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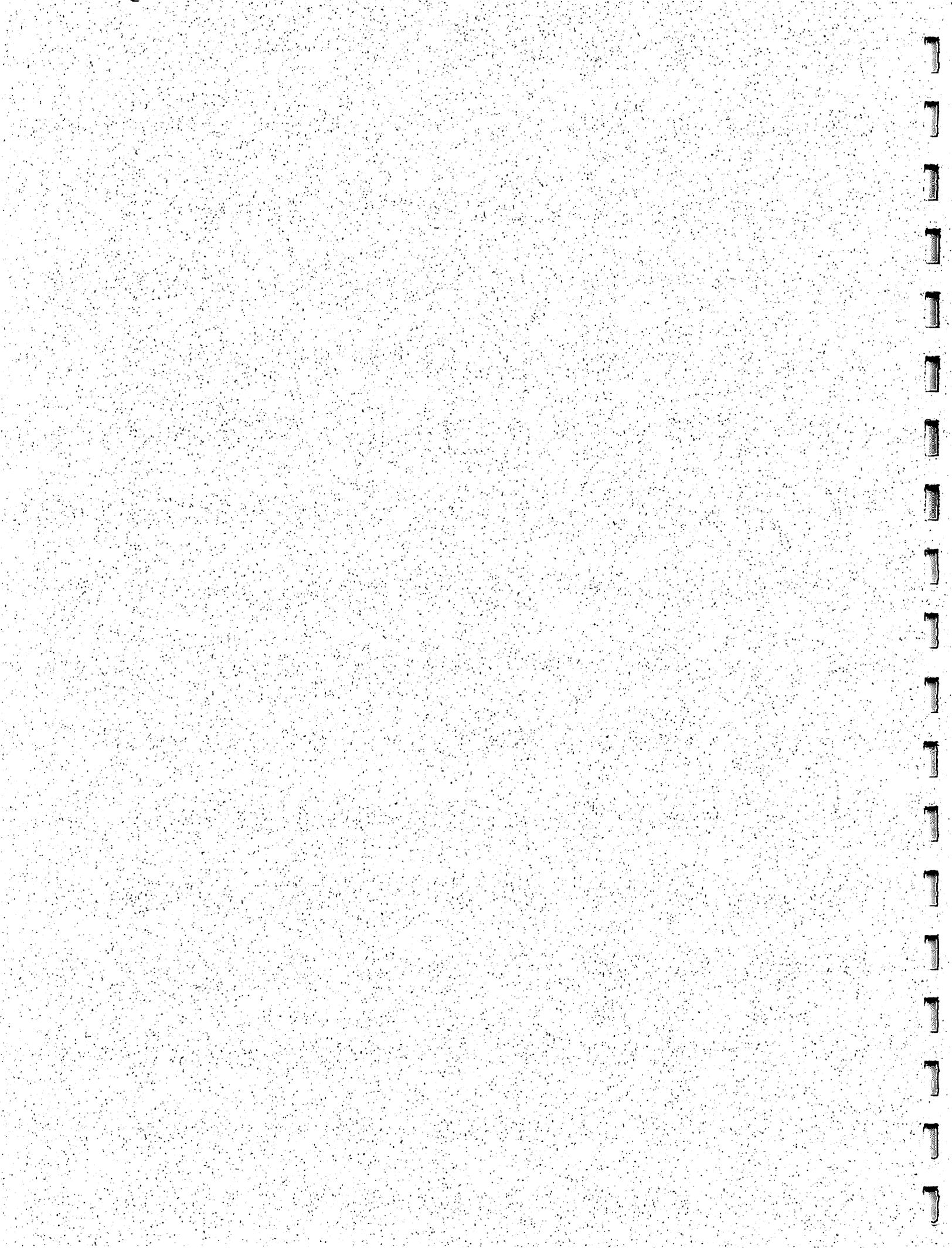
C U R A T O R I A L R E P O R T N U M B E R 8 5

Music in Nova Scotia- The Written Tradition: 1752-1893

by Paul Martell

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Music in Nova Scotia- The Written Tradition: 1752-1893

Researched and Written by Paul Martell
Edited by Jennifer Lambert

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Museum Services Division
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C U R A T O R I A L R E P O R T S

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INTRODUCTION

Writing about music is like dancing about the Novel

This report gathers information concerning the role of 'written' music in early Nova Scotian society, up to approximately 1893. In assembling this information, I have attempted to be mindful of several considerations, including the need to create a pool of primary documents and secondary sources concerning music in Nova Scotia, both to support assertions made in this report and to facilitate further research; the need to present as vivid a picture of the music of the time and place as possible, while at the same time remaining comprehensible to a wide range of interested readers; and the need to address topics that are of special interest to the Nova Scotia Museum as it participates in Nova Scotia's 'Years of Music' (1997-98). By way of introduction, I will briefly lay out some issues that have helped determine the approach adopted in this report and the materials chosen for inclusion.

This report was written with two interpretive themes in mind. First, I have taken as given that much of this music was 'popular' music, popular in the same sense that we view popular music today. Accordingly, it is fluid, beholdng to the taste and whims of its consumers. Terminology plays a big part in our categorization of these works and in our attempts to understand what they 'mean,' so before looking at what they are, it is helpful to examine briefly how common descriptions fail us in our efforts to understand this music.

The body of works considered in this report share one salient feature in that they are notated. The wording, 'written,' used in the report's title is perhaps a bit inelegant, but I believe it is a better description of the repertoire under consideration here than some other commonly used terms. It is a repertoire that is frequently thought of as 'art' or 'classical' music. Unfortunately, neither of these terms are especially appropriate or accurate, and neither term enjoyed much currency in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We, on the other hand, bring into play a number of received notions of what 'art' or 'classical' music is, and for the most part, these notions fall well short of an

attempt to understand this music in terms appropriate to its time. To speak of an "art" music in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia implies a degree of self-conscious individualism and seriousness of purpose on the part of composers and musicians that is simply not in evidence for much of that repertoire.

'Classical' is also a problematic description. It implies two things, both of which serve as impediments to an informed understanding of this music. First, it stands as the obverse of 'popular' music, a questionable dialectic pairing and one that seriously misrepresents music's social functions in the period. Second, the term suggests an historical awareness on the part of audiences that is difficult to isolate, a sense of belonging to a cultural tradition that has a past. Clearly, traditions of one sort or the other are central to colonial societies, but I would suggest that these traditions were conditioned by social, ethnic, and religious factors first and foremost. For settlers in the New World, the need to retain wedding customs, for example, was more pressing than the need to revere great music of the past. We tend to view classical music concerts as museums devoted to the conservation of musical artifacts. More often than not we come away from these events not one whit more knowledgeable about the society that produced the music.¹ For early Nova Scotians, musical performances (whether private or public) were not generally instances of cultural archaeology². So to describe a piece of music as 'written' sidesteps many of these assumptions.

The fact that a piece of music is notated says a great deal about who will play

¹This situation is changing, largely as a result of research conducted by musicians and musicologists on performance practice and period instruments. Debates over the nature and possibility of, and the necessity for, "authentic" performances have been hotly contested. Because much of this debate has occurred in relatively public venues — notably the *New York Times* — the issues raised have enjoyed a higher than usual degree of public recognition. The proof text for the debate in music is still Nicholas Kenyon, ed., *Authenticity and Early Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). See, especially, Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past" 137 - 210; and Howard Mayer Brown, "Pedantry or Liberation? A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement" 27 - 56.

²There are exceptions to this, of course, even in nineteenth-century Canada. But 'historical' recitals in which the choice of repertoire is deliberately retrospective were relatively rare, and late in coming. The particular fondness shown in the English speaking world for performances of Handel's *Messiah*, Haydn's *The Creation*, and Mendelssohn's *Elijah* is not, I think, historical at root.

and hear it. The musician must be able to read music. This is a skill that requires training and practice, both of which involve time. For amateur musicians, this must be 'free' time. For professional musicians, there must be sufficient demand for their time to enable them to charge for their services. Demand for this sort of service implies an audience with 'free' time of its own, an audience willing and able to support a cultural economy.

If a musical score is essentially a kind of performance template, it is also a material object. It can be transported from place to place without changing its content.³ With unwritten repertoires, transmission involves person to person contact - it is at once 'oral' and 'aural.'⁴ This is not necessarily the case with notated music.⁵ The score creates the impression of authority, and if we look at ways musicians responded to this impression, we can develop a picture of the fluid relationship between composers, musicians, and the score.

I will argue that certain repertoires played a part, either directly or indirectly, in the definition of Nova Scotian society. Music plays a very significant role in the remaking of a New World society that is based on the Old. The popularity of much of the music considered here lies less with the quality of the music than it does with title pages that proclaim, "Heard at the most fashionable balls," or "Performed to great applause at the Royal Court." For much of this music, the only way to develop and sustain an appreciation of its meaning is to focus on this element of imaginative re-

³How this content is understood and interpreted can be another matter.

⁴This is not to say that oral repertoires are slower to move from place to place, even in the New World.

⁵The 'orality' of written repertoires can be quite pronounced, particularly in cases where the notational system is not equal to the task of closely representing the intentions of the composer. In this regard, it is instructive to consider the role of the music teacher as a kind of mediator between the score and the student. As well, styles of interpretation develop around particular repertoires — the piano sonatas of Beethoven are a good example — that are heavily indebted to especially well-known performers. With the advent of recording technologies, this happens more now than it did in the past, but it was an important part of a kind of 'cult of the virtuoso' associated most obviously with performers like Liszt and Paganini.

creation.⁶

The second major theme in this report concerns music's role as a social binding agent. Again and again, music is associated with activities that promote social and civic solidarity. This is especially true of the military and militia bands that marched proudly in the centre of a parade ground defined by a whole series of political, civic, social, and cultural expectations. Music played a central role in the activities of other social groups as well, whether they were Baptists or Methodists, Masons or Knights Templar, conservative or radical, Scotch or English, being married or buried, attending finishing school or singing school, selling clocks or patent medicines, and so on.

A third theme underlying much of the discussion here also relates to this idea of identity, and concerns Nova Scotia's colonial status and its effects on musical practice. This is a big issue, and it has not been possible to do more than hint at specific contexts where colonial identity might play a significant role in the cultivation of music (or, for that matter, contexts where music might play a role in the cultivation of a colonial identity). Still, I have found it useful to keep the colonial paradigm in mind when looking at the music, if for no other reason than it goes a long way towards explaining differences between Yankee and Nova Scotian cultural relations with the Old World.

Because the social contexts of popular music are so important, and because social context determines the character of much of this music, this report is organized around types of music and musical activities, rather than according to Nova Scotia Museum Sites. I believe the difference between musical genres is often greater than the difference between museum sites, particularly those sites sharing common social backgrounds. In terms of musical language, much of this music is very similar; its differences lie within its social significance and use. Similarly, questions of influence, style, and popular taste are better asked first of works sharing the same function, before investigating differences between various museum sites. Having said this, I have

⁶This process is especially important in dance music. Arguably the most ephemeral repertoire considered in this report, it is also the most complicated in terms of its social implications.

tried to indicate site-specific practices whenever possible, whether they are suggested by primary documents, or can be inferred from common practices in similar contexts.

I have kept detailed discussion of the music to a minimum, so as a result there is relatively little musical terminology. Where it has been necessary to include musical terms, I have defined these terms in footnotes. Similarly, I have been wary of using critical jargon in describing social contexts for this music, even where a certain amount of abstraction is required to adequately define them. Some of the points raised will strike readers as obvious because many of them *are* obvious. My hope is that looking at the familiar in an unfamiliar way will lead to a better understanding of the music.

I have used the first person singular freely (and, I hope, unselfconsciously) throughout this report. Less often, I have resorted to the first person plural. 'We,' in this latter context, should be read as referring to a late twentieth-century public lacking specialized knowledge of music. I have tried to pitch the writing at a relatively informal level, and have cast my net widely in search of illustrative similes and metaphors. Again, my aim has been to make the prose as functional as possible without compromising content.

The circumstances under which this report was written preclude it being any more than an incomplete summary of musical practices in early Nova Scotia. It is not a survey (or at least it is not a complete survey), inasmuch as there are a number of topics not covered. The business of music has not been dealt with separately here, although from time to time I make reference to it in other contexts.⁷ Obviously, musical practices could not have existed were it not for the commercial availability of music, instruments, teachers, and professional musicians.

I have written little about public concerts and music in the theatre, in part because these activities were centred mostly in Halifax. Theatrical productions took place in Halifax very soon after its founding, and were key institutions in the city's

⁷The singing masters were to all intents and purposes entrepreneurs, and their activities led to some of the earliest efforts at music publishing in the region. Music publishers also played a key role in both defining and responding to public taste, particularly with respect to dance music.

cultural economy. Formal concerts, of the type familiar to us, evolved later. While I have not treated these events in any detail, I have assumed that they would have influenced the musical taste of at least some of the families in the museums' historic sites.⁸

Music in worship has also been slighted in this study, if not ignored entirely. The role of religious reform in the early promotion of the singing school movement is important, and the church is credited with fostering an environment in which music played a large part, within and without the actual institution. I do talk about some of these efforts as they relate to other topics, but a fuller investigation of music and the church will have to serve as the subject of another report.

Whatever has been omitted, there has still been much to include. Chapter I focuses on the role of military music and musicians in early Nova Scotian society, a role that was important especially in the early stages of the colony's settlement. Chapter II considers dance and dance music, a subject that raises a number of important issues concerning social class-consciousness, style and fashion, and the definition of popular culture(s). Chapter III is an outgrowth of themes outlined in Chapter II, treated in a specific discussion of music books owned by Elizabeth Francklin. More generally, Chapter III also looks at other forms of private and semi-private music making. Chapter IV looks at the origins of the singing-school movement in New England, and its subsequent history in Nova Scotia. Finally, Chapter V is a consideration of some interpretive issues specific to the Nova Scotia Museum, together with suggestions for future research. A number of longer sources mentioned in the body of the report are transcribed in a series of appendices, as are listings for some of the music collections and performances discussed in Chapter III.

⁸This is not to say that I have altogether ignored concerts, or that they took place only in Halifax. See especially, the concert put on for the benefit of Miss Jade Bolman as described in the diary of Aldophus Gaetz, and the wide range of professional and para-professional engagements of the military band leader, August Hecker, discussed below.

CHAPTER I

The Military and the Establishment of a Musical Infrastructure in Nova Scotia

This act was publise'd by Beat of Drum this Day

The act concerned taxation and shipping duties, the day was October 19, 1758, the place was Halifax, and the drummer was undoubtedly a member of the military garrison. The musical significance of this method of proclamation is clearly negligible. But what is interesting about this quotation is, first, that the military is set up as a source of authority, and second, that this authority is manifested by way of a musical instrument, in this case a drum. In this chapter, I will look at some of the ways military and para-military musical ensembles contributed to musical life in early Nova Scotian society.

A military presence in a given locale creates a particular form of financial, social, and cultural economy. This economy is based on the military's need for certain goods and services, and it's ability to supply services in return. Thus, the garrison in Halifax encouraged the development of a whole range of services, from tailors to taverns, bakers to brothel-keepers. Military musicians, too, had specific needs to be met. They required musical instruments and someone to repair and service these instruments, and they required music. Merchants' efforts to meet these demands go a long way towards explaining why in 1752, a scant three years after the founding of Halifax, John Smith was advertising a selection of guitars and violins, and why in 1770, merchants were importing German flutes, violins, violin strings, books of duets and Scotch tunes, and manuscript paper.¹

¹Helmut Kallman, *A History of Music in Canada 1534 - 1914*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) 54. Kallman also records that, "In Saint John, Colin Campbell advertised in 1801 the latest shipment of music from Edinburgh: violins, with or without cases, military and

In terms of the cultural economy of the times, these musicians were able to give generously in return. While formal service in strictly military contexts would have taken up much of their time, these musicians actively moonlighted as performers in a wide range of public and private venues. They often played as 'stringers' in ensembles made up of non-military amateurs, contexts in which they frequently constituted the musical backbone of the group. Ensembles consisting, in whole or in part, of military musicians played at a wide variety of events. They were in the pit at theatrical performances, they played for dances and other social events, and they played in church services. Formal military performances were also a popular form of public entertainment, as in the case of parade manoeuvres.

It is easy to see that, given the scarcity of performances in which the military was *not* involved, these musical events represented a supply that helped to create its own demand. While not, perhaps, the final or only arbiter of public musical taste, the military's influence was strong. It was strong not only because of the garrison's obvious capacity to enable these performances, but also because the musical preferences of the garrison's officers took a natural precedence. These officers were, as a rule, well educated musically, as well as otherwise. And to appreciate the cultural landscape at the time, it is important to note that their participation in social events of one sort or another was eagerly sought by members of upper-class society. It was in this arena, the rounds of society parties and dances, that questions of taste (musical and otherwise) were posed, and answered. Of course, it is one thing to talk about musical taste, quite another to actually do something about it.

Members of the military patronized a wide range of cultural events, and by far the most significant and influential of these patrons, in eighteenth-century Nova

common fifes, and an Aeolian harp, as well as the most fashionable music from Scotland, Italy and other countries." 55.

Scotia, was Prince Edward Augustus (latterly known as the Duke of Kent). In light of the fact that he was both military *and* royal, the Prince was an especially high profile, and well financed, patron. Edward (and his French mistress, Thérèse-Bernadine Mongenet, know as Madame de St. Laurent) arrived in Quebec in August 1791 to take up his posting with the 7th Fusiliers and their band. This band had already been the cause of friction between Edward and his father, King George. The King felt, not without reason, that Edward was spending far too much money on the "futile addition to the Band of Musick and Drummers of the Regiment."² Contemporary reports on exactly how much money he was spending vary, but Frederick Hall estimates it was in the neighbourhood of £1,000 a year, an astonishing one-third of his total salary.³

Whatever the cost, Edward was passionate about his band, and actively recruited members for their musical skills. Significantly, Edward's efforts in this regard favoured German musicians, in part because he had spent time in Hanover and was familiar with their abilities, but also because musical training in Germany was thought to be more rigorous.⁴ However, he was not above raiding other regiments for their finest players, German or otherwise.

Not surprisingly, Edward and his band made a significant impact on the cultural life of late eighteenth-century Quebec, as is illustrated in the following excerpts from the diary of Elizabeth Simcoe, wife of the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe:

I went to a Subscription Concert. Prince Edward's Band of the 7th Fusiliers played and some of the officers of the Fusileers. The music was thought excellent. The Band costs the Prince 8 hundred a year ... I went to Church. The Service is performed in a Room occasionally used as a Council Chamber. Prince Edward always goes to Church and his band plays during

²Quoted in Frederick A. Hall, "A Prince's Sojourn in Eighteenth-Century Canada" 248.

³Hall, 255.

⁴See Appendix # 1.

*the service ... I went to a Concert & afterwards to a dance at the Fusiller's Barracks ... The Fusileers are the best dancers, well dressed & the best looking figures in a Ball Room I ever saw. They are all musical & like dancing & bestow as much money, as other Regts. usually spend in wine, in giving Balls & Concerts which make them very popular in this place where dancing is so favourite an amusement ...*⁵

Simcoe recognized how fortunate the residents of Quebec were to have the Prince in residence, as she remarked in a letter:

*The Officers act Plays. I think of you as I know it is your favourite amusement indeed I think there are more amusements & gaiety here than a winter at Bath affords & that you would not expect in so remote a Country. The Prince's Band cost him near five hundred a year being a selection of fine performers so you may suppose the Concerts are not to be despised...*⁵

Haligonians were to benefit from Edward's presence as well, as he was stationed at the garrison from 1794. His band accompanied him, but it was increasingly difficult to maintain and suffered the effects of desertions on the part of the musicians. In a letter to an aide in London, Edward described in detail the situation with respect to his band, an excerpt of which is given in Appendix 1.⁶

Edward, Madame de St Laurent, and what was left of his band, undertook the same round of social activities in Halifax that they had enjoyed in Quebec. For the upper classes, his presence in Halifax complemented their efforts to reproduce something approaching the Old World social order in a New World context. As Frederick Hall puts it:

Edward and Madame attended most social functions and entertainments, and the prince's official patronage of theatre and music encouraged the garrison and town performers to produce more entertainments. Halifax

⁵Cited in Hall 250 - 251, from *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary* ed. Mary Quayle Innis (Toronto: Macmillan, 1965) 39, 50, 52.

⁵Cited in Hall, 250 - 51, from *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary* ed. Mary Quayle Innis. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1965) 39, 50, 52.

⁶Cited in Hall, 254. The original is found in Edward's letterbooks, Royal Archives ADD.7/57-698, no. 202, 27 October 1795.

*attempted in many ways to imitate the social life of London; and as a result numerous balls, assemblies, drawing room functions, official receptions, and anniversary dinners were held.*⁷

The list of cultural events patronized by Edward during his stay in Halifax is long, and encompasses a number of different types of entertainments. Dramatic productions, with and without music, serious and comedic, were popular.⁸ 'Entertainments,' made up of a variety of acts (some musical and some not) were also common, and featured a bewildering assortment of sometimes incongruous talents. It is difficult to imagine what to make of an event such as "Olio or Attic Evening's Entertainment. Composed of the Sublime, the Pathetic, the Humerous and the Musical " Others suggest a circus-like atmosphere, such as the "Entertainment by Mr. Hackley, Balance Master... A Number of astonishing Feats of Activity in three acts," or the "Mixed entertainment given by Signor Tronche Dancing a Hornpipe on the Tight Rope;" the former was not patronized by Edward, the latter was.

And of course, there were concerts, most of which must have featured military musicians, both as soloists and as part of the orchestra. The programme of a concert staged on February 7, 1798 gives a good idea of the types of works popular at the time:

*Concert by Subscription... for the Benefit of Mr. Duplessey. Act 1st.
The Siege of Gibraltar arrang'd by Mr. Duplessey.
Concerto for the Flute. —By Vienne. Song. —By Dr. Arnold.
Horn Concerto. —By Fonto. Simphonie. —By Kozeluc.
Act 2d. Simphonie Concertante for two Violins. —Davaux.
Concerto for the Clarinett. —By Vogel. A song in Rosina.
A Concerto for the Flute. —Stamitz. Simphonie. —By Kozeluc.*

⁷Hall, 256

⁸These ranged from the May 28, 1800 production of Shakespeare's *King Richard the Third*, to Storace's ever popular *No Song, No Supper* (March 7, 14, and 21, 1798), to Henry Carey's *Chrononhotonthologos* (July 11, 1798).

Hall estimates that while in Quebec and Halifax, Edward attended or patronized upwards of one hundred musical and theatrical works, and as many concerts and mixed entertainments.⁹ It may be true, as Hall maintains, that the exact nature of his influence on the cultural make-up of Halifax is difficult to assess. But there is little doubt that on his departure in August 1800, the Halifax he left was culturally very different from the city he arrived at in May 1794.

For Edward's musicians, and military musicians who came after, there was no shortage of venues in which to display their talents. One of the best descriptions of the range of musical duties undertaken by these musicians is found in the diary of August Hecker, bandmaster of the H.M.S. *Royal Albert* from September 1870 to November of 1872.¹⁰ Like many of the musicians in Edward's band, Hecker was German. To judge from the diary, he was highly trained and able to play the violin, viola, clarinet, and piano. He was also a composer, and, as was often the case with people in his position, an arranger.¹¹ To give some idea of Hecker's musical activities as bandmaster, I have excerpted a selection of diary entries from September 1870 to September 1871. These excerpts are collected together as Appendix 3.

Hecker's first public performance as bandmaster included playing the viola with the band for a ball held at the Commissioner's House, an event that also marked his introduction to some of the musicians he had been entrusted to lead. His first impression was not favourable but was tempered somewhat by the end of the

⁹Hall, 259.

¹⁰A transcript of the diary with introductory remarks on Hecker's biography, may be found in Maurine Withers, "The Diary of August Hecker Bandmaster of HMS Royal Alfred from 1870 - 1872," *Dalhousie Review* 58:3 (1978): 489 - 510; 58-4 (1978 - 79): 737 - 752. Pagination given at the ends of excerpts refer to Withers' transcript.

¹¹One of Hecker's notebooks contains a list of thirty-two works for bands and orchestras (Withers, 490). Withers suggests that his first (or favourite) instrument was the violin.

evening.

[October 4, 1870] -- ... he [Mr. Vanderbosche, former band leader on the Royal Alfred] turned to me and said, Mr. Hecker, you'll see by and by what ship's life is with a drunken set of blackguards in the band. Well, I thought there is some comfort in that. There was to be a ball at night in Commissioner's House and as Mr. Vanderbosche had no viola player, I took the viola and played the part. The band did not strike my fancy much at first, but I soon found out that the principal players were good ones and I hoped that, if they were willing, to make a much better band of it in time. The ball was over about three o'clock. ... (495)

Hecker, with all or some part of his band, performed for a variety of social events. On October 29 of that same year he and a string ensemble played for a dinner party at the Admiral's house. He and the band performed on New Year's Eve, and later in the evening he provided accompaniment on the harmonium for a sing-a-long in the Captain's cabin.¹² On January 7, Hecker played at the Governor's house, this time with the reed-band, and in tandem with the band of the 29th Regiment.

[January 7, 1871] -- I was ordered to play at the Governor's with the Reed-Band There also was the 29th Band and so we played alternately till 6 o'clock. Everyone said that my band -- according to the number -- played far better than the other. When it was over, I got acquainted with the 29th Bandmaster, who was a german by the name of Stoekel, ... (498)

This latter entry points to a spirit of competition between the bands of different regiments, a contest that was played out in a variety of ways, and in a number of social contexts.

Not all of Hecker's musical activities were as public and formal as his performances at dances and dinner parties. On April 28, 1871, Hecker was approached by a Mr. Cogswell, "Amateur of Music," and asked to join in a musical entertainment at his house. Hecker's description of the event suggests that it was

¹²This entry is a pointed reminder of just how central music was to the officers' concept of entertainment, and how different this concept was in comparison with our own. Hecker's earlier performance was probably for a dance, standard New Year's Eve fare then, as well as now. However, it is difficult to think of a modern equivalent to the practice of capping the evening with impromptu singing in the Captain's cabin.

informal, a chance for a small group of musicians to get together and play chamber music for their own entertainment:

[April 30, 1871] -- After playing with the band on board in the evening, I went to the Cogswells according to promise. There were three other gentlemen besides him, a Mr. Crighton [Creighton], Hudson and Jemmison. We played some Symphonies of Haydn with two violins, viola, Bass, Flute, and Mr. Cogswell on the piano. I enjoyed it very much and agreed to have a meeting once every week. (501)

One thing is striking about Hecker's listing of performances. Of the entries given in Appendix 3, only one mentions the single activity conventional wisdom suggests when we think of military bands -- marching. While Hecker was, after all, the leader of a *naval* band, bands in early Nova Scotia did march, and they marched for a wide variety of reasons. The following discussion looks at how marching, whatever its military motivations, was a key activity in the development of civic pride and solidarity.

The use of military musicians as escorts was widespread, and their presence is recorded in both formal and informal, social and civic, contexts. Simeon Perkins records an instance of a band used as an informal escort (albeit, in this case, a band of only two).

[July 10, 1787] -- ...The man of war Officers had a Dance last evening at Mr. McAlpines, and Escorted the Ladies home with Drum, and Fife.¹³

Perkins' description does not indicate whether a fife and drum escort was a common occurrence after dances, or the impromptu result of an especially good night of revelry.

Bands, or parts of bands, played a role in a wide variety of public celebrations, an especially charming example of which is found in the diary of

¹³*The Diary of Simeon Perkins*, 378.

Adolphus Gaetz. In the following excerpt, Gaetz describes the role of Lunenburg's Volunteer Band in the town's celebration of the return of two newly-wed couples:

[July 4, 1865] -- This evening produced quite a sensation in our town; two of our townsmen, who went off recently to lead two young damsels of their choice to the Hymenial Altar, returned this evening with their Brides... A party from town, consisting of a number of the young folks, among whom were three of my family namely Henry, Amelia, and Eliza, proceeded to the Mahone Bay in Carriages to escort the newly married folks to town; on their arrival the Volunteer Band serenaded them, and a goodly quantity of powder was blazed away; the concourse of spectators was great.¹⁴

Gaetz also records the Volunteer Band's participation in the celebration of the New Year:

[December 31, 1865] — At midnight as the Clock struck Twelve the Cannon boomed from the Blockhouse hill, the Bells rang a merry peal, and the Volunteer Band discoursed good music through the streets, bidding an everlasting farewell to the old year, and ushering in the new.¹⁵

But perhaps the most significant of Gaetz's observations on the role of the band concern its activity in a number of civic and political events. A band (or at the very least, a fife and drum) was presumably present at a church picnic that Gaetz describes as follows:

[August 27, 1856] — To day the St. Johns Church Sunday School pic-nic took place at the Battery point. 112 of the Scholars mustered on the Church Square at 12 O'clock, noon, and marched with flags flying to the above place where they enjoyed themselves during the afternoon; at 5 O'clock they partook of supper, at half past 6 O'clock they were again called together, and after singing a hymn and hearing an address from Revd. Mr. Owen they were marched to town and dismissed. A large number of parents and others were present.¹⁶

Gaetz notes music's involvement in the town's political life as well:

¹⁴Adolphus Gaetz, *The Diary of Adolphus Gaetz* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1965) 84.

¹⁵Gaetz, 89.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 29.

[May 5, 1859] — This is 'nomination Day', early in the morning the flags of both parties were to be seen floating from the different places in town. About 9 O'clock the Conservative party with Banners and music marched out to meet the party on their way from Bridgewater; soon the two parties met and marched into town in good order, displaying a large number of flags and banners and accompanied with a goodly number of musicians.¹⁷

Again, we note the association of music with civic process, used here in a context involving political challenge. It is an aural complement to the flags and banners that Gaetz describes as scattered about the town. Music is used by the Conservative party to indicate unity in the face of the opposition, and at a more pragmatic level, it functions as an adjunct to the party's march through town to attract attention.¹⁸

Music figures prominently in Lunenburg's founding celebration, an event in which, by definition, civic unity is thrust to the forefront. Gaetz's description is detailed and warrants quotation in full:

[May 7, 1862] — At 6 O'clock this morning, the 109th Anniversary of the landing of the first settlers of this place, was ushered in by a salute from the Blockhouse Hill, fired by the Volunteer Artillery company; immediately after, all the Bells rang a merry peal; at 11 O'clock the Volunteer Companies, Artillery and Rifles, mustered in front of the Court House, also the Civilians; the Society of Free Masons marched in order from their Hall also to the Court House; at Half past 11 O'clock the whole procession was formed and marched off in the following order, —

The Volunteer Artillery, with 2 brass field pieces; the High Sheriff, mounted; The Band, (Drums and Fifes); The Volunteer Rifle Company; Clergymen; Magistrates; The Society of Free Masons; Civilians, 4 deep; Having arrived at Raush's Hill, (which was the spot where the first settlers landed) John Heckman, Esqr., Custos of the County, said a few words connected with the first settlement of the place; he was followed by the Revd. H. L. Owen with some neat remarks on the same subject, after which the Artillery fired 18 guns, and the Rifle Company fired three rounds in honor of the day; after three Cheers were given by all present the whole marched to the Blockhouse hill, where the Rifle Company went through a number of

¹⁷Ibid., 49.

¹⁸It is noteworthy that while the news media have largely supplanted political marches as instruments of public relations, music still plays a significant part in party conventions.

evolutions; that being done the procession again formed and marched back to the Court house where they were dismissed after three hearty cheers were given for the Queen. Before the final close lots of Cakes were shared out to the Children in attendance. A very large number of persons were assembled to witness the proceedings; it was supposed that there were two thousand on the ground.¹⁹

Of course, what Gaetz is describing here is a parade. One must be cautious about over-determining events such as these, but it seems to me that Gaetz's description nicely details a range of activities dedicated to the promotion of civic identity. The event is the anniversary of the founding of the town, so it is symbolically appropriate that the parade should start at the Court House, surely the best physical representation of the town's civic identity. Symbolically, in processing to Raush's Hill, the site of the town's founding, the citizens move backwards in time, a process that is reversed at the end of the celebration with the return to the Court House. Given the purpose of the celebration, it is significant that this procession from town centre to Raush's Hill is made by the citizens as a group — had everyone travelled to Raush's Hill individually, the sense of solidarity associated with the event would have suffered. It is also significant that the order of the parade reflects something of the town's social hierarchy. The entire event is orchestrated. By marching together, the townspeople proclaim, "You can see that we are unified." Similarly, the presence of the band as much as says, "Yes, and you can *hear* that we are unified as well."

¹⁹Gaetz, 68 - 69. Gaetz describes essentially the same series of events for Tuesday, June 7, 1864, the 111th anniversary of the town's founding (79).

CHAPTER II

Dance, Fashion, and Social Conduct in Early Nova Scotia

...a pitiable passion for finery, revelling & dancing

The opening salvo of Fraser's *A Sketch of Shelburian manners—anno 1787*, leaves little doubt as to the nature of his concern for the town's unfortunate inhabitants: "The inhabitants of Shelburne from the highest to the lowest have a pitiable passion for finery, revelling & dancing & every species of sensual gratification."¹ Invective against dance has been as common as dance itself throughout the history of the pastime, so Fraser is hardly staking out new territory here.² Nor is Fraser's tract especially persuasive or well written. But he does manage to highlight, albeit negatively, some central issues that surface again and again when considering dance as part of a broader network of related social and cultural activities.

Reading the *Sketch*, it is evident that Fraser's concerns lie not so much with 'dance' as they do with the debased character of the dancers. They are vain, self-involved, and "... abject Slaves to fashion, that charming bewitching thing."³ So by extension, is dance condemned because it provides a venue for unseemly display? Not exactly. Fraser goes on to complain that "The higher orders of people have private dancing parties each consisting of a few families who live in a constant

¹Fraser, *A Sketch of Shelburian manners—anno 1787*, 138.

²And of course the view that dancing is morally wrong or in some way dangerous (generally to the youth, if not for everybody) is still with us today. For a later, and more specifically dance-related critique of the practice, see Anon, "List of 22 Facts [Against Dancing]," *Maritime Presbyterian*, (September 15, 1882), 288.

³Fraser, 138.

habit of intimacy with one another. The Dance takes place in rotation at each family, where a Suitable repast is provided for the Guests."⁴

What Fraser is describing here is a 'sociable.' The following definition, written almost a hundred years later, gives more information about these events:

There are particular favorites among a very large class of the followers of Terpsichore, differing in some particulars from the ball and the promenade. These entertainments are given at private residences, a few invitations being issued by members. The lady of the house it is held, is not restricted in this particular, however. Music, furnished by members, is similar to that of other private parties, the hostess supplying refreshments. Six is the maximum number of sociables usually given during the season, though in exceptional cases eight to ten. Hour of commencing is eight o'clock, refreshments being furnished in dining-room at eleven, party breaking up at one or half-past one.

Some sociables link parlor dramas, charades, and musical attractions with dancing, affording much profit as well as amusement.⁵

Of particular interest here is the reference to the members supplying their own music, although it is not clear whether this means that members played the music, or were responsible for engaging a musician or musicians to play it.⁶

Sociables were evidently enjoyed by the sometimes dour Simeon Perkins, as is indicated by the following diary entries: [May 10, 1781] — "... have a dance at Capt. West's." [February 13, 1784] — "... We have Some Company to dine & a

⁴Fraser, 138.

⁵John Hart, *The Canadian Ten-cent Ball-Room Companion & Guide to Dancing*, (Toronto: W. Warwick, 1871), 11. This source, and others like it, draws very fine distinctions between various types of amusements and entertainments, as here, for example, where the contrast between the sociable, and the ball and promenade is mentioned. Excerpts from this source are given in Appendix 8. An informative description of promenades in Halifax is given in the *Acadian Recorder* of February 13, 1858: "Large and fashionable assemblages to be seen, every Tuesday afternoon, at the Promenade Concerts, at Mason's Hall. These Concerts by military bands replace those in the Horticultural Society's Gardens during the summer season." (3)

⁶Doubtless, the procedure followed depended on the size of the party and, of course, whether any of the members were capable of providing music.

Dance in the Evening.”⁷

As common as they were, Fraser holds up the practice of giving private dance parties as a foil to another, more formal social institution, the ‘Assembly for the Season:’

*It is a matter of regret that the Assembly for the Season, tho' designed for promoting social & friendly Intercourse among neighbours, should yet become the occasion of Censorious, affronts & ill will, thro' the imprudence of some foreward, pert & Gay young people who assume consequential airs by shewing themselves reserved, haughty & distant towards those whom they deem their Inferiors, & by scoffing at properties as well as improprieties in dress & behaviour.*⁸

What Fraser seems to imply that one of the natural consequences of private dance parties was the assumption of snobbish attitudes, attitudes that served to poison the social ambience of the Assemblies. This may or may not have been the case. But Fraser’s indignant description of social transgressions at the ‘Assembly of the Season’ hits close to the heart of the matter, because dance, in Shelburne and in the rest of Nova Scotia, was as much about manners as it was about music.

While music is certainly not incidental to social dancing, music is not what social dancing is about. Music enables dance, it provides an aural ambience that structures and organizes the movements of the dancers. Music composed specifically for dancing is written with this in mind, and whatever ambitions the composer may have towards individual expression are conditioned by the

⁷*The Diary of Simeon Perkins*. (February 13, 1784), 218.

⁸Fraser, 138 - 139. “In the winter of 1786 - 7 we find dancing to have been in vogue, and that the Subscription Assemblies for the season were to begin at half-past six o’clock on the 18th of January; -- this ... in the Long Room of Steel’s Tavern [Merchant’s Coffee house], which seems to have been the fashionable dining and dancing room of the day.” (J. P. Edwards, “Vicissitudes of a Loyalist City,” *Dalhousie Review*, 2 (1922 - 23): 321.) In smaller centres, taverns were often the only establishments with a room large enough to hold these gatherings. Singing schools, too, were often held in taverns, at least early on in the period (see Chapter III).

choreography and character of the specific dance. Tempo, metre, and phrase length are thus primary considerations when composing dance music, together with certain rhythmic figures that have come to be associated with specific dances.⁹ Provided these conditions are met, the dancers have no intrinsic reason to expect anything more of the music.

This last comment is a deliberate simplification of the relationship between music, dance, and dancers, and I will return to it later. Before doing so, however, I would like to look at a reworking of the previous paragraph's opening conceit. What does it mean if we say that while dancing certainly is not incidental to social dancing, dance is not really what dancing is about? This statement is not as absurd as it may seem. What it assumes, however, is that the real significance of social dancing lies with the word 'social', not with 'dancing'. As music allows for dancing, dancing enables sociability.

Social relationships are played out in dances in a number of different ways. The most obvious of these concern the role dance as an event plays in defining class distinctions within a given society. Dances were not especially democratic, representative, or accessible in early Nova Scotia, and in most cases, attendance was by invitation only. Who you invited (and who invited you) was determined by social standing. Of course, knowing how to dance was a prerequisite, but all the dance classes in the world would do nothing to guarantee an invitation to the many balls held by Lady Ogle in Halifax, or the more intimate private dances held by

⁹These characteristics combine to create the 'affect' of the dance. The 'doctrine of the affections' was an eighteenth century aesthetic theory that attempted to codify the listener's emotional response to a piece of music by looking at particular (mostly rhythmic) figures in the music. 'Affective' descriptions of works from this period were taken to great lengths on occasion, especially when examining works by J.S. Bach. For the purposes of this report, the term can be used to describe a set of musical characteristics that allow us to recognize the difference, say, between a tango and a waltz.

Simeon Perkins and his friends in Liverpool.¹⁰

This is not to suggest that *all* dances in Nova Scotia at this time were private or exclusive affairs. Public Assemblies catered to a more varied clientele, and newspapers contain advertisements giving information concerning ticket purchase for balls and other social events:

*NOTICE GENTLEMEN desirous of obtaining TICKETS for the BALL to be given in honour of H.M. 62d and 63d Regiments, on the 9th of July, are requested to apply at the Mayor's Office, during the ensuing week, between the hours of 12 and 3 o'clock.*¹¹

However, the following description of ticket distribution for public balls suggests that steps were taken to ensure the attendance of the desirable type of public:

*Public balls take various forms—charity, military, subscription, and what may be termed the ordinary or simple public ball. These are generally given in public assembly rooms, and the admission is by ticket. More or less care is always taken to secure the selectness of these assemblies. Sometimes lady patronesses or managers are appointed, from which it is necessary to secure vouchers for tickets; sometimes a committee is thought sufficient, or tickets are obtained of gentlemen appointed as managers or directors, and who subsequently act on committees in the ball room, where, from their supposed knowledge of the company, they arrange introductions, etc.*¹²

But even with ticket in hand, public access to the more exclusive dance events could be restricted in other, less explicit, ways. The ticket cost would have disqualified much of the population, as would widely accepted expectations concerning appropriate dress and conduct. Cinderella's story is a charming fairy-tale, but it was an unlikely scenario within the social reality of eighteenth- and

¹⁰These are only random examples. Lady Ogle's name comes up constantly in Francklin's description of social events in Halifax between 1825 and 1832. Time precluded research on her biography, but she was clearly a social maven of some reputation.

¹¹[Halifax] *Morning Chronicle* July 1, 1856, 79 Vol. XIII: 3.

¹²Hart, 5. I have used Hart's *The Canadian Ten-cent Ball-Room Companion & Guide to Dancing* for much of the information on Ball-Room etiquette in this chapter.

nineteenth-century urban Nova Scotia.

Dances do more than provide an opportunity for people of like social background to get together. They allow them to get together when they are looking their best. As a result, dances not only help to define social status, they provide a venue for the display and development of style and fashion within that social group. Clearly, modes of dress play a very important part in this process. If you consider, for example, descriptions of the 'stately' ballroom dances, it is clear that the dancers' costumes could not have been anything but stately themselves. Some ballroom dances were more spirited than others, but the range of tempos and the varieties of movements fell within a pretty narrow margin, the top end of which would not have raised much of a sweat in dancers used to, and dressed for, the more spirited dances of the countryside. And whatever the tempo, the controlled geometric evolutions of these dances showed off costume from every angle.¹³ From the point of view of style, describing a quadrille as a simultaneous runway fashion show for eight, twelve, or sixteen models may seem cynical, but it is not so far from the truth.

Costume is a material form of social conduct, or behaviour, but it is only one of many behaviours that were subject to codification in order to define and control the social dynamics of dance. Codification in this context is another word for etiquette, and dance etiquette is *very* complex. Violating etiquette was a serious matter, as is clear from the following:

*It is in the ball-room that society is on its best behavior. Everything there is regulated according to the strictest code of good breeding, and as any departure from this code becomes a grave offence, it is indispensable that the etiquette of the ball-room should be thoroughly mastered.*¹⁴

¹³As do military evolutions while on parade, an activity where music also plays an important role.

¹⁴[John Hart], *The Canadian Ten-cent Ball-Room Companion & Guide to Dancing*, p. 5.

The author goes on to outline proper conduct for the dance, counsel that begins with the proper way to deal with invitations before the dance, and ends in a discussion of the social weight of introductions *after* the dance is over. All manner of topics are covered: music, refreshments, locale, Ladies' dress, Gentlemen's dress, other types of dance-related events, and of course, the dances themselves.

This is not the appropriate place for a detailed study of these "code[s] of good breeding," but one striking thing about the way the information is presented in this book, and others like it, is the sense of absolute certainty that informs the text. There is little or no attempt to explain why things are done the way they are done (although in a few cases the author does discuss the consequences if certain rules are not followed).¹⁵

Naysayers notwithstanding, upper-middle- and upper-class Nova Scotians enjoyed dancing very much. Entertaining as this activity was for the participants, it also functioned as entertainment for the many who could not attend these events. Then, as now, the affairs of the fortunate few were closely scrutinized and reported in the print media. Detailed descriptions show up in newspapers after the fact: who was there, what they wore, who played the music, how the room was decorated, etc..¹⁶ The public could thus vicariously experience the event, the newspaper reports serving as the raw material for an imaginative re-creation of the evening entertainment. Under the circumstances, it is no surprise that these events, mediated by way of the newspapers, were potent determinants of 'style.' Again, costume is perhaps the most obvious focus of this influence, but music was also

¹⁵A selection of instructions given in Hart's *Companion* are given in Appendix 8.

¹⁶By the way of examples, see "Colonel M'Douglas Dejeune at Bedford Basin" *Novascotian* (August 20, 1828) 275; "Description of a Ball at Province House," *Acadian Recorder* (June 24, 1826) 3 and (August 5, 1826); and "Detailed Description of Dance and Dinner ... officers of the 85th at Halifax ... spring of 1837," *Halifax Journal* (April 24, 1837). These are only some of many such reports.

affected. How this influence affected music, and how music in turn affected the dancers is discussed at the end of this chapter. However, first it is important that we have some understanding of the dances themselves.

*The social dance of the nineteenth century was the quadrille.*¹⁷ Its name comes from the term 'squadriglia.' Initially, this was a military term (as in squadron), but later it was used to describe a corp of dancers in French ballets of the seventeenth century. Among the most popular movements in these elaborate ballets were sets of contredanses, which, when transferred from the stage to the ballroom, were called 'quadrille de contredanses,' or simply 'quadrilles.' So the dance began in Paris, but soon made its way throughout Europe — it was introduced to balls at Almack's in 1815, and in Berlin by 1821.

Proper quadrilles all share the same structure. There are five dances to a set, and even though the music is different, each dance in a set is referred to by the names of the original standard set of contredanses. These are: *La pantalon* (based on a song); *L'ete* (a contredanse popular in 1800); *La poule* (1802); *La pastourelle* (based on a song by a cornet player named Collinet)¹⁸; and *Finale*.

The music for quadrilles is laid out very strictly in eight- and sixteen-measure phrases, which are repeated until the figure is complete. Publishers usually included a description of the figure on the same page as the music, sometimes in French, sometimes in French and English, and more rarely, sometimes in English only. New figures were occasionally added *ad libitum*, to replace the set figures, so at least in some cases, the collections admit a measure of flexibility.

¹⁷The following material is taken from the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie. (London: MacMillan Publishers, 1980) 489 - 91.

¹⁸*La pastourelle* was sometimes replaced by another figure, call *La Trenitz* after a well known dancer.

It is not just the figures of the quadrille that are borrowed. From the beginning, the music of most quadrilles consisted of adaptations and arrangements of popular songs taken from opera and other stage productions. This characteristic of the dance is significant because of the way it reflects the popular culture of the day. In Paris, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, popular culture was focused, nay, *obsessed*, with opera. However, since the number of people interested in the genre was greater than the number of people who could actually attend the performances, most had to content themselves with exposure through other channels, one of which was dance music.

It is very difficult to find a twentieth-century parallel that describes adequately this phenomenon. Thinking about it in terms of pop music works well until you consider the contemporary element of audio recording. Opera in Paris in the 1820's enjoyed widespread popularity, and as a result it was everywhere in the air; but not because it was being broadcast over the airwaves — somebody actually had to *play* it. The idea of popular arrangement is reflected in 'muzak,' but in functional terms the analogy does not fit very well.¹⁹

However, it is clear that the derivative nature of the quadrille held meaning for the dancers; it was a point of cultural reference. Just how vivid this reference was depended on the experiences or education of the individual dancer. The vast majority of Nova Scotians would never experience opera in Paris, or anywhere else, for that matter. For them, sets of quadrilles could not represent a way to relive a particular aria from a Rossini opera. But to some degree, it was a way for them to 'live,' as opposed to 're-live,' that aria. Part of the experience of 'living the aria' relates to its popularity, to know what is absolutely current and cutting-edge. It is no surprise that music publishers figured all this out very early on in the game.

¹⁹I hope it is clear that when I suggest that music enables dance, I am not inferring that dance music is like muzak.

This brief explanation of the quadrille should help to inform the following examination of two quadrille sets that belonged at one time to Miss Elizabeth Francklin, later the Mrs. Rev. James Uniacke, to see what they tell us about music, and dance, and popular culture in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia.

Hart's Tenth Set of Quadrilles

Often, the title pages of these collections are a riot of different fonts and font sizes.²⁰ In this case, Hart's publisher did not chose well. Looking at the title's content, it is clear from the start that the publishers were more interested in pushing context over musical content. Three proper names are given: Carl Maria von Webber, the composer of the opera *Der Freyschütze*; Joseph Hart, the person who "composed and arranged" the quadrilles, which in cases like these could involve a number of possible situations; and Mrs. William Rosanquet of East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate.²¹ So in abstract, we are given a high-profile composer (von Webber), an arranger we can trust — this is, after all, Hart's *tenth* set of quadrilles, and the name of a dedicatee — whatever Mrs. Bosanquet may have thought about the music, her name serves as a kind of testimonial.²²

²⁰In the title page of Hart's tenth set, no two consecutive lines are set in the same font, nor for that matter, the same font size.

²¹*Der Freyschütze* (literally, "The Free Shooter," in the sense of a straight-shooter) was extremely popular in its day because it contained a number of scenes with supernatural overtones. The work is widely regarded as one of the first true Romantic operas. At any rate, it represented a real change for audiences in Paris, who were used to a steady diet of Rossini. Putting together arrangements such as these was a relatively mechanical exercise. Somebody had to be credited with the arrangement, but it was not unusual for this work to be jobbed out. The stylistic horizon of these works is so flat that it is impossible to say whether a particular arrangement is in the style of Joseph Hart, or any other individual composer. In this context, 'Hart' is more like a brand-name than the name of an individual.

²²The use of the phrase "dedicated with permission" in some titles suggests that some dedicatees may not have been consulted before their names appeared in print. The publisher, Mayhew & Co., also resorts to name-dropping, listing himself as "Music Sellers to the Royal

In terms of public relations, the connection that Hart makes between this collection and “Almacks,” the “Nobility’s Balls,” and the “Assembly Rooms Ramsgate,” is important, and as is the case with the dedicatee, they give the collection a certain cachet.²³ This particular list of venues is interesting because of its range. “Nobility’s Balls” could be anywhere, “Almack” is a specific reference that is ‘big.’ But the Ramsgate reference is more personal, and of course it ties in with the collection’s dedicatee.

Finally, the title also mentions the instrumentation, which is in this case “Piano Forte or Harp,” by far the most common instrumentation for this sort of music. Other collections occasionally include simple accompaniment parts for flute or violin.

Turning to the music, the Hart’s set contains six pieces. All make use of a simple melody and accompaniment texture — the melody is played by the pianist’s right hand, the accompaniment by his left — and the level of difficulty is not great. Each of the pieces is given a title, in French, and the names of the standard quadrille figures, together with a description of the figures in French and English, follow the music. A transcript of these figures is given in Appendix 9.

Hart’s tenth set of quadrilles is typical of publications of this type: the three-pronged appeal to the vanity of the buyer in the title; the accessibility of the music, which is stereotypical in terms of its ‘affect,’ but at the same time, current and ‘popular’ by virtue of the melodies chosen for arrangement; and utilitarian with its inclusion of the figures, both old and new. Nothing could be more straightforward.

Family.”

²³It may be a small point, but the wording here is ambiguous. The phrase before the listing of Rooms reads, “ ... with their proper figures in French and English as danced at Almack’s, Nobility’s balls, and the Assembly Rooms Ramsgate.” In other words, it is not clear whether this music was actually danced in those places, only that the figures were used there. Doubtless, Hart would have liked his audience to assume that the music was played in these hallowed contexts.

The same could be said for the next set in the Francklin book, but for a pencilled comment at the beginning of the first piece of the set, which reads, "Pretty — Louisa Foreman." This notation leads us into the next chapter, an interlude devoted to a closer look at the Francklin music books.

CHAPTER III

The Elizabeth Francklin Music Books

July 31, 1827 — Mr. Locket commenced Music with Elizabeth

James Boutineau Francklin recorded this event in the diary he kept in a *Farmer's Almanac*.¹ Elizabeth was Francklin's daughter. The diary entry is characteristically pithy — the bulk of the diary is given over to comments on the weather and records of the comings and goings of family members and others in Francklin's social circle. This circle included both the Haliburtons and the Uniackes, and Francklin's diary provides a useful indication of just how often trips were made from Windsor and Mount Uniacke to Halifax. Francklin's comment about his daughter and her music teacher is made without any sort of fanfare, which is hardly surprising in light of the fact that some years later he had only this to say about an altogether more important event also involving Elizabeth:

June 29, 1830 — Elizabeth married to Revd R. Fitzgerald Uniacke by Revd William Gray in St. Pauls Church, and after the ceremony Breakfasted and left Town of Mount Uniacke. Left Halifax for Windsor at 1 o'clock with Revd Mr. Gray and arrived Saulsbrook at ½ past 9 o'clock in the Evening.²

James Boutineau Francklin (1763 - 1841) was born in Halifax. On November 30, 1800, he married Sarah Dering Thomas. Elizabeth was his second daughter.³

¹James Boutineau Francklin, "Journal or Diary of James Boutineau Francklin," ed. D.C. Harvey, *Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia No. 11* (Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1956) 21.

²Francklin 54.

³Biographical information on the Francklin family is found in the Uniacke family material at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. See PANS MG1 vol. 927 no. 12. James Boutineau Francklin was the Clerk of the House of Assembly (PANS MG1, "Francklin, James Boutineau (1763 - 1841)."

The great granddaughter of R.J. Uniacke commented on the groom:

Robert Fitzgerald (1797) – began study of Law in his father's office, but influenced by strong convictions that he was called to the ministry abandoned the idea of entering Legal profession and turned his attention to Theology.⁴

Elizabeth married into one of the most prominent families in Nova Scotia, and one of the things she brought to the marriage was an ability to play the piano, an appropriate social skill for a young lady with time on her hands, and doubtless a useful accomplishment for the wife of a clergyman.⁵ She also brought with her at least two bound collections of music, and it is these that will serve as the focus of the first part of this chapter.

Binding previously published sheet music together to form a larger collection was a common nineteenth-century practice, and it is not unusual to come across printers and bookbinders advertising their services specifically for music. It was done not so much to protect the sheet music (although it did) as it was to make the music tidier and easier to store.

The reason these collections are more interesting than simply the sum of their parts, stems from the element of choice which determined the contents of a given volume. It is not always clear who exactly made these choices — the collection's owner, the owner's music teacher, or even the binder — but one thing is certain: the choice was not made by the publisher. As a result, these volumes stand as reflections of *somebody's* musical taste. The musical taste may not

⁴"The Mount: a true story of 6 successive generations who lived in the same house. Told by a Great grand-daughter of R.J.U. the original owner of the Estate of Mount Uniacke, Nova Scotia" (PANS MFM no. 12, 702) 76 -77.

⁵On popular images of music as an appropriate pursuit for nineteenth-century women, see July Eklund Koza, "Music and the Feminine Sphere: Images of Women as Musicians in *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1830 - 1877," *The Music Quarterly* 75 2 (Summer, 1991) 103 - 129. *Godey's Lady's Book* was read as eagerly in Nova Scotia as it was in America.

always be good, but at the very least it is individual.⁶

The two Francklin music books are both in reasonably good condition, although the cover of the spine of Book II is cracked and missing in a few places. Both books appear to have been bound professionally. The boards are made of stiff cardboard, covered with thin leather and marbled paper. The name 'E.G. Francklin' is embossed on the front cover of both books.⁷

Both books contain pencilled performance notations, which in almost every case consist of editorial fingerings.⁸ The number of these additions varies from work to work, and from page to page within each work. In some works, editorial additions are absent towards the end of the piece. This may be an indication that these pieces were never learned, although one should be cautious about suggesting this in every case. It is true that the conclusions of many of these works feature more complicated writing for the instrument, and are therefore more difficult to play. On the other hand, it is not unusual for the closing section to contain musical material already presented earlier in the work. Where this is the case, cautionary fingerings may not have been required the second time through. Whatever the case may be, it is enough to use these editorial notations as

⁶Bound sheet-music collections are the focus of Nicholas Tawa's important study, *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans: The Parlor Song in America, 1790 - 1860* (Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980). Tawa examined over five hundred collections, chiefly from the Brown Collection of the Boston Public Library, and the Houghton Library at Harvard. See also Mark W. Booth, *American popular music* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983), especially Chapter 2, "Before the Twentieth Century," 42 - 45.

⁷I have not undertaken a study of the binding and gatherings. The binding work is good, and the decorative elements are well executed, but not showy, suggesting that the book was actually used and not put together for display. The structure of the gatherings is determined by the foliation of the individual work.

⁸The fingering system used designates the thumb as 'x,' the index finger as 'l,' the middle finger as '2,' and so on. The same author seems to be responsible for all of these editorial notations, but a more detailed investigation is required before this can be confirmed. There are a few ornaments that have been realized by writing out the appropriate combination of notes. Manuscript additions that are not performance indications will be dealt with below.

evidence that somebody played the music.⁹

Although neither book is dated, a combination of biographical and internal evidence makes it possible to determine the date the collections were bound. Since both books are stamped with Elizabeth Francklin's maiden name, they must have been assembled and bound before June 29, 1830, the date of her marriage to the Reverend Robert Fitzgerald Uniacke. None of the music in either collection is provided with publication dates, but there is very good reason to suggest that the music was bound sometime after July 21, 1827, the date when Elizabeth Francklin 'commenced Music' with H. Locket. Locket's name is written in the top right-hand corner of the title page of an arrangement of Joseph Haydn's "Surprise" Symphony contained in the first book. If this notation is Locket's autograph, we can say with some certainty that the first book was bound sometime between July 31, 1827 and June 29, 1830.¹⁰

So the provenance, prior to binding, of at least some of the music in these collections is in question. But once bound and stamped with Elizabeth Francklin's name on the cover, the contents of these books allow for a general assessment of the owner's playing ability. Some of the works are relatively uncomplicated, and a few are quite difficult, but on average, the bulk of this music could have been

⁹Fingerings, in both kind and extent, can be very individual. For the purposes of this report, it is enough to note that the number of added markings is not a very reliable indication of a performer's skill. Some highly accomplished players are very meticulous about marking up their scores, others add no editorial notations whatsoever.

¹⁰Unless, of course, Elizabeth Francklin studied with Locket sometime before July 31, 1827, stopped, then started up again. This is not implied by Francklin's diary entry, although it may have been the case. It is not clear whether Locket's name in this context is an indication that he owned the Haydn arrangement at one time. Even if he did, it would not be surprising to find a piece of his music in Francklin's collection. Then, as now, music teachers often take it upon themselves to locate and to purchase music for their students. In most cases, they would have had better and larger collections, and would have had more reason to frequent establishments selling the scores. And in some cases, teachers would have obtained the music in order to ensure that a particular edition or arrangement was used in the lesson.

played by a talented amateur pianist. If Elizabeth Francklin played *any* of this music, however, she did not begin piano lessons in July of 1827. Three years is simply not enough time to achieve the skills necessary to play any but the simplest works in either book.¹¹

The layout of each book suggests that an effort was made to gather together works of like or similar kind. Scanning the contents (see Appendices 10 and 11), it is possible to identify some general patterns. The larger of the two (Book I) consists mostly of either variation sets, or related genres that feature variation technique in one way or another.¹²

The title pages of these works share many of the characteristics found in the titles of dance collections. Six of the fourteen works have dedications, all of which are women. Reference to Almack's and the Nobilities' Balls are absent of course, but a few of the titles suggest an attempt to garner prestige by way of association.¹³ The usual *ad libitum* parts are mentioned for some of the works. In

¹¹Some of the simpler dance pieces might be playable by someone with only three years of study, and of course, she may have been especially gifted. If she was, her father does not mention it.

¹²The term 'variation set' refers to a multi-sectional piece that begins with a plain presentation of a theme, followed by a series of modified versions of the theme (hence, theme and variations). The form has a long history — it can be traced back to the early sixteenth century, where the bass line and chord sequence used in a number of popular dances were used as a foundation for newly composed works that were independent of dance. The form enjoyed great popularity during the Baroque period (Bach's "Goldberg Variations," for example, or the celebrated "Pachelbel Canon," which, while strictly speaking is not a variation set, makes use of the technique in its repetition of the descending bass line heard at the opening of the work). By the latter part of the eighteenth century, the form had generally settled on the pattern we are familiar with now: an opening theme, sometimes preceded by a slow introduction; a series of contrasting variations, in which the theme is more or less discernible, and which often features a stepped increase in brilliance and difficulty; and a concluding section, which may or may not be related directly to the opening theme, but which almost always shows off the pianist's technique to its fullest extent.

¹³"Oh! Nothing in life can Sadden us!" which we learn has been "... performed by Master P. Lewis with the Greatest Applause." "*Le Troubadour. A Divertimento*," was written by T. Latour, "... pianiste to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent." And the arrangement of Haydn's "Surprise" Symphony, "... composed for & performed at Mr. Salomon's and the Opera Concerts."

all but one instance, the added instrument is a flute. The arrangement of Haydn's symphony is a little fuller, inasmuch as it specifies violin and violoncello as its *ad libitum* instruments.

It is important to remember also that, with the possible exception of Latour's "*Le Troubadour. A Divertimento*," all of these pieces are in one way or another arrangements of previous works. In almost every case, the themes are 'airs,' taken from popular songs of the period.¹⁴ Only a few works look to opera for their melodic material, although the reasons behind this gap will become clear when we look at the contents of Book II.¹⁵

Any reputation the composers/arrangers of these works may have enjoyed has been lost with the passage of time, and it is unlikely that they cut much of a profile even in their day. Despite the pretensions of the title pages, the process of arranging music for the piano was mechanical, the arrangers were considered craftsmen rather than artists. The same can be said of the process of spinning out variations. By the early nineteenth century, the themes were very predictable, and the form had hardened around the tunes. They worked in an environment comparable to Tin Pan Alley in the early twentieth century.

The first Francklin music book is representative of an aspect of popular musical culture during the first half of the nineteenth century. Book II serves very nicely as a complement to Book I in terms of repertoire. The contents of this book

¹⁴An 'air,' in the context of these arrangements, is really nothing more than a tune. The term encompassed a wider range of meanings than it does now. We tend to associate the term with a kind of artless 'folk' music for solo voice.

¹⁵Bontempo's "An Introduction, five Variations, and Fantasie," takes its theme from Paisiello's "Hope Told a Flatt'ring Tale." This was almost certainly an operatic aria, although the translation is so idiomatically English that tracking down the original source of the tune is difficult. The other opera-based setting use Mozart's "Fin ch'an dal Vino," and Beethoven's "The Manly Heart."

are listed in Appendix 11. Again, there is a clear sense of organization in the layout of the collection, in which three distinct musical genres are represented.

The first five works are all based on operatic originals, four of which are by Giacomo Rossini. Four are more or less literal arrangements of opera overtures. Pride of place is reserved for Rossini's overture to *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* ("The Barber of Seville"), which is placed at the beginning of the collection. It is very difficult to talk about this work objectively, so fixed is it in the popular imagination.¹⁶ However, the fact remains that it is an extremely well written piece of music. The fifth work, "Airs selected from the most celebrated operas of Rossini ... " is essentially a medley of some of Rossini's most celebrated arias, in this case, taken from *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*. The tunes are set approximately as they are in the opera, so like the overtures, the work is an arrangement rather than a variation, but it is significant that this is the only piece of the five that gives the name of the arranger, Camille Pleyel. Pleyel was a well known Parisian publisher, piano manufacturer, performer, and arranger. Putting his name on the title page is another instance of prestige marketing. The quality of the arrangement is no better or worse than that of the overtures.

The second part of the book consists of three quadrille sets, the first of which is discussed in the previous chapter.

The final three works in the collection are arrangements set for "two performers on one piano forte." The piano duet is a performance medium that was seldom seen in concert (unlike the piano duo — two performers, two pianos — for which there is a well respected concert repertoire)but it was very popular in the home. Part of the reason for its popularity stems from the inherent sociability of

¹⁶This work is an excellent example of just how difficult it can be to shrug off preconceptions about a piece of music. Similar difficulties pertain to other works as well: the opening of the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (da-da-da-DAH); the first couple of minutes of Richard Strauss's *Also sprach Zarathustra* ("2001: A Space Odyssey"); and so on.

the genre. The combination had other advantages as well, inasmuch as with two players, music that would be difficult or impossible for ten fingers becomes manageable with twenty.¹⁷

¹⁷As a result, arrangements of orchestral repertoire (symphonies, overtures, etc.) were often published in arrangements for piano duet. In the far-flung reaches of the empire, these duet arrangements of orchestral repertoire were often the only means of hearing the music.

CHAPTER IV

Singing schools in Early Nova Scotia

... an innocent and profitable Recreation

This chapter's epigraph is taken from the preface of Thomas Symmes's *The Reasonableness of Regular Singing* (1720), an early example of printed collections targeted at amateur singers. Symmes's musings provide a neat description of singing-schools, and touch on some of the circumstances that contributed to their popularity:

Where would be the Difficulty ... if People that want Skill in Singing, would procure a Skillful Person to Instruct them, and meet Two or Three Evenings in the Week, from Five or six a Clock, to Eight, and spend the Time in learning to Sing[?] ... Has it not a Tendency to divert Young People (who are most proper to learn) from learning Idle, Foolish, yea, pernicious Songs and Ballads[?]'

Symmes concern for the moral education of the young was shared by many commentators on the practice (although some would have it that the young were better off not to attend singing school). But the real impulse behind the practice had less to do with the moral condition of the students than it did the appalling quality of congregational singing in New England churches in the early eighteenth century. So before looking at singing-schools in Nova Scotia, biographical information is needed.

Although widely viewed as a distinctly New England institution, the earliest dateable references to singing schools are found in the diary of William Byrd of Virginia, written in 1710 - 1711. The practice spread far and quickly. It was common in Boston by 1720, with references to singing schools in the Connecticut River

¹Cited in *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, eds. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie. (New York, NY: Groves Dictionary of Music, 1986) 233.

Valley (1727), South Carolina (1730), Philadelphia (1753), New York (1754), and Maryland (1765) following in relatively quick succession.²

The earliest singing schools were established as part of a reform effort instituted by clergy who sought to accomplish two things. Although the psalm texts sung during services were invariant, the same could not be said for their tunes. These were transmitted orally, more often than not, and as a result, they came to display many of the characteristics of any oral tradition. For the clergy, the most worrisome of these characteristics was the introduction of melodic variants into the remembered tunes. Through a process of consensus, and without the authority of printed versions of the psalm tunes, regional styles developed. This process was encouraged by the fact that the precentor — responsible for leading the congregation through the psalms using a technique called 'lining-out' — was often incapable himself of reading music.³ The melodies were further distorted by the practice of 'gracing,' on the part of the precentor and congregation alike.⁴

Melodic differences from region to region were one thing, differences within a region was something else again. Here the problem arose from the discordant effect of the congregation singing at once similar, but not identical versions of the psalm tunes. The overall effect was thought unpleasant by many, not least of whom were the clergy, who, by virtue of their position, were uniquely qualified to pass judgement. One early commentator bemoaned the sound of a "horrid Medley of confused and disorderly Noises" that was typical of congregational singing in New

²Ibid. 233.

³'Lining-out' is a responsorial technique in which the precentor sings one line of the psalm, which is then repeated by the congregation.

⁴'Gracing' is a technique in which ornamental notes are added as embellishment to a pre-existent melody. See below for contemporary discussions of the technique.

England during the early- to mid-eighteenth century.⁵ Things were not much better towards the end of the century, if we are to believe Andrew Laws, who writes in the preface of his *The Art of Singing*:

*The tones of our singers are in general, I had almost said universally, rough, hard and dissonant. In a word, our singing in general is very harsh. ... European compositions aim at variety and energy by guarding against the reiterated use of the perfect cords. ... Great numbers of the American composers on the other hand, as it were on purpose to accommodate their music for harsh singing, have introduced the smooth and perfect cords, till their tunes are all sweet, languid, and lifeless; and yet their tunes, because they will bear better the discord of grating voices are actually preferred in the general run to the great prejudice of much better music produced in this country, and almost to the utter exclusion of genuine European compositions. The singing methods must be improved and the harshness of our singing corrected.*⁶

The initial response to this problem involved two very different methodologies and notational systems. The traditional approach is advanced by Rev. Thomas Walker who stresses singing without alterations, additions, or embellishments, and in strict time and pitch.⁷ The 'singing by note' in his title refers to the process of reading conventional music notation.

The counterpoise to this method is first found in a pamphlet by Rev. John Tufts entitled, *A Very Plain and Easy Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* (Boston, 1721). Tufts's method involved the substitution of letters representing solmization syllables for notes, and it was but one of a series of efforts towards notational reform that adopted a kind of 'dumbing down' approach to learning to sing. Something of a compromise between the two approaches is found with

⁵Thomas Walker, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained: Or, An Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note* (Boston: 1721) 2.

⁶Cited in Hamilton C. MacDougall, *Early New England Psalmody: An Historical Appreciation, 1620 - 1820*, (Brattleboro: Stephen Daye Press, 1940), 108. For a later description of the type of singing Laws is deploring here, see Appendix 16, a description of an open air Sacrament in Cape Breton. The witness in that case, Charles Farnham, found the performance unusual, but did not hold it up as evidence for reform.

⁷Ibid.

'shaped-note' notation. Here, a conventional five-line musical staff is used, but the solmization is indicated by differently shaped note-heads. Again, a number of different systems were developed, but early on, the mostly widely accepted approach was that of Little and Smith's *Easy Instructor* (1798) which employed four shapes. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the present, the most popular notational system and repertoire is that of *The Sacred Harp*, first published in 1844.

Whatever the pedagogical approach, the early singing-school tradition developed as a response to intolerable singing in the church. A committee would be struck to select a teacher and site for the classes. The curriculum covered basic music theory and notation, vocal production, and sight-reading. Classes were normally held during the winter months when both teachers and students had more spare time. Each class would last approximately three hours. The number of classes varied according to the teacher and the needs of the students, but generally would not exceed twenty-four. Singing teachers were paid for their services, but the financial structure of the schools varied according to place and time. Sometimes, the entire cost was borne by the church or town. Often, however, the teachers set themselves up as freelance educators, collecting a set class or course fee from each student.

Singing schools were more common in rural areas and small towns than in the larger centres, where the needs they met were assumed by other educational

institutions, public and private.⁸ But the singing masters, who were for the most part itinerant, followed the frontier westward and, more importantly for the development of the tradition in Nova Scotia, northward.

The singing-school movement, in both New England and the Maritimes, had an enormous impact on the development of an indigenous musical culture. The schools required materials with which to work, and a high proportion of locally published music from the period consisted of volumes catering to this need. Typically, these books were collections of both sacred and secular works, written for four-part harmony but employing uncomplicated part-writing, and most included in their front matter some sort of introduction to the art of reading music.

The first such volume published in Canada with English text was *Union Harmony, or British America's Sacred Vocal Music*, published in St. John, New Brunswick by the Loyalist Stephen Humbert.⁹ Humbert is known to have set up a singing school in St. John in 1796, and doubtless felt the need for an easily

⁸The introduction of singing into Boston's public-school curriculum in 1838 contributed to the decline of the singing-school tradition in the region. However, many of the educational methods used in singing schools were taken over into the public school. In his report of 1887, Alexander McKay, supervisor of Halifax schools, wrote: "Music should be taught in every department to every pupil, not by rote but by theory ..." In 1888, a class of 70 teachers received training in Tonic-Sol-Fa (Solfege). In 1888, some 5,515 students were being taught to read music in Halifax.

Other locales were not so willing to support public-school education in music. In a letter to B.C. Silver, Dr. J.P. McCarthy, Principal of the Nova Scotia Teachers' College, gives a brief outline of the early history of music at the Normal School. A part-time music teacher was contracted by the first principal of the school, Dr. Forrester, in 1858. But full government funding for the position was not forthcoming until 1860. In the interim, the teacher's salary was paid, at least partly, out of Forrester's pocket. The first music teacher at the school, a Mr. Fitch, taught one hour a day. (PANS MFM no. 14: 262.)

Phyllis Blakely claims that the first person to teach public school music in Nova Scotia was Mr. Jacob B. Norton, who was appointed March 5, 1867 by the Board of Halifax School Commissioners. Norton is named as composer in the programme for the Halifax Natal Day celebrations in 1873. He composed the music for a song about Point Pleasant Park. (letter from Phyllis Blakely to B.C. Silver, PANS MFM no. 14: 262.)

⁹The first edition of the collection was published in St. John in 1801, but printed in New England. Subsequent editions appeared in 1816, 1831, and 1840.

available teaching repertoire.¹⁰ Humbert was, perhaps, something of an over-achiever as singing teachers went — he was at various times a baker, bookseller, militia captain, and politician — but he is by no means unique in this respect.¹¹ Singing teacher, composer, and publisher were complementary professions at the time.

The balance between sacred and secular works varied from volume to volume. Here, it should be noted that while the original impulse behind the schools originated within the church, the tradition soon broke free of this milieu and developed its own social and cultural significance. Thus, the sacred music in many of these collections, while undeniably religious, was not liturgical, or was at most paraliturgical.¹² In some of the prefaces and introductions to these volumes, we read rationalizations for the commixture of sacred and secular works and these explanations, when read against the social reality of the singing school, take on a certain irony. The preface of Joseph Bird's *The Singing School Companion*, published in Boston in 1852, is typical. After describing the contents of the volume — there is literally something for everyone here: "... more than one hundred songs, duets, four-part songs, glees &c., eighty-seven metrical tunes, forty-two select pieces for the church, sixteen chants, with more than fifty selections of words for them, and five grand choruses ..." — he touches on the subject of the inclusion of secular works. Bird suggests that using sacred music as material for beginning singers does not show the proper respect and reverence due the genre; and he

¹⁰Humbert opened his school in "Mr. Harper's large and commodious Upper Room in King Street." See Helmut Kallman, *A History of Music in Canada 1534 - 1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) 43.

¹¹Kallman 43.

¹²On this issue, see Nicholas Temperley, "Stephen Humbert's *Union Harmony*, 1816," in *Sing Out the Glad News: Hymn Tunes in Canada*, ed. John Beckwith, *CanMus Documents* (Toronto: 1978) 57 - 89.

remarks on the light and airy character of the secular works, together with their popular appeal, "... thus securing not only an extraordinary amount of practice, but of such kind as to impart a greater degree of compass and flexibility to the voice."¹³

Bird's points are well taken. But the fact is, that by 1852, and much earlier in some locales, the relationship between singing schools and religion had changed in ways that went beyond the repertoire and its function. At the risk of generalization, singing schools evolved from educational institutions that benefitted the church, to social institutions that benefited from the veneer of respectability lent by the sacred repertoire and its associations. It is no wonder these schools were popular with young people. Whatever their educational benefits, they were also opportunities for unchaperoned exposure to the opposite sex. The following reference from 1782 makes this abundantly clear:

*... I have no inclination for anything for I am almost sick of the World & were it not for the Hopes of going to singing-meeting tonight & indulging myself in some of the carnal Delights of the Flesh, such as kissing, squeezing & c, & c., I should willingly leave it now, before 10 o'clock, & exchange it for a better.*¹⁴

Extreme perhaps, but not all that unusual, this reference is one of many that point out the dual function of the singing school, at least for the young. Read against this, Bird's defense of secular music in his collection seems to represent a guarded acknowledgment of the real nature of the institution.

I am not suggesting that singing schools have no more than a prurient interest to us now. But it is interesting to trace popular views on the institution from a kind of 'nod-and-a-wink' status to the point where they enter popular culture at a symbolic level. Perhaps the best example of this sort of transference is found with

¹³Preface.

¹⁴Cited in: Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: 1964), 282.

Haliburton's Sam Slick, a Yankee whose itinerant lifestyle was not so very different from that of a singing teacher.

Haliburton affords us only a limited insight into the musical practice of the period. His social background and education, however, as much as guarantee exposure to music, as a listener if not as a performer. We know that he took part in the social whirl centred on opera while he was in London. We know also that his youngest son, Thomas, displayed precocious musical talent. Regrettably, the dismantling of his estate and sale of his library make it difficult to trace the roots of his musical knowledge. But in his handling of musical references in *The Clockmaker*, Haliburton demonstrates a keen awareness of the language and social significance of singing schools. The following references give some idea of the intimacy of his awareness, and the wide range of ways that Haliburton is able to put it to use.

Slick claims a singing-school education among his wide range of life-skills, and he is quick to point out the carnal advantages of this sort of education. We learn that he is a bass, and can "sing complete," a reference to the ability to read music, along the lines of Thomas Symmes's "regular singing," and Thomas Walker's "singing by note."

There is nothin' a'most pleases womenkind like hearin' men talk glib to them, unless it be to hear the sound of their own tongues. Then, I lamt psalmody to singin' school, and havin' naturally a good voice, can do base to the nines, and sing complete. Beautiful tunes some o' them meetin' house ones are too. There is old Russia; not that's one you never get tired of; and Washington's march is another, and so is Jim Crow Zionised. Lookin' on the same musick book with the ladies brings heads together, and if don't put your hands on their shoulder or their waists you can't see straight, or stand steady to read. Many a match has been made afore now in the night singin' schools. There is where I got my first lesson in manners, tho' father was always a-preachin' up of manners to me too.¹⁵

¹⁵Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *The Clockmaker*, Series One, Two, and Three, ed. George L. Parker (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995), 604.

In describing his father's tendency to elaborate when telling stories, Slick makes use of a particularly apt musical metaphor: "... there was considerable brag about father, he used to introduce new flourishes every time, what our singin' master in sacred melody, Doldrum Dykins, used to call grace notes."¹⁶ Grace notes and the practice of 'gracing' tunes have already been mentioned in connection with early efforts at psalm reform. They are mentioned in the introductory material of many early tune-books and, not always with admiration, William Billings is clear on this point:

*Many ignorant singers take great license from these trills and without confining themselves to any rules they shake all notes promiscuously and they are as apt to tear a note in pieces which should be struck fair and plump as any other. Let such persons be informed that it is impossible to shake a note without going off it, which occasions horrible discords; to remedy which evil they must not shake any note but what is marked with a Trill, and that according to rule, which may be easily learned under a good master.*¹⁷

Billings belief that the technique could be "easily learned under a good master," was not shared by all: "[The trill,] though a very beautiful grace, is difficult to be acquired ..., solos, not full choruses are the proper field for the full display of graces."¹⁸ Lowell Mason is unequivocal on the subject: "The shake consists of a rapid alternation of two sounds an in the following example. It has no place in common psalmody."¹⁹

Near the end of a long and impassioned discussion of compulsory versus voluntary church funding, Slick again looks to music and musical terms in order to

¹⁶Haliburton, 631.

¹⁷William Billings, *The Singing Master's Assistant* (1778), cited in Hamilton C. MacDougall, *Early New England Psalmody: An Historical Appreciation, 1620 - 1820* (Brattleboro: Stephen Daye Press, 1940), 105.

¹⁸A.B. Jacob Kimball, Jr., *Rural Harmony* (1793), cited in MacDougall 105 - 106.

¹⁹Lowell Mason, *Carmina Sacra*, Boston Collection (1848), cited in MacDougall 106.

express himself: "I'll play them a voluntary — I'll fa la sol them, to a jig tune, and show 'em how to count baker's dozen. Crack, crack, crack, that's the music, minister; crack, crack, crack, I'll set all Slickville ayelpin'!"²⁰ Haliburton plays with the dual meanings of 'voluntary' here. It refers to voluntary contributions in aid of the church, but the word is also used to describe certain instrumental works played as part of church services. 'Fa la sol' and 'show 'em how to count' both stem from the singing-school tradition.²¹ The first refers to a pedagogical technique now commonly know as 'solfege,' in which notes of the scale are assigned specific syllables according to their position in the scale. 'Count,' of course, refers to the relative length of notes in reference to an underlying 'beat.' Easy enough to understand in theory, in practice it was (and still is) an obstacle for beginners. Methods for 'beating time' crop up frequently in singing-school collections:

*By beating time is meant a certain regular motion of the right hand or foot. This may and certainly ought to be done without any great flourishing of the arms or stamping with the foot; to avoid which let the singer remember that the design of beating time is neither to offend the eyes or ears of a bystander, but for the direction of himself and others.*²²

If, in theory, there were to be no arm flourishes or foot stamping, it is not difficult to imagine situations where more drastic measures may have been necessary. George Parker recalls a passage from Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* in which Tristram's thoughts are interrupted by the "crack" of his postilion's whip.²³ But

²⁰Haliburton, *The Clockmaker*, p. 224.

²¹A tradition which 'jig' tunes would have been rare, however.

²²*Salem Collection*, 2nd ed. (1806), cited in MacDougall 111. Modern shaped-note 'singings' employ a less subtle form of beating time. The singers sit together according to voice type, but in the round (or square), leaving a small open area in the centre of the room or hall. The singers take turns acting as the 'conductor,' who stands in the centre and beats time by swinging his arm up and down. This arm motion is large and not very expressive.

²³Haliburton 700.

in this context, "crack" more likely describes the sound of a ruler or pointer beating time on a desk or blackboard.

Haliburton is able to incorporate references from the singing-school tradition into his satirical writings precisely because the tradition was so pervasive. And whatever else went on before, during, and after the classes, they were popular in part because they succeeded in realizing their stated aims. People did learn to sing, and they learned to sing together. Choral singing is an activity that requires a certain standard of individual skill. It follows, then, that the greater the collective skill, the more pleasurable the singing. Reports of the seamier side of the tradition notwithstanding, many references highlight a sense of individual and group pride in the quality of the performances that resulted from these schools. Simeon Perkins' comments on singing school activities in Liverpool are well known and widely cited. One of these references provides just a glimpse of this sense of pride in musical accomplishment:

Thursday, April third 1777 ... In the afternoon, Mr. Braman, ye singing master, has a singing in the new Meeting House, and delivers an oration upon musick. A very genteel performance, and the singing was by good judges thought extraordinary for the time we have been learning.²⁴

The singing-school course of study was designed, at least in part, around the promotion of this sense of pride. Short courses, as offered in smaller centres, frequently concluded with a public performance, a 'graduation recital,' put on for the entertainment of the townspeople. Courses offered in larger towns were often longer in duration, and featured more than one performance. In any case, it was in the best interests of the teacher that the students went out with a bang.

Occasionally, teachers became fixtures in particular areas, and in some cases it is appropriate to speak of family dynasties, where the occupation was

²⁴*The Diary of Simeon Perkins*. 1:146.

passed on within the same family over several generations. Bolwer's description of the musical activities and legacy of the Hebb family, in and around Conquerall Mills, is an especially good example of one such musical dynasty:

There were singing schools in the old days and the distance was never too great for those who belonged. It seems that most of the Singing masters were Hebbs. At first there was Sim Hebb. The Dulcimer was much used in his school but when there were concerts, many comic songs were used. James Kaulbach was well remembered for his rendering of 'Michael Schneider's Party', 'Jim the Carter Lad', and 'Kitty with the Buckles on her shoes', and others.

Later, Levi Hebb of Wileville was Bandmaster at Bridgewater and Mahone Bay. He taught singing school in Wileville, Lapland, Dublin Shore and Italy Cross and he also played the Cornet, Clarinet, Trombone, Violin, Piano and Organ.

William A. Hebb, (Billy Abraham) Indian Gardens, father of music in Lunenburg Co., led bands in Mahone Bay, Bridgewater, New Germany and Caledonia. He taught Singing School in Conquerall Mills, Hebbville and other places. He built a fine hall, held concerts, ran a large farm and had an orchestra of his own family and a few neighbouring young people. This group played at picnic concerts and at Exhibitions. When they were tired of playing they sang.²⁵

In his history of Barrington Township, Edwin Crowell mentions a number of singing teachers active in the area, and gives an idea of the fruits of their labour:

Josiah Payne Doane, 1784-1875, was a passionate devotee of music. After joining the Methodist Church in 1842 he employed his talent in the church choir and class meeting at the Head. Somewhat earlier was Samuel Kimball who at first lived at Rev. Thomas Crowell's and taught singing school during the winters at the Passage. About the same time John Taylor was teaching singing school at Port Latour and vicinity. Such interest attended the school instruction, such progress in reading the music score that house to house meetings because the custom for the practice of the tunes which books like the Vocalist and the Carmina Sacra contained. Individual talent was thus developed and many local leaders produced, conspicuous among them being William L. Crowell at the Passage and Arnold Doane at the Head. The former was largely employed in singing school and private instruction on instruments of music; and the cabinet organ then coming into use made possible the rehearsal and rendering of

²⁵Hazel Kaulback Bolivar, *Conquerall Mills, 1806-1974* (Mill Village, NS, the Author, 1974)
26. Bolwer lists the members of this "orchestra." Mr. W. A. Hebb (Clarinet), Walter and Mable Hebb (Clarinets), Florence Hebb (Piano), Fletcher Hebb (Bass), Lem Hebb's Annie (Slide Trombone), Reva Haines (Mrs. Chas. Wentzel) (Picola), and Annand, son of John Hebb (Clarinet).

*classical compositions, which, unsupported, the singers had not the confidence to attempt.*²⁶

Perhaps the most vivid picture of singing schools in Nova Scotia is found in the recollections of Murray Anderson of Scotsburn.²⁷ Anderson recalls sessions of "the old singing school," taught by Andrew MacKay. MacKay came from Scotland with his father, who was also his first music teacher. By the age of six he was already a "wonderful violinist" and played the violin for a wedding. Anderson claims that MacKay, "... could play any piece by note."

Like many singing school teachers, music was not MacKay's only profession ("... in the daytime he did some farming"), but it is clear from Anderson's description that music was MacKay's primary interest. He taught singing in the school sections of Meadowville, Plainfield, Heathbell, Scotsburn, Rogers Hill, Millsvile, West Branch, and Elmfield, travelling from place to place by horse and either wagon or sleigh. Whenever a particular section felt the need for his services, they would canvass to raise the tuition fees. MacKay charged \$1.00 per night, but "when the thirteen nights were finished he would throw in an extra night or two, free."

Anderson provides valuable insight into MacKay's teaching methods. The music was copied on the backs of wallpaper rolls. The piece being studied was unrolled and tacked up on the wall of the room.²⁸ MacKay would then have the

²⁶Edwin Crowell, *A History of Barrington Township and Vicinity, Shelburne County, Nova Scotia 1604 - 1870* (Yarmouth: 1923), facsimile reprint: (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1973) 330 - 331. This passage and another dealing with music in the Barrington area are given in Appendix 15.

²⁷Collected in January 1981 and found in PANS MG100 vol. 41 no. 17.

²⁸A very pragmatic solution to the problem of finding pieces of paper large enough to be seen by the whole class. Wallpaper came in rolls wide enough to write out the four voice parts, and it was durable. Anderson suggests that MacKay must have had hundreds of these rolls. Regrettably, most of them were lost in a house fire. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia has two of the rolls, both of which are presently uncatalogued.

sopranos sing with him (Anderson remembers MacKay having a "... great voice range and could sing any part"), followed by the altos, tenors, and basses, after which "Everyone sang the notes together, then the words, quite strongly." MacKay would then say, "Now sing it softly and put the Amen to it." The piece was then taken down and a new one tacked up in its place. Anderson remembers two pieces that stretched across the front of the school and halfway down the side ("The Golden Gate," and "The Vale of the Temple was Rent in Twain").

Murray Anderson remembers Andrew MacKay with fondness, even though he admits that his own interest in singing was more social than musical. It is hard to know now what to make of Andrew MacKay. Perhaps he was a slightly comic figure, travelling from place to place with his rolls of wallpaper, engaged in a profession that had long since become obsolete. There is a story, though, at once too good to be true and too good not to repeat, that the few rolls that survived a fire at MacKay's house were saved because he threw them out an upstairs window. Nothing else was saved.

CHAPTER V

Programming Issues and Suggestions for Further Research

The following discussion outlines a number of ways in which the Nova Scotia Museum can highlight the role of music at its various sites, both as a way of fleshing out the sometimes very different historical and cultural contexts suggested by each site, and more generally, in ways directed towards creating a more vivid picture of music in early Nova Scotian society at large.

I should begin by saying that while the Province of Nova Scotia has declared 1997 - 98 to be the "Years of Music," I think there is a very real possibility that the public's interpretation of 'music' in this context will default to traditional repertoires, repertoires that are very high profile at present, and receive a great deal of media exposure. This is not to say that traditional music should not be represented in the Museum's programming. However, when interpreting 'notated' repertoires, it would be wise to start from the assumption that the public knows absolutely nothing about them. The vast majority of museum visitors have a much clearer conception of what a 'reel' is than they do a 'quadrille.' Whatever this says about the profile of traditional music in late twentieth-century Nova Scotia, it is a sad commentary on our understanding of 'non-traditional' musical repertoires in the province's cultural history.

As suggested in the introduction to this report, the primary stumbling block to an understanding of these repertoires is the fact that in their time, and in their place, they were the 'popular' music. Unfortunately, it is not enough to simply state this and then carry on with the details. People see that a work is written for solo piano, and that the composer is Rossini, and they make assumptions about the work that are based on received notions of what the music must be like. However hazy most people's conception of 'classical' music may be, it is at least fair to say

that 'popular' is not an adjective that springs immediately to mind. As a result, what gets lost are things like the fact that the work was arranged for the piano, that the work is actually a medley of different tunes taken from one or more operas, that the work may have been published in New York or Boston, and so on. In short, they think 'opera,' when it would be more appropriate for them to think 'Andrew Lloyd Webber.'

Similar misconceptions arise with the other repertoires considered in this report, but I would argue that they are especially acute when dealing with dance, an activity that brings into play a staggeringly complex array of social and cultural behaviours that are so hard-wired together that they defy meaningful interpretation when considered in isolation. Music, in the context of social dancing, is paradoxically meaningless and meaningful. I think it is fair to say that if one reconstructed the programme of music played at a society ball in nineteenth-century Halifax, and played this music out of context, the audience would take away with them a deeper appreciation of why the so-called 'stylized' dance music of composers such as Chopin, is considered great music. On the other hand, I have tried to demonstrate how the titles of these collections played a role in the definition of Nova Scotian society as 'colonial.' Simply listening to the music does not make this connection obvious, but it is by no means superfluous to an understanding of its meaning.

Having said this, I believe there are ways to carve out a presence for music at the various sites. At the most basic and realizable level, some sort of ambient music should be played in at least one room of each historical site. Visiting Uniacke House and Prescott House while preparing this report, I was struck by their silence. (Granted, these visits took place in the dead of winter when the sites were closed.) In the houses, the most obvious place for this background music would be the parlour. The question of what should be played is more complicated.

Ideally, the music should have some sort of direct connection with the site and the family that lived there, and it should be performed on historically appropriate instruments by players who are versed in the appropriate performance practice. Where this music is known to exist and can be accessed by the museum — as is the case with the Uniacke and Ross-Thomson music books — the question then turns to what lengths the museum is prepared to go in securing performances of this repertoire. Before pursuing an answer to this question, a number of things need to be considered.

Assuming that commercial recordings are off limit due to copyright restrictions, it will be necessary to commission recorded performances of appropriate repertoires. With the Uniacke piano music, for example, this would be relatively straight forward if a modern piano is used, but it would be more difficult if a period instrument were required. Early nineteenth-century square grands, whether Broadwoods or otherwise, fall between the cracks in terms of their availability. It is easier to find a reconstruction of a Mozart-style forte piano than it is a playable Broadwood from the 1820s.¹

In the end, if it is not practical to use a rebuilt square-grand and if the music is to be used solely to provide ambience for the room, the course of least resistance would be to record the music on a modern piano and rely on recording techniques to 'antique' the sound.

For choral music, the most representative and historically accurate way to obtain a recording would be to assemble a group of amateur singers and have them sight-read works from collections such as Humbert's *Union Harmony* or Sterry's *The Continental Vocalists Glee Book*. The singing-school repertoire is not particularly

¹While the Miss Black Music Book (also at Uniacke House, contents listed in Appendix 12) does contain some music by Mozart, it would never have been played there on the sort of instrument that Mozart had in mind when he wrote it.

difficult, so even if more polished recordings were needed, the time required for rehearsal would not be too great.

The solo-voice repertoire is harder to bring off effectively. As with the choral music, the voice should not sound too 'trained.' The problem is that many performances of this repertoire — especially in those sites where the performers would have had easy access to performances by professional singers in Halifax or abroad — would have featured untrained voices trying to sound trained. Finding the line where affectation crosses over into simple bad taste can be difficult in such cases.

Also, the unabashedly sentimental character of so much of this music can be difficult to handle, for listener and performer alike. The one common response to this difficulty has been to rehabilitate tunes by stripping away the veneer of sentimentality and replacing it with a veneer of folk-like simplicity. Subjecting an old chestnut like "Drink to me only with thine eyes" to this treatment can be quite effective, but it is probably not representative of parlour performances in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia, and it is certainly not representative of public performances from that time.²

Site-based live performances could play an important role in the museum's programming and interpretive efforts. 'Historical' recitals should be programmed very carefully, however. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century concerts were notorious for their length, as well as the diversity of their content. Works for solo voice were sung next to works for band, while individual movements from

²To make matters even more complicated, it is very likely that domestic performances of this repertoire would have adopted many of the physical mannerisms used to pitch songs in theatrical performances. This means descriptive gestures, and if recent studies of gestural codification in opera have any relevance whatsoever to music in any of the museum's sites, their interpretation is going to make explaining dance seem like a walk in the park. Of course, this is not relevant in taped performances, but it is something that should be considered when planning live programmes

symphonic works were played at different points in the concert (and not always in the correct order). All in all, a very different musical experience when compared with what we are used to.

Too much variety can be a problem, but so can too little. With the Francklin music books there is just enough variety to put together a satisfying and educational piano programme consisting of, for example, a couple of variation sets, one of the operatic medleys, one set of quadrilles, and an overture. In terms of repertoire, this programme would be appropriate (or at least conceivably appropriate) for all of the upper middle- and upper-class sites.

The repertoire for solo voice is extensive and stylistically varied. A programme consisting of a few oratorio excerpts, opera arias, and a selection of songs in English would be easy enough to prepare. Later in the nineteenth century, vocal programmes would have included excerpts from Gilbert and Sullivan operettas as well. There are a number of interesting thematic programmes that might be pursued, such as a concert or concert group consisting of musical texts by Joseph Howe, or songs associated with the Temperance movement. In looking through some of the local 'songsters', I have come across settings whose texts appear to be underwritten by certain political views (for or against Confederation, for example), or relationships with the 'Old Country.' Again, perhaps part of a solo-voice programme could be devoted to one of these themes. The material is a little harder to find, and requires careful interpretation, but I think it would be rewarding in terms of its educational potential.

I am skeptical about the effectiveness of performances put on in period dress unless they are very carefully interpreted. As *tableaux vivants* it seems to me that they often come across as all 'tableaux' and no 'vivants.' I would extend this reservation to include performances in historic sites where modern formal wear is worn. A tuxedo is as out of place at Uniacke House as an eighteenth-century wig

is on the stage of the Rebecca Cohn Auditorium. In short, if period costume is wanted it needs to be explained as fully as the music. If it is not wanted, dress should be as transparent and unobtrusive as possible.

I think lecture recitals are the most effective way of establishing social and cultural contexts for these repertoires. The commentary need not be elaborate, and if delivered by the performer or performers, it helps to create a more informal and intimate atmosphere.³

As I have suggested repeatedly in this report, dance represents an interpretive problem because of the complicated interrelationships between its various elements. As examples of material culture, the title pages of some of the dance music collections are interesting, and would be worth detailed research. Working laterally, one could follow a particular series of publications and note changes in public taste as reflected in the contents of each volume. As Ingrid Brainard demonstrates in her study of dance music publications in the eighteenth century, publishers were very quick to respond to these changes, even to the extent of offering manuscript copies if printed editions were delayed. The nineteenth-century collections I have examined show no indication that things had changed. With enough of these editions at hand, it would also be possible to look for patterns of patronage as reflected in the dedications. Between the volumes at Uniacke House, and those found in the Ross-Thomson collection at Dalhousie's Killam

³Achieving the right performance atmosphere is difficult with many of these works, because they were written with a different conception of 'performance' in mind. This is especially true of domestic pieces, which were written with no intention of them ever being heard in a concert setting. Generally these pieces are interesting in ways that engage the performer, but not interesting enough (or interesting in the right way) to sustain the undivided attention of an audience. The stereotypical nineteenth-century 'women's sphere' illustration, showing a mother sitting in a parlour doing needlework while her teenage daughter plays the piano, may be about feminine activities and about physical proximity, but it is not really about shared experience, because chances are the mother is only listening carefully enough to be able to murmur, "That's nice, dear," every now and again.

Library, the museum has a sizable body of works to draw on.

The museum might also consider staging a dance for a video production. This should be in costume, and it would be instructive (and possibly amusing as well), if it coordinated with excerpts from one of the many dance etiquette manuals from the period. In light of the museum's site profile (and limited budget), the dance should probably be a 'sociable,' not a 'ball' or 'assembly.' Even if done on a limited scale, the opportunity to see a dance in something close to its proper context would help make the pastime vivid for patrons, and would also serve as excellent background material for the interpretive guides.

Dance could also serve as the central focus of a more ambitious multi-disciplinary exhibit. What I have in mind here is a micro-historical investigation of a single dance for which reasonably complete documentation exists. Minimally, this would consist of the name of the hostess, the date and location, a guest list, and a dance card. Ideally, other documentation might include the names of the musicians, and, especially, sufficient biographical information about the guests to allow at least a partial reconstruction of their social relationships with one another. In the spirit of 'six degrees of separation,' it should be possible to say more about what the guests have in common than simply that they belonged to the same social class. Of course, the difficulty with a project of this type lies with picking the right dance. Again, it would be best to look at 'sociables,' although some of the more formal documentation — such as printed dance cards — were often dispensed with for smaller gatherings. From the point of view of interpretation, a project of this type is useful because it emphasizes the social aspects of dance. Although in consequence, the importance of music is diminished in this sort of interpretive context; in the end, its function is reflected more accurately.

Programming involving the singing-school tradition should be implemented one way or another. The most obvious physical site is the Barrington Meeting

House, but the practice was widespread, and its venues varied. Concerts of singing-school repertoire could be sponsored by the museum, although it would be best if these events were coordinated with an exhibit, however limited. The locally based "Elastic Millennium Choir" has recorded and performed publicly some of this repertoire, as well as run workshops modelled on singing-school pedagogical practice. Public response to both the concerts and the workshops has been good.

Lack of variety can be a problem with this repertoire, given its stated pedagogical aims. Leavened with occasional works taken from related, but more ambitious, repertoires can alleviate this problem. This is another repertoire that would benefit from some kind of running commentary from the stage.

The collections containing this repertoire are interesting for what they say about patterns of music publishing, and the prefaces and front material contain a great deal of specific information on pedagogical techniques. But these techniques are rather technical, and it is difficult to pitch this information to the public. Notational reforms, accompanied by examples, do have a certain visual appeal, and a small exhibit focussing on this aspect of the repertoire might generate some public interest. It should be remembered that the most striking examples of these reforms are associated mostly with American practice, and were relatively little used in Nova Scotia, notwithstanding the *A Book of Melodies ...* (1854), published in Halifax.

The story of Andrew MacKay and his wallpaper rolls is an ideal exhibit subject, and a surefire crowd-pleaser. Regrettably, the two surviving rolls in Nova Scotia are both in the PANS collection. Neither roll is fully catalogued, so in a sense they are lost in plain view. If the museum were to mount some kind of exhibit on the repertoire, it might serve as incentive to have them catalogued properly. If the exhibit were high profile enough, perhaps some sort of sharing arrangement could be implemented.

There are a number of music-related research topics that would amply repay the museum's involvement, either as the sole sponsoring institution, or in conjunction with other institutions. The following list could doubtless be extended in a number of different directions, but these are some areas that I feel best serve the needs of the museum.

As part of a larger, interdisciplinary study, I think music's place in the various 'Entertainments,' 'Shows,' 'Spectacles,' etc. that made the rounds of the province in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would make an extremely interesting study. These events were evidently quite common, both in Halifax, and by turns, in the countryside. If their titles and descriptions are anything to go by, they combined elements of theatre, music, dance, and contemporary history. As a result, they can be difficult to categorize, and this may account in part for the lack of study they seem to have received.⁴

I think the historical tableaux are especially interesting. At the most basic level, they were a form of news-media, but socially, and as entertainment, they were informed by the same sense of vicarious identification suggested by the titles of some of the published music of the period, in which references to "nobility's balls" etc. were very common. And as the subject of an interpretive 'event,' a reconstruction of one of these entertainments could generate a good deal of public interest. The mixed entertainment given by Signor Tronche in 1795 featuring "Dancing a Hornpipe on the Tight Rope ..." might be a little impractical for this sort of treatment. But *Olio or Attic Evening's Entertainment*, "Composed of the Sublime, the Pathetic, the Humerous and the Musical ..." certainly sounds like it has

⁴See Sidney M. Oland, "Materials for a History of the Theatre in Early Halifax" (M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1966); and Frederick A. Hall, "A Prince's Sojourn in Eighteenth-Century Canada," especially 261 - 266.

something to offer everyone.⁵

Although I did not focus on these events as part of this report, in addition to many passing references, I did come across a couple of references that highlight the impact these performances had on the public. Adolphus Gaetz's diary entry for July 17, 1871 gives a detailed description of a show put on by a troupe selling patent medicines. It reads, in part:

Open Air Concert! A new way of vending patent Medicines!!!. On Friday last a party of Men, consisting of four, arrived in town for the purpose of selling a Medicine called "King's instant Relief". The method adopted by them for the sale of the article is novel and something quite new in these parts. They advertized an "Open Air Concert" at a given hour in the Evening. At the time appointed they had their travelling waggon placed on one of the Streets most frequented, lighted with Torchlights; from the waggon, which served as their Stage, they sung a number of Comic and Sentimental Songs, accompanied by a couple of Guitars; the Music attracted quite a crowd of listeners' after singing, the Chief of the party dilated on the Wonderful properties of the Medicine, the number of cures it had made, the instant relief it gave, &c. &c.⁶

James Barry gives a more succinct description of a show that was put on in Pictou in August of 1864. Evidently, part of the show focused on the Civil War (Barry says nothing about the content of the rest of the performance). His comments also suggest that it must have received a certain amount of advance publicity:

Tues. Aug. 23 [1864] - ... Great Show to be in Pictou on Monday the 29th of this month ... Sat. Aug. 29 - ... All hands are preparing for the great SHOW in Pictou on Monday ... Mon. Aug. 29 - ... Near 4000 people seeing the show at once, inside the tent, and 1000 outside that could not get in. They had also pictures of the wars and portraits, or rather photographes of some of the Generals on both sides.⁷

⁵Hall.263 - 264.

⁶Adolphus Gaetz, *The Diary of Adolphus Gaetz*, 104. For whatever reason, this event seems to have made quite an impression on Gaetz. The first Dominion Day only warranted two exclamation marks.

⁷James Barry's diary entries for August 23, August 27, and August 29, 1864 (PANS, MFM no. 14:262). Elsewhere in the diary, Barry expresses strong sympathies for the South in the Civil War. Armed conflicts within Canada also served as the subject of these entertainments. The Riel Rebellion led to the composition of L. Stewart Dixon's burlesque, *From Halifax to the*

I think that music's role in the Nova Scotian temperance movement should be investigated, in conjunction with a reciprocal study of the temperance movement's role in defining (or delimiting) musical taste. It appears that temperance ideals were adopted more enthusiastically in some communities than in others, and I believe this zeal did affect popular taste in music. At any rate, the documentary evidence concerning music's role in the temperance movement in Nova Scotia is plentiful, so even if an exhibit were planned in which music was not the focus (or co-focus), establishing a niche for music within the movement as a whole would not be difficult.

Music at the Halifax Mechanics Institute does not sound like a very promising research topic, at least at first. I throw this out as an example of a 'small' topic with an odd spin. It turns out that music was actively cultivated by students there, primarily as a pastime but in more public ways as well. There were even some music books in the Institute's library.⁸ But there are some curious references that seem to indicate that some of the students may have been overly interested in extra-curricular musical activities. Robert Sedgewick writes in 1857:

... — we in the country are sometimes vexed at the nochalann[sic] with which our rural mechanics regale themselves with a spring on the flute when their fingers ought to be plying the implements of their craft...⁹

Saskatchewan (1886), available in the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproduction collection (no. 30229).

⁸See *Catalogue of Books in the Halifax Mechanic's Library* (Halifax: Cunnabell, 1832), (CIHM no. 10380). Because the institute was founded in 1831, this catalogue is quite small. Under the subject heading, "Arts and Science," the following music books are listed: "Music, History of. Vol.;" "Constable's miscellany;" "Crotch's Lectures on.;" and "Voice, Art of improving." Under the subject heading, "History," only "Troubadours, History of the. 1 vol." is listed. Under the subject heading "Miscellaneous," only "Festivals and Amusements. 1 vol. Family Library" is listed. There are a relatively large number of volumes listed under the subject heading "Novels, Plays, &c."

⁹Robert Sedgewick, *Amusements for Youth* (Halifax: 1857) 12.

Sedgewick includes this statement as part of a discussion of appropriate and inappropriate diversions for young people, but it is odd that mechanics are singled out for wasting their time with music.

I think the museum should extend its publishing efforts to include music. Until quite recently, this would have required a considerable financial commitment from the museum, but recent advances in music notation software have made desktop publishing of music both possible and relatively cheap. The learning curve with these programs can be steep, but the skills involved are not so specialized that the work need be contracted out. This means that editing and typesetting can be done by the same person.

The museum should institute two series, each dealing with the repertoire in a different way. One of these series should be structured along the lines of "Monuments of Music in Nova Scotia," and should consist of editions of individual sources — ideally, manuscript and printed, although manuscript sources should receive priority — together with a more or less detailed scholarly apparatus, and biographical information where indicated.

The second series should be more informal and designed to appeal to performing musicians, both amateur and professional. The volumes in this series should include anthologies of works sharing similar genres. An anthology of Nova Scotian choral music stemming from the singing-school tradition would be welcome, as would a collection of character-pieces or variation sets for the piano. Despite my comments about the relationship between music and dance, I believe there would be a market for a collection containing the music used for an existing dance programme or some portion thereof. The same could be said for a glee-club performance, or other related types of events. Front matter in these publications need not be exhaustive, but should at least give some idea of the social context of the music.

With this in mind, there are at least four important manuscript sources that should receive detailed investigation. The repertoires vary from source to source, but they all share one feature: each is in some way a reflection of their compilers' musical interests. They are the musical equivalents of diaries. Three of these sources should be published in a modern edition.

1. The J. Hollis Lindsay Music Collection at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia contains a curious musical commonplace book containing a large number of works for solo piano, piano duet, voice and piano, and vocal ensemble with piano.¹⁰ The source is undated, but on the basis of the repertoire, it appears to have been copied in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The quality of the musical handwriting is very good, and suggests the collection was copied by someone with a lot of experience. The questions raised by this source have less to do with the repertoire it contains, than with the reasons why it should have been copied in the first place. Manuscript commonplace books were familiar enough in the eighteenth century, when music was expensive, and/or difficult to obtain. That someone would go to the trouble to copy out the works in this collection circa 1900 is puzzling. So, while it does not warrant publication in a modern edition (the vast majority of the works are already available in modern editions), it would be good to include it as part of a broader study of individual musical taste in Nova Scotia.

¹⁰PANS MG31 vol. 4 no. 170. The J. Hollis Lindsay Collection is very large and its contents are diverse in terms of provenance. Lindsay was a blind piano technician, so it is appropriate to ask why he assembled such a large collection of musical scores. A finding aid for the collection is available, but it is not always reliable. For example, MG31 vol. 4 no. 172 is listed as a collection of guitar arrangements by Louis Tocaben. In fact, the collection contains guitar accompaniments for works for two mandolins and guitar. The mandolin parts are in the collection, but they are found in a different volume.

2. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia also hold the Halvilah Thorne Music Book.¹¹ The manuscript is dated 1839, and Thorne lived in Bridgetown. This too is a manuscript commonplace book, but it is much less ambitious than the volume in the Lindsay Collection.¹² The manuscript contains a variety of vocal and instrumental works, and provides an excellent picture of Thorne's musical tastes. I believe this source should be published in a modern critical edition, together with a biographical study of its owner and copyist.

3. But by far the most important musical sources I have come across in my research are the two James Barry fiddle manuscripts.¹³ The smaller first collection contains works by Barry. The second collection consists of well over 2,000 fiddle tunes collected and copied by Barry in the Pictou area. It is an astonishing testament to a remarkable man, and to estimate its musical value one must look to collections such as O'Neill's Music of Ireland for bench marks.¹⁴ Both of these manuscripts should receive detailed investigation, and both should be published in modern critical editions. Additionally, portions of the large collection should be excerpted and published in an anthology geared toward performers and interested

¹¹PANS MG20 vol. 191 no. 1.

¹²The musical handwriting is careful, but not elegant.

¹³Microfilms of both manuscripts are available at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, as are films of Barry's diaries. Bibliographic descriptions of these sources available at PANS indicate that they are now at McCulloch House, but they do not give specifics concerning their location. Because these sources are not central to topics covered in this report, I did not seek detailed information about their location and the circumstances surrounding their provenance. Matthew McGuire, who has worked on repertoires more closely related to the Barry manuscripts, should have more detailed information.

¹⁴I think it would not be an exaggeration to say that the large collection is one of the most important sources of its kind in North America. It is certainly the most important collection of its kind in Nova Scotia.

amateurs. Also, Barry's diaries provide valuable insights into the life and work of an usually individual character. They speak volumes about the music in his life, but they also say a great deal about his many occupations (miller, sawyer, bookbinder, and publisher). A study of the diaries should be undertaken in tandem with a study of the music.

APPENDIX 1

The 7th Regiment of the Royal Fusiliers Band in Halifax (from the letterbook of Prince Edward Augustus)

Prince Edward Augustus was passionate about music, and this passion was manifested in his efforts to assemble the finest military band possible. In this excerpt from a letter to an aide in London, written in 1795, Edward records problems arising from a series of desertions from the ranks of the band, together with his efforts to bring the band back up to full strength.

I little thought when I mentioned to you, that my Band would be so completely wrecked by the present time as it now is, the Master Scavoie, having given us warning, agreeable to his engagement, to be free at Michaelmas next; the Trumpet (Muck) whose time lapses at the end of April, having refused to enter into a new engagement; my two Bassoons, 1st Clarinet and one Trumpet (all four soldiers) having deserted about a fortnight since to the States, being enticed away under promise of uncommon wages by one of their comrades (a showman). Our Tambour de basque, who deserted from furlow about two months before; thus, the labour of six years is entirely lost, and from having the very best Band (without exception) in the King's Service, I have now, worse than none, a very incomplete and bad one. In this dilemma, I have written to a Man at Brunswick of the name of Bies who served under me before in the Band of the Guards at Hanover, when I was their Colonel, to engage for me for a term of not less than six, and if possible of eight years, a complete Band of tricolor, the first and principal condition being that none of them have ever served in France, or have the least appearance of harbouring French principles.... The whole that I have stipulated to pay them previous to their reaching London is six pounds sterling per man, two of which is to paid them at

Hanover by Mr. Falcke, one of the first Magistrates of that city, and the other four at Hamburg by Mr. Hamburg the British Consul, whose respective draughts I request you will therefore honor the former to the amount of twenty four, the other to the amount of forty eight pounds. I beg at the same time to observe that I never yet have received the Trumpets which I requested you to send out, and that I now request you will be good enough to forward them by the December Packet, if not by the January, together with a bass Sackbut, agreeable to the following directions. The Trumpets to be of brass not of copper, perfectly plain without embossment or engraving, of the largest size possible, and with crooks for every tone; the bass Sackbut to be in like manner perfectly plain and of the largest size. Captain Smyth of my regiment, my major of brigade, who will be the bearer of this letter to you, and who is a most excellent musician, will be able to give you still fuller directions respecting them. I will trouble you immediately on the receipt of this, to write to Mr. Hamburg, the British Consul at Hamburg that he may have directions to pay the sum of four pounds to any musician who shall produce an engagement signed with my name, and coming from Hanover, not exceeding the number of thirteen...

APPENDIX 2

Funding the Volunteer Rifle Band, Lunenburg

(from the diary of Adolphus Gaetz)

Wednesd. 1st, [April, 1863] — Yesterday evening a Lecture on 'Intellectual Improvement', was delivered by M. B. DesBrisay, Esqr., of Chester, in the Temperance Hall, in aid of the Volunteer Band. This Band is being got up by the Volunteer Company of this town.

Tuesday, 28th, — Concert. An amateur Ethiopian Concert, took place in the Temperance Hall, this evening, got up by some of the young men of the town, in aid of the funds for the purchase of Musical Instruments for the Volunteer Band, which is being got up by the Volunteer Rifle Company.

Friday, 1st, [January, 1864] — A Bazaar was held to day in Temperance Hall in aid of the Volunteer Rifle Company, for the purpose of purchasing an additional number of instruments for their intended Band; and also for defraying the expense of a Teacher. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the Hall was well attended by purchasers, and the handsome sum of \$70 was realized.

Monday, 11th, [April] — This evening a Lecture was delivered by the Revd. Mr. Gray, (Methodist) at the Temperance Hall, for the benefit of the Volunteer Rifle Company. The Volunteer Band which has been lately got up, and which has been under tuition for the last five weeks, made its first appearance in public; playing the Volunteers to the Hall, and after the Lecture, playing them back to their place of muster.

Tuesday, 24th, [May] — This being the Queen's Birthday, the Volunteer Rifle Company turned out, and after marching through the different streets, with the Band at their head, fired a feu de joi in Kings Street, opposite Wm. N. Zwicker's store. The Volunteer Band turned out in Uniform for the first time. All the Bunting that could be had in the shape of Flags, was spread out to the breeze.

Thursd. 26th, [December, 1867] — Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, a Bazaar was held this day in Temperance Hall, for the benefit of the Volunteer Band, the sum of £32 was realized.

APPENDIX 3

The Naval Bandmaster

(from the Diary of August Hecker)

Sept. 28, 1870 — ... He introduced me to Captain Nicholson and he made my heart much lighter, he spoke very kindly and said that I would find it rather strange at first in the Service, but that I would get used to it soon, that he had heard there was a good band in the Royal Alfred, that he himself was very fond of music,... (494)

Oct. 4, 1870 — ...he [Mr. Vanderbosche, former band leader on the Royal Alfred] turned to me and said, Mr. Hecker, you'll see by and by what ship's life is with a drunken set of blackguards in the band. Well, I thought there is some comfort in that. There was to be a ball at night in Commissioner's House and as Mr. Vanderbosche had no viola player, I took the viola and played the part. The band did not strike my fancy much at first, but I soon found out that the principal players were good ones and I hoped that, if they were willing, to make a much better band of it in time. The ball was over about three o'clock. ... (495)

October 5 - 6, 1870 — ... Made a start with the Band Thursday evening; the programme was rather a miserable one without any practice and two of the best players were made prisoners during the day for smuggling grog on board; however, I got over it right enough and the officers were very pleased. I played the Forget-me-not Galop and nearly everyone took a fancy to it. (495)

Oct. 7, 1870 — ... I played again in the evening and the Captain sent for me and said that he was very pleased with the band and that if anything should go wrong to come to him and he would see about it. (495)

Oct. 10, 1870 — I commenced practicing today with the band and practiced every day during the week, repeated all the pieces which they had played before, made some alterations in some of them, played the others the same as they did before, so I got on little by little. ...I was pleased to see some improvement in the band. (496)

Oct. 25, 1870 — The Royal Alfred went alongside the wharf to take in coal and provisions which gives me a good chance for practicing undisturbed into the Sail loft, Dockyard. (496)

Oct. 29, 1870 — Played with the string band in the Admiral's House to a Dinner party. (496)

Dec. 31, 1870 — New Year's Eve. The Captain sent for me, after playing with the Band on Night, to have some music in his cabin, so we got the Harmonium up, had some Partsongs, duetts, etc.. ... (497)

Jan. 7, 1871 — I was ordered to play at the Governor's with the Reed-Band. ... There also was the 29th Band and so we played alternately till 6 o'clock. Everyone said that my band — according to the number--played far better than the other. When it was over, I got acquainted with the 29th Bandmaster, who was a german by the name of Stoekel,... (498)

Jan. 19, 1871 — I went on shore in the Evening to play a ball at a gentleman's house. I had four of my men with me. They also had engaged two negroes--a piano and a coronet player, which made it easier for me as we played alternately. (499)

Jan. 25, 1871 — Ball at the Governor's House. String Band. (499)

Jan. 26, 1871 — A party of ladies and gentlemen came off in the steam launch this afternoon, apparently for the double purpose of dancing and seeing the ship. ... (499)

March 24, 1871 — Played with the Band near the Hospital in the afternoon. (501)

March 24, 1871 — There was a concert to be given in the Dockyard and I was ordered to play one or two pieces with the Stringband. There was Captain Nicholson singing two songs and a duett with Mrs. Mon: Mr. Toy reading, Mr. Tucker sang a song in character, which was the best of the lot, all the rest was pretty miserable and I was glad when it was over. ... (501)

April 12, 1871 — I went over to Hamilton where all kinds of sports were going on between the 53rd and 69th, the bands of both reg. were playing alternately which I enjoyed the most. ... (501)

April 28, 1871 — Mr. Cogswell, Amateur of Music, visited me on board and asked me to take part in a musical entertainment at his house on Wednesday night. (501)

April 30, 1871 — After playing with the band on board in the evening, I went to the Cogswells according to promise. There were three other gentlemen besides him, a Mr. Crighton [Creighton], Hudson and Jemmison. We played some Symphonies of Haydn with two violins, viola, Bass, Flute, and Mr. Cogswell on the piano. I enjoyed it very much and agreed to have a meeting once every week. (501)

June 23, 1871 — Myself and three friends, B, G, and E, had arranged to have a picnic today. As B was best acquainted with the females of Halifax, he managed everything in the way of invitations. ... We arrived at the Hotel about noon, had some refreshments, and then we were shown to a spacious room where we enjoyed ourselves immensely with singing and playing. ...on our return to the Hotel, the Piano was moved to a large room, where we had a splendid dance till 10 o'clock,... (502)

July 31, 1871 — ...I assisted at a Concert at St. Marks S.S. House... (502)

Aug. 21, 1871 — ... I and Mr. Cogswell went up in the Steamer, there were five of my band playing to a dance,... (502)

Sept. 15, 1871 — The Exhibition — which commenced yesterday — is generously opening today to the ships company and nearly everyone went on shore to see it. They formed at the New Market wharf and preceded by the band, marched to the place. ... (503)

APPENDIX 4

A Musical Party (Halifax, 1853)

(from the diary of Sarah Clinch)

In this excerpt, Sarah Clinch records, with characteristic frankness, her impressions of a musical party held at Mrs. Grays. Her description of Miss McLane's overwrought singing technique is especially interesting.

Dec. 8 — ... I was introduced to Capt. Gore, Capt. Barry, Will de Blois, W. Bland, & Mr. Martin and a Miss McLane, the Boston Belle as she is called, by what right I do not know, unless by the rule of contraries. She is a fine showy looking girl, but with the most forward, unrefined manners, I ever saw in polite society. I like Capt. Barry and Mr. Martin very much. Mr. Martin walked home with us. there was a Mr. Ich[?] there who sang very well indeed. Miss McLane played and sang. Her playing is very brilliant but her time and taste are very bad. Her voice is very cultivated and she would sing well if she were not so very very affected and self conceited. She closes her teeth and parts her lips while singing. Every word and every action is for effect. I danced with Mr. Bland, the first quadrille, Will de Blois the second, Will de Blois, La Tempete, and Mr. Martin, Pop goes the Weasel and Roger de Coverly. Altogether I enjoyed myself very much. ...

APPENDIX 5

Dances, Public and Private

(from the diary of James Bolton Laidlaw)

The following excerpts provide a picture of the role that dance played in James Bolton Laidlaw's Boston social life. Here, Laidlaw registers his disappointment with a public Assembly at Harrison Hall, and goes on to describe an altogether more successful private dance party at his rooming house, including a detailed listing of the dances and related entertainments.

Dec. 2, 1860 — ... Went to Hanover Street Church. Had a good sermon, 1 Peter. "Your adversary, the devil." singing splendid. ... After tea, home in the parlor. Had a good sing with Cashman, Mr. Piper, Miss Murphy, Anne Stevens and Mr. Mason. Asked Miss Anne Stevens to go to the assembly with me. Was to let me know Monday night. ...

Dec. 3 — ... After tea went to the parlor, had a good dance until eleven o'clock. Danced with Miss Jackson, Miss Maclean and Miss Maria, Cotillion.

Dec. 4 — ... Dressed for the assembly at 8 p.m. at Harrison Hall, the most mean, paltry affair I ever saw. Not one of the company pleased. The dancers very poor. Only 10 ladies that could dance fancy dances. Left at one. Raining very hard. No refreshment. Bought one dozen apples. Many of the ladies would not go out for refreshments. Cost \$2.00.

Dec. 5 — ... After tea had good dancing all the evening till 11 p.m. Galloped to bed. The best time I ever spent in Boston. All good dancers and very agreeable. ...

Dec. 6 — ... Came home to tea and after Miss Anne Stevens came to my room to return my scarf and kindly asked me to be present at the party got up by the ladies of the house. I had no less than four separate invitations. Went to Penn Street Church choir to practice. Not much pleased. ...

Dec. 7 — ... After tea, folks clearing away for the party. First dance commenced at 8:30 p.m.

Order of the dances: (1) Introductory March and Sicilian Circle — Miss MacGuire; (2) Cotillion — Miss Calligan; (3) Contra — Miss Newcomb; (4) Waltz Quadrille; (5) Cotillion — Miss Mariner; (6) Lancer's Quadrille.

Intermission for plays. By request, Button. Had a good lot of kissing.

(7) Cotillion — Miss MacGuire

Intermission for refreshments, very splendid table.

(8) Cotillion — Miss Daley; (9) Contra — Miss Calligan; (10) Waltz Quadrille — Miss Marriott; (11) Cotillion — Miss Daly; (12) Polka Quadrille — Miss Goodman; (13) Lancers; (14) Grand Basket Cotillion — Miss Gallagher.

All the dances went off well. Got to bed at 3 a.m. Very tired and hot.

APPENDIX 6

Drake's Dancing School and the courtship of Miss Sarah Howell (from the diary of James Bolton Laidlaw)

James Laidlaw's comments concerning the poor quality of the ladies' dancing at the assembly in Boston, recorded in Appendix 5, suggest that he took pride in his skills as a dancer. In the following passages, Laidlaw takes advantage of a dancing master, one Mr. Drake, in order to improve these skills. Laidlaw's remarks provide a vivid picture of dance tuition in the period, but they are especially interesting for what they tell us about the process of courtship at the time. Dance classes, like singing schools, are shown to be venues for more than just ballroom dancing.

Nov. 19, 1861 — Went to Mr. Drake's dancing class. Had a good time. George Anderson assistant to Drake. Had a good time. Got home at 11 p.m.

Nov. 22 — ... Went to Drake's dancing class. Had a good time. Told us we would be able to introduce ladies to the class in a few nights more.

Nov. 25 — Got through in time to go to the dancing class. Had a fine time. Drake told us to bring our favorite lady next night, Thursday, so I asked Miss Sarah Howell as my choice. Not many ladies present. Drake apologized to each gent but seemed quite pleased with the company present. Got home at 11 p.m.

Nov. 28 — ...George came over to let me go to the class. Had a tip top time. My friend heard Miss Underwood talking to H. Bolton about dancing with me, she being a dancer but would not dance one bit, only look. We left the room then, excusing myself. Got home 11 p.m.

Dec. 2 — Got off at 8 p.m. to go to the dancing class. Had a poor time as a Committee was formed to see after the Irish Levee ladies. They rejected two, and some of the committee made rules and invented them passed without the vote of the company. Got through dancing at 10:45 p.m. Left my friend at 11 p.m. with a pleasant good night.

Dec. 5 — Went to dancing class. Had a tip top time. All the couples agreeable and everything passed off very pleasant indeed. My friend much pleased. Left for home 11 p.m. Kiss and hug.

Dec. 9 — ... Got through in time to go to dancing class. Had splendid time. Sarah enjoyed it very much. Got home 11 p.m. Father was in kitchen. Asked me why I was so late. Told him nothing. ...

Dec. 11 — Asked my friend to go to the concert. Seemed willing, so after tea asked George how he was situated in the other shop, if I could be spared. Told me I should go. He hurried from tea, and bid me go as the Hall would be crowded. The performance was good. Got home 10:15. My friend much pleased.

Dec. 12 — Got through to go to the dancing class. Had a rather poor time as there were not many there, although it passed well.

Dec. 15 — [Laidlaw declares his love for his 'friend,' Miss Sarah Howell, who returns the sentiment.]

Dec. 25 — ... After tea, my Sarah and I went to Drake's to have a dance. Stayed until 10 p.m. Came home. Sarah very long thinking about going. Said not to start till

8. Had a quadrille polka, scotch reel. ...

Dec. 26 — Spoke to Drake about the dancing class. He said he would [----] that tonight as he had not heard anything before. Formed a committee and had a large class. Things went on very well, all agreeable, and no "Can't dance" by any of the ladies. Got home 11:30, very tired. My friend S.S.H. very pleased.

Jan. 6, 1862 — ... George came over to let me go to dancing class. Had a tip top time. All the ladies very agreeable. ...

Jan. 9 — ... Left [the shop] at 8 p.m. to go to dancing class. Had a splendid time. About 30 people present. Did not get through the progame till 10:45. All parted pleasantly for home. ...

Jan. 13 — Went to dancing class. Drake passed a compliment on my dancing, being the only good one in the gallop, having the right step. Did not get through the program by four dances. Left 10:45. Got home 12. ...

Jan. 15 — ... Left at 8 to go to dancing. Quite a large class present. After the circle, I stopped two feet above the ladies and a lady came and took my arm to be my partner. I, not thinking of my Sarah sitting, took my place. As soon as I found who I had for a partner, I felt faint and could hardly dance. Sarah thought I did it to insult her, but it was not so. Some ladies had to speak to her. I explained all when we were alone, and asked her to forgive me, which she did. I then asked her if she would go on Monday. She said if I wanted her to she would. I told her I had no one other I could love better than her. Sarah expected the same. We embraced, kissed, and I told her to forget and forgive. Sarah told me she would and not think of it any

more. Left for home at 11:30 p.m. with a sweet lover's kiss and a pleasant good night. ...

Jan. 17 — Could hardly sleep any thinking of the nice conduct I acted at the dancing class. ...

Jan. 19 — ... Asked my friend to go to the dancing class. Told me if I wished her to she would. ...

Jan. 20 — ... Left the shop at 8 p.m. to go to the dance. Had a good time, all pleasant and agreeable. My friend Sarah much pleased. Got home 11:30 p.m.

Jan 23 — ... Left [the shop] at 8 p.m. to go to the dancing class. there were a lot of folks there not belonging to the class and wanting to take the floor from us, but Drake was around and made them take the end of the Hall. Had a good time only rather much crowded. Got through at 10:30. I left my friend at 11 p.m. with a kiss and a pleasant good night.

Jan. 24 — ... Left the shop to go dancing with my friend. Had a great many visitors. Too many for comfort. ... Drake very angry at so many being in the class.

Jan. 27 — Went to dancing class. Had a splendid time till 11 p.m. Took my friend home and had some cake and water. Oh, what times I am having with 19.19.8 [ie. S.S.H.] family. They are too kind to me, more like my own folk than anything else.

Jan. 30 — ... Left [the shop] at 8 p.m. to go to dancing class. Had another good time, a great many visitors.

APPENDIX 7

The Quadrille Party

(from the diary of James Bolton Laidlaw)

The courtship of Miss Sarah Howell continues as Laidlaw is involved in preparations for a "Quadrille party." In the following excerpts, Laidlaw records mixed feelings about his role as impresario and his concern about the success of the project.

Feb. 13, 1862 — Proposed to have a Quadrille party. Formed a committee with G. Anderson, J.H. Fuller, J.B. Laidlaw, H. Bolton, E.A. Lawler. All passed off well. To have a committee meeting on Friday 14. G. Anderson and J.H. Fuller, floor managers; J.B. Laidlaw and E.A. Lawlor, reception; J.B. Laidlaw, E.A. Lawlor, H. Bolton, counts of table. Visited the True Fellows Dancing Class, had a very poor time. Room too small and not half so agreeable as our own class.

Feb. 17 — Met for dancing at Masonic Hall, all passed well, not one thing to mar the harmony of everyone's pleasure. S.S.H. seemed much pleased.

Feb. 20 — Met for dancing class. Quite a number of visitors present. Dancing went on very well. Got through at 10:45 p.m., just in time for the Dartmouth folks to catch the boat. Got home 11:30 p.m. Not many of the class prepared to take tickets for the proposed Quadrill Party on the 27th.

Feb. 24 — Storming fearfully, rain and wind. Miss Lyle and Miss Baker came up to dancing class. No persons there but them and some six or eight of the men of the class. Had no dancing. Left at 10:15 p.m. Quite down in the mouth about our Quadrille Party. Could not take any of the class to take tickets. Went for bid and

asked the folks to go, but no, only looking.

Feb. 25 — Visited my friend to talk over the party. Sent Miss M.H. and Miss S.S.H. invitations to come, be sure answer.

Feb. 27 — The proposed Quadrille Party came off in splendid shape. Had the Hall plainly decorated and good music. The company consisted of 51 couples. First dance commenced at 8:45 p.m. Supper at 1:15 a.m. and then kept open all the evening. Every person said it was the best time they had spent in their life. Did not go home at all. Broke up at 4 a.m. Came to the shop with Wm. Ryan, David, Wm. Smithers. Had a grand time. About 6, the paper boy came in and David was going to stick him with a broom. Felt very tired. Got home at 10:30 a.m.

Feb. 28 — Went to bed at noon, did not stir until 7 next morning.

APPENDIX 8

Dance etiquette in The Canadian Ten Cent

Ball-Room Companion & Guide to Dancing

The following excerpts have been chosen in part for the specific information they contain, but also because of the way they reflect the formal and highly codified world of nineteenth-century social dancing. Some of the strictures seem amusing to us now, but others prove that some things never change.

PRIVATE PARTIES... It is desirable to secure the attendance of an *equal number* of dancers of both sexes; but, experience shows that to do this it is necessary to invite more gentlemen than ladies. (6)

THE PARLOR, Or dancing apartment, should be light, lofty, and well ventilated... it should be well lighted, and have a gay or exhilarating aspect... A good floor is essential. (6)

THE GUESTS... A programme of dancing is given to the guests on their arrival; and this example should be followed in any thing more than a mere "carpet-dance." The dances should, in any case, be arranged beforehand,... (10)

From eighteen to twenty-one dances is a convenient number to arrange for; supper causes a convenient break after, say, the eleventh dance, and if, at the conclusion, there is still a desire to prolong dancing, one or two extra dances are easily improvised. (10 - 11)

MASQUERADES Have always, and will continue to be fashionable and popular in the cities. By sociables it is sometimes substituted for one of their regular entertainments, all persons unmasking at supper time. Masquerade parties are not popular in the rural towns, owing to the difficulty of procuring costumes. (11)

PROMENADE CONCERTS Differ from the ball in the musical attractions, the first hour and a half being devoted to an instrumental concert. These are usually more dressy affairs than an ordinary ball, couples promenading during the execution of the music. Then follows dancing, with a somewhat abbreviated "order." (11)

SOCIABLES. These are particular favorites among a very large class of the followers of Terpsichore, differing in some particulars from the ball and the promenade. These entertainments are given at private residences, a few invitations being issued by members. The lady of the house it is held, is not restricted in this particular, however. Music, furnished by members, is similar to that of other private parties, the hostess supplying refreshments. Six is the maximum number of sociables usually given during the season, though in exceptional cases eight to ten. Hour of commencing is eight o'clock, refreshments being furnished in dining-room at eleven, party breaking up at one or half-past one.

Some sociables link parlor dramas, charades, and musical attractions with dancing, affording much profit as well as amusement. (11)

SPECIAL RULES OF CONDUCT ... It is not well to dance every dance, as the exercise is unpleasantly heating and fatiguing ... Gentlemen should endeavour to entertain the ladies who dance with them with a little conversation, more novel than the weather and the heat of the room ... let no gentleman presume on a ball-room

introduction. ... *Out of the ball-room such an introduction has no force whatever.*
(14 - 15)

The quadrille, though generally considered the slowest of dances, is, perhaps, about the pleasantest and most sociable ever contrived; ... it allows scope for those whose dancing capabilities are not of the highest, and affords a grateful rest for those who have just heated themselves with the rapid whirl of a round dance. It has also the advantage of being suitable for even the oldest and most demure visitor in the room, as well as the youngest and most lively, and from the intervals occurring during the figure, opportunity is given for agreeable conversation with your partner.
(15 - 16)

THE VIRGINIA REEL. or, SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY. It is customary to conclude the evening with some simple, jovial, spirit-stirring dance, in which all, young and old, slim and obese, may take part. Any *contra danse* (country dance,) answers this purpose; but the prime favorite is Sir Roger de Coverley (or Virginia Reel) which has held its own, in spite of the lapse of time and the mutations of fashion, at the very least since the beginning of the last century. (23)

THE SPANISH DANCE. In spite of time and novelty, the Spanish dance has maintained its position as a favorite... It should not be danced more than twice during an evening. ... Waltz music is adapted to this dance, though it should be played slower, and there are one or two tunes which have always been favorites as specially suited to it. The waltz step is also used. (24 - 25)

ROUND DANCES Are an especial favorite with dancers generally. As a graceful carriage and elasticity of movement are most essential only those who have acquired these should take part in a round dance. (27)

WALTZ IN DOUBLE TIME. This waltz has certainly held its position as the AUTOCRAT OF THE BALL-ROOM for many years past; and there are few more graceful than this when it is really well danced. Unfortunately, there are few dances which have among their pledged admirers such a vast assemblage of bad dancers as the *Valse a Deux Temps*. (28)

REDOWA. This dance, though a very popular one, is somewhat difficult, and directions for dancing it can hardly be conveyed to the mind of the reader in print. Most of the Redowa music, however, is very suggestive, and to any one acquainted with the more simple dances, the Redowa step is soon acquired. (31)

APPENDIX 9

Hart's Tenth Set of Quadrilles:

Dance Figures

1 - "La Résolue"

(Pantalon) Chaine Anglaise Balancez a vos dames / Un tour de mains / La chaine des dames entiere / Demi queue du chat / Et demi chaine Anglaise

or

(New Figure) Chassez croisez 4 cross immediately and / remain, the other 4 do the same / Half promenade to your Places, Turn your / partner, Ladies chain, the Ladies set to / the Gents: on their right the Gents to the / Ladies on their left & turn to their places.

2 - "La Divine"

(L'Été) En avant deux Chassez, et / dechassez, Traversez Chassez / et dechassez, retraversez, Balancez / a vis dames et tour de mains.

or

(New Figure) The first couple set to their couple on their / right, hands 4 round, the same couple set / on their left, hands 4 round, half promenade / and half right and left with their opposite / couple, the other dancers do the same.

3 - "L'Élégante"

(La Poule) Traversez deux en donnant la main droite, / Re traversez main gauche, / Balancez quatre sans quitter les mains, / Et queue du chat, / En avant deux, dos a dos, / En avant quatre et demi / chaine

Anglais.

or

(New Figure) The first couple advance between the / opposite couple, in returning lead outside, / First Lady and opposite Gent: chassez, / turn in the centre to their places, / The Ladies moulinet the Gents: take their / partners left hand & promenade to their places, / the other dancers do the same.

4 - "Der Freyschütze"

Figure. / Chassez croisez quatre / Pastorale.

5 - "La Finale"

Figure / La Grand Round / L'Ete.

6 - "Der Freyschütze Waltz"

APPENDIX 10

The Elizabeth Francklin Music Books: Book I

"Oh! Nothing in life can Sadden us!" A favorite Irish Air, arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte, performed by Master P. Lewis with the Greatest Applause. Composed by Mr. Hook. (New York: W. DuBois)

Three Progressive Divertisements for the Piano Forte in which are introduced Favorite Airs, by G. Kiallmark. (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter, & Co.)

Le Troubadour. A divertimento, for the Piano Forte, with an accompaniment for the Flute ad libitum. Composed & dedicated to The Hon. Miss Douglas, of Douglas, by T. Latour, pianiste to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. (London: Chappell & Co.)

An Introduction, five Variations and Fantasie, upon Paisiello's favorite Air, "Hope Told a Flatt'ring Tale," composed & dedicated to the Countess Felix Potocka, by F. D. Bontempo. Op. 6. (London: Clementi, Bangeer, Collard, Davis, and Collard)

Haydn's celebrated Symphonies, composed for & performed at Mr. Salomon's and the Opera Concerts, adapted for the Piano-forte with an accompaniment for a violin & violoncello, ad libitum. (London: Phipps & Co.)

"Rousseau's Dream," an air with variations for the Piano Forte, composed and dedicated to the Right Hon. the Countess of Delaware, by J. B. Cramer. (London: Chappell & Co.)

Cramer's Favorite Serenata, originally composed for the harp, piano forte & c., arranged for the piano forte, and dedicated to Mrs. John Austin, by G. Kiallmark. (London: Chappell & Co.)

"O Softly Sleep," composed by Charles Smith, arranged with variations for the piano forte, with flute accomp[animent]t (ad lib) by G. Kiallmark... New Edition. (London: J. Power)

Mozart's favourite air "Fin ch'an dal Vino," arranged for the piano forte by J. Mazzinghi. (New York: W. DuBois)

"The Manly Heart," with variations for the piano forte, composed by L. van Beethoven. (London: J. Lawson)

The New Tout Ensemble, for the piano forte, consisting of favorite selections from the works of various composers. (London: Goulding, D'Allmaine, Potter & Co.) ["A Soldier's Gratitude," text by H. R. Bishop, music by T. H. Butler.]

"Cease Your Funning," air, with variations for the piano forte, with an accompaniment for the flute, composed and dedicated to Miss Fiorville by G. Kiallmark. (London: Mayhew & Co. [Music Sellers to the Royal Family])

"The Sylvia Valse," by May Cavendish. Composed expressly for "Sylvia's Home Journal" and presented to the subscribers with the Christmas number, 1885. [Separate folio inserted into the previous work.]

"Mid Pleasures and Palaces," air, by Henry R. Bishop, with an Introduction & Variations for the piano forte, composed & dedicated to Miss Reid, by G. Kiallmark. (London: Goulding, D'Almaine & Co.)

APPENDIX 11

The Elizabeth Francklin Music Books: Book II

Overture to the Opera of "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" as composed for the piano forte by Rossini. (London: G. Shand)

Ouverture de "La Gazza Ladra" pour le piano forte. Musique de Rossini. (London: W. Wybrow)

The favorite overture to "Native Land." composed by Rossini. Arranged for the piano forte. Now performing with great applause at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. (London: G. Shand)

Airs selected from the most celebrated operas of Rossini. Arranged for the piano forte by Camille Pleyel. (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.)

Martini's Grand Overture to "Henry the Fourth." (New York: J., A., & W. Geib)

Hart's Tenth Set of Quadrilles, selected from Carl Maria von Webber's celebrated opera "Der Fryschatze," with their proper figures in French and English as danced at Almack's, nobility's balls, and the Assembly Rooms Ramsgate, composed & arranged for the piano forte or harp, and respectfully dedicated to Mrs. William Bosanquet, of East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate by Joseph Hart. (London: Mayhew & Co.)

The twenty seventh set of quadrilles as performed by Messrs. Collinett, Michau & Musard, at the nobilities balls, Almacks & the Argyll Rooms, composed & arranged for the piano forte, with an (ad lib) accompaniment for the flute, and dedicated with permission to Miss Bethell, by P. Musard, the first set from Pietro L'Eremita. (London: J. Power)

Lawson's selection of the most admired quadrilles with their proper figures, as danced at Almack's and the nobility's balls, arranged for the piano forte, harp, or violin. [Set. 2]. (London: J. Lawson)

Henry R. Bishop's celebrated air, "Bid Me Discourse." Arranged as a duet for two performers on the piano forte, and respectfully dedicated to Miss Malvina Byrne by Charles T. Sykes. [New & corrected edition] (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.) "Where may be had, a Capriccio, in which is introduced the above air, arranged for the Piano Forte by F. Kalkbrenner... Also, the same Air, arranged for the Harp by N. C. Bochsa.

The celebrated Hungarian air, arranged as a duett, for two performers on one piano forte & dedicated to J. Sanderson, Esqr. by J. Jay, Mus. Doc. (London: Mayhew & Co.)

A duett, for two performers on the piano forte, in which is introduced the admired air of "O dolce concerto" with variations composed by T. Latour, pianiste to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent. (London: R. Birchall)

APPENDIX 12

The Miss R. Black Music Book

Three sonatas for the piano forte, two with accompaniments for a violin & violoncello, composed by W. A. Mozart. (London: Goulding & Compy.)

The celebrated overture to the "Caliph of Bagdad," composed and arranged for the piano forte by Mons. Boildieu. (London: Mayhew & Co.)

"La Lanterna Magico," divertimento, for the piano forte and flute, ad lib, on two favorite airs from the opera of "The Pirates," composed and dedicated to Miss Moore, by T. A. Rawlings. (London: J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale)

Divertimento Rossiniano, arranged for the piano forte, from the most admired subjects in the operas composed by G. Rossini, viz. "La Donna del Lago," "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," "Il Tancredi," "La Gazza Ladra," "Mose in Egitto," etc. etc. To be published occasionally. (London: W. Eavestaff)

2d. Divertimento Rossiniano. From "Il Barbiere di Siviglia."

Divertimento Rossiniano, arranged for the piano forte, from the most admired subjects in the operas composed by G. Rossini, viz. "La Donna del Lago," "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," "Il Tancredi," "La Gazza Ladra," "Mose in Egitto," etc. etc. To be published occasionally. (London: W. Eavestaff)

1st. Divertimento Rossiniano. From "La Donna del Lago." Or "The Lady of the Lake."

Divertimento Rossiniano, arranged for the piano forte, from the most admired subjects in the operas composed by G. Rossini, viz. "La Donna del Lago," "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," "Il Tancredi," "La Gazza Ladra," "Mose in Egitto," etc. etc. To be published occasionally. (London: W. Eavestaff)

3d. Divertimento Rossiniano. Arranged by W. Etherington. From "Il Tancredi."

Divertimento for the piano forte, selected and arranged, from Rossini's grand opera, "Zelmira," and respectfully dedicated with permission to Miss Henrietta and Miss Charlotte DeBerniere, by W. Etherington, organist of Twickenham, Middlesex. (Bloomsbury: W. Eavestaff)

"Zitta Zitta," theme favori de Rossini, arrange en Rondeau pour le piano forte, avec accompagnement de flute, par Camille Pleyel. (London: R. Cocks)

"Non sai qual Incanto," divertimento for the piano forte, arranged and dedicated to Miss Giornovich by Augs. Meves. (London: J. B. Cramer)

The celebrated Snuff Box Waltz, for the piano forte, by M. S. (London: Munro & May)

"Giovinetto Cavalier," from Meyerbeer's opera, "Il Crociato in Egitto," arranged as a divertimento for the piano forte by Francis Scavoy. (London: W. Eavestaff)

The Gypsy Dance from "Preciosa," arranged as a petite fantasie, for the piano forte, and respectfully dedicated to Miss Millman, by Chas. M. King. (London: W. Eavestaff)

The twelfth set of waltzes, the subjects from "La Gazza Ladra," as performed by the band of Messrs. Collinett, Michau & Musard, composed & arranged for the piano forte with an (ad lib.) accompaniment for the flute, and dedicated by permission to His Serene Highness the Prince of Solms, by P. Musard. (London: J. Power)

Charles the Xth, coronation sixdrilles, new dance for the accommodation of 8 ladies & 6 gentlemen, composed by Monr. Prosper Paris, for the piano forte or Harp. (London: J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale)

Luff's third set of quadrilles, the subjects selected from Weber's drama "Preciosa," with their proper figures, as danced at the nobility's quadrille parties, composed & arranged for the piano forte or harp, and respectfully dedicated to Mademoiselle Melanie Duval, by George Luff. (London: Longman & Bates)

Hart's sixteenth set of quadrilles, selected from Carl Maria von Weber's celebrated new opera "Euryanthe," containing "Adolar," "Lysiart," "Eglandine," "Euryanthe," "Konig," & the "New Stop Waltz," as danced at Almacks and the nobility's balls, composed & arranged for the piano forte or harp, and respectfully dedicated to Miss Adolphus, by Joseph Hart. (London: Mayhew & Co.)

The seventeenth set of quadrilles, the subjects taken from "La Gazza Ladra," with a flute accomp. (ad lib.) composed and arranged and by express permission inscribed to the Countess St. Antonio, by P. Musard, as performed at the nobilities balls, almacks, etc. by the band of Messrs. Collinett, Michau & Musard. (London: J. Power)

Nouveaux quadrilles "Les Soeurs d'Orleans," contenant "La Lisette," "L'Annette," "La Therese," "L'Antoinette," et "La Jaqueline," composed & dedicated (by permission) to the Right Honorable The Countess of Jersey, by J. B. Tenniel. (London: Monro & May)

The eighteenth set of quadrilles, composed and arranged for the piano forte, with an (ad lib.) accompaniment for the flute, by P. Musard, composer & director of the orchestre to the nobilities balls, Almacks & the Argyll Rooms, and performed by Messrs. Collinett, Michau et Musard; dedicated (with permission) by the author to the Honble. Mrs. Beaumont. (London: J. Power)

Une offrande aux Dames, a second set of quadrilles, the music composed by D. Moore McCarthy. (London: J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale)

An admired set of quadrilles, selected from Rossini's celebrated operas, adapted & arranged for the piano forte, respectfully dedicated to the nobility and gentry of Twickenham, Richmond and their vicinities, by W. Etherington. (London: Wm. Dale)

Paine's nineteenth set of quadrilles, the subjects taken from "Pietro l'Eremita," as performed by Paine's Band at the nobilities balls, arranged for the piano forte, by J. Tutton, and respectfully inscribed to the R. Honble. The Countess of Bridgewater, by Jas. Paine. (London: Falkner's Opera Music Warehouse)

The Royal York quadrilles with new & favorite figures, composed & inscribed to the most noble the Marchioness of Londonderry, and arranged for the piano forte by W. H. Ware. [Leader & composer to the Theatre Royal Covent Garden]. (London: R. W. Evans)

APPENDIX 13

Mr. Uniacke obtains a piano.

*This anecdote is taken from W. H. Hill's unpublished paper, "Rambles among Leaves from my Scrap Book," read for the Nova Scotia Historical Society in 1893.¹ Spinet pianos were smaller and much lighter than the Chickering and Steinway pianos mentioned in the anecdote so the event recounted here **could** have happened. Whether or not it **did** is another question, but the story is too good not to repeat.*

On one occasion an evening party was taking place at the residence of a gentleman (the Honorable Charles Hill) on Hollis Street, situate off the street on the western side, midway between Government House Lane and Morris Street. As the evening wore on a dance was proposed; but alas, there was no instrument of music! What was to be done? One proposed one thing and one another. At last Mr. Uniacke, who was a tall, powerful man, and proud of his strength said he would solve the difficulty. "I'll go over to the corner and get Nancy's piano." The was received with shouts of delight and applause. "I'll go alone, entirely by myself," he said. Now two maiden ladies, well-known and liked in fashionable society in those days, lived at the north-east corner of Hollis and Morris Streets. These two were the proud possessors of what is called a spinet, and whose musical tones compared with those of a modern "Steinway" or "Chickering" would be as a tin-kettle to a full military band. But in those days it was considered most delightful music. "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise." An oyster is perfectly happy in its mud bed. This is no reflection on our revered forefathers; it is but the accident of time. It was about ten o'clock at night; a time when most of the inhabitants of the town were fast asleep. Early to bed and early to rise was the good old primitive practice amongst many if not most of the people in Halifax then. It was considered a very late and fashionable dinner party, for instance, that sat down at four o'clock in the afternoon. But to continue my story. Mr. Uniacke started, and knocked and pounded at the door. Presently a window was cautiously raised, and two heads enveloped in two night-caps appeared. A female voice called out "Oh, my gracious! Who is there?"

¹Cited in Hon. L.G. Power, "Richard John Uniacke, A Sketch," *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. IX (1895) 113 - 114

At this time of night? Oh, my! Man! Who are you? What do you want, waking ladies up in the middle of the night? Is there a fire in the town?" "I'm Mr. Uniacke, the Attorney General. In the King's name open the door, or I'll break it in!" This had the desired effect. The ladies laughed, and, when they had attired themselves after a fashion, stepped down and opened the door. Mr. Uniacke explained the purport of his visit; and, being good natured people, the ladies willingly entrusted the instrument to his care. He was, as I said, a tall, powerful man; so putting it on his shoulders, he carried it over to the party; and they danced to their heart's content to the "wee sma' hours ayont the twal."

APPENDIX 14

Mr. Amasa Braman in Liverpool

(from the diary of Simeon Perkins)

The story of Mr. Amasa Braman in Liverpool is frequently cited in histories of music in Canada. Perkins' baleful comment on Braman's hasty departure ("he is gone away in debt...") nicely points up the downside of the singing teacher's itinerant lifestyle for the communities he visited. Perkins notes that Braman also practiced law. This kind of flexibility with respect to profession is typical of many singing teachers, and contributes to the difficulty of tracing their activities through the census and other civic records. However, not all singing teachers were as shifty as Mr. Braman.

Sun. Feb. 23, 1777 ... Spend the evening at Mr. Joseph Tinkham's singing psalm tunes. I have for about six weeks attended all the evenings I could conveniently, on a school for that purpose, Taught by Mr. Amasa Braman, a gentleman that came here from Halifax the beginning of winter. His residence is at Hampstead [Hempstead] on Long Island. He is a native of Connecticut, and graduated from Yale Colledge.

Thursday, April third 1777 ... In the afternoon, Mr. Braman, ye singing master, has a singing in the new Meeting House, and delivers an oration upon musick. A very genteel performance, and the singing was by good judges thought extraordinary for the time we have been learning.

Tuesday, Liverpool, April 21st, 1778 ... It is reported that Mr. Amasa Braman, who has resided here about 16 months, is absconded, and gone off this morning in a

Cape resue [?] shallop, John Clements, master. This Mr. Braman came here from Halifax, and says he **belongs** to Long Island. Has kept school, and taught singing, and practised the Law. He is gone away in debt

APPENDIX 15

Edwin Crowell: Music in Barrington Township and Vicinity

... Josiah Payne Doane, 1784 - 1875, was a passionate devotee of music. After joining the Methodist Church in 1842 he employed his talent in the church choir and class meeting at the Head. Somewhat earlier was Samuel Kimball who at first lived at Rev. Thomas Crowell's and taught singing school during the winters at the Passage. About the same time John Taylor was teaching singing school at Port Latour and vicinity. Such interest attended the school instruction, such progress in reading the music score that house to house meetings because the custom for the practice of the tunes which books like the Vocalist and the Carmina Sacra contained. Individual talent was thus developed and many local leaders produced, conspicuous among them being William L. Crowell at the Passage and Arnold Doane at the Head. The former was largely employed in singing school and private instruction on instruments of music; and the cabinet organ then coming into use made possible the rehearsal and rendering of classical compositions, which, unsupported, the singers had not the confidence to attempt.

In consequence church choirs were organized throughout the township, private instruction in instrumental music became general and the common interest found expression in 1861 in the formation of "The Harmonic Society" at the Passage. "This was to promote the knowledge of music by rehearsals, public concerts and lectures." Sixty members were enrolled the first season. Wm. L. Crowell was President, John Osborn, Secretary, and James C. and Prince W. Crowell were with the officers the Musical Directors. The first concert was held on the anniversary of Handel's death that summer, and the proceeds five pounds, were sent to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. The society continued in active existence till 1870, when the death or removal of many of the prominent charter members and the lack of accommodation for public performances led to the determination to close up. Many musical and literary entertainments had been held of immense benefit to the community. (330 - 331)

APPENDIX 16

A Description of an Open Air Sacrament

English Town, Cape Breton (1885)

This excerpt is a particularly vivid example of nineteenth-century travel writing. Written by the journalist Charles H. Farnham and published in New York's Harper's New Monthly Magazine, this passage is part of a description of the ways and mores of "Cape Breton Folk."¹ Farnham may have embellished some of the details, but his take on the Sacrament is very effective: read now, his description of the singing suggests "Celtic gothic," with faint intimations of the apocalypse. It must have seemed very exotic to New Yorkers reading this in 1886.

The open air sacrament is probably the most impressive ceremony to be seen among these Scotch Presbyterians... Some years ago these sacraments were held on successive Sundays in adjoining parishes, and entire congregations attended them, but now they are held at the same date in distant localities, to prevent them drawing such large and disorderly companies. The sacraments are very much cherished by the old people, who enjoy the devotions, as well as the yearly occasion it gives for social intercourse;... The services, in both Gaelic and English, were held on opposite sides of a little meadow inclosed by trees and the road, and divided by a merry brook...

... The sacrament begins always at eleven on Thursday. This day is regarded as one of preparations; the spirit of it is that of fasting and humiliation, expressed in the usual services; the singing of the psalms of David, prayers, and a sermon—all in Gaelic. The singing is what first impressed me as perfectly unique. The tunes have well-known names, such as "Elgin," "St. Paul," "Bangor," "London," "Martyrs"; but the actual compositions and the rendering are unlike any other music on earth. Three prompters or precentors stood under the window of the tent, and took their turns at leading the singing; that is to say, one of them sang rapidly as an improvised recitative each line of the psalm, and the congregation then repeated each line after him, singing in unison the

¹"Cape Breton Folk," introduction by Stephen F. Spencer, Acadiensis 1979 VIII (2): 102 - 104.

successive phrases of the tune. Here are the words and music of "Martyrs." But the effect of this singing can not be imagined from seeing the score, or from a rendering of it according to the usual musical expression. The precentor sings in a low and exceedingly plaintive voice, a soft pronunciation, and a timid expression; his recitatives are as austere as Gregorian chants, but full of little notes and slurs and by contrast his phrases are rendered still more touching after the mass of sound coming from the people. The congregation also sings with softness; but as individuals have their own time, discords prevail, the long syllables are drawn out beyond measure, with a nasal drawl, and the shorter ones are clipped off and swallowed. But the ordinary irritation produced by these defects is not felt. In the complete absence of rhythm you feel less the defects of time; in fact, so drawling is the execution that you just abandon all requirements of time, and accept the effects on intonation alone. These Gaelic psalms often have an extraordinary effect; when the people at times happen to unite their plaintive voices on certain long notes and slurs, the multitude sends up a subdued wail that is wonderfully touching. ...

... It was, indeed, a day of fasting and prayer; the services lasted from eleven till five o'clock, when we all went to dinner at the farm-houses in the neighborhood.

APPENDIX 17

Two Concert Reviews (Boston, 1853)

(from the diary of Sarah Clinch)

Sarah Clinch was a Bostonian who spent time in Halifax in 1853-54. A better than average pianist, in her diary she records invaluable comments on music and musicians in Boston and Halifax. In the following excerpts, she describes two concerts that took place shortly before she left for Halifax, and lambastes Boston critics for their airs, and errors in judgement.

Oct. 22, 1853 — Nothing but sewing and going down to the church to practise with Josey, (as she is to play next Sunday) until last night, "cressa dies notta," when I went to Gottschalk's concert. Unfortunately just while we were impatiently awaiting Gottschalk's appearance, according to the programme, Herr Helmsmuller came forward, bowing and scraping, and "announced with much regret that Mr. Gottschalk had that moment received a note announcing the death of his father. He would not however disappoint us, but he (Mr. Helmsmuller) left it to us to imagine how well a person could play under the circumstances." Circumstances included, I could have listened to him, as long as he would have been willing to play to me, without the least approach to weariness, in spite of the wise, technical, false criticism of the *Transcript*. It only shows that no degree of excellence, no depth of sentiment can be appreciated or felt by some people. These soidisant lovers, or rather connoisseurs of the "divine art," think that they show their learning, and make the multitude stare, by a liberal use of technical terms that they don't half understand. The idea of any one listening to the improvisation (I think) that Gottschalk played when he was encored, and saying that he "lacked repose and breadth of style" was perfectly absurd. And even Aplommas "The Celebrated Welsh Harpist" whom they

condescended to admire the "damned with faint praise." I cannot con [see] how the harp could be better played, or the music better appreciated and feelingly, understandingly rendered. Bochsa was a mere beginner compared to him. And he is very young indeed. I could hardly breathe until he finished. I did not like Mdlle Behrend at all. I could have sung as well myself. She had power, but no sweetness, no melody, no expression, no grace. I did not like the last piece that Gottschalk played, a grand fantasia on *Lucia di Lammermorr* by Liszt. It was nothing but dashing from one end of the piano to the other; a show off piece I suppose. ...

Oct. 25 — A day to be remembered in my list of bright spots, or rather, of brilliant ones, for what has my whole life been, but one bright tissue. But what rendered today particularly bright, is that I was able to go to Jullien's concert. I thought that if I went to Gottschalk's, I could not go to the other, and had therefore given up even all hopes of it, but Mr. Pope bought a family ticket, and having a spare one, gave it to me. Our party consisted of Mrs. Pope, [Mrs.] Blackmore, Alexander, Mary, Bella and me. I was delighted. Mr. Collinet, the leader of Napoleon 1st's Court Balls in 1812 performed on the flageolet. We were particularly fortunate in hearing him as he is very celebrated, very old, and will retire from public life after this one engagement. I was so pleased as well as surprised with Jullien. He is very like his portraits to be sure, but he has a remarkably gentlemanly air, in which his likenesses are certainly found wanting. His power over his orchestra makes his baton appear like a magic wand, so wonderful are the results. Positively, you can almost see the melody gushing from the point of it, and can hardly persuade yourself that the instruments are providing the sound instead of the "wand." I never saw an audience so completely carried away. But yet, with all that, the music was not of such a high order as Gottschalk's. As great as is any pleasure at being able to go to both, yet when I thought I could have but one, I feel I made a wise choice preferring Gottschalk.

APPENDIX 18

A Nova Scotian Abroad: Music in Boston in 1860

(from the diary of James Bolton Laidlaw)

These passages, culled from entries for the months of May and June, 1860, provide a nice picture of the range of musical activities available to a young man in the big city. Laidlaw was a machinist from Halifax, who moved to Boston in search of work. While in Boston, Laidlaw lived in a rooming house, the parlour of which served a variety of social activities, musical and otherwise. Laidlaw also records his impressions of musical life in Boston, from the theatre, to the opera, to marching bands, to music in the church. Laidlaw later moved back to Halifax, and although his musical activities evidently decreased on his return, his diary may be read as evidence of one of the ways in which foreign musical culture made its way from "away" into the province.

May 4, 1860 — Bought a violin, cost \$10.00, sounds very good. ...

May 5 — Had a good practice on new fiddle. Thought of 1.7.1. and could or did not play long. About 1/2 hour. ["1.7.1." is a coded reference to Laidlaw's girlfriend in Halifax, Anne ****.]

May 21 — Went to Music Hall at 3 o'clock. Beautiful place, sermon. Very good singing though only four persons beside the organ. ...

May 27 — Sunday. Went to Music Hall to hear Henry Ward Beecher. Test 1 Corinthians, 1st Chapter, 17 to 25 ver. ... Opened with prayer. First hymn "Before Jehovah's Throne", 2nd "Joy to the World, the Lord is come, Let earth receive her

King". About 4,000 persons, a great many had to go away, full to excess at 9:35 o'clock. Prayer commenced 10:40 o'clock. Took the text on my shirt cuff, no paper. Close 12:35. Took a walk around the Common. Met Keyes, went to Tremont Temple to hear Rev. C.H. Kellogs farewell sermon. Took his text 1 Acts 15. Music delightful, one girl in particular. Hired to sing at a salary of \$4.00 per year. Took the ear alone. ...

May 28 — Saw the U.S. Light Dragoons pass through Broad Street, about 40, with a brass band. ...

May 29 — Took a walk around, went to the Italian Opera, not much pleased, too lonely. No one to speak to and not understanding Italian. Imaging very good, cost 25 cents. ...

June 1 — ... Took a walk around Washington Street. Democratic Party had procession, fire works, brass band. ...

June 4 — After tea went to Common to see U.S. Artillery, seen a few manoeuvres and then passed off ahead of the band. Such stepping out over the other, no order like in the Baptist Soldiers. ... Got back in at 4 p.m., went in to the parlor had lime juice and water, ice. Many pretty ladies present, Miss Stone in particular, Miss Glover and Wodeman passed the lemonade around.

June 7 — ... J.G. Stedman traded a sewing machine for my fiddle (did so willingly) as Hayes would not give the money back (not having it). ...

June 14 — Went to Boston Musical Players. Beautiful. "Gold" and "To Paris and Back for £5". Two love plays, learned a lesson about decent and chaste mind. Thought of 1.7.1, wished her company.

June 17 — Went to Music Hall. Was much pleased with the exercises. 5 different speakers. Singing delightful. ... In afternoon went to Tremont Temple heard the Rev. G. Carleton preach an amiable sermon. ... Home all evening singing in the parlor. Had my head examined by a seer. ...

June 18 — Celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. ... Band on Bunker Hill played pretty well all operatic music. ...

June 24 — Went to Tremont Temple, Rev. I. Fletcher Ashley. Very poor speaker, thick heavy voice. Music splendid. ...

APPENDIX 19

A concert for Miss Bolman

(from the diary of Adolphus Gaetz)

Gaetz's diary contains many detailed descriptions of various types of musical activities that took place in mid-nineteenth-century Lunenburg. This excerpt describes the process of putting on a benefit concert for the talented, but needy, Miss Jane Bolman. Gaetz was a musician, and he was involved from the beginning of the project.

Tues. Dec. 11 - It being proposed to have a Concert for the benefit of Jane Bolman, a poor blind Girl, daughter of the late Dr. Bolman, a meeting for that purpose was held this evening, at Mrs. George Oxner's house, when several young ladies, and Gentlemen volunteered their services, accordingly several pieces of music, Sacred, & Secular, were practised.

Sat. Dec. 29 - This evening we practised for the last time for the Concert which is to take place on New Years evening.

Tues. Jan. 1 - This year commenced with a mild day. This evening the Concert, got up for Miss Jane Bolman (the blind Girl), went off exceedingly well. Doors were to be open at 7 O'clock, but long before that time the Street leading to the 'Temperance Hall', was thronged with people; it became necessary therefore to open the doors before the time appointed. Upwards of 350 persons were congregated in the Hall, and the proceeds amounted to £18.7.0., which after deducting expenses, left a balance of £16.6.3., which was handed over to Miss

Bolman. The performers were,—

W. B. Lawson, bass singer.

Jasper Metzler, do.

Wm. Townshind, Clarionett.

A. Gaetz, do.

James Dowling, Bass Viol.

Wm. Smith, do., & bass singer

Miss Jane Bolman, piano Forte, & Guitar

Miss Cossman, piano Forte.

Miss Frye; Miss Metzler; Miss Rebecca Oxner; Miss Dorothy Mooney; Mrs.

Wm. Smith; Mrs. Daurey, (formerly Miss Metzler); Mrs. Nichols.

Zwicker.

The following were the pieces performed:—

1. Anthem from Luke 2 chap. There were shepherds, etc.
2. He doeth all things well. Solo by Miss Bolman.
3. Sanctus, by Fallon.
4. Mortals Awake, (Christmas piece).
5. The little Shroud. Solo by Miss Bolman.
6. Haec Dies, by Webbe.
7. Great is the Lord.

Part 2nd.

1. Home Sweet Home, with Variations. piano solo by Miss Bolman.
2. The Mountain Maid's Invitation.
3. Billy Grimes, Guitar accompaniment by Miss Bolman
4. Lilly Bell.
5. They welcome me again, Solo, by Miss Bolman.

APPENDIX 20

A new organ for St. John's Church, Lunenburg

(from the diary of Adolphus Gaetz)

In this excerpt Gaetz describes fundraising efforts directed toward obtaining an organ for St. John's Church in Lunenburg. After the church building, pipe organs—as opposed to harmoniums or pump organs — represented the single largest capital cost a church could incur. However, this cost was amply repaid by improvement in the music, and by the congregation's pride in the new instrument.

Mon. April 28 - A Bazaar is in progress for the purchase of an Organ for St. John's Church (Episcopal) to which the funds arising from the Bazaar are to be applied. A Committee, consisting of Ladies of the town, met at the Rector's this afternoon for the purpose of making arrangements.

Tues. June 10 - The Ceiling, above the singing pew in St. John's Church, is being arched, preparatory to the arrival of the Organ from London, which is now daily expected.

Wed. July 16 - The "Lunenburg packet" arrived this afternoon bringing the organ for the Episcopal Church.

Tues. July 22 - To day the new organ was put up in St. John's Church and is called a fine tone Instrument. The cost of this article, including freight from England, & package, and some minor expenses amounted to £125 Currency.

Sun. July 27 - The organ, which was recently imported from England, was played during the service for the first time by C. R. Bill, teacher of music and singing. Mr. Bill is engaged to play the Organ and teach the Choir singing, for three months for £6.