁰¹ (emphasis added)

As Weaver noted in the high percentage of Scots involved with the HALSA, their activities appear to have served primarily educational and often cultural endeavors.¹⁰²

While not always a majority in all causes educational or cultural, the Scottish presence is of note because of the frequency with which Scottish names appear on the organizational lists of charitable and benevolent organizations, particularly in light of the proportional size of their population. Their standing within the business class¹⁰³ would have placed them in an economically and politically appropriate place to participate in benevolent work.

The Scots did, however, appear to reflect the general philanthropic profile in mid-to-late nineteenth-century Hamilton – one that was highly oriented toward essential

¹⁰⁰Katz, 1982, Table 2.1, 66. The remaining 6% is categorized as "Other".

¹⁰¹Katz, 1982, 78.

¹⁰²This profile will be further discussed in Chapter Three in relation to those promoting the HAE.

¹⁰³The use of the term 'business class' will be discussed in Chapter Three.

social, educational and civic improvements, rather than any directed widespread movements in support of culture. This is not to imply that nineteenth-century Hamiltonians had no desire in furthering cultural objectives, rather the issue of culture, (primarily visual culture) appears to have been absorbed into – and positioned in relation to – more pressing social and economic priorities. As will be argued in Chapter Two, the establishment of the HAS was equally circumscribed by economic and social – rather than purely cultural – interests particular to a maturing city. The pragmatic founding and support of the foundational structures and organizations necessary to ensure social order and economic prosperity appear to have precluded exclusively cultural efforts. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, Hamilton concentrated on the practicalities of getting its house in order; culture played a secondary role. For the moment, Hamilton's ambitions lay elsewhere.

Conclusion

The preceding discussions yield a fairly consistent cultural and civic picture of Hamilton prior to the opening of the HAS. Arguably a city still in infancy, it made remarkable civic and industrial strides throughout the forty years following incorporation, and managed to plant several seeds critical to its intellectual and cultural future. The city's many early societies and associations dedicated to intellectual betterment and practical education showed an early and concerted commitment to the education of the growing population. And while well-intentioned, in the end, each appears to have served the particular interests of one or the other class and/or sex. Concurrently, artistic activity remained in an embryonic stage while formal art education was the province of a few. All of these circumstances resulted in an artistic and vocational educational vacuum that the HAS was most suitably able to fill. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, the HAS's ability to reach a broad clientele was critical to its relevance and survival within the community; the need to provide a common educational ground for both the artist and the artisan conditioned the HAS's founding. Its particular emergence at the hands of Hamilton's civic and political leaders would prove to be a democratic undertaking that aspired to bridge gaps, transcend classes and ultimately meet 'the common wants of men of all classes'.

Chapter Two

A Common Ground: The Founding of the Hamilton Art School, 1885

However strong and directed Hamilton's civic and educational aspirations were in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the establishment of the HAS must also be considered in light of broader national, educational and cultural endeavors of the day that increasingly came to bear on policy making and governmental priorities. As civil society in Canada developed, increased educational and cultural pressures were exerted on the federal government to support and invest in programs that would both encourage and promote the study of art and culture, and train the country's growing number of artisans. The combination of fine art with technical or industrial education appeared to provide a universally desirable pairing in the young country, serving both economic and cultural needs. Culturally, this broad educational programme was of paramount importance to Victorian sensibilities concerned with the moral and cultural edification of the general public. It provided further opportunities for refinement for the leisured classes, artistic and teacher training to those desirous of becoming professional artists and/or art teachers, while simultaneously meeting the demands placed on the working and manufacturing classes with the growing need for skilled workers in the increasing industrialization of Canadian society. A standard nineteenth-century Canadian art school provided:

[the] young artisan [with] an opportunity for that artistic training so necessary to enable them to exhibit taste in the productions of their hands, thus at the same time enhancing to them the value of their products, and administering pleasure to the general public. A secondary object, scarcely less important, was the general education of public taste to an adequate expression of beauty.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴Victoria School of Art and Design, *Annual Report*, (Halifax, 1892); as quoted in Robert Stacey and Liz Wylie, *Eighty Twenty: 100 Years of the Nova Scotia School of Art*

This concept, which also lay at the heart of the HAS's mandate, appeared to answer civic, educational, economic as well as cultural goals.

The particular pairing of artist and artisan training raises issues of class germane to an understanding of the evolution of art education in Canada, and the ramifications for urban centers such as Hamilton. This chapter demonstrates how the pervasive issues of class persisted throughout the nineteenth century as the country's founding art societies attempted to establish national and provincial art education programs. Here, I will briefly summarize the early histories of the OSA founded in 1872 and the RCA founded in 1880 – two early art societies that ventured to establish art education programs – and demonstrate their reliance on the model of England's South Kensington system. Through this analysis I propose that the adoption of this practically and utilitarian based educational model within the Canadian context, while an entirely appropriate approach given the country's emergent status, was in fact a more complex situation in which issues of class and often gender played themselves out. This particular hypothesis will then serve as the framework for my ensuing discussion of the HAS. Through an analysis of this School's early history, I will position the formation of the HAS within a broader context, by considering how the issue of class emerged as a prime factor in the discussions and strategies surrounding the founding of the HAS.¹⁰⁵

and Design (Halifax: Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 1988), 33.

¹⁰⁵It should be noted that this discussion will not consider art education in the public school system, rather it is concerned with the establishment of state or privately funded art schools as distinct entities.

The Roots of Art Education in Ontario

a: England's South Kensington System

In nineteenth-century Canada, the primary role played by the government in the promotion of the fine arts was through the establishment of art and design schools. This promotion was reliant upon the introduction of municipal, provincial and national legislative bodies in the colonial territories.¹⁰⁶ The unification of upper and lower Canada in 1841 set forth legislation for future civil institutions and municipal structure, and as legislation encouraged and enabled industrial growth, the need for skilled laborers in the manufacturing companies increased. The immigration of unskilled laborers, agricultural workers without capital and Irish famine victims during the 1840s and 1850s resulted in more selective immigration policies that saw the recruitment of skilled artisans to Canada by manufacturers.¹⁰⁷ While it was acknowledged that these artisans had received training in their home countries, there was general consensus they too would need specialized training to meet the demands of Canadian manufacture and industry. It was this need for skilled labour in both the commercial and industrial corners of the economy that initially kindled the necessary impulses for the establishment of art and design education in Canada.

As discussed in Chapter One, the most conspicuous precursor of the art education movement was the HMI. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the lack of

¹⁰⁶Ellen Ramsay, "The Promotion of the Fine Arts in Canada, 1880-1924: The Development of Art Patronage and The Formation of Public Policy" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1988), 30.

¹⁰⁷Ramsay, 33.

basic public education increasingly became a concern with municipal and provincial governments actively advocating a program of publicly supported education. Voices in support of an art-based public education were first heard in the major urban centers of Montréal¹⁰⁸ and Toronto and the loudest among them was Egerton Ryerson, the leading educational figure in Upper Canada.

Canada's educational forefather, Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882) played a pivotal and prototypical role in the advancement of art and technical education in Upper Canada. As Superintendent of Education from 1844 to 1876 he founded the Toronto Normal School in 1847, a harbinger of public education which, most significantly, housed the first public educational art museum in Canada – the Educational Museum of Upper Canada, opened in 1857. Instituted to assist in the teaching and practice of design for manufacture, it followed closely the model set out by England's South Kensington System which was part of the British Government's plan for popular education. Developed by Henry Cole, Britain's first Director of the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington's and Ryerson's plans were similarly configured, albeit distinctly motivated. In order to understand Ryerson's particular approach, a short discussion of the South Kensington System is necessary as it was the primary foundation for the Canadian program of art education.

The origins of what would become commonly known as the South Kensington System lay in the British Government's interest in popular education that consisted of educating the middle and lower classes in areas of art and manufacture. In 1835 a

¹⁰⁸This discussion does not include the particular evolution of art education in Lower Canada, as I chose to focus solely on activity in Ontario.

Parliamentary Select Committee was appointed to “inquire into the best means of extending knowledge of the ARTS and of the PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN among the People (especially the manufacturing Population) of the Country.”¹⁰⁹ The targeted participants for their educational scheme were clearly identified: manufacturing workers. Their report, published in 1836, investigated and proposed the best means of diffusing art knowledge to “the masses” and excerpts from its introduction provide a clear articulation as to why art education was considered a priority; it is an argument that can be equally and suitably ascribed to the Canadian nineteenth-century context:

From the highest branches of poetical design down to the lowest connexion between design and manufactures, the Arts have received little encouragement in this country...In many despotic countries far more development has been given to genius, and greater encouragement to industry, by a more liberal diffusion of the enlightening influence of the Arts. Yet to us, a peculiarly manufacturing nation, the connexion between art and manufactures is most important; - and for this merely economical reason (were there no higher motives), it equally imports us to encourage art in its loftier attributes; since it is admitted that the cultivation of the more exalted branches of design tends to advance the humblest pursuits of industry, while the connexion of art with manufacture has often developed the genius of the greatest masters in design.¹¹⁰

The desired consequence was that each aspect of the scheme would inspire the other to greater heights.

The result of the inquiry was the establishment of a Normal School of Design in London in 1837, followed by sixteen similar schools scattered throughout the provinces

¹⁰⁹As quoted in Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 247.

¹¹⁰As quoted in Louise Purbrick, “The South Kensington Museum: The Building of the House of Henry Cole,” in *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America*, ed. Marcia Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 70.

by 1849. Their success was limited, with poor attendance, ill-conceived programs, and a later Parliamentary Committee concluded in 1846 that the new system was “an utter and complete failure.”¹¹¹ However, an integral part of the 1836 report was the creation of an accessible and publicly funded museum that would provide manufacturing workers with the best samples of art and design thereby, it was hoped, elevating their tastes and aesthetic judgments. The theory was fairly straightforward: provide the people with a permanent exhibition of the best examples of art and design, in an accessible environment free of charge to encourage repeated visits, and the result would be the production of superior, well-designed, manufactured products. This in turn would result in increased export of manufactured goods thereby strengthening the economy. An equally important adjunct was the idea of improving the aesthetic taste of manufacturers, artists and the public by showing them the achievements of the past.¹¹²

While the Select Committee’s report advocated England’s first public museum and the need to train artisans, it was not until the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry and of All Nations, housed in London’s Crystal Palace in 1851, that the necessary impetus to institute a formal program of study occurred. By all accounts, Great Britain’s showing was considered substandard, their wares being unfavorably compared to those of other exhibiting nations. Following the Exhibition, the new government Department of Practical Art, subsequently incorporated into the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, initiated in Britain a system of state-aided and controlled art

¹¹¹Pevsner, 248.

¹¹²Pevsner, 255-256.

schools and examinations. Adhering closely to the recommendations set out by the Select Committee, the Department had a number of policy aims, one of which was the formation of museums. All of its aims were educational in nature and in the first report of 1853 the prescribed program was laid out:

The proposed objects of the Department were classed under the respective divisions of -1st, General Elementary Instruction of Art, as a branch of national education among all classes of the community, with a view of laying the foundations for correct judgment, both in the consumer and the producer of manufactures; 2d, Advanced Instruction in Art, with a view to its special cultivation; and lastly, the Application of the Principles of Technical Art to the Improvement of Manufactures, together with the establishment of Museums, by which all classes might be induced to investigate those common principles of taste, which may be traced to the works of all ages.¹¹³

The philosophical underpinning of the South Kensington system was undeniably utilitarian in nature. Given its stated aims, Cole chose to employ teachers and intellectuals who favored German rather than French methods of art education and who were characterized as Utilitarians rather than Romantics.¹¹⁴ In articulating the principles of his department, Cole's democratic vision was evident: "To improve the taste and art knowledge of all classes of the community, having especial reference to the influence of that taste and knowledge upon the manufacturers of this country."¹¹⁵ Indeed, the South Kensington system championed practical knowledge and the application of ornamental and mechanical skills to a useful and marketable end. Their belief that geometry was the

¹¹³As quoted in Purbrick, 77.

¹¹⁴Stuart MacDonal, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (New York: American Elsevier Publishing Company, 1970), 227.

¹¹⁵As quoted in Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 10.

basis of all good draughtsmanship and design resulted in their disdain for the traditional classical programs of art education – the aesthetic *atelier* training then operating chiefly in France and Italy. In England, the Royal Academy existed to meet the needs of those young artists aspiring to higher, professional artistic ends. Significantly, the South Kensington Schools existed to serve the vocational needs of their constituents, while the Academy ministered to the professional artists; there was never any question as to the form of art education offered by each or the class of people each was meant to serve. In Canada, however, the situation would not be as clearly delineated.

b: The South Kensington scheme in Canada

During my late tour in Europe, the importance of embracing objects of art as a prominent feature of our Educational Museum, and as an essential element of a School of Art and Design, was strongly impressed upon me both by what I saw, and by the opinions and advice of learned and practical men.

Egerton Ryerson, 1858.¹¹⁶

Having attained the post of Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson made two important trips to the United States and Europe to examine various systems of state education, preparing reports in 1846 and 1868 for the introduction of school bills to the legislature. In 1855 he embarked on a consequential visit to London, consulting with Colonel John Henry Lefroy (1817-1890), a Fellow of the Royal Society who had been an originator of the Canadian Grammar School Act in 1853. Lefroy, who was very familiar

¹¹⁶Egerton Ryerson, *The Educational Museum and School of Art and Design for Upper Canada with a plan of the English Educational Museum, Etc., From the Chief Superintendent's Report for 1856 to Which is Added an Appendix* (Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1858), 13.

with the South Kensington system, acted as a kind of guide and mentor to Ryerson, directing him toward the acquisition of objects that mimicked the British scheme.¹¹⁷

Upon his return, Ryerson set out to establish an educational museum to be associated with a school of art and design; his strategy was entirely predicated on the South Kensington model.

The grafting of the South Kensington system onto the Canadian terrain served many purposes and aspirations. While many of its foundational intentions – the training of mechanics and the working classes in the appreciation of good design through study and the exhibition of objects – were the same as those advanced in England, several motivations were particular to a colonial ideology. The concern with producing a good, well educated, and above all, moral people within the instability and uncertainty of emerging urban centers was of paramount importance to the collective conscience of the Victorian era. It was believed that the study and copying of antiquities and printed and painted masterpieces – even if the ‘originals’ themselves were copies – would instill in the student and viewer alike an appreciation of beauty and a desire for order, both aesthetic and social.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the notion of cultural continuity, emulating the models and systems of the mother country, provided the young nation with a sense of attachment and connection to its cultural lineage. Writing about colonial New Zealand in 1941, A.E. Campbell, later Director of Education in New Zealand, noted:

[the colonist] may, indeed, become thereby more than ever wedded to the old, for

¹¹⁷Ramsay, 35-37; and Fern Bayer, *The Ontario Collection* (Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1984), 14, note 8.

¹¹⁸Ramsay, 36.

nostalgia is one of the dominant influences in his life... Especially if he is concerned to give his children an education that shall link them to the life he has known. Cultural continuity is to the colonist of even greater importance than practical application.¹¹⁹

Be it cultural continuity or cultural aspirations, Ryerson lobbied the provincial legislature for the financial support necessary to acquire his extensive collection.¹²⁰

While his scheme was committed, first and foremost, to public education, he also recognized its inherent popular appeal:

In England an Act of Parliament was passed some years since, authorizing the Corporation of each City and Town in the United Kingdom to establish a Provincial Museum; and these local Museums are now multiplying on every side, being regarded as a powerful though indirect *means of popular education, as well as popular entertainment*.¹²¹ (emphasis added)

Ryerson thereby chose to position his project within a populist framework:

... in Canada, where there are no such Art Treasures, where we are so remote from them, where there is not private wealth available to procure them to any great extent, a collection (however limited) of copies of those paintings and statuary, which are most attractive and instructive in European Museums, and with which the trained teachers of our public schools may become familiar, and which will be *accessible to the public, cannot fail to be a means of social improvement, as well as a source of enjoyment*, to numbers in all parts of Upper Canada."¹²² (emphasis added)

Ryerson's positioning is an important signal to the Museum's intended democratic aims.

¹¹⁹F. Graeme Chalmers, "South Kensington in the Farthest Colony," in *Framing the Past: Essays on Art Education*, ed. Donald Soucy and Mary Ann Stankiewicz (Virginia: National Art Education Association, 1990), 72.

¹²⁰Bayer, 8-25. Ryerson succeeded in obtaining a budget for acquisitions (which was later questioned) and an active purchase campaign followed that included securing copies from the Louvre and Beaux-Arts in Paris, the British Museum and Oxford Museum in England and the Vatican in Rome, among other sources.

¹²¹Ryerson, 12.

¹²²Ryerson, 15.

A similar purpose would frame the evolution of Canada's first art schools, and would characterize the HAS in particular.

In the end, Ryerson exhausted the public coffers with his acquisitions, and further government funding was not forthcoming. His Museum, as initially envisaged, could not be completed, but the Educational Museum of Upper Canada, located in the Toronto Normal School did quietly open its doors in 1857.¹²³ His associated School of Art and Design never materialized. However, the groundwork and ideological rationalization for this particular form of art education had been initiated and when the first art schools, with Hamilton among them, opened their doors in the ensuing decades, the South Kensington system would serve as their prototype.

While the South Kensington System was the model for virtually all Canadian art and technical or design schools in the nineteenth century, the course of study made its way to each center by a variety of means. Ryerson, of course, was the original diffuser of the British scheme. However, its systematic adoption throughout the Dominion was largely through the efforts of British-born, South Kensington trained Walter Smith, stationed in Massachusetts and responsible for establishing one of North America's first comprehensive art education systems.¹²⁴ Smith packaged his program of instruction and disseminated it throughout the United States and Canada, and by the early 1880s his manuals on freehand drawing, and elementary design were being published in Manitoba,

¹²³Bayer, 24.

¹²⁴Donald Soucy and Harold Pearse, *The First Hundred Years: A History of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design* (Halifax and Fredericton: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design and University of New Brunswick Faculty of Education, 1993), 12.

Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick.¹²⁵

c: The Art Societies: The Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy

Art education played a central role in the objectives set out by the OSA and the RCA, two of Canada's early art societies. However, their educational impulses, much like those of Ryerson, were as motivated by civic and economic interests as they were by cultural ones. As Ramsay argues, the lack of an aristocracy or active group of philanthropists to develop and support the fine arts in Canada resulted in the country's newly established, and politically motivated manufacturing class taking the lead and establishing the tone of the country's first fine art associations. She writes:

With the support of industrial enabling bills, protective tariffs and railway construction, the manufacturers' trade began to flourish; by the 1870s Toronto and Montreal had diverse industrial bases supporting utilitarian projects as well as projects of a more social nature. Technical education was one such area which harkened to this broader social policy; in particular, state-supported technical education. It was into this public arena of debate, lobby and legislation that the early art societies were inserted.¹²⁶

To a large extent, lobbies for art and design education by manufacturers and their supporters in public office provided a model for Canada's early art associations; in fact,

¹²⁵Soucy and Pearse, 12. The scheme was early adopted at Halifax's Victoria School of Art and Design, founded in 1887. Issues of class and gender, central to this thesis, are foregrounded and discussed at length in reference to VSAD by Soucy and Pearse in *The First Hundred Years*, 2-32. I was not able to establish a direct link between Smith and Hamilton.

¹²⁶Ramsay, 42.

the promotion of art and design was the principal tenet of the public charters of all art associations and societies founded from the 1860s. And because the incorporation of these associations was under the jurisdiction of the provincial departments of agriculture, their responsibilities automatically included industrial enterprises.¹²⁷ Thus the direct link between art education and industrial training was early established.

The Ontario Society of Artists

The first Society of consequence was the OSA. Founded in 1872 in Toronto, it emerged at a time of renewed strength in manufacturers' lobbies – their political presence testified to in the Tories' National Policy for aid to manufacturing. As one of the primary organizers, artist John Fraser was successful in securing the support of wealthy financiers and merchants early in the Society's establishment. The OSA's ability to obtain the support of influential members of the industrial and commercial communities who had experience in the parliamentary arena was important to its early success.¹²⁸

One of the primary objectives of the OSA was the establishment of a school of art and design. Their charter outlined an Art Union for fund raising purposes and the promotion of "any objects consistent with the study of art and its practical bearing upon the interests of the Province of Ontario."¹²⁹ The charter further mandated improved art and design education within the province. In 1876, the provincial government granted one

¹²⁷Ramsay, 44.

¹²⁸Ramsay, 46.

¹²⁹As quoted in Ramsay, 47.

thousand dollars to the OSA for the establishment of the long-awaited and much-needed school.¹³⁰ Opened on October 30, 1876, the Ontario School of Art (hereafter OSOA) rented quarters on King Street west for an annual fee of six hundred dollars.¹³¹ Not surprisingly, the first curriculum and aims of the OSOA were indistinguishable from those of the South Kensington System and would serve as the prototypical syllabus for subsequent provincial art schools:

The advanced pupils are now drawing from casts of antique statuary, and will be instructed in the higher branches of perspective [sic] and in anatomy, and those who are fit will be allowed to study colour while continuing there [sic] severe work in light and shade.

Our elementary course is the severest preliminary drill, such as is only submitted to by those who are determined to learn, and is calculated to train the eye and the hand to accurate perception, and true facile delineation.

This elementary training of eye and hand would be most valuable, not only to artists and designers of every kind, but to every skilled mechanic....The manufacturing skill and capacity of the country would be enormously increased if every young mechanic could be induced to attend them.

*The above scheme differs in no essential particular, except economy, from that of the South Kensington system, and its details may be the same.*¹³² (emphasis added)

Classes were comparable to the British model, including elementary design and flat-copy and perspective, with oil and watercolor technique included in the most advanced classes. However, the teachers, considered today to be among Canada's first professional

¹³⁰Bayer, 48.

¹³¹George Tait, "A History of Art Education in the Elementary Schools of Ontario" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1957), 35.

¹³²As quoted in Eva Major-Marothy, "George Agnew Reid's 'Radical' Choice: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and Thomas Eakins" (Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1984), 16.

artists,¹³³ tended to emphasize “drawing in its various forms” rather than training in industrial art.¹³⁴ This may in part explain the persistent reduction in the government’s grant to the OSA as it questioned the degree to which the OSOA was actually serving the students’ disparate and stated artistic needs. Significantly, the School initially failed to attract an important segment of its intended clientele – mechanics and artisans – satisfying rather the needs of the middle and professional classes as well as the daughters of the wealthier classes.¹³⁵ In 1881 the government grant was reduced and ongoing financial strain resulted in the Department of Education taking control of the OSOA in 1882. Now fully integrated into this governmental department, the School was relocated to the Department of Education Buildings, and privileged industrial art in its curriculum.¹³⁶

The Royal Canadian Academy

The end of the 1870s in Canada saw great strides in the promotion of the fine arts in Canada, most largely through the efforts of its Governor-General, the Marquis of

¹³³Nineteenth-century professional artists were rarely ‘professional’ by today’s standards. Most were commercial artists, and the teaching of art helped to supplement their income. T. Mower Martin (1838-1934) was OSOA’s first Director from 1876 to 1878, followed by an unidentified ‘Committee of Management’ from 1878 until an unspecified date and succeeded by William Cruikshank (1848-1922) from 1884 until 1886; Marie Fleming and John R. Taylor, *100 Years: Evolution of the Ontario College of Art* (Toronto: Ontario College of Art, 1977), 12.

¹³⁴Fleming and Taylor, 11.

¹³⁵Ramsay, 50-52.

¹³⁶Fleming and Taylor, 11.

Lorne and his wife the Princess Louise. Shortly after arriving in Canada in 1878, the Governor-General met with members of the country's two largest Art Societies, the OSA and the Art Association of Montreal, stressing the need for a national arts organization dedicated to the promotion of the fine arts. From the outset, Lorne proposed a strategy that focused on utilitarian, rather than aesthetic ends:

It may be said that in a country whose population is as yet incommensurate with its extent, people are too busy to toy with Art, but, without alluding to the influence of Art on the mind ... it would surely be a folly to ignore the value of beauty and design in manufactures.¹³⁷

Once again, art's practical application to industry and manufacture was foregrounded in Canada's newest organization dedicated to the fine arts. Indeed, the objectives of the RCA were framed within the industrial and manufacturing needs of the Dominion, and reflected more than a passing reference to the South Kensington scheme:

The objects sought to be attained by the Royal Canadian Academy are hereby declared to be: the encouragement of Design as applied to Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Engraving and the Industrial Arts, and the promotion and support of education leading to the production of beautiful and excellent work in manufactures; to be attained by

First - The institution of a National Gallery at the seat of Government

Second - The holding of Exhibitions in the principal cities of the Dominion

Third - The establishment of Schools of Art and Design.¹³⁸

No sooner had the goals been stated than the Academy identified inherent problems both financial and political. In their Annual Report for 1883, the Academicians clearly

¹³⁷John Campbell, 9th Duke of Argyll, *Memories of Canada and Scotland; Speeches and Verses by the Right Honorable the Marquis of Lorne* (Montreal: Dawson, 1884); Speech to the Art Association of Montreal, May 1878; as quoted in Ramsay, 55.

¹³⁸Dominion of Canada, *Statutes*. Act to Incorporate the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 45 Vict. Cap.122, 1882; as quoted in Ramsay, 56.

articulated their concerns with respect to the educational aspect of their mandate:

The responsibility laid upon the Academy by its Founders of aiding in the progress of Art Education in Canada, has received the most serious consideration of the Council, and the necessity of its taking up the work becomes every day more obvious. This, however, cannot be done with the means at their disposal, the revenue from subscriptions being barely adequate for expenses of administration and holding of Exhibitions. Nor does it seem proper that the expense of an important branch of National Education should be borne by a comparatively few private persons.

The Academy has therefore petitioned the Government of the Dominion for an annual grant of five thousand dollars, upon grounds more fully stated in the accompanying memorandum, to which the careful attention of the Honorary Members and friends of the Academy is invited; and it is hoped that these gentlemen will use their powerful influence in support of the petition.¹³⁹

The said memorandum, dated January 1884 and reprinted for inclusion in the Annual Report for 1883, speaks to the progress made by the RCA with respect to its first two mandated objectives – the establishment of a National Gallery and the annual exhibitions.¹⁴⁰ With respect to its mandate for education, the RCA was essentially placing the responsibility for art education back in the hands of the government, where – as a practically-based educational program and arguably an integral part of John A. MacDonald’s National Policy – they believed it belonged. In their memo, however, the Academicians identify the need for two kinds of art education:

Two distinct phases of art training are necessary, and experience proves that they cannot here be united with advantage. One, technical, is being treated by the Provincial Governments and local schools. The other, more specifically artistic, but equally necessary, being that which has given France such supremacy in

¹³⁹National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Royal Canadian Academy Fonds, MG 28 I 126, vol. 4, *Royal Canadian Academy Annual Report for 1883*, 1884, 9.

¹⁴⁰NAC, Royal Canadian Academy Fonds, MG 28 I 126, vol. 4, “Memorandum setting forth the Position and Claims of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts” (hereafter “Memorandum”, *Royal Canadian Academy Annual Report for 1883*, 1884, 10-13.

draughtsmanship and beautiful and tasteful design, comes naturally within the scope of the Academy, the members of which have been selected on account of their professional artistic skill.¹⁴¹

The Academicians' arguments betray contradictory impulses, and speak to the perceived distinction between artist and artisan training. Their prime interest lay in the establishment of an art school modeled after the French Academies with technical artisan education remaining the responsibility of the provincial art schools, such as the OSOA. Their fundamental argument, grounded in the practical nature of art education and suggesting that the annual government grant of five thousand dollars would be "of even more practical monetary value to the country,"¹⁴² is misguided. Their interests were of an aesthetic rather than practical nature, as indeed they saw themselves as professional artists aspiring to higher artistic ends. That greater effort and financial resources had been exercised in the establishment of a National Gallery and annual exhibitions – two enterprises attractive to an emerging class of artists concerned with their own professionalization – further supports this argument.

While the five thousand dollar grant was not forthcoming, the government did support the RCA to the amount of two thousand dollars beginning in the mid 1880s. A considerably smaller portion of these funds was then allocated to art education.¹⁴³ The one area in which the Academicians were interested in matters of art education, was in

¹⁴¹"Memorandum" *RCA Annual Report 1883*, 1884, 12.

¹⁴²"Memorandum" *RCA Annual Report 1883*, 1884, 13.

¹⁴³The Balance Sheets of the Annual Reports for 1887 and 1888 report Government Grants of \$2,000 in each year with only \$154.71 and \$220.00 respectively allocated to 'Advanced Art'.

the institution of life drawing classes – a most tangible nod to ‘fine’ rather than ‘applied’ art education. Monies were forwarded by the RCA to local committees of Academicians in Montréal, Ottawa and Toronto to be used at their discretion for “higher art education” – in the form Life Classes.¹⁴⁴ In their history of the RCA, Jones and Dyonnet acknowledge the negligible role played by the Academy to sustain technical or artisanal training:

...all of this, however credible to the Academy and its members who have been so unselfish with their time, and however valuable the contribution to the cause of art education, falls short of realizing the expressed hope of the founders. There is nothing that we can record of academy instruction activities in architecture, engraving and design, as applied to the industrial arts.¹⁴⁵

The RCA’s other primary educational strategy was intended to assist in the establishment of art schools in urban centers where the Academy held their annual exhibitions. By soliciting the support of local manufacturers, and supplementing it with revenue from the exhibition, the RCA hoped to stimulate activity and serve as an active promoter of art education across the country. This national ambition was cut short by insufficient funds. Only two schools – in Ottawa and Halifax – sites of the first two RCA annual exhibitions benefitted from the plan.

In the end both the OSA and the RCA grappled with meeting the widely disparate and costly requirements of an art education program that addressed both fine and industrial arts. The objective to reach both artist and artisan became an ongoing concern,

¹⁴⁴Rebecca Sisler, *Passionate Spirits: A History of the Royal Canadian Art Academy of Arts, 1880-1980* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1980), 41.

¹⁴⁵Hugh G. Jones and Edmund Dyonnet, *History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts* (Ottawa: Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, 1934), 4.3.

and pointed to the inherent challenge of exclusively adapting the South Kensington system to Canadian purposes. The British system of art education provided for two distinct forms of education, one technical (South Kensington), the other more purely 'artistic' (The Royal Academy). The distinction between them centered on life classes and the depiction of the human form. Considered a crucial feature of any academic training, drawing from the model was judged unnecessary for technical artisanal training. The dual British system was, therefore, conceived to accommodate either technical or fine art education; in Canada, this segregated approach did not exist as one school had to serve the artistic and vocational needs of diverse communities.

Significantly then, Canada's first art schools initially came to serve the broader artistic needs of a growing country, rather than the immediate technical requirements of an industrializing nation, even though their inception and evolution had initially been driven by manufacturing as opposed to fine art interests. As the first art schools had to be inclusive, and incorporate practical training with fine art education, their relative inability to serve the needs of the artisan class to the degree that they had envisioned very much conditioned their early history.

Moreover, as Ramsay posits, the early histories of Canada's first art societies and associations were positioned within a national context framed by the needs of a burgeoning industrial and manufacturing sector:

In an undeveloped commercial art market, then, art had to be promoted within a public context and located within legislation for manufacturing as no other governmental avenue for aesthetic matters yet existed. Thus the promotion of art through the early art societies was situated within a utilitarian framework in response to the new promotion of manufacturing and the need for skilled

designers in the National Policy era.¹⁴⁶

Thus it was that during the nineteenth century, art schools arose within a public context, attempting to meet all artistic needs - be they professional or vocational. Of course, the fate of each school was largely conditioned and motivated by local civic, social and economic circumstances and ambitions. A consideration of the inception of the HAS will assist in locating this discussion within the more specific strategies effected by one of Canada's first art schools as it struggled effectively to navigate all of these interests.

¹⁴⁶Ramsay, 52.

The Hamilton Art School

a. Appeals

Early in 1880 published appeals in support of opening an art school in Hamilton began to appear in the local newspapers. The arguments laid out in the pages of the *Hamilton Spectator* were part of a greater wellspring of support for art education across the country that coincided with the establishment of the RCA. The very public and grand fanfare surrounding the founding of the RCA attracted widespread publicity and discussion. And while the locus of activity was in Ottawa, the ramifications of the RCA's objectives were far reaching. During the winter months of 1880, in anticipation of the important cultural event, correspondents from several Canadian cities stationed themselves in Ottawa to cover the events and report back in their hometown papers.

In the February 23 edition of the *Hamilton Spectator*, an unidentified writer extolled the virtues and fundamental need for art schools in the growing Dominion. Prompted by the proposed reduction of the annual government grant to the OSOA, the writer argues the fundamental need for schools of art and design in Canadian centers.¹⁴⁷ How s/he positioned her/his argument was predicated on the assumption that the reason for the proposed reduction to the OSOA was a perception that it was primarily an art school serving the interests of the upper classes rather than a technical training center. With this in mind, the writer argued for the establishment of art and design schools which would be understood and perceived to be centers of technical training first and foremost.

¹⁴⁷“Schools of Art and Design. Appeal to Mr. Mowat and Mr. Crooks. Schools wanted in Toronto, Hamilton, Brantford, Peterborough, Guelph, Belleville, Cobourg, Brockville, and Ottawa,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 February 1880, 3.

In Hamilton, the case to be made was undoubtedly in support of technical education if the city was ever to establish a school of this nature. The *Hamilton Spectator* writer clearly articulated whom these schools were meant to serve, and how appropriate technical instruction would serve the greater good of country, province, city:

I assert that these schools are absolutely essential to the artisan, and that the “poorer” classes (I do not use the expression offensively) are much more interested in them than the members of the higher grades of society.”¹⁴⁸

The article continues by laying out Britain’s South Kensington system and quoting at length the objectives as stated by the British Government:

Let me refer Mr. Mowat and Mr. Crooks to vol. 2 of Mr. Todd’s Parliamentary Government in England ... I now quote from 2 Todd ‘It (the South Kensington Museum) is the means of affording recreation and instruction to the whole nation, and’ - mark this - ‘especially to the poorer classes, and has tended greatly to improve the taste and skill of mechanics and manufactures.’¹⁴⁹

Thus the ‘polar’ aspirations of the emerging schools – that of fine versus technical art education – also became the center of the debate surrounding these facilities in smaller centers. As will be argued, Hamilton’s situation was characteristic of this ongoing discourse surrounding the purpose of provincial art schools and their responsibilities to both vocational and professional art training. A close examination of the emergence of the HAS bears this out.

Reporting on the March 6 opening of the RCA and its first annual exhibition, a Hamilton correspondent took the opportunity to celebrate the first significant steps toward state supported and organized cultural programs while positioning Hamilton

¹⁴⁸“Schools of Art and Design,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 February 1880, 3.

¹⁴⁹“Schools of Art and Design,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 February 1880, 3.

within the broader discussion for the establishment of schools of art and design in smaller Canadian centers. A simple appeal for Hamilton's preeminence as a manufacturing center was expected and indeed logical:

Hamilton is essentially a manufacturing city. Sir John Macdonald calls it the manufacturing "hub" of the Dominion. Sir Leonard Tilley was astonished at its numerous and varied manufacturing industries. If, therefore, there be one center in Canada more deeply interested in the success of the Canadian Academy of Art than another, it most assuredly is your own beautiful city.¹⁵⁰

While the author speaks to the importance of both the art and design facets of the proposed schools, the primary argument for establishment lies in the schools' practical application to industry and manufacture.

b. Action

These appeals, however, would not be taken up in earnest for another five years, when in the fall of 1885, several supporters headed by M.P.P. John M. Gibson, spearheaded the project to open an art school in Hamilton. On September 16, a column in the *Hamilton Spectator* announced the receipt of a letter from Gibson¹⁵¹ respecting the establishment of an art school in Hamilton "which covers the ground so fully and admirably that it leaves little to be said."¹⁵² John Gibson (1842-1929), one of Hamilton's leading figures, was the most vocal and public initiator of the HAS and would prove its most ardent supporter, both financially and politically. An outstanding scholar and

¹⁵⁰"Opening of the Canadian Academy of Arts by His Excellency the Gov. General," *Hamilton Spectator*, 11 March 1880, 3.

¹⁵¹Unfortunately, the letter is not quoted directly.

¹⁵²"An Art School," *Hamilton Spectator*, 16 September 1885, 2.

linguist, Gibson conducted a lucrative and extensive law practice in Hamilton for sixty years, engaging extensively in philanthropic and benevolent work throughout his life.¹⁵³ Education was an area of particular interest for the barrister, and for many years he was a valued member of the Board of Education, serving as Chairman of the Board in 1876 and 1877.¹⁵⁴

Three weeks after Gibson's letter was printed in the *Hamilton Spectator*, a pivotal, publicly called meeting took place in City Hall on October 10, 1885. At this meeting, the Hamilton Art Association (hereafter HAA) was organized,¹⁵⁵ their primary objective being the establishment of an art school in Hamilton. The individuals who convened that evening were those with interests in Hamilton's political, economic and civic matters – men whose activities and accomplishments placed them at the forefront of the city's

¹⁵³Thomas M. Bailey, ed., *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography*, vol.1 (Hamilton: W.L. Griffin Ltd., 1981), 82-83. Among other associations, Gibson played an instrumental role with the following organizations: The Children's Aid Society of Hamilton, Hamilton Law Association, the Freemasons, the Library Movement, Wentworth Historical Society, Toronto Conservatory of Music, and St. Andrew's Benevolent Society. He was also the first president of the Canadian Red Cross. His life in politics began in 1879 and in 1899 he was appointed Attorney General of Ontario, a position he held until 1904, when illness forced the redirection of his political activities. His years of political service were rewarded in 1908 when he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Ontario – a post he held until 1914.

¹⁵⁴Murray W. Aikman and Robert J. Williamson, *The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton, 1847-1997: 150 Years of Excellence* (Hamilton: The Board of Education for the City of Hamilton Archives, 1997), 6.

¹⁵⁵The HAA, as such, was short lived, soon becoming one and the same with the HAS, when that body was incorporated on September 16, 1886. During the first year the names HAA and HAS are used interchangeably.

affairs.¹⁵⁶ Of the thirty three names listed as having been in attendance, four have already been introduced: J.M. Gibson (M.P.P.), Henry Martin (artist and art teacher), William Bruce (father of artist William Blair Bruce), and Dr. Alexander Burns (Principal of the WFC). The majority of those listed were among the leaders in their respective areas – manufacturing, business, education and politics (see Appendix B).¹⁵⁷ While a broad cross-section of citizens attended, the meeting was heavily weighted with individuals from the manufacturing and business classes, many of whom were also politically active. This professional ‘snapshot’ supports the argument that Hamilton’s primary interest in establishing an art school was to train artisans in the new skills necessary to meet the demands of a growing industrial base. The interests of these men most likely would have supported a primarily technical, rather than fine art education. The fact that artist Henry Martin – the sole individual working as a professional artist in attendance that evening – did not, in the end, participate in the HAS appears to confirm this supposition.¹⁵⁸ Regardless of whether this was the reason for his lack of engagement or not, the fundamental goals of those who supported the initiative were articulated as follows: “[the] association has been formed for the promotion of the study of art, and for

¹⁵⁶The only listing of participants, and it is incomplete, was found in an article reflecting on the history of the HAS, published in the *Hamilton Herald* in 1906; “Hamilton Art School,” *Hamilton Herald*, 15 December 1906.

¹⁵⁷The fact that twenty four of the thirty three names appear in one of the volumes of the *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography* is a cue to their relative involvement in civic and political activities within the city.

¹⁵⁸As I discuss in Chapter One, Martin’s training and educational approach would have been at odds with the primarily ‘technical’ profile being projected by the Trustees for the HAS.

providing technical instruction and art culture to persons employed in the various trades, manufactures and occupations requiring artistic skill.”¹⁵⁹

Following the October 10 meeting, the HAA moved quickly to establish a program and organize the logistics and practicalities of the new school. Only nine days after the initial meeting, the *Hamilton Spectator* printed a ‘circular’ on behalf of the HAA that outlined the primary objectives for the HAS and the intended course of study.¹⁶⁰ Beginning with their statement of purpose, as quoted above, the circular outlined how the HAS would be managed and funded, as well as the detailed manner in which the curriculum would be structured. The management of the HAS was entrusted to a Board of fifteen men,¹⁶¹ thirteen of whom were to be elected annually from the membership, with remaining positions assigned to the Mayor and the Chairman of the Hamilton Board of Education as ex-officio members (see Appendix C). The Board of Trustees then elected a President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer from amongst their group. Funding was to be provided through the combination of an annual grant from the Ontario Department of Education, ‘modest’ students’ fees, HAA membership dues, and public subscription.¹⁶²

The HAS was to be located on the third floor of the impressive Canada Life Building, located in the centre of the city on the southeast corner of James and King

¹⁵⁹“The Art Association,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 October 1885, 4.

¹⁶⁰“The Art Association,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 October 1885, 4.

¹⁶¹No woman sat on the Board of the HAS during the nineteenth century.

¹⁶²“An Art School,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 16 September 1885, 2.

streets (figure 5).¹⁶³ The fact that the proposed course of study was developed in a relatively short period of time, points to the Board's dependence on an existing model – the South Kensington scheme. The proposed curriculum included the Primary Course: freehand drawing from flat examples; practical geometry; linear perspective; model drawing; memory or blackboard drawing. The Advanced Course consisted of shading from flat examples; practical geometry; outline drawing from the round; shading from the round; drawings from flowers and objects of natural history; advanced perspective; descriptive geometry; drawing from dictation; machine drawing; building construction; industrial design. The third area of study fell under the heading of “Special Subjects” and included: drawing from life; painting in oil colors; painting in water colours; modeling in clay and wax; wood carving; wood engraving; china painting; repoussé work.¹⁶⁴

Indeed, following the description of the proposed courses, the Trustees noted their determination to hire, as their principal teacher,¹⁶⁵ an individual “holding a certificate of the highest grade in the [South] Kensington School of Art or other like institution of merit.”¹⁶⁶ This decision contradicted an earlier articulation by the Trustees to hire locally.¹⁶⁷ Their reconsideration spoke directly to the public profile the Trustees were

¹⁶³In 1890 the HAS moved to larger quarters on the second floor of the Hamilton Public Library and remained there until 1909.

¹⁶⁴“The Art Association,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 October 1885, 4.

¹⁶⁵The HAA used the name ‘principal’ interchangeably with ‘principal teacher or head teacher’. Regardless, the principal (teacher) was expected to teach classes while being responsible for the overall execution of the HAS’s program.

¹⁶⁶“The Art Association,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 October 1885, 4.

¹⁶⁷“An Art School,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 16 September 1885, 2.

aiming to project.

A few days since the Spectator contained some account of a preliminary meeting held at the city hall to organize an art association for this city... it was thought by some that the association contemplated was mainly for an exhibition of pictures and works of art. Such an organization, however instructive and desirable it might be, was not the design of the promoters of that meeting. Their aim was still higher, and if it succeeds *must be more serviceable to this community*. They seek to promote the study of art rather than its display; and especially the study of what is called industrial art, that is the art proven to be *specially serviceable to a community like ours* where the majority are engaged in various branches of trade and manufacture.¹⁶⁸ (emphasis added)

Thus from the beginning, the Trustees publicly deflected concern that the HAS would serve primarily the interests of the artist (and by extension the middle and upper classes) over the artisan; and since such a circumstance would have been at odds with their stated objectives, the potential of widespread public support would be eroded. Thus it must have become clear to the Board of Trustees that in order to legitimize their endeavor as a true service to the broader community and establish it within an international framework of technical education, it was essential to look beyond the city, the province, and ultimately beyond the Dominion for the inaugural principal teacher.¹⁶⁹

The Trustees next debated whether or not to begin the Primary Course in advance of hiring a full-time, South Kensington trained principal. They opted to begin classes,

¹⁶⁸“The Art Association of Hamilton,” editorial, *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 October 1885, 2.

¹⁶⁹In her history of the Ottawa School of Art, Major-Marothy notes that the Ottawa School’s Headmasters were all trained in the traditional ‘academic’ tradition rather than having received industrial or technical training. This is an interesting parallel to Hamilton’s situation and may serve to further confirm the HAS’s overt concern with privileging technical over fine art education in its public profile. Eva Major-Marothy, “Towards a History of the Ottawa School of Art, 1879-1949” (manuscript, Ottawa School of Art, 1984), 11-12.

arguing that some students would then be prepared for an Advanced Course when the new full-time principal was in place.¹⁷⁰ In the interim, the Trustees engaged the services of Ida Banting (active 1880s), a recent and distinguished graduate and gold medallist from the OSOA (Toronto), whose work had been exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.¹⁷¹ On February 12, 1886, evening and afternoon classes began with Banting single-handedly teaching all classes. The healthy response to initial advertisements made it clear that more classes were necessary to meet the demand, and the services of Hamiltonian W.S. Hicks, a certified teacher, designer and carver were enlisted. Banting, however, continued to teach the core afternoon and evening courses, while Hicks taught the overflow in evening and Saturday morning classes.

Banting and Hicks were succeeded by Samuel John Ireland (1854-1915), English-born and South Kensington trained.¹⁷² A skilled draughtsman, Ireland had been appointed a Lecturer in the School of Practical Art at King's College, London in 1883.¹⁷³ In June of 1885 he was elected to a lectureship in Geometrical Drawing in the Department of Engineering and Applied Sciences by the King's College Council, a post

¹⁷⁰“Hamilton Art Association: Will Active Operations Begin Now or in the Fall?” *Hamilton Spectator*, 25 January 1886, 4.

¹⁷¹Ida Banting was the first woman to participate in an official capacity within the HAA/HAS.

¹⁷²Bailey, *Dictionary*, vol.2, 79.

¹⁷³This department had been established in 1879 to provide evening classes in art and its application to various crafts and professions such as engraving, architecture, furniture decoration and the like.

he held concurrently with his evening classes in the School of Practical Art.¹⁷⁴ Ireland resigned both posts upon his appointment as Principal of the HAS, arriving in Hamilton in the fall of 1886.¹⁷⁵

c. Different Classes for Different Classes¹⁷⁶

While the Trustees were committed to projecting technical and industrial training as the primary profile of the HAS, they also aimed to make the HAS financially self-sustaining. As such, they recognized from the start a need to offer a wide range of courses in order to appeal to the largest number of Hamiltonians. Support from the wealthier classes was crucial to the ongoing financial stability of the HAS, and art classes suitable for daughters of the wealthy ensured this economic alliance. Variation in tuition fees and class scheduling further supports the fact that both the fee structure and the timetable acknowledged diversity of class, gender and economic status within the projected student body:

The Special Subjects will be taught in the afternoons, and it is intended that these classes shall be as nearly self-sustaining as possible, while the most liberal inducements will be held out to young men to pursue in the evening classes the courses of study of more practical utility in the various trades or occupations in which they may be engaged.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴This information is derived from a letter from Michael Page, Assistant Archivist, King’s College London to Grace Cowling, granddaughter of S.J. Ireland, 21 September, 1987; in the possession of Ms. Cowling.

¹⁷⁵Page to Cowling, 21 September 1987.

¹⁷⁶I acknowledge that this heading was originally used by Soucy and Pearse as the title of their second chapter.

¹⁷⁷“The Art Association,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 October 1885, 4.

The ‘Special Subjects’ represented the HAS’s fine art training, and since these classes were scheduled during the day, there was an open acknowledgment that this clientele was likely to be females from well-to-do homes.¹⁷⁸

From the outset a system of binary symbiotic relationships – namely the coupling of fine and technical art education – characterized the establishment of the HAS and determined its reliance on both the working and business classes to ensure success. Ireland’s address to the membership at the first annual meeting of the HAA in October 1886 acknowledged the strategy: “The school trains the wealthy to appreciate art and the artisans to produce art for the wealthy.”¹⁷⁹ The nature of this relationship is critical to an understanding of the HAS’s early years, and a consideration of the degree to which the Trustees and their supporters were successful in realizing their initial goals helps elucidate this period of the HAS’s history.

While there was tacit recognition on the Board’s part of the financial necessity to use fine art classes to subsidize the industrial and mechanical courses, the public articulation of this strategy emphasized the attractiveness of evening technical courses for artisans who worked during the day. In this way, the HAS was positioned as providing essential technical training critical for the community, and the manufacturing classes in particular. In reality, however, after the initial influx of students in the HAS’s first term, attendance in the fine art courses remained healthy while numbers dropped in the

¹⁷⁸This arrangement also recognized the difficulties women faced traveling in the evening.

¹⁷⁹“On Art in Hamilton: The Association’s First Annual Meeting,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 13 October 1886, 4.

technical courses – a situation that to varying degrees continued to plague the HAS during the 1880s.

d. Strategies

While initial response to the opening of the HAS, as gauged by its healthy attendance, was positive and encouraging, this circumstance could well have been predicted as parents, students and young workers alike would undoubtedly have been curious about the long awaited and much talked about enterprise. It is, therefore, not surprising that widespread public support bolstered the HAS while still in an embryonic stage. What the Trustees and supporters did not anticipate was that the healthy enrollment figures would prove to be misleading with respect to artisans and mechanics. Attendance in the evening courses following the first spring session began to wane. From remarks in the HAS Annual Reports, it is clear that the situation became a recurring point of contention for the Board of Trustees. The 1887 Directors Report was printed in full in the *Hamilton Spectator*. And while the overall tone was encouraging, the reduction in sustained attendance at the HAS was considered a matter of personal character rather than institutional flaw:

...By no means surprising, for after all it is the few who possess the necessary determination, patience, and perseverance to succeed in any line of study; and these qualifications are just as essential in art studies as in the pursuit of other branches of knowledge.¹⁸⁰

The Trustees' comments were likely directed, in part, to the working and artisan classes

¹⁸⁰“Hamilton Art School: A Prosperous Year Completed for the Institution,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 6 September 1887, 4.

who seemed not to be taking advantage of a service that would benefit their social and economic standing, and thereby the city's overall prosperity. These comments were immediately followed by a long and pointed diatribe on the necessity of sustained study in order to better one's moral, social and economic position:

The evening classes have been fairly well attended, but in a manufacturing city like Hamilton where so many young men are engaged in learning trades of various kinds, a much larger number might naturally be expected to take advantage of the opportunity and means afforded by the school for the acquisition of an art and technical training which cannot but be of great value throughout life.¹⁸¹

It is important to note, however, that these remarks were also directed to managers and owners of companies who – the Trustees felt – should be financially supporting and/or encouraging their employees to attend the HAS. The didactic and paternalistic tone suggests that the HAS's promoters used the pages of the city's newspapers as a powerful, pointed, and seemingly democratic vehicle to encourage greater support for their endeavor from a range of socio-economic communities.

Attendance at the evening classes remained low throughout the following year, and increased concern among the Trustees. The degree to which the Trustees were threatened by decreasing attendance was evident at the HAS's annual meeting of September 14 1888, a report of which was published the following day in the *Hamilton Spectator*. Financial statements revealed that the HAS had not achieved self-sufficiency during the 1887-88 term, largely due to the low attendance in the evening classes:

... it is disappointing that a larger number do not seek instruction in drawing of a character likely to be useful in their future occupations as workmen and artisans.

¹⁸¹“Hamilton Art School: A Prosperous Year Completed for the Institution,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 6 September 1887, 4.

There is scarcely a branch of mechanical employment in which the advantage of a course of art study in our school would be experienced, and from a purely pecuniary point of view it is impossible to suggest a more profitable mode of spending two or three evenings a week during the winter months than that afforded in our class-rooms.¹⁸²

Throughout the article, the moralizing tone takes on an increasing air of desperation. Indeed, the Trustees appear not only to be soliciting, but imploring Hamiltonians to enroll.

Significantly, it was at this meeting that Adam Brown, a highly influential Hamiltonian and member of parliament made a pivotal fund-raising suggestion – to mount a ‘bazaar’ in aid of the financially fragile HAS. A successful merchant who played a prominent role in local affairs, Brown proposed that an ambitious art fair be organized and executed by the leading women of Hamilton. The major social and cultural event of the decade, the HAE was an event conceived to bring together all classes for the common goal of sustaining the HAS. As such, it is a highly appropriate event through which to consider issues of class and the extent to which one particular strategy was successful in bridging social and economic interests in an attempt to serve the needs of Hamilton’s various communities.

¹⁸²“Hamilton Art School: A Splendid Institution that is not Receiving Support,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 15 September 1888, 4.

Conclusion

Thus during its early history, the HAS struggled with the same challenges that faced most nineteenth-century Canadian art schools – the encyclopedic task of serving diverse artistic needs – professional, amateur and vocational. The issue of class, and how to effectively and meaningfully address disparate artistic needs and interests, became a persistent theme throughout much of the discourse surrounding nineteenth-century art education. The fact that the HAS Trustees chose the model of a fair for their first fundraising effort, is significant for it pointed to fundamental democratic intentions that reflected the inclusive vision of the HAS.

A complementary subtext within this dialogue is the role played by women in the early history surrounding nineteenth-century art education. While their presence has been briefly alluded to in this chapter, their most consequential participation was yet to unfold. The HAE of 1888 provided the fertile ground on which issues of class and gender were played out in an often subtle but highly charged nineteenth-century cultural event.

Chapter Three

Antidote to Class Conflict: The Hamilton Art Exposition, 1888

*“From the Crystal Palace show on, fairs were deliberately intended as antidotes to class conflict.”*¹⁸³

*“Fairs are ancient institutions. The impulse to suspend routine, exchange goods and information ... and enjoy extraordinary entertainments seems deeply rooted in human experience.”*¹⁸⁴

When Hamilton M.P.P. Adam Brown suggested a grand ‘bazaar’¹⁸⁵ to raise money in support of the HAS at its annual meeting of September 14 1888, no one could have predicted the scale to which the event would grow, the energy with which it would be undertaken, or the success with which it would be met. The event, which began on December 3 1888 and was initially scheduled to run for five days,¹⁸⁶ quickly became an undertaking of grand proportions. Preparations were reported on a daily basis in Hamilton’s two newspapers, and public anticipation mounted with the promise of important paintings and festive entertainments.

As a late nineteenth-century cultural event, the 1888 HAE provides a fertile site of investigation. The major cultural event of the year, and arguably of the decade, its

¹⁸³Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 22.

¹⁸⁴Walden, 10.

¹⁸⁵The event was variously referred to in the press as the ‘art exposition’, the ‘art fair/fayre’, the ‘world’s fayre’ and the ‘bazaar’. In fact, the ‘Hamilton Art Exposition’, as it was officially called, was a combination bazaar, World’s Fair and art exhibition. The degree to which it actually modeled itself after a traditional World’s Fair will be assessed later in this chapter.

¹⁸⁶The entire HAE ran a full week, while the art exhibition was extended another seven days.

organization, execution, and success were chronicled publicly in the daily newspapers and privately in diary form. As a discrete event – with a beginning, middle and end – the HAE presents a tangible and temporally specific example of a community strategy that can be surveyed in order to provide access into late nineteenth-century cultural and civic dynamics in Hamilton.

The previous chapter proposed that the HAS became a place where participation of a range of social and economic classes was integral to the success of the institution. This chapter will argue that the HAE, as the HAS's first major fund-raising effort, can be similarly positioned as an intended site of class integration. It is a consideration of how notions of class, gender and power were realized through a specific cultural event. My rationale for choosing the HAE as a contextual and strategic site of inquiry is due to the various elements particular to fair and exposition culture in the late-nineteenth century – a complex of social, cultural, economic and hegemonic forces¹⁸⁷ – that continue ideas developed in the previous chapters.

This chapter begins by examining the nature of the nineteenth-century fair/exhibition culture and how the use of this model for the HAE was a most suitable and timely undertaking. Secondly, an assessment of *who* was responsible for the preparation, organization and execution of the HAE will further establish a profile of the particular

¹⁸⁷Two recent studies provide penetrating discussions into the nature of Canadian nineteenth-century annual fairs and exhibitions. And while Hamilton's fair was not a yearly undertaking, many of the issues central to these studies may be applied to Hamilton's particular undertaking. They are: Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), and Elsbeth Heaman, "Commercial Leviathan: Central Canadian Exhibitions at Home and Abroad During the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1996).

interests that drove the event. This will be followed by a description and assessment of the HAE proper in an attempt to establish the degree to which it was successful and, importantly, the nature of that success. In the end, the question of whether the 1888 HAE succeeded in serving the interests of those it had originally intended to will be addressed.

A homegrown event designed for a local audience, the HAE nonetheless shared many fundamental qualities with the popular nineteenth-century phenomenon of the World's Fair. Hamilton's plan to incorporate amusements into an exhibition format was not new; rather it spoke directly to the *intent* of the World's Fair model as a populist vehicle for class interaction. The combination of art and amusements straddled several social interests and agendas, and demonstrated an interest in making culture and entertainment accessible to the widest public possible. An analysis of various elements of the HAE will establish that the event sought to provide a liminal space¹⁸⁸ in which the mingling of the classes was not only possible but encouraged. This is not to say that the HAE organizers in any way released the reigns of power; on the contrary, the fairly homogeneous demographic of the managers ensured that their interests guided the event. As Walden has noted: "The exhibition was designed to engineer consent, to legitimate the leadership of particular interests."¹⁸⁹ With virtually all of the power in the hands of a relatively small, like-minded, demographically and economically homogeneous group, Walden's statement can certainly be applied to the HAE. However, it is the nature and

¹⁸⁸The term is adopted from the writing of Victor Turner, and will be expanded upon later in the chapter.

¹⁸⁹Walden, 15.

form of those ‘particular interests’ that is of central concern in the analysis of this exposition. While the organizers recognized the exhibition’s power to serve their interests within a broader public forum – thereby imposing and legitimating *their* ‘world view’ – the fair was, at the same time, conceived as an open and accessible affair. “While these events created and reaffirmed cultural hierarchies, they also provided a space where accepted categories could be playfully transgressed.”¹⁹⁰

As outlined in Chapter Two, the late Victorian period witnessed the ascendancy of a middle class comprised of merchants, professionals and more prosperous artisans.¹⁹¹ Of course, most of Hamilton’s socio-economic élite had commercial and economic interests, and as such occupied the ranks of the city’s emerging professional or business classes. For them, the exhibition provided a forum in which to assert their economic and social position. Simultaneously, the middle and lower classes, through their participation, were also solidifying their distinct identity. One’s ability to participate in leisure activities was a direct and meaningful signal toward this end. As Walden aptly concludes about visitors to Toronto’s Industrial Fair:

Simply being there went some way towards that end because it indicated an ability and a willingness to indulge in leisure, a sphere that became central in the definition of class boundaries. Having the wherewithal and the time to play sports, take vacations, and patronize commercial amusements were luxuries much less available to working people, though in the case of the fair, with a relatively modest twenty-five cent admission, exclusivity was not the point. *Rather, mass accessibility universalized a middle-class standard, suggesting that rational*

¹⁹⁰Walden, 33.

¹⁹¹Walden goes on to identify the growing distance between manual and non-manual labour as one reason for the emergence of the new middle class. Walden, 18-20.

*recreation was not a wasteful extravagance but a normal expectation.*¹⁹²
(emphasis added)

It is through the organizers' attempts to reach the city's various socio-economic groups that I have chosen to consider and locate the HAE of 1888. Attempting as it did to be as accessible as was reasonable in the late-nineteenth century, while concurrently seeking to 'elevate' the tastes of the masses, the HAE appears to have succeeded in occupying a transgressive space that simultaneously served the hegemonic interests of the middle and upper classes while allowing the lower classes to play a role in the fabric of an event which – in large measure – had commonly been denied them.

¹⁹²Walden, 24.

Nineteenth-Century Exhibition Culture¹⁹³

The decision to mount a major art fair in aid of the financially strapped HAS was a timely, opportune and remarkably appropriate strategy given the HAS's democratic aspirations. In the nineteenth century, the exhibition or fair served a variety of functions, but most significantly and for the purposes of this thesis, it came to occupy a place located squarely between high culture and mass or popular culture. In organization and presentation, the fair simultaneously presented serious expressions of high culture in the form of art exhibitions, orchestral and operatic performances in conjunction with popular amusements so as to entice and attract the widest audience. As Heaman posits:

Exhibitions tempered instruction with amusement because élites realized that if they wished to communicate improving ideas to the population, they would have first to capture and hold its attention. But if exhibitions partook of 'the war between play and purpose,' then play won, for amusement came to outweigh instruction for most fair-goers.¹⁹⁴

However, this had not always been the case. The resounding success of London's Crystal Palace exhibition in 1851 ushered in the era of international exhibitions. In the six decades between 1855 and 1914 international exhibitions with participation from more than twenty nations were held throughout the Western world on average once every two years. These early fairs were largely characterized by straightforward presentations of industry and manufacture, where the fair served primarily "as Emporium, ...

¹⁹³While the particular nature of Hamilton's exhibition has yet to be discussed, the following discussion raises general points regarding the ideology surrounding exhibitions in the late-nineteenth century. Be it World's Fairs, or annual Agricultural or Industrial Fairs, consistent themes run through the literature and may be equally applied to Hamilton's exhibition.

¹⁹⁴Heaman, 463.

Warehouse, [and] market of the world's goods."¹⁹⁵ They quickly expanded to include exhibits of broader interest such as natural history specimens, agriculture, science, educational methods, and more significantly for this discussion, fine art and amusements.¹⁹⁶ This broadening of the original scope was crucial to the fair's ultimate form and success. The inclusion of fine art at any exhibition served to elevate the entire event and distinguish it from simply another trade fair, thereby satisfying the Victorian desire for moral and educational betterment. However, the incorporation of high art into the organizational structure of the fair – alongside popular amusements – provided yet another cue to the polarities inherent in the fair's aspirations. The coupling of these ventures clearly aimed at attracting the widest audience while concurrently attempting to elevate and educate the tastes of the masses: high and mass culture side by side but clearly defined. A consideration of one of the most successful of World's Fairs – the 1893 Columbian Exhibition in Chicago – bears this out.

An undertaking of epic proportions; the Chicago exhibition moved beyond the metaphorical encyclopedism of smaller fairs by actually building two physically separate and distinct cities. 'The Court of Honor' or 'White City' stood as a gleaming model of an idealized world, boasting impressive classical buildings and monuments erected to inspire, elevate and educate. Alongside this ethereal landscape, the 'Midway Plaisance', a six hundred foot by one mile long avenue, embodied a more populist spirit in its presentation of popular amusements from around the world. Oriental theatres, German

¹⁹⁵Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 115.

¹⁹⁶Walden, 12.

beer gardens, bazaars, and replicas of a Cairo Street, and Irish, Japanese, and Austrian villages provided a simulacra of international daily life and popular culture – distinctly different from entertainment offered in the Columbian’s ‘White City’. However, both ‘cities’ were idealized reconstructions of particular worlds and certainly ‘spectacles’ in their own right.

While antithetical in nature, these sites provided the necessary combination of diversions and enlightenments for their audiences. There was never any question that organizers had actively conceived and programmed the Fair in such a way as to accentuate the distinction between high and mass culture. The physical separation of the ‘White City’ with “the beautiful buildings and grounds and the illimitable exhibits” from the “amusing, distracting, ludicrous, and noisy attractions” of its sister metropolis was a calculated move to ensure that no jarring contrasts would adversely affect the ‘proper’ appreciation of high culture.¹⁹⁷ Contemporary commentary in *Frank Leslie’s Weekly* acknowledged a class distinction: “To the layman not interested in the arts and sciences, [the Midway] will remain the great attraction of the fair.”¹⁹⁸ The journalist’s choice of words is telling – demographically, his ‘layman’ or by extension the working classes, were the Midway’s targeted audience.

In a broader sense these antipodes were symptomatic of much greater social and cultural phenomena in the late-nineteenth century. As Levine and Walden both argue, the

¹⁹⁷As quoted in Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow / Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 210.

¹⁹⁸Levine, 210.

need to impose and experience 'order'¹⁹⁹ in the cultural arena was a widespread social dynamic:

For North Atlantic Societies in the latter part of the nineteenth century, where unprecedented rates of industrialization and urbanization seemed to be unravelling a centuries-old fabric of behaviour and belief, concern about the nature and possibilities of order lay at the heart of most social endeavour. People of all classes sought assurances that order existed or could be made to exist. Much of the Victorian enthusiasm for expositions derived from their power to suggest that life had stability and pattern.²⁰⁰

However, this need to impose order was not an end in itself, but a means to ensure the creation of a culture that would ennoble, elevate and purify. As Levine suggests:

...if order was a necessary prerequisite for culture it was also one of culture's salutary by-products. If without order there could be no pure culture, it was equally true that without culture there could be no meaningful order. In late nineteenth-century thought the two were so intricately interwoven, so crucial to one another, the circle they formed so complete, that they could not be easily distinguished. It is important to recognize the degree of tension in this relationship, which led the arbiters of culture on the one hand to insulate themselves from the masses in order *to promote and preserve pure culture, and on the other to reach out to the masses and sow the seeds of culture among them in order to ensure civilized order.*²⁰¹ (emphasis added)

This complex social condition is evident in the conception and realization of the nineteenth-century exhibition. While democratic in intent, its organization customarily fell to the hands of the social and political élite. And while it can be argued that these events affirmed cultural hierarchies and allowed their promoters to privilege their

¹⁹⁹The concept is central to many discussions around exhibitions and fairs in the nineteenth century. Chapter three of Levine's *Highbrow/Lowbrow* is entitled "Order, Hierarchy, and Culture" while Keith Walden frames his discussion of the Industrial Exhibition with an extensive introductory chapter entitled simply "Order".

²⁰⁰Walden, 33.

²⁰¹Levine, 206.

particular ideologies and interests, they simultaneously and very importantly created a space and time where accepted social codes could be transgressed. “This ability simultaneously to confirm and question the categories of existence gave fairs...much of their appeal.”²⁰²

This notion of transgression is critical to the present discussion, because it is precisely this potential that made Adam Brown’s suggestion such an appropriate one given the HAS’s democratic aims. In creating an environment that was at once highly ordered but distinct from everyday reality, the organizers provided a fabricated world in which standard behaviour and usual expectations could be suspended, if not disregarded. Walden, drawing on Victor Turner, speaks at length about the liminal²⁰³ quality of the annual Industrial Exhibition. And while he foregrounds the issue of ritual, I propose that the notion of liminality can equally be applied to a singular event such as the HAE, precisely because it was an extra-ordinary social construct. Turner defines liminality as the phenomenon that occurs when an individual crosses a threshold leaving behind ordinary reality, and enters one where everyday norms and conditions disappear. Here the potential for otherwise improbable interactions and experiences become possible. “Those undergoing it - call them ‘liminaries’ - are betwixt-and-between established states of politico-jural structure. They evade ordinary cognitive classification, too, for they are

²⁰²Walden, 33.

²⁰³From the word *limen* meaning threshold; see Victor Turner, “Variations on a Theme of Liminality,” in *Secular Ritual* eds. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Amsterdam: van Gorcum, 1977), 36-52.

neither-this-nor-that, here-nor-there, one-thing-not-the-other.”²⁰⁴

Peter Stallybrass and Allon White further argue the transgressive nature of such events in their description and positioning of fairgrounds. In their discussion they propose that fairs allowed for a merging of elements usually perceived as incompatible. Their conception of this transgressive space is one where high/low oppositions are able to intersect and transcend usual hierarchies.²⁰⁵

Fairs and exhibitions – as temporally limited events physically separated and enclosed – provided the circumstances necessary to ‘suspend’ reality. As such, they provided a rare opportunity for social mingling and interaction among a wide realm of the population:

The one enterprise which did manage to bring people of cities together, and mingle them with strangers and visitors, was the series of great expositions ... what many were striving for was some visible unity to the social, economic, and artistic lives of their divided communities.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴Turner, 37.

²⁰⁵Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, 1986), 1-44. This link between Turner and Stallybrass and White was established by Walden, 25-26.

²⁰⁶Harris, 1990, 25.

Promoters and Organizers

The planning and execution of the HAE, from beginning to end, was an arguably closed event. Triggered as it was by Adam Brown's suggestion at the HAS's annual meeting, those individuals who were to be involved were identified by Brown at that time. Both the *Hamilton Times* and the *Hamilton Spectator* published the list of names of those who would be responsible for the preparation, organization and execution of the event; who would be involved was therefore never open for discussion.²⁰⁷ An economic, ethnic and social analysis²⁰⁸ of those names results in a relatively analogous economic, racial, religious and gendered profile. First, the event was to be run entirely by the wives, daughters and sisters of the city's civic leaders.²⁰⁹ Secondly, the group was fiscally part of the emerging middle or business class, and representative of the industrial, commercial and political interests of the industrializing city. Thirdly, an overwhelming percentage of participants were Scottish Protestants, and as noted in Chapter One, this demographic was an important philanthropic group in nineteenth-century Hamilton. Thus it appears that a fairly uniform group of Hamiltonians secured for themselves uncontested control of the event. The defining role that this group would play in the genesis of the exhibition

²⁰⁷The fact that Brown provided his list literally 'on the spot' is one cue to its likely homogeneous composition.

²⁰⁸The following analysis was possible due to the existence of T.M. Bailey's *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography* in three volumes (Hamilton: W.L. Griffin Ltd., 1981). The fact that so many of the participating names are listed in these volumes suggests a certain socio-economic standing and level of involvement within the public life of the community.

²⁰⁹It should be noted that while all of the organizers were women, it is through their husbands' and fathers' particular economic and social station that they have been categorized.

merits a brief discussion of each of these above noted determinants.

a. Business Class

The definition of class is a complex and highly contested issue, however, a rudimentary definition is important in providing a profile of those individuals involved in the HAE.²¹⁰ Here, I have chosen to rely on Michael Katz's 1982 study and adopt his definition of class as it appears to provide the most useful and appropriate parameters within which to assess and position the exhibition's promoters. In this analysis, Katz reduces his class stratification to a two-tier system, whereby the population is divided into two well-defined but internally complex class models: the business class and the working class.²¹¹ While his organization and classification might appear overly reductionist, he acknowledges the degree and complexity of variation within each of these broad classifications. It is not the purpose of this paper to argue the definition of class; but rather to situate where these individuals would have been positioned vis-a-vis the greater Hamilton community. Katz's definition is rooted in an analysis of property ownership and economic standing as it related to means of production in an

²¹⁰Texts largely devoted to the definition of class in the context of nineteenth-century Hamilton are: Michael B. Katz, "Social Structure in Hamilton, Ontario," in *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History*, eds. Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 209-244; Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); Bryan Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979); Michael B. Katz, J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).

²¹¹Katz, 1982, 15-63.

industrializing city. The bifurcation of his social structure rests squarely on the precepts of Capital and Labour:

The business class consists of those individuals who owned the means of production or those whose interests and aspirations identified them with the owners. The groups are professionals and rentiers; agents and merchants (vendors of commodities); proprietors of service establishments and semi-professionals (vendors of services); business employees (largely clerks, whose identification with the business class is clear from their social origins, career prospects, and from an abundant literature from the period); government employees; and masters and manufacturers. The working class consists of four groups: skilled workers (people with an artisan's title); transport workers; 'other' working class (a miscellaneous group assumed to be part of the working-class social universe - peddlers, waiters, hucksters, and so on); and laborers.²¹²

I apply Katz's definition because it is suitably broad to encompass the range of social and economic interests reflected in those participating in the organization of the HAE. While it would be naive to presume that each class was an ideologically cohesive group, Katz's findings ably show that the business class shared fundamental characteristics. As the leaders of Hamilton's economic and political life they tended to share common aspirations and interests – a like point of view about the development of the city, the role of local government, and the behaviour of labor. They were also social and educational leaders, either participating in, or guiding a range of voluntary, fraternal or philanthropic organizations.²¹³ This group might arguably be termed the city's élite; as civic leaders they undoubtedly enjoyed a great degree of control and wealth. However, as Katz's definition suggests, the class represented a range of interests, most notably those of the emerging middle class – a group struggling to establish an identity in the newly

²¹²Katz, 1982, 44.

²¹³Katz, 1975, 176-209.

industrializing nation.²¹⁴ Hamilton's business class therefore was not characterized by the wealth of landed gentry and gentlemen of leisure, but rather by a highly motivated and industrious rank of men with commercial, industrial, and educational interests.

Indeed, the 'Central Committee' of the HAE reflects this portrait.²¹⁵ (See Appendix D for brief profiles of each of the Committee members: Adam Brown, Benjamin Charlton and Peter Crerar). While each would be described as 'professional' – Adam Brown and Benjamin Charlton were clearly also civic leaders – each can be characterized as a member of the emerging 'self-made' generation of men characteristic of the period. In addition to their class distinction, the managers and organizers of the HAE shared a remarkably consistent ethnic and religious constituency as well.

b. Scottish Protestants

Assessment of HAE organizers provides a relatively uniform ethnic picture. Of the names which could be tracked through the *Dictionaries of Hamilton Biography* (approximately fifty percent), a majority were either Scottish immigrants or first generation Canadians of Scottish descent. As noted in Chapter One, the Scots appear to

²¹⁴John Seed and Janet Wolff discuss the difficulty in defining the categories of 'entrepreneur' and 'middle class' in nineteenth-century industrial cities. They, like Katz, acknowledge a similar range of occupations within this group. "The middle class in northern industrial towns was not a group of male 'entrepreneurs', but a complex and variegated social grouping, in which manufacturing, commercial and professional functions were socially articulated in complicated but largely unexplored ways." Janet Wolff and John Seed, eds., *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 6,7.

²¹⁵The husbands of the HAE's President and co-Vice Presidents comprise the 'Central Committee'; their roles, other than honorary, are unclear. Here, however, I use them as a sample group of the organizers as a whole.

have played a prominent role in several of Hamilton's early educational endeavours. This demographic is particularly intriguing because of the ideological and social character associated with the Scots. Historically, Scotland's highly advanced and superior educational system produced generations of Scots interested in furthering all educational causes in the colonies.²¹⁶ Importantly, while the Scots placed a high premium on education, they were remarkably democratic in their educational philosophies; Protestant Reformers had insisted on the availability of schooling for all, resulting in a highly educated and mobile populace.²¹⁷ "Ability, rather than class origins or financial resources, was the key criterion for the Scottish Educational System."²¹⁸ Such conviction provides insight into potential motivations of the HAE organizers; indeed many of those involved participated in several social and educational activities aimed at moral and educational betterment. The general stoicism commonly ascribed to the Scot is an entirely fitting portrait of the HAE organizers:

...the Scottish Calvinist-Presbyterian outlook on life has formed one of the basic drives in the Scottish character. It has meant an emphasis upon personal responsibility which manifests itself in what has often been labeled 'the Protestant work ethic.' This has meant, however, not only a sense of divine calling to work, but a God-given responsibility to show initiative, foresight and risk-taking. Yet...it has not resulted merely in a desire to accumulate worldly goods. A concept of 'stewardship' has gone along with it. The individual is responsible to use his gifts, talents and the wealth which they may bring for the benefit of

²¹⁶J.M. Bumsted, *The Scots in Canada* (Manitoba: Department of History, no date), 5.

²¹⁷Bumsted, 5.

²¹⁸Bumsted, 5.

others.²¹⁹

This profile of the civic-minded Scot serves our purposes well, and provides a sense of the fundamental social, moral and ethical motivations on the part of HAE organizers. However, while parallel class and ethnicity were two determining features of those Hamiltonians involved in the HAE preparations, it was undoubtedly their gender that served as the defining characteristic. With the exception of the three men comprising the Central Committee, the organizational force was composed entirely of women.

c. Women

For the wives, sisters and daughters of Hamilton's civic and social leaders, there would have been little question as to whether or not they would participate (see Appendix E for listing of female participants). The Victorian woman, as she was positioned and perceived, played a highly structured and defined societal role that was predicated on her assumed moral and compassionate superiority.²²⁰ She was subject to the strictures of political, economic, and social systems that resulted in a highly specified and restrictive

²¹⁹W. Stanford Reid, ed., *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 121.

²²⁰The literature surrounding this topic is voluminous. For the purposes of this discussion I have consulted the following: Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Clarendon Press Oxford, 1980), and Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

code of conduct – one that in large part relegated her realm of activity to the domestic sphere.²²¹ In an era when the doctrine of *femme couverte*²²² ostensibly removed a woman's right to independent means and power, she became the property of husband, father or brother and her identity became synonymous with her male guardian's legal, political and social standing.

There evolved, however, an area of activity not only sanctioned but encouraged: charity work and voluntarism. While voluntarism was not an exclusively gendered activity – it was the social currency that bound many nineteenth-century communities, inspiring communal spirit and cooperation for a common good²²³ – it provided one of the few acceptable opportunities for women outside the domestic sphere. Following nineteenth-century thought, the coupling of women with selfless, civic-minded activity was an appropriate, indeed necessary social responsibility. As the 'fairer sex' came to embody all that was pure and uplifting, they also carried a broader responsibility toward civic refinement. As Heaman notes, "Individual women would elevate the men in their lives, and women as a social force would elevate society by exercising domestic virtues."²²⁴ The personal attributes and characteristics ascribed to the Victorian woman

²²¹Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 1-31.

²²²Legally, politically and economically 'covered', women were forced to relinquish control of any wealth and possessions to their husbands upon marriage. McCarthy, 1990, 12.

²²³McCarthy, 1982, 4.

²²⁴Heaman, 420-421.

that served to uniquely qualify her for the primary role in home and hearth were equally appropriate to charity and volunteer work: compassionate, self-denying, moral, practical, benevolent, nurturing, intuitive, and attentive.²²⁵ Translation of these qualities to the public realm through community service served to project these female civilizing influences onto the larger society.

Moreover, charity work did not carry the burden of nineteenth-century prejudice associated with women and remunerative work, and provided for a flexible schedule in which responsibilities to family and home would not be threatened. In the end, this arena of public service became one of the first lifelines to greater social and economic autonomy and control for women in the nineteenth century. As Kathleen McCarthy has argued, voluntarism and public service, as condoned, socially encouraged activity for women, became early vehicles through which to gain experience and self-confidence in the traditionally male dominated public domain.²²⁶

The fair or bazaar in particular became a popular and powerful forum for women to locate their voluntary efforts precisely because its organization and execution met with public approval while simultaneously allowing them a rare opportunity to exert control and exercise their intellectual and emotional powers beyond the confines of the home. As Prochaska succinctly concludes:

...the fancy fair was an expression of the coming of age of women in philanthropy. It suited nineteenth-century women ideally. It offered escape from lives of refined idleness or domestic drudgery; indeed, for middle-class women it legitimized trade and manual work from which they were customarily excluded. It also

²²⁵Prochaska, 3.

²²⁶McCarthy, 1990, 1-31.

provided an opportunity for public service compatible with household routine. And, not least, it was a reflection of the compassion that was thought to be at the heart of the female character. In turn, the great success of women at running bazaars gave them the practical experience and self-confidence, which, along with other charitable activities, spurred them on to take an ever widening interest in social administration.²²⁷

As discussed in Chapter One, a premium was placed on voluntarism and charity work in Hamilton. Without exception each of the individuals assessed through their participation with the HAE played an active, if not key, role in voluntary and charitable organizations throughout the city. And while Katz's various analyses show that voluntary service played an "extraordinarily important role"²²⁸ in the minds of Hamiltonians, specifically charitable work was largely the province of the city's matriarchs.²²⁹ This division of labor thus allowed many Hamilton women access to administrative and coordinative roles at relatively high managerial levels.²³⁰ Thus, by the late-nineteenth century in Hamilton, women enjoyed some latitude with regard to their public and private roles as evidenced through their organization of the HAE. While the entire affair was closely controlled and conformed to the nineteenth-century societal norm, the opportunity did afford the women access into the male-dominated public realm

²²⁷Prochaska, 71.

²²⁸Katz, 1975, 29.

²²⁹Katz, 1982, 27. "Fewer [men] participated in philanthropic than in fraternal, honorific and public activities. This however, did not indicate an indifference to philanthropic activity but a division of labor: charity in Hamilton remained mostly an activity for women."

²³⁰Of course, the majority of these women were of a certain socio-economic class, largely determined through their husband's particular standing within the community. It should be noted, however, that often a man's standing was considerably improved upon marriage to a woman of means.

– an opportunity to ‘lead’ at a highly and publicly visible level.

Of course, it must be noted that this participation remained subject to nineteenth-century codes of conduct. That is, while the importance of their roles was never in question, the degree to which they could actively take responsibility and credit for their efforts was conditioned by standards of acceptable behavior characteristic of the period. In publicly thanking his wife Mary Brown, at the opening festivities of the HAE, Adam Brown lavished her with worthy praise, but as custom dictated the acclaim was qualified:

Reference has been most kindly made to the efforts of the ladies of Hamilton in bringing this art exposition to pass. As a chief conspirator, as Col. Gibson jokingly called me, I venture in your presence to thank them one and all for the work they have done.....In speaking on my wife’s behalf, I am charged by her to say that the idea which first induced her to accept so responsible a position was her wish to stand by me in carrying out my suggestion, and she disclaims any merit for the success of the undertaking apart from her co-workers, more especially the vice-presidents, who have been her wise and willing helpers throughout.²³¹

Hamilton Times coverage was equally diligent in quoting this portion of Brown’s address. For women, public disavowal of their efforts was appropriate and indeed expected. But however silencing nineteenth-century social customs were, Hamiltonians appear to have nudged these stifling nineteenth-century conventions aside in order to celebrate the women who were undeniably responsible for mounting the most extraordinary cultural event the city had ever experienced.

²³¹“The Art Fair Opened. The Inaugural Speeches Yesterday Afternoon,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 4 December 1888, 4.

The Hamilton Art Exposition, 1888

The picture I sketch of the HAE is drawn almost entirely from reports printed in the city's two dailies – the *Hamilton Spectator* and the *Hamilton Times*.²³² Together these accounts provide a rich – if unvaried – impression of the event. While this material is extensive and highly descriptive, exclusive reliance on it for the gathering of information, opinions and data requires qualification. I acknowledge that the reports as printed are not disinterested, objective accounts of the HAE, rather they are highly impressionistic and reflective of particular ideologies tied closely to the city's dominant economic forces. As such, their voices further the beliefs and views of the hegemonic classes – establishing a kind of norm against which the city's citizens judged themselves. While it should be noted that the voices that rose from the pages of the dailies were, for all intents and purposes, homogeneous, their assessment can provide a view into how the city chose to position the HAE through what it privileged and what it denounced. The other defining quality, characteristic of much Canadian nineteenth-century press, was its role as city booster – a purpose that betrayed a “uniformly bourgeois outlook which stressed progress, nationality, democracy, order and social harmony.”²³³ This was certainly the case in Hamilton, as both newspapers²³⁴ ennobled the affair and its aims in

²³²This discussion is fortunate to be able to reference the *Hamilton Times*. The time period under discussion happens to fall within one of the few periods for which there are extant copies of the newspaper.

²³³Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late-Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: 1982); as quoted in Walden, 28-29.

²³⁴Interestingly, while the *Spectator* was Conservative in nature, and the *Times* a vehicle for more liberal voices, there was little difference in their respective coverage of the HAE.

an ongoing manner prior to and during the HAE. That the exhibition generated unparalleled civic pride is unquestioned. The fact that the ‘ambitious city’ achieved what was, in retrospect, a highly involved and demanding enterprise in a very short matter of months became a source of pride for the entire city; this was reflected in no uncertain terms in both dailies.

a: Preparation

It was indeed a very short planning period; under three months was available to the organizers from the date of Adam Brown’s September 14 proposition until the December 3 opening. From the beginning Mrs. Adam Brown²³⁵ (Mary Kough Brown) was identified as the President of the event.²³⁶ At the time of his suggestion, Brown referred to an event mounted in Halifax in support of its Art School – the Victoria School of Art and Design (VSAD).²³⁷ While this is the last reference to Halifax that appears in the newspapers, it is clear that its World’s Fair format served as the primary model for Hamilton’s exhibition. In her diary entry of October 27, Mary Brown notes, “Sent telegram to Halifax, asking for World’s Fair Papers. Mr. McKay arrived saying he had

²³⁵Most fortunately, Mary Brown’s journals, located in the Special Collections Department of the Hamilton Public library, are available to the public, thus providing a first-hand and personal, albeit brief, account of the preparations and execution of the HAE.

²³⁶Adam Brown does not put his wife’s name forward at the meeting, however, from the first public mention of the event, she is listed as President.

²³⁷“Hamilton Art School: A Splendid Institution that is not Receiving Support,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 15 September 1888, 4.

never enjoyed a trip so much.”²³⁸ Presumably this is Alexander McKay, Supervisor for the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax and a Director and Secretary of the VSAD.²³⁹ Thus a most concrete link between the two events is established. Papers were indeed forwarded from Halifax as Brown states a few days later, “Art Exposition meeting in Art Rooms at 11 a.m. Could not attend but sent letters and papers, many arrangements made.”²⁴⁰ The degree to which Hamilton modeled its event after the VSAD fair would have been conditioned by several factors, including physical size of the building, availability of wares and ‘props’, time available to build and staff booths, as well as the degree and nature of local talent.²⁴¹ However, the point here is not to determine the degree of similarity between the events; but rather to establish a direct link that serves to position Hamilton’s undertaking in a broader context of cultural activity characteristic of the period.²⁴²

The decision to fashion the event after a World’s Fair is important to the HAE’s positioning and appeal. As previously discussed, fairs purported to be democratic

²³⁸HPLSC, Brown-Hendrie Collection, J-8. Mary Kough Brown Journal, 27 October 1888, 73.

²³⁹No further mention of McKay is made either by Brown in her journal or in the newspapers.

²⁴⁰HPLSC, Brown-Hendrie Collection, J-8. Mary Kough Brown Journal, 1 November 1888, 81.

²⁴¹Certainly there were similarities; both events raised a Venetian Booth and Gypsy Camp; a selection of Halifax’s features is mentioned in Soucy and Pearse, *The First Hundred Years*, 8.

²⁴²A discussion of Halifax’s World Fair occurs in Soucy and Pearse, *The First Hundred Years*, 8-10.

undertakings that served the interests of the general public. Indeed, as interest in Hamilton's forthcoming event grew, so too did suggestions about the HAE's particular format. In an editorial published in the *Hamilton Times* as preparations were well underway, an anonymous writer appealed to the event's organizers: "....It is to be hoped that the whole of the citizens will strengthen their hands in every way, and I beg to suggest that the teachers and pupils in the school be drawn in. No particular class in the community will be alone benefitted, and the more general the interest the greater will be the success."²⁴³ Concern about the accessibility of the event was foregrounded from the beginning.

Given the date of Mary Brown's diary entry regarding McKay, it would appear that the majority of preparations were made in the month prior to the opening. Meeting regularly,²⁴⁴ the women considered everything from the overall design²⁴⁵ and organization of the Hall to the ribbons the workers would wear throughout the event. Every conceivable detail was attended to as a core team of twenty to thirty women engineered a crew that numbered in the hundreds.²⁴⁶

²⁴³"The Art School Fair," editorial, *Hamilton Evening Times*, 20 October 1888, 4.

²⁴⁴From Brown's journal entries, it would appear that the organizing committee met infrequently throughout October and more regularly in November, with increased frequency as the opening approached. Interestingly, both newspapers chronicled the women's preparatory meetings, outlining attendance and progress in various areas. The tone is consistently positive and supportive and clearly intended to rouse excitement.

²⁴⁵The actual plan of the interior was entrusted to C.W. Mulligan, a Hamilton architect. "The Art Exposition," *Hamilton Spectator*, 26 November 1888, 4.

²⁴⁶This is an estimate based on those who assumed organizational roles as opposed to staffing booths during the run of the exhibition.

b:Realization

In the end, the HAE – while privileging ‘Art’²⁴⁷ in its naming – was a combination art exhibition and miniature World’s Fair. The Drill Hall, located downtown at the corner of James and Robert streets²⁴⁸ and running a full city block, was secured for the festivities. A souvenir program (figure 6-7) was published that introduced each amusement together with the names of those responsible for its organization and staffing. The guide also reproduced a floor plan (figure 8) thus providing a sense of scale as well as space allocation and prioritization. The design of the Hall’s interior reflected the Victorian preoccupation with ‘order’ discussed earlier in the chapter. Fanning out from a central platform, the features and displays included the following: Art Loan Exhibition, The Bijou Theatre, Ye Maypole Inn (restaurant), Ice Cream Booth, The Gipsy Camp, New England Kitchen (restaurant), Temple Pomona, The Wigwam, Floral Temple, Competition for Dolls, Taberna Libraria, Moorish Café, The Russian Tea, Lilliputian Bazaar, Venetian Booth, Christmas Tree, Chateau D’Or, and the Yacht Vera.

The two largest features were the Art Loan Exhibition and the Bijou Theatre, each occupying one end of the Hall. Their physical bracketing of the space provided an interesting parallel to the contrasting ‘cities’ of a World’s Fair. The Bijou theatre, with its scheduled run of plays and regular performances was a most popular and *populist* feature of the HAE, with crowds being turned away from performances as the theatre filled to capacity each evening. By contrast, the Art Loan Exhibition was Hamilton’s

²⁴⁷An appropriate gesture given its purpose of aiding the HAS.

²⁴⁸Its location, virtually at the heart of the downtown core, imposed no impedance to Hamiltonians. The Hall was accessible to all by foot or streetcar.

simulated 'White City', overtly positioned as the HAE's exceptional feature – the elevating and refining element – a rare and distinct opportunity for the citizens of Hamilton. However, even within the confines of the Art Loan Exhibition, an effort was made to broaden the appeal through the inclusion of a range of art work, as four smaller 'galleries' were erected within this dedicated space. Of course, the most heralded section was the Art Loan gallery that featured important paintings from private Hamilton collections as well as a handful of important Toronto holdings. The works assembled included primarily European and old master paintings, watercolours, pastels and engravings as well as a selection of work by recognized senior Canadian artists.²⁴⁹ This centre-piece, consisting of one hundred and ninety two objects, was augmented by a gallery devoted to the work of students from the HAS. Here, over one hundred and fifty amateur works complemented their professional neighbours.²⁵⁰ Importantly, student work hung appears to have been equally representative of the fine and technical art classes:

...by judicious arrangement they have been able to show some of the useful and practical work the school is doing in the way of architectural drawing and design, machine drawing, civil engineering, design for ornament, elementary and advanced work.²⁵¹

A separate compartment was devoted to Paul Phillippoteaux's *Christ Entering Jerusalem* – a twenty by thirty foot canvas depicting over sixty figures – that had been loaned from

²⁴⁹Hamilton artists represented included: J.R. Seavey (1857-1940), Henry Martin (c1832-1904?), William Blair Bruce (1859-1906), Henry McEvoy (act.1864-1895), and S.J. Ireland (1854-1915). The only one with a direct connection to the HAS was Ireland.

²⁵⁰“The Art Exposition: It is Being Appreciated by the Public,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 5 December 1888, 4.

²⁵¹“The Art Exposition: Opening Day of the Great Pictorial Exhibition,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 3 December 1888, 3.

the American Diorama Company.²⁵² The final gallery was devoted to a collection of sculpture from the private collection of Mr. J.R. Moodie.²⁵³ Thus the Art Loan Exhibition – simultaneously privileging the professional artist’s canvas and the amateur’s effort – provided a range of artistic achievements, and in so doing broadened the exhibition’s overall appeal and was in keeping with the HAE’s – and importantly the HAS’s – democratic inclusive spirit.

With the exception of the Bijou Theatre and the Wigwam, the booths were staffed entirely by women.²⁵⁴ Their participation extended to role-playing as each worker dressed the part of her particular production. From traditional national dress at the Moorish, Venetian and Pomona booths to Puritan Maids at the New England Kitchen and old English garb at the Maypole Inn, the organizers created a spectacle of dress and costume intended to enhance the entire affair. Indeed, lengthy comment was made regarding the women and their attire in the pages of the dailies. In coverage of the event the day after the official opening, the *Hamilton Spectator* began its extensive coverage of the HAE, not with a description of the various entertainments, or opening speeches, but with the following:

The scene at the opening of the art exposition in the afternoon was indeed a brilliant one. The ladies in charge of the booths were all dressed in costume, and

²⁵²“The Art Exposition: Opening Day of the Great Pictorial Exhibition,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 3 December 1888, 3. This article is the only reference located that noted the source of the painting.

²⁵³A partial list is provided in the souvenir guide, naming only subject-type, with no artists’ names included.

²⁵⁴The Bijou Theatre required male actors for plays, while the Wigwam was similarly in need of men to role-play ‘Indians’.

if the interior of the exposition looked beautiful before, it looked infinitely more so when peopled by scores of beautiful creatures arrayed in rich and picturesque habillements. While all the costumes were beautiful, some were really superb.²⁵⁵

The article went on at some length to describe the various costumes worn by HAE workers before turning to the afternoon's scheduled proceedings. The circumstance of women being 'on display' helped create a more palatable profile of them within their roles as active organizers of the event. It was essentially an affirmation that they were women first and foremost – creatures to be seen and adored – and administrators and doers secondarily. Indeed, this was only one of the many nineteenth-century codes that determined the content of the exhibition.

The nature of the performances and booths supports the preceding discussion of women and fair organization; each amusement highlighted a commonly sanctioned female attribute. Over fifty percent of activity involved the preparation and service of food while the fabrication and sale of crafts or objects associated with women such as dolls and flowers also predominated. As noted, the two largest attractions were the Bijou Theatre and Art Loan Exhibition. The former was organized to perform one of six plays at scheduled times throughout the week. Singing and drama, also considered socially acceptable for the nineteenth-century woman, constituted a third broad category of activity at the HAE. The latter was organized by Sarah Calder (1846-1914), the woman who would become one of Hamilton's most ardent cultural supporters. An amateur artist, she fought tirelessly to establish an art gallery in Hamilton, and was the driving force

²⁵⁵“The Art Fair Opened,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 4 December 1888, 4.

behind the Hamilton Women's Art Association, becoming the first president in 1894.²⁵⁶ While Mrs. Calder, together with her team of eight women, assembled all of the work for the Art Loan – indeed made all of the arrangements and visits to collections – the responsibility of laying out the exhibition space was given over to 'Mr. Blandford'; S.J. Ireland was responsible for hanging the Art Student Exhibition.²⁵⁷ Thus, the nature of women's participation at the HAE – while substantive – was highly controlled and guided by socially accepted nineteenth-century standards of women's behaviour and their perceived capabilities.

The HAE opened to grand fanfare. The visit of Lord and Lady Stanley – Canada's Governor-General and his consort – to officially open the event inspired the city to great decorative and festive ends. A protracted and rather circuitous processional route was run through the city from the train station to Highfield Manor, the private residence at which the vice-regal party was to be housed. The exact route, published in the *Hamilton Spectator* prior to the royal arrival, was outlined in detail as plans were made to carriage the procession up the mountain brow in order to provide the guests with a picturesque view of the city, before returning downtown to their lodgings. The procession and the citizens' preparations in anticipation of the royal visit, indicate

²⁵⁶Unfortunately, her support of women's art did not result in their work being hung in the Art Loan Exhibition. In fact, the *only* female artist included was Sidney Strickland Tully (1860-1911) who loaned two of her works; HPLSC, Brown-Hendrie Collection, BW 6. Souvenir of the Art Exposition, *Hamilton Art Exposition: Catalogue Picture Gallery, 1888*.

²⁵⁷"The Art Exposition," *Hamilton Spectator*, 30 November 1888, 3. This is the only mention of Blandford, the reasoning for his participation in this regard remains unclear.

widespread anticipation and participation on the part of the Hamilton public.

Extensive newspaper coverage of the event devoted column upon column to descriptive analysis of how the city had chosen to festoon itself for the arrival of the Governor-General and the ensuing days of festivity associated with the HAE. Bunting, streamers, flags, banners and arches were all raised in welcome celebration. Importantly, those Hamiltonians participating represented a wide faction of the population; regardless of whether the royal procession was scheduled to pass in front of their home or storefront, many Hamiltonians participated by adorning their façades. This extended to working-class neighborhoods as the following excerpt attests:

There are attempts to brighten up the exterior of the dwellings in every part of the town – even in remote streets that Lord and Lady Stanley will never see ... The display also extends away down Stuart Street... and the residents in that vicinity deserve much credit for the bright and attractive appearance presented by a neighborhood which unfortunately can boast of nothing impressive in the way of architectural beauty.²⁵⁸

Such initial widespread public support and enthusiasm for Lord and Lady Stanley's visit, and by extension the HAE, provides a sense of the degree to which the wider Hamilton public felt a part of the landmark event. This sense of inclusion and active participation continued through to the HAE proper as attendance numbered in the thousands each day.

Following the formal scheduled portion of the opening ceremonies, Lord Stanley declared the HAE open. What ensued was a week-long extravaganza that was chronicled daily in the newspapers with entire pages often devoted to the event or associated activity. By all accounts, the HAE was a triumph. And while there was certainly a degree of subjective 'boosterism' in newspaper coverage of the event, the sheer number

²⁵⁸“For Stanley,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 3 December 1888, 4.

of individuals in attendance serve as a useful gauge of the event's success. Using attendance as a marker enables us to assess the relative proportion of the population that attended. While the precise social demographic is impossible to determine, clues as to who attended and who was targeted are revealed in newspaper accounts.

c:Response

Attendance exceeded even the most ardent organizers' expectations. Daily accounts reported that several thousand attended each day, often leaving visitors waiting outside until numbers inside decreased. On one occasion there was concern voiced that people would be turned away due to the exceedingly high number of visitors.²⁵⁹ Indeed the following day's coverage reported that:

... another immense crowd attended the art exposition yesterday afternoon and evening. About 8:30 the crush inside was so great that the doors were closed and the sale of tickets stopped for half an hour, during which time a small multitude assembled in front of the building, almost blocking the street.²⁶⁰

A precise cumulative attendance figure was never provided in the press although the Art Loan Exhibition committee monitored their numbers quite closely. In the end, they reported over 20,000 visitors to their department.²⁶¹ This figure, while specific to the Art Loan Exhibition, provides a conservative estimate of overall attendance, as it is likely that

²⁵⁹“Thousands of People Visited the Art Exposition Yesterday,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 6 December 1888, 4.

²⁶⁰“The Great Art Fair: Fourth Successful Day of the Exposition,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 7 December 1888, 4. The article reported that attendance on December 6 reached 3,500, with 2,000 tickets being sold in one hour during the evening.

²⁶¹“The Art Exposition,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 17 December 1888, 3.

the majority of those who attended the Art Loan also visited the HAE generally as the Art Loan charged a twenty five or ten cent admission, depending on the time of day. It is therefore logical to presume that attendance *exceeded* 20,000 people – a remarkable number given that Hamilton’s population was 43,082 in 1888.

Who were the individuals who flocked to the event? Certainly Hamilton’s leading citizens were a principal group among visitors, but so too were many out-of-towners, particularly from London and Toronto.²⁶² But the organizers also succeeded in reaching a wider audience achieved through a series of decisions surrounding access to the event. While a modest twenty-five cent admission was charged at the entrance, several ‘sur-charges’ of five, ten or even twenty-five cents were required for admittance into some of the larger attractions such as the Art Loan exhibition, the Moorish Café or the New England Kitchen. This practice did not go unnoticed or uncontested, and amendments were quickly made to the schedule of prices, enabling greater access to the various entertainments:

The management of the art fair wish to inform the public that the admission will henceforth be 10 cents. This enables the visitor to see nearly all the show except the art gallery. Ten cents extra is charged at the Bijou theatre and the Café Chantant, but aside from these there is more entertainment to be got there than you get elsewhere for a dollar.²⁶³

The organizers – regardless of initial complaints regarding cost – were committed to making the event as permeable as possible. From the beginning they established two

²⁶²“The Art Exposition: The Large Attendance Continued – Notes of Interest for All,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 10 December 1888, 3. The exhibition was reported in the *Toronto Globe* as well as *Saturday Night*.

²⁶³“The Art Fair Opened,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 4 December 1888, 4.

admission fees: twenty-five cents during the day and ten cents in the evening. This allowed workers and laborers unable to attend during the day a lower rate of admission in the evening. Moreover, newspaper accounts listed the names of several charitable groups that had been “furnished” with tickets, including “inmates” of the Girls’ Home and the House of Refuge.²⁶⁴ In reporting attendance figures in its summary of the HAE, the *Hamilton Times* provided totals “not including school children, inmates of charitable institutions and workers.”²⁶⁵ While this suggests a two-tier system of accounting – where the aforementioned groups are clearly distinguished from the greater population – it also suggests that provisions were made for their attendance. School children who attended were given a discounted price of admission.²⁶⁶ We also know that the residents of various charitable organizations were provided with tickets; it is therefore logical to presume that ‘workers’ were likewise offered some form of reduced fare for admission. The degree to which the inmates and workers²⁶⁷ participated is difficult to judge; however, it was the manner in which the organizers foregrounded accessibility and convenience that provides an indicator of their *intentions* and thereby how the entire affair was conceived and positioned.

²⁶⁴“The Art Exposition: The Large Attendance Continued – Notes of Interest for All,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 10 December 1888, 3.

²⁶⁵“The Art Exposition,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 17 December 1888, 3.

²⁶⁶“The Art Exposition: Large Crowds Yesterday – Great Success of the Undertaking,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 6 December 1888, 3.

²⁶⁷We do know that a worker, “a street car driver named Harper”, won the raffle draw for the Yacht Vera, a highly anticipated event of the HAE’s closing ceremonies. “The Exposition Closes: Grand Success of the Final – The Thirteenth Battalion – Day,” *Hamilton Evening Times*, 12 December 1888, 3.

Conclusion

That the HAE was an unmitigated success is undisputed. By all accounts Hamilton had never experienced such an ambitious or successful cultural undertaking. In the end, the Auditors reported \$7,477.01 in receipts. Following deductions for expenses incurred and fees paid to the volunteers, the HAS netted \$3,554.17.²⁶⁸ The large sum received through admission and fees to the various entertainments is testimony to the numbers who participated and the degree of that participation; it appears that those who chose to enter the HAE participated in many – if not most – of its productions. Unquestionably, the event attracted an enormous crowd, but most importantly it appears to have reached those individuals regularly denied access to – or unlikely to participate in – this kind of event.

I would argue a combination of factors resulted in such a uniquely successful event in support of the HAS. The adoption of the HAE's festive and extra-ordinary space – a site with liminal and transgressive possibilities – created precisely the kind of environment necessary to transcend conventional or expected standards of civic participation. It was a place where “accepted categories could be playfully transgressed.”²⁶⁹ The incorporation of a World's Fair format that included refinements and entertainments respectively of both high and mass culture further established a spirit of accessibility. The particular blend of a democratically conceived World's Fair

²⁶⁸“The Net Results: The Art School Gets \$3,554.17 from the Great Exposition,” *Hamilton Spectator*, date unknown; HPLSC, Brown-Hendrie Collection, BW6. Souvenir of the Art Exposition, unpaginated.

²⁶⁹Walden, 33.

organized by a predominantly Scottish Protestant demographic in support of an enterprise striving to meet ‘the common wants of men of all classes’ resulted in an ideologically single-minded undertaking. From the initial decision to fashion the event after a World’s Fair, with its popular appeal, to a solid commitment to accessibility that guided the execution of the event, the project proved a most successful strategy for social mingling and class interaction. And significantly, it was precisely within this inclusive spirit that the HAS situated its educational enterprise. Understanding the HAE as an inclusive and accessible event thus becomes an important means of identifying and comprehending the particular motives and intentions that marked the founding and early strategies of the HAS.

Conclusion

The HAS's ongoing struggle to fix a common ground – to pragmatically position itself somewhere between the masses and the élites – persisted throughout the nineteenth century, as the Trustees managed to successfully negotiate these concerns, building the institution into one of the largest art schools operating in Ontario by the turn of the century.

A slow but steady increase in the number of students attending the HAS began to occur following the HAE, until the institution, in 1898, boasted the largest student body in the province. Can a 'cause and effect' argument be made between the HAE and HAS's subsequent success in attracting students? Conclusions either way would be difficult to confirm. Rather, the link between the HAE and HAS serves to affirm an intentional spirit of inclusion and attempt on the part of the Trustees to create – in both enterprises – an environment that reflected democratic ideals. The various strategies employed by the Trustees to encourage a wide sector of the populace to engage in a particular cultural event – that was linked to the HAS – served to shed a similar ideological light on the educational institution. The fact that student attendance increased, and that the HAS found its financial and educational footing following the HAE, suggests that the event served to establish the HAS, in the eyes of Hamiltonians, as an open and accessible institution.

In 1909, the HAS was taken over by the city's Board of Education and amalgamated with the newly built Hamilton Technical School, becoming the Hamilton Technical and Art School. Thus, in the end, the need to acknowledge – formally in name – responsibility to both the artist and the artisan was addressed. When the HAS merged

with the new Technical School, a much needed name change publicly signaled the institution's commitment to both areas of its educational mandate. And while the name change may have seemed a mere formality, public articulation was of paramount importance, precisely because the perception that the HAS served the artist rather than the artisan was an ongoing concern for those in charge. Indeed, as this thesis has demonstrated, it was this very concern and preoccupation that led the Trustees to their very public and inclusive strategies.

It could be argued that the amalgamation – and name change – confirmed a recognition on the HAS's part of the practical need to publicly acknowledge both fine and applied art training in its naming. Thus both pragmatic and public considerations, critical elements in the HAS's early history, continued to be defining concerns throughout much of the School's history.

As is the case with any reconstruction project, this thesis provides a foundational account of events and individuals in nineteenth-century Hamilton. In the course of my research and writing I have attempted to gather, glean and construct a narrative that offers one of many possible perspectives on the material at hand. As noted in the literature review, Hamilton has been the focus of a great number of studies; however, attention to its cultural development has been comparatively rare, with only a handful of focused studies penetrating the surface of specific subjects. This thesis thereby becomes one of the first broadly-based examinations of cultural activity and art education in nineteenth-century Hamilton.

This reconstruction – achieved through an analysis of human agency and strategies, institutional policy and social fabrics – of a particular industrial and cultural

nineteenth-century world, provides a foundation for understanding the ambitions and motivations that lay behind the inception of the HAS. The particular challenge of 'restoring' nineteenth-century society in Hamilton has, of necessity, resulted in some approximations and as such my conclusions are best viewed as propositions that allow a broader understanding of the connective social, economic, political and cultural tissues that circumscribed the founding and early strategies of the HAS.

My particular methodological approach has privileged certain kinds of information and data over others. I examined the material with a view to substantiating and supporting my thesis, and the fact that I was able to do so in no way precludes other, equally valid, approaches. I therefore position this thesis as a highly detailed introduction and point of departure rather than a conclusive statement – a framework within which any number of topics should be identified for further study.

A focused study of the complex role played by women in nineteenth-century Hamilton, and particularly their participation with the HAE, is a most worthy subject area deserving of further study. Equally fertile is the question of voluntarism and the interrelationship among promoters and supporters of benevolent organizations in the nineteenth century. Likewise, a concentrated investigation of the defining role played by the Scots would undoubtedly yield a rich and relevant study that would expand our understanding of agency in nineteenth-century Hamilton. A comparative assessment of the HAS in relation to other nineteenth-century provincial art schools would add considerably to this under-researched area of Canadian art history. And an investigation of the art/craft dichotomy anchored in the particular circumstance of the HAS would allow for a contextualized assessment of that debate rooted in the specificity of one

institution. Because Hamilton has been so remarkably responsible and successful in chronicling and preserving evidence of its history, the raw materials simply await examination and (re)assessment.

In the end, what became most evident was the richness of this area of research and thereby the degree to which this discussion served to identify and introduce so many subject areas worthy of further investigation. What I believe has been achieved, is the successful compilation and integration of a wide range of primary and secondary research into one study that lays a foundational terrain. It is precisely the breadth of this fertile ground that I have marked for further concentrated study.

Beyond the relevance of this thesis as a document anchored in events and individuals of a nineteenth-century past, I believe it serves to inform the present. In this way it can be viewed as a kind of living history. One of the most intriguing and profound services that archival research and analysis can provide is a historically determined precedent against which the present can be measured and assessed. Perceived in this manner, historical research becomes a kind of organic and highly relevant means of providing access to current thought and circumstance.

The process of researching this thesis has provided me with inroads into foundational social and civic dynamics that I believe linger even today. It could be argued that Hamilton is a place populated by a remarkably unpretentious and practical people. For visual culture to prosper in this city, the citizens require of it an applicability beyond pure culture – a relevance beyond the insular walls of high culture. A highly practical and pragmatic approach continue to distinguish this society, in much the same manner as one hundred years ago. Surmising where and how this circumstance evolved

and how it translates to the present is a crucial agent for our understanding of how and why cultures behave as they do. Long-held beliefs, assumptions, and doctrines die hard; and as such the past not only informs the present, it serves – in large measure – to define it.



Figure 1: Hamilton, 1875. Corner of King and James Streets, looking north
Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library

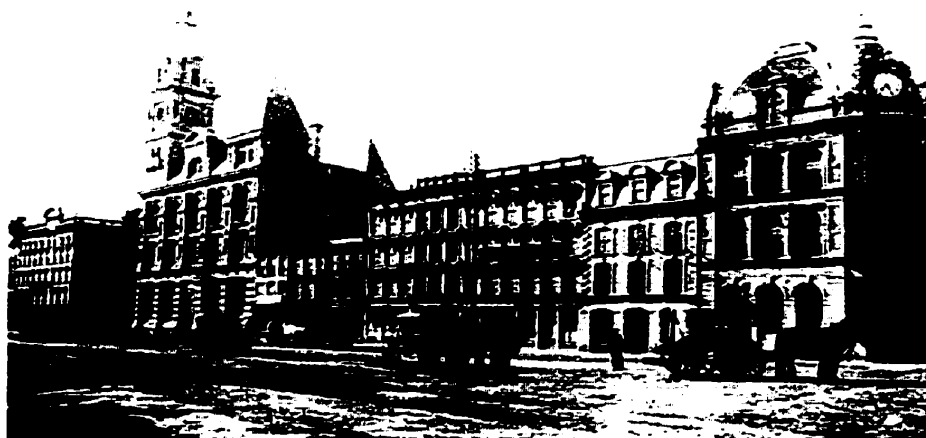


Figure 2: Hamilton, 1886. King Street between John and Hughson, looking east
Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library



Figure 3: Hamilton, 1893. King and James Streets, looking east
Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library

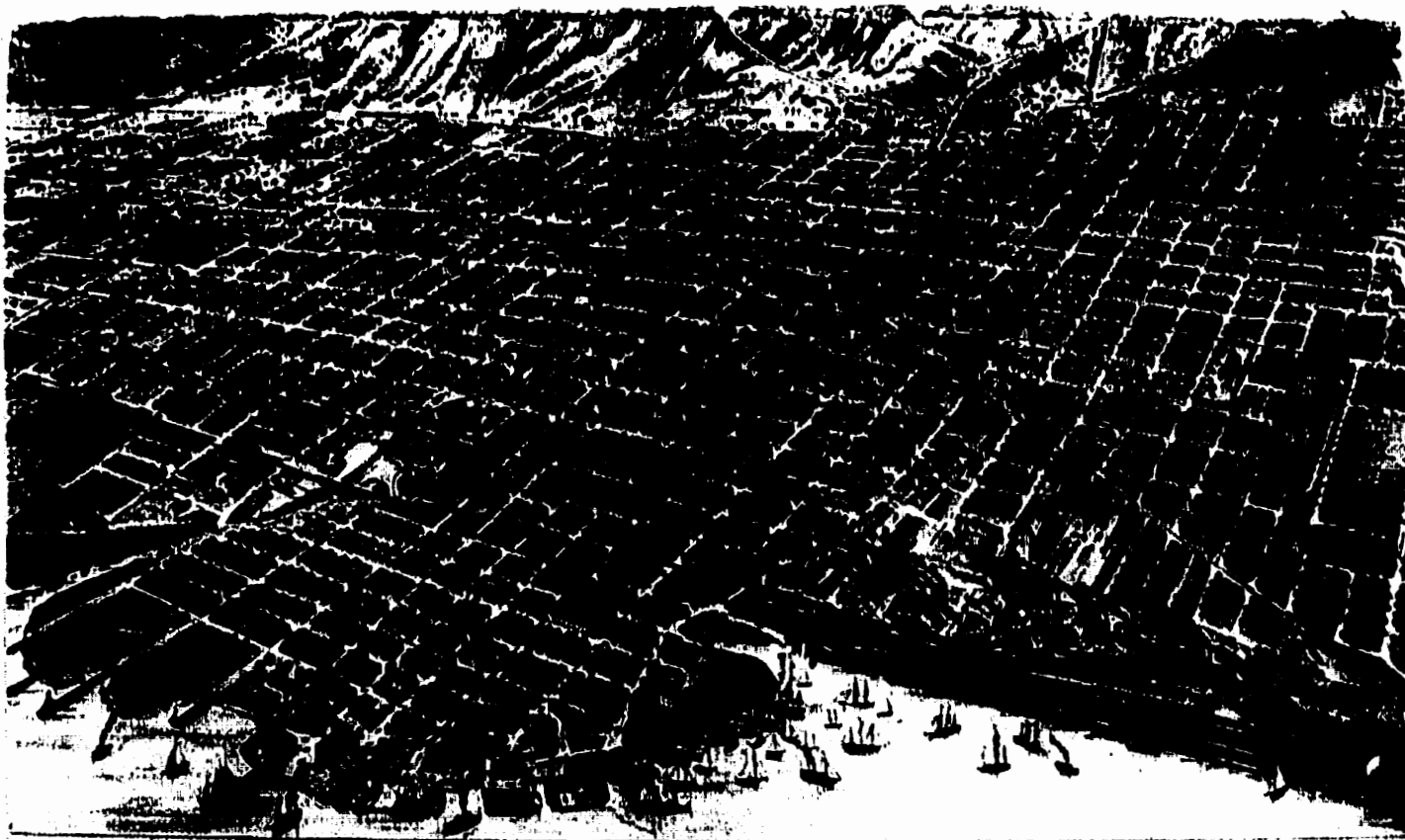


Figure 4: Bird's Eye View Map of Hamilton, showing industrial distribution. Toronto Lithographing Company, 1893. Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library



Figure 5: The Hamilton Art School was located on the third floor of the Canada Life Building (located on the southeast corner of King and James Streets) from 1886 - 1890.

Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library

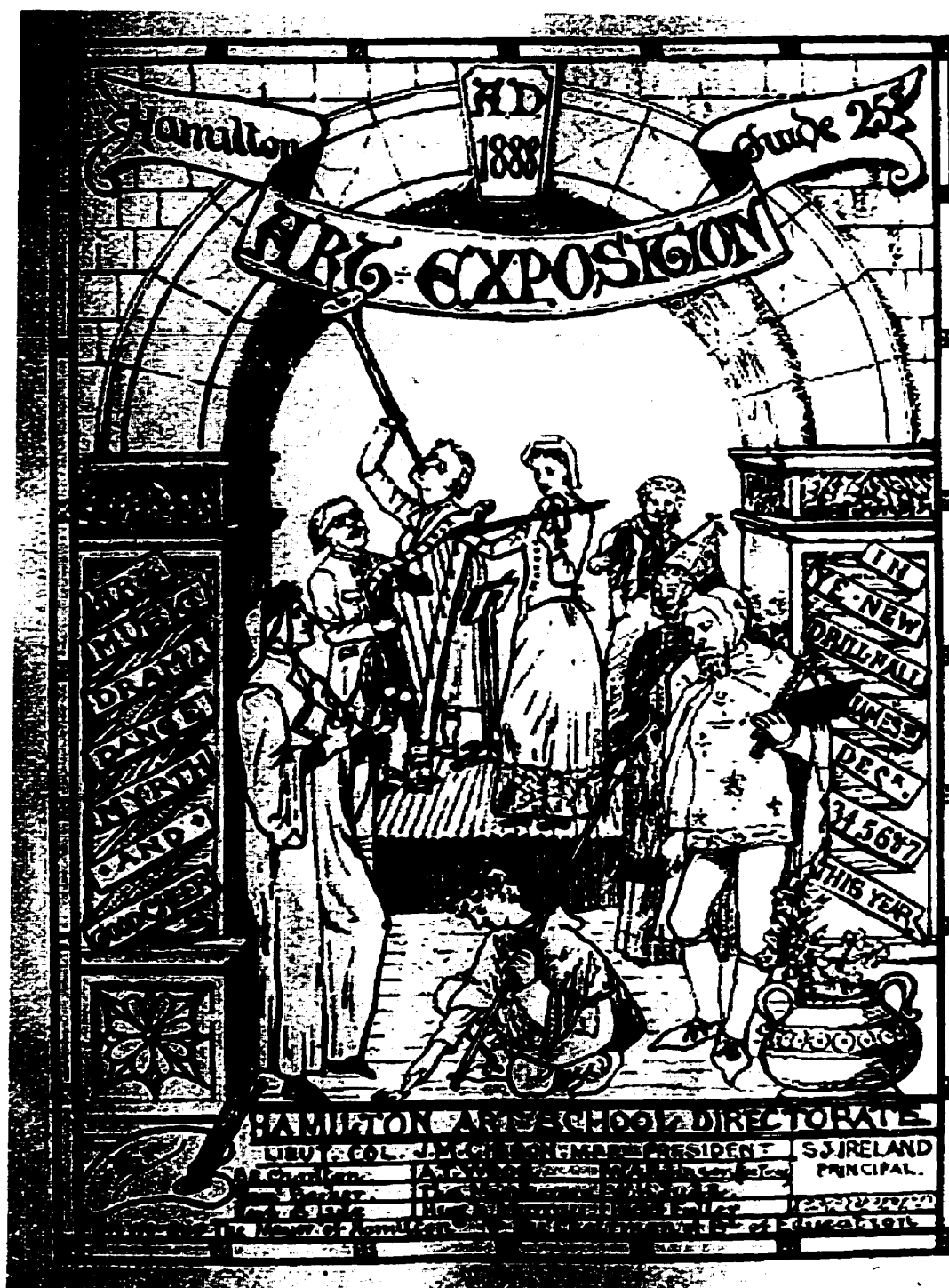


Figure 6: Cover Illustration, Guide to Hamilton Art Exposition, 1888
 Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library

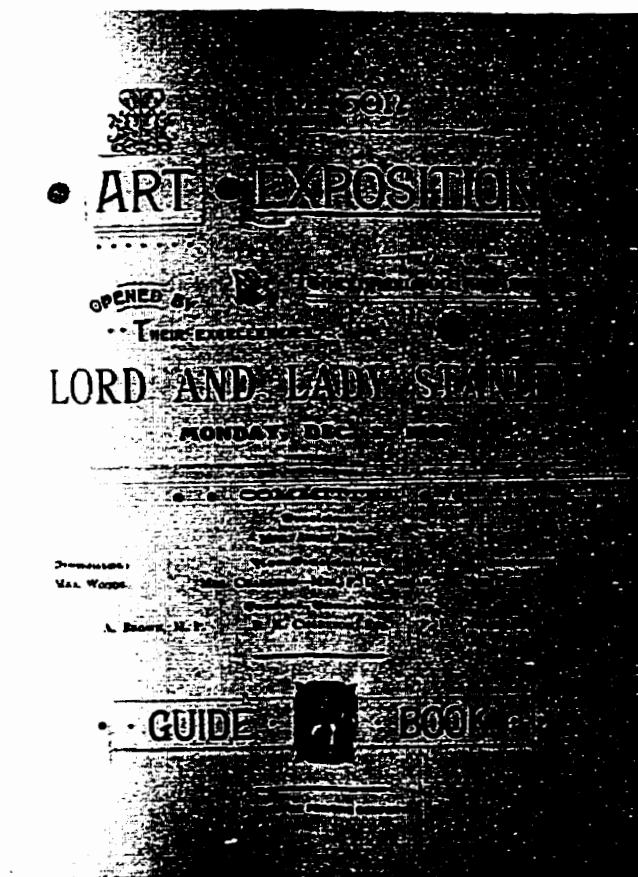


Figure 7: Title Page, Guide to Hamilton Art Exposition, 1888
 Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library

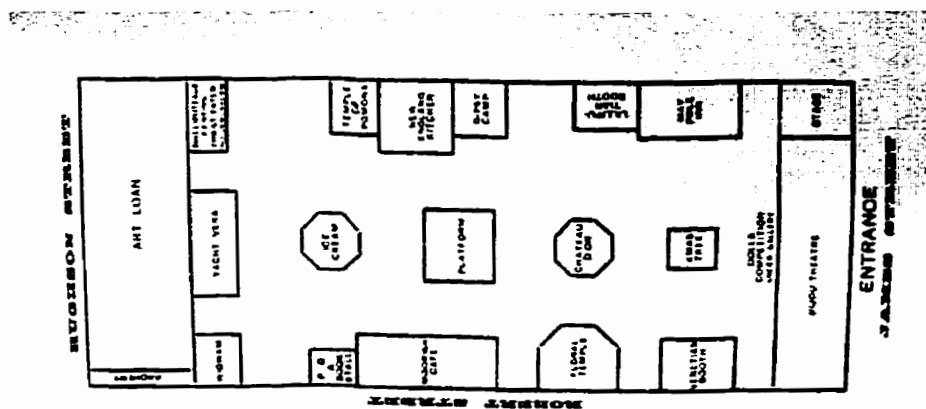


Figure 8: Floor Plan, Hamilton Art Exposition, 1888
 Reproduced courtesy Special Collections Department, Hamilton Public Library

APPENDIX A**Persons listed as 'artist' in all extant copies of Hamilton City Directories to 1888****Hamilton City Directory, 1864****Caddy, Capt. J.H., Main bet. Charles and McNab****Davidson, Alexander, James corner of Main****Pauling, Richard A., ss. Merrick, between Park and Bay****Terwillinger, George S., Main, between Bond and Bowery****Wright, David, Bond, between King and Main****Hamilton City Directory, 1867-68****Boyle, John, 30 Hughson Street****Caddy, Capt. J.H., Main bet. Charles and McNab****Davidson, Alexander, James corner of Main****McEvoy, Henry N., James North****Pauling, Richard A., Wentworth Chambers****Hamilton City Directory, 1868-69****Caddy, Capt. J.H., Main bet. Charles and McNab****Davidson, Alexander, James corner of Main****Pauling, Richard A. Wentworth Chambers****Hamilton City Directory, 1871-1872****Caddy, Capt. J.H., 22 Main St. West****Davidson, Alexander, 38 King St. East****Forster, W.C., 20 Napier Street****Loeffler, C., 66½ King St. East****Pauling, Richard A., 34 Cannon East****Hamilton City Directory, 1872-1873****Bell Smith, F.M., 7 Cannon East****Loeffler, C., 1 John North****Forster, W.C., 20 Napier**

APPENDIX A (continued)**Persons listed as 'artist' in all extant copies of Hamilton City Directories to 1888****Hamilton City Directory, 1874**

Bell Smith, F.M., (Eckerson & Co.) 87 Mary
Bruce, William, 14 ½ King Street East
Caddy, Captain J.H., 22 Main Street West
Davidson, Alexander, 33 John South
Forster, W.C., 66 Maiden Lane W

Hamilton City Directory, 1875

Caddy, Captain J.H., 22 Main Street West
Davidson, Alexander, 42 James north, 63 Queen North
Forster, W.C., 66 Maiden Lane West at Bay
Martin, Henry, 9 Rebecca Street
Smith, Henry, 93 Elgin Street at Robert Street

Hamilton City Directory, 1880-81

Caddy, Captain J.H., 22 Main Street West
Crossman, E.A., 12 Wellington Street
Davidson, Alexander, St. Nicholas Hotel
Forster, W.C., 66 Jackson Street West
Leomans, A.F., 36 Main Street
Martin, Henry, 10 Hannah Street West
Seavey, Julian Ruggles, 14 ½ King Street East
Wilkins, H.A., (Sculptor) 45 Park Street North at Merrick Street

Hamilton City Directory, 1887-88

Banks, Wm., 15 Inchbury St.
Ireland, Samuel J., 33 Bay Street North
Lakeland, James, 65 Colbourne
Martin, Henry, 7 Rebecca
McGowan, Francis, 22 MacNab South
Miller, Joseph, 6 MacNab South

APPENDIX B

List of individuals in attendance at the first meeting of the Hamilton Art Association, held on October 10, 1885 at Hamilton City Hall.

J.M. Gibson*	Lawyer and Politician
Benjamin E. Charlton*	Teacher, Manufacturer, Politician
S.H. Kent	
John Knox*	Merchant
George Sharp	Manufacturer
Alexander Moore	Banker, Real Estate, Soldier and Politician
A. Sutherland	
Lyman Moore	Glass Manufacturer; co-owner Times Printing and Publishing Company; President of Hamilton Steel Rail
John M. Burns	Manufacturer, Politician, Labour Leader
David McLellan	Businessman, Politician, Freemason
Alexander Harvey	
Alexander Stuart	Cabinet Maker, Office-holder
Reverend Dr. Samuel Lyle*	Clergyman
Henry Martin	Art Teacher
William A. Robinson*	Businessman, Mechanical Engineer
William Hancock	
Henry Buckingham Witton	Scholar, Carriage Worker, Politician
Archibald McKellar	Politician, Sheriff of Wentworth County
Richard Martin	Lawyer
Charles Powis	
Dr. Alexander Burns	Clergyman, Educator
Alderman Judd*	Manufacturer
William Bruce	Teacher, Astronomer
J.H. Hogan	
T. McPherson*	Businessman, Merchant
Ald. Morden	Politician
William Clucas	
Lucian Hills	Architect
Richard Fuller*	Contractor
H. Mallock	
Ald. (William?) Dickson	Educator (?)
Samuel Barker*	Lawyer, Politician, Businessman
Dr. Reynolds	

*became founding Directors of the Hamilton Art School, signing its Declaration of Incorporation.

APPENDIX C

Profile of the first Directors of the Hamilton Art School, 1885-6

*included in one of the three volumes of *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography*

Sir J.M. Gibson*	Lawyer, Politician b.1842 in Toronto, son of Scottish immigrant farmer Mason, Presbyterian, very active charitable participation
B.E. Charlton*	Teacher, Manufacturer, Politician b. 1835 in Brant county, son of an Englishman whose family trace roots to Norman conquest Mason and Presbyterian
Richard Fuller	Contractor
A.J. Hood	Merchant
William A. Robinson*	Manufacturer, Businessman, Mechanical Engineer b.1838 Birmingham, England; son of a hairdresser and performer and ornamental hair manufacturer. Active charitable and philanthropic participation Anglican, upon marriage became Methodist
T.H. MacPherson	Merchant
John Knox*	Merchant, Executive b.1824 Ayrshire, Scotland, immigrated early 1880s Presbyterian
Samuel Lyle*	Presbyterian Clergyman b.1841 Northern Ireland, son of well-to-do farmer Intellectual and Cultural Leader
Samuel Barker*	Lawyer, Politician b.1839 Kingston, son of a local custom's agent Anglican, considerable charitable activity
W.H. Judd	Manufacturer
John Mackelcan*	Physician and Surgeon b.1804, Isle of Gurnsey, son of military general Anglican

APPENDIX D**Hamilton Art Exposition 1888: Profile of Central Steering Committee**

Adam Brown Merchant, Politician, b.1826 Edinburgh, Scotland
Wholesale Grocery business; Supervisor, Hamilton's first Waterworks;
extensive railroad involvement ; Member of Parliament
Raised Presbyterian, became Anglican

community organizations: President of Hamilton Board of Trade; President of Dominion Board of Trade; President of Children's Aid Society; President of the Charities and Corrections Convention of 1901, President of Hamilton Coffee Tavern Company; V.P. of Great Northern Telegraph Company; V.P. of Hamilton branch of the Canadian Bible Society; Director of the Canada Life Assurance Company; Director of the HAS; Director of the Great Northern Telegraph Company; Governor of the Art and Technical School; Chief of the Caledonian Society; Charter Member and Chairman of the Hamilton Club; Major in the Militia

Mrs. Adam Brown (Mary Kough): President of Committee

Benjamin E. Charlton Teacher, Manufacturer, Politician. b. 1835 Brant County
Son of Englishman whose family trace roots to Norman
conquest; President of the Street Railway; founded Hamilton
Vinegar Works
Presbyterian
Mayor of the city in 1867, 1873,1874

community organizations: President of Hamilton Reform Association; President of the Hamilton Board of Trade; President of the St. George's Society; President of the Hamilton Scientific Association; Director of the Mechanics' Institute

Mrs. Charlton (Sarah Elizabeth Barber): Vice-president of Committee

Peter Duncan Crerar Lawyer, Businessman, b.1859 Scotland
Son of Scottish mechanic and farmer
Commercial and Corporate Law
Anglican, Liberal

community organizations: member of Hamilton's Garrick Dramatic Society; St. Andrews Benevolent Society; driving force behind Hamilton's Health Association which operated the Hamilton Sanatorium; President of the Hamilton Liberal Association

Mrs. Crerar (Marion Elizabeth Ottoway Stinson): Vice-President of Committee

APPENDIX E

Members of Ladies Committee of the Hamilton Art Exposition; as they appear in the *Address presented to Mrs. Adam Brown, President of the Art Exposition held in Hamilton 1888*. From the Directorate of the Art School, signed by Colonel Gibson & W.A. Robinson.

Mrs. J. Calder	Miss K. Kennedy	Miss Atkinson
Mrs. Knox	Miss Rowe	Miss M. Beddoe
Mrs. Evo	Mrs. A. Gates	Mrs. Kennedy
Mrs. Beasley	Miss G. Brown	Miss Zealand
Miss Crerar	Miss Mackenzie	Miss K. Kennedy
Miss McInnes	Miss Hobson	Miss Kilvert
Mrs. V.E. Fuller	Miss Lesley	Miss. Pearce
Miss O'Reilly	Miss Chittlendon	Mrs. F. Mackelcan
Miss K. Robertson	Miss Hood	Miss Crerar
Miss Johnson	Miss McKinnon	Miss Gartshore
Mrs. Fenwick	Miss Keagan	Mrs. Sewell
Mrs. Farquar	Miss L. Cummings	Lilly Brown
Mrs. W. Brown	Miss J. Pilkey	Mrs. Prentice
Mrs. Charlton	Mrs J. Billings	Miss Dornville
Mrs. McKinnon	Miss M. Mills	Miss Mackelcan
Miss Bristol	Mrs. Bowman	Miss K. Gunn
Mrs. R.A. Hutchinson	Mrs. McGregor	Mrs. Finling
Mrs. H.A. Maclaren	Mrs. Cummings	Mrs. Woolverton
Miss Sinclair	Mrs. A. Briggs	Miss J. Ridley
Miss L. Roach	Mrs. Leggat	Miss M. Bruce
Mrs. Baker	Miss Galbreath	Miss Harvey
Miss McGiverin	Miss Cummings	Miss Moore
Mrs. T.H. Pratt	Mrs. S.C. Mewburn	Mrs. T.H. Stinson
Miss J. Sommerville	Mrs. M. Baker	Miss Dewar
Mrs. J. Stewart	Mrs. Mills	Miss A. Hendrie
Miss Beemer	Mrs. L. Mewburn	Miss M. Simpson
Mrs. P.D. Crerar	Mrs. Lucas	Ethel Briggs
Mrs. R.J. Steele	Miss Katie Mills	Mrs. Husband
Miss Gaviller	Miss Bristol	Miss Campbell
Miss Parker	Miss Ambrose	Miss A. Gunn
Mrs. J.J. Scott	Miss Gillespie	Mrs. Newcomb
Miss M. Brown	Miss Fairgrieve	Miss M. Lash
Miss K. Chapman	Miss Littlehales	Miss Gillespie
Miss Lash	Miss Rastrick	Miss K. Ridley
Mrs. McArthur	Miss Parker	Miss A. Dunlop
Mrs. Chittendon	Miss E. Heming	Miss Mason
Mrs. McKenzie	Mrs. J. Hendrie	Mrs A. Morgan
Mrs. Hills	Miss Turner	Mrs Hamilton
Mrs. Egan	Miss A. Billings	Miss Dunlop
Miss Slater	Miss M. Bowman	Miss Laidlaw
Mrs. D. Gunn	Mrs. Mewburn	Misses Watson
Mrs. Counsell	Miss A. Burn	Mrs. Skinner
Miss Bull	Miss E. Robinson	Miss Roach
Miss Caldwell	Miss Parker	Misses Fleming
Mrs. Mills	Mrs. Leggat	Mrs. Garret
Mrs. Hanning	Miss Daisy Brown	Miss Harvey
Mrs. C. Livingston	Miss Fuller	Miss MacKenzie
Miss T. Robinson	Mrs. Stiff	Miss Hamilton
Mrs. Ireland	Carrie Crerar	Miss M. Hamilton
Miss Gillespie	Mrs. Macadams	Miss H. Woolverton
Mrs. H.A. Mackelcan	Mrs. Gillies	Miss Mitchell
Miss Baker	Mrs. Beddoe	Mrs. C. Moore

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