

## **Philanthropic Landmarks: The Toronto Trail from a Comparative Perspective, 1870s to the 1930s**

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Résumé de l'article

Dans cet article l'auteur compare la philanthropie des 19<sup>ième</sup> et 20<sup>ième</sup> siècles à Toronto avec celle des villes américaines et européennes tel que Leipzig et New York. L'argument se divise en quatre parties, dont chacune se concerne avec des aspects différents de la philanthropie. Dans la première partie de cet article, l'auteur explique son concept de « culture philanthropique »—la base théorique de son travail. L'auteur constate, comme thèse centrale, que la donation était devenue un élément du comportement bourgeois (non pas seulement à Toronto, mais aussi ailleurs) qui servait à intégrer les nouveaux élites, les femmes, et les minorités religieuses et ethniques dans les structures sociales, notamment dans la Haute Société. La deuxième partie du texte examine les Torontois riches qui sont devenus philanthropes pour but de caractériser le philanthrope typique de Toronto. En outre, la philanthropie n'était pas du continent nord-américain, mais était importée de l'Europe. Par conséquent, la troisième partie de cet article se concerne avec l'explication du transfert des modèles philanthropiques de l'Europe à Toronto. La dernière partie du texte examine le développement des « monuments » philanthropiques de Toronto : l'Hôpital Général de Toronto, le Musée d'Art de Toronto, le Musée Royal d'Ontario, et la Société Charitable fournissant des logements de Toronto.

# ***Philanthropic Landmarks: The Toronto Trail from a Comparative Perspective, 1870s to the 1930s<sup>1</sup>***

**Thomas Adam**

## **Abstract**

***In this essay the author compares nineteenth- and early twentieth-century philanthropy in Toronto to that in German and American cities such as Leipzig and New York. The argument is divided into four parts, each dealing with different aspects of philanthropy. In the first part of this essay, the author develops his concept of “philanthropic culture”, which is the theoretical basis for this essay. The main thesis is that donating became a bourgeois behavioural pattern, which served to integrate new elites, women, and religious and ethnic minorities into social structures, mainly “High Society”. The second part of the essay examines wealthy Torontonians who became philanthropists. This part paints the portrait of the typical Toronto philanthropist. The concept of philanthropy did not emerge on the American continent, but was imported from Europe. Therefore, the third part of the essay is dedicated to exploration of how philanthropic models were transferred from Europe to Toronto. The last part investigates the development of Toronto’s philanthropic landmarks—the Toronto General Hospital, the Art Gallery of Toronto, the Royal Ontario Museum, and the Toronto Housing Company.***

## **Résumé**

***Dans cet article l’auteur compare la philanthropie des 19<sup>ième</sup> et 20<sup>ième</sup> siècles à Toronto avec celle des villes américaines et européennes tel que Leipzig et New York. L’argument se divise en quatre parties, dont chacune se concerne avec des aspects différents de la philanthropie. Dans la première partie de cet article, l’auteur explique son concept de « culture philanthropique »—la base théorique de son travail. L’auteur constate, comme thèse centrale, que la donation était devenue un élément du comportement bourgeois (non pas seulement à Toronto, mais aussi ailleurs) qui servait à intégrer les nouveaux élites, les femmes, et les minorités religieuses et ethniques dans les structures sociales, notamment dans la Haute Société. La deuxième partie du texte examine les Torontoniens riches qui sont devenus philanthropistes pour but de caractériser le philanthropiste typique de Toronto. En outre, la philanthropie n’était pas du continent nord-américain, mais était importée de l’Europe. Par conséquent, la troisième partie de cet article se concerne avec l’explication du transfert des modèles philanthropiques de l’Europe à Toronto. La dernière partie du texte examine le développement des « monuments » philanthropiques de Toronto : l’Hôpital Général de Toronto, le Musée d’Art de Toronto, le Musée Royal d’Ontario, et la Société Charitable fournissant des logements de Toronto.***

## ***“Toronto has come to be known as a philanthropic city”***

“I know of no place where there are so many charitable organizations in proportion to its population as in Toronto,”<sup>2</sup> asserted J. J. Maclaren at the twenty-fourth annual session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1897. Only a few years later, J. A. Turnbull started his article about associated charities in Toronto with the statement: “Toronto has come to be known as a philanthropic city...”<sup>3</sup> While Maclaren and Turnbull both exaggerated the scale of philanthropic undertakings in Toronto, it is true that the city had no more and no fewer philanthropic undertakings than other North American and European cities at this time.<sup>4</sup> Housing projects for working-class families, museums, art galleries and hospitals in New York, Leipzig, and Toronto were organized and financed by wealthy citizens. Philanthropy was the foundation of urban society on both sides of the Atlantic until the turn of the twentieth century. Despite the introduction of the welfare state by Bismarck in 1870s Germany, philanthropists were still essential for the financing of cultural and social public institutions. Social housing, for instance, was integrated into the governmental welfare system only after World War I. Furthermore, philanthropy predates the welfare state in every case. One must see this development in a timeline: for centuries, philanthropy in its broadest sense was the only method of social and cultural assistance. In the nineteenth century this remained true for all European and North American cities. Even with the introduction of, and the slow amalgamation with, or even replacement by, the welfare state, philanthropy remained the most important form of social organization. Until the late nineteenth century the only form of responsibility known to all members of society was a private one. Modern sociologists and economists such as Burton Allen Weisbrod, H. B. Hansmann and E. Gaudie, argue that philanthropy results from market or state failure and emerges when the state or the market fails to provide for all citizens. Such an analysis is fundamentally flawed because it is based on the experience of the twentieth century and the invasion of the state into the private sphere.<sup>5</sup> To assume that the state held full responsibility for providing cultural and social services is ahistorical because nobody, even in the socialist workers movement, ascribed such responsibilities to the state. Philanthropy happened because wealthy citizens felt responsible for the good of their community.

The thesis of my large research project is that donating became a bourgeois behavioural pattern that served to integrate new elites, women, and religious and ethnic minorities into social structures, mainly “High Society”. In this short paper, however, I will show only that the philanthropic engagement of industrialists and entrepreneurs—the *homo novae* of the nineteenth century—paved a path into Toronto’s High Society.

In comparing the philanthropic culture of Toronto with that of Leipzig and New York in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I will examine the specific nature of the philanthropic culture of Toronto. In contrast to the philanthropic culture of Leipzig, where the state did not interfere, and to that of New York, where governmental support targeted only cultural but not social philanthropy, Toronto’s philanthropic scene is charac-

terized by a strong combination of government support and philanthropic engagement of wealthy citizens in both cultural and social spheres. The examples of Toronto and New York seem to prove Geoffrey Finlayson's argument that philanthropy was always part of a mixed economy.<sup>6</sup> In both cases, philanthropy is not the only form of social welfare. The city governments in Toronto and New York became involved in the provision of social welfare at the end of the nineteenth century. However, even for Toronto and New York, this situation of mixed economy did not occur until the turn of the century. Pure philanthropy existed much earlier. In the cases of Boston and Leipzig, Finlayson's argument is simply untrue. Neither city experienced state help until long after the turn of the twentieth century.

Toronto had a philanthropic tradition that went back to at least the 1820s. Wealthy Torontonians such as the Gooderhams, Worts, and Baldwins felt an obligation to donate money for public institutions that relied heavily on the support of these philanthropically minded individuals. Industrialization and urbanization changed the outlook of the city dramatically and caused a huge demand for assistance. The population of Toronto increased from about 30,000 in 1851 to more than 200,000 after the turn of the century. With population growth came a growth in the number of industries. "In 1871, a city of just over 56,000 people was the home to 497 industries. By 1881, 932 manufacturing establishments were located in this city now housing over 86,000." In 1901, one fifth of the city's population was employed in factories. Industry became "the single most important source of employment and income in the city."<sup>7</sup> Industrialization and urbanization produced a working class, and connected to this a number of social problems, such as the demand for housing and health care for working-class families. At the same time a need emerged for educational institutions—high schools, colleges and universities—as well as for art galleries and museums. Philanthropy became the basis for both.<sup>8</sup>

While most of the New York and Boston philanthropic enterprises were founded in the 1870s and 1880s, those in Toronto emerged only after 1910. At this point Toronto had become an industrialized city with more than 200,000 inhabitants and a new social elite of industrialists, manufacturers, bankers and financiers was able to establish and confirm itself as the upper class. Such an upper class was the precondition for philanthropy at the time. (i.e., a group elite phenomenon).

I have divided this essay into three main parts. In the first, I will explain my concept of "philanthropic culture", which is the theoretical basis for this investigation. My previous research has proven that philanthropy functions only when wealthy citizens are willing not only to give money and time, but willing to search for precise ideas about how to meet the social and cultural demands of an industrial society. For this reason I look first at the philanthropically minded Torontonians; second, at how they obtained ideas about spending their money; and thirdly, at the institutions they created.

### ***"Philanthropic culture"***

North American scholars have written much about American philanthropy. However, they failed to create a theoretical concept

of philanthropy. I define philanthropy as the provision of financial, material, and ideal resources for cultural, social, and educational institutions by upper-class citizens. This may happen by means of foundations, "limited dividend companies", membership organizations, or by bequests and donations. My conception includes cultural philanthropy—the support of art galleries and museums—as well as social philanthropy—the support of social housing projects and hospitals.

Research on philanthropy lacks a chronological and comparative context. As Judith Sealander points out, most of the research about American philanthropy focuses on the period after 1930. She states also that there is no research comparing American philanthropy with that of other countries.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, North American scholars have made incorrect assumptions regarding American philanthropy in the nineteenth century. Robert H. Bremner, for instance, assumes "throughout most of the nineteenth century, philanthropy meant not financial support for educational, charitable, and cultural institutions but advocacy of humanitarian causes such as improvement in prison conditions; abstinence or temperance in use of alcohol; abolition of slavery, flogging, and capital punishment; and recognition of the rights of labor, women, and nonwhite people."<sup>10</sup> My research shows that he is simply wrong. Nineteenth-century philanthropy in Boston and New York was mainly directed toward educational, cultural, and social public institutions, such as universities, art museums and hospitals. Bremner's conclusions result from the lack of a theoretical concept of philanthropy. He simply assumes continuity in the tradition of giving from ancient times until today. He fails to recognize changes in this tradition, and he does not contextualize the act of giving in terms of nineteenth-century class society. In opposition to Bremner and Frank K. Prochaska, I argue that philanthropy is always an upper-class phenomenon.<sup>11</sup> Finlayson wrongly assumes that voluntary activity results from concern "with the advancement of others, rather than the self."<sup>12</sup> However, he later suggests that, "indulgence in paternalistic and philanthropic behaviour could also serve more self-interested motives. Noblesse oblige could merge into a way of quieting a conscience troubled by the possession of riches, or of justifying those riches by devoting a proportion of them to the benefit of others."<sup>13</sup> With this last hypothesis, I agree. Nevertheless, I contend that these motives should be considered in a broader context of class construction. Philanthropy not only soothed the restless conscience but also helped establish or confirm the social status of the giver. This was what made late-nineteenth-century philanthropy different from that of previous centuries—it was a group and class phenomenon.

In short, my thesis is derived from the theoretical understandings of Ostrower, who contends that, "philanthropy becomes a 'way of being part of society'" and is "one of the activities which contributes to facilitating elite groups,"<sup>14</sup> and the class concept of E. P. Thompson, who suggests that class is not simply a "structure" or a "category", but something "which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships."<sup>15</sup> Elaborating on this idea, I define class not only, or primarily, as an economic category but as the product of a set of behavioural patterns of a given group of individuals.

As such, the bourgeoisie is defined not solely by its wealth, but by its use of this wealth. Wealthy Torontonians became philanthropists because they were interested in confirming their status as part of the bourgeoisie in order to prove themselves as wealthy and responsible people.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on both sides of the Atlantic, the majority of wealthy citizens felt responsible for the good of their communities. The communities existed only because of their citizens and their interaction within them. The city was a network of active people who defined, financed, and represented not only economic, but cultural and social development in their community. For this reason it is appropriate to speak of "philanthropic culture". This term includes not only the immediate act of establishing foundations, but also the climate in which this takes place. Philanthropy, both social and cultural, was an everyday habit for most of the bourgeois. Every city had thousands of members who supported art galleries, museums and hospitals.<sup>16</sup> These behavioural patterns were based on the fact that most wealthy citizens felt responsible for the public good and their philanthropy was familiar to all members of the community, whether as donors or receivers of this support. The wealthy felt a duty to give back part of their fortune to society.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, my concept of "philanthropic culture" includes not only economic, but also social-psychological, cultural, and anthropological aspects. This concept paves the way from positivistic descriptions of single philanthropists and their philanthropies toward that of a social-structural description of a philanthropically based urban society. In this interpretation, the philanthropist is not a benefactor acting alone, but a member of a social group/stratum who acts according to this group's behavioural patterns. The "philanthropic culture" has several ingredients: social groups, action patterns, motivations, and goals. The actions of philanthropists are defined by many elements: the available and traditional behavioural patterns (e.g., supporting public institutions); the problems of their time, which they try to solve through their actions; their thinking about the future and their societal visions and utopias; and the deeds of competing individuals and social groups.

My concept of "philanthropic culture" includes another level. The actions of philanthropists were determined not only by the conscious motivations described above, but also by unconscious or conscious strivings for integration into societal structures. Philanthropy was a behavioural pattern that was used by new social elites during the nineteenth century to complement their economic success with social recognition from the old elites. To donate was an action that served to integrate new elites, women, and religious and ethnic minorities into the leading circles of urban society. Wealth was a necessary precondition for this but it was not sufficient in and of itself to ensure social recognition, as the example of the Vanderbilts demonstrates. Despite being an old New York family that had made its fortune building railways, the Vanderbilts did not achieve recognition from the Knickerbocker elite for two generations. Only their financial engagement for the establishment of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Metropolitan Opera House paved their way into "High Society".<sup>18</sup>

Following Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theories, I define philanthropy as a behavioural pattern.<sup>19</sup> Philanthropy is one behavioural pattern or strategy used by the *nouveaux riches* in Leipzig as well as by those in New York and Boston to enter elite society. This behavioural pattern had a long tradition in European cities, stretching back to the Middle Ages.<sup>20</sup> The established North-American elites such as the old Toronto, New York (Knickerbocker) and Boston (Brahmins) families brought the concept of philanthropy to America. The *homo novae*—the industrialists and entrepreneurs of the nineteenth century—copied this behavioural pattern of the old elites and of the new European urban elites. However, philanthropic behaviour was only one among a number of different patterns. Other such strategies included marrying into families of old elites, joining social clubs, and creating family trees and coats of arms.<sup>21</sup>

### **The Philanthropists**

About 13 percent of the wealthy Torontonians listed in the Toronto Blue Book for 1920 invested their money either in the Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT), the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), the Toronto General Hospital (TGH), the Toronto Housing Company (THC), or in all of them.<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that this list does not represent all philanthropies in Toronto; these are only the four most supported institutions.<sup>23</sup> These 13 percent, including Sir Edmund Osler, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Chester Daniel Massey, and Mrs. H. D. Warren, represented the wealthiest circles, the exclusive "High Society" of Toronto. Old money, represented by the Gooderhams and Cawthra,<sup>24</sup> and new money, represented by the Walkers and Flavells, began philanthropic endeavours after the turn of the century. Both groups felt obliged to donate for public purposes. They were motivated by religious, social, and political beliefs. This philanthropic behaviour also served for the first group as a confirmation of their status and for the second group as a means to achieve social recognition and acceptance from the established members of "High Society". The difference in practice was influenced by the time period. While the old elites in Boston and New York had already established themselves in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the old elites of Toronto did so only in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The four philanthropic endeavours in Toronto mentioned above were primarily male undertakings, although women did play a role. More than 16 percent of the members of the Art Gallery of Toronto and nearly 30 percent of the donors to the Royal Ontario Museum were female. This number is surprisingly high given Prochaska's assumptions, and a comparison with the female participation in the Toronto Housing Company (25 percent) and the Toronto General Hospital (1.7 percent). Historians like Prochaska assumed that there was a high degree of female participation in charitable institutions such as social housing projects and hospitals, but did not expect that the same might be true for cultural institutions such as museums and art galleries. This view seems to be confirmed by the activities of women such as the British housing reformer Octavia Hill and the fact that fully half of the shareholders of the New York City and Suburban Homes Company in 1896 were female. The involvement of women in these undertakings could be seen as a "leisured

woman's outlet for self-expression", as an undisputed way out of the household, and subsequently, as an attempt at emancipation.<sup>25</sup> Women were seen as predestined by birth to social work and caring for the young, the elderly, and the sick. As Prochaska points out, "charitable work was relatively free from the restraints and prejudices associated with women in paid employments."<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, there are two issues of importance. First, the relatively large number of female members and donors in cultural philanthropies raises questions about the position of women in the bourgeois society of the nineteenth century. Second, Prochaska argues about the charitable work of women but not about the financing of charities by women. In charitable, as well as in cultural philanthropies, women worked and financed these institutions as members, stockholders and donors. There can be no question that this provided opportunities for women to leave the cage of the family and to gain a certain degree of emancipation.

However, questions remain about the source of their money. Did the husband provide his wife with the necessary money or did some women, such as Mrs. H. D. Warren, possess their own finances and were these decisions made independently from the wishes of their family? How did the status of being a stockholder of the Toronto Housing Company change the thinking of women—widowed or married? What did it mean for herself and for other female Torontonians when Mrs. H. D. Warren became the first female trustee of the Royal Ontario Museum in 1911? Today "we are perhaps too prone to see limitations where the women of the past saw possibilities."<sup>27</sup> There can be no doubt that participation in charitable and cultural philanthropies opened opportunities for emancipation in the nineteenth century. However, important yet unanswered questions remain. To what degree did philanthropy open the doors to emancipation? Did these women view philanthropic activities as a way of gaining emancipation or was their motivation connected with furthering their own or family ambitions? These are interesting questions, but I cannot provide a detailed analysis of women and philanthropy here because of space limitations and the limited availability of sources on individual women.

Not only did philanthropy open a door into the establishment for women, it also provided this establishment with the means of strengthening and solidifying its social power. Therefore, it is not surprising that most philanthropists belonged to the three main religious groups of the city. The largest group were Anglicans—42 percent for the AGT, 34.5 percent for the ROM, 32 percent for the THC and 40.6 percent for the TGH. Next were the Presbyterians and Methodists with between 20 and 30 percent each. This distribution is almost proportional to the percentage these religious groups occupied in the overall population of the city.<sup>28</sup> Ostensibly, religious values were the motivations for these philanthropists. However, given that social integration was the result, it is very likely that this motivation played a much larger role in their conscious and unconscious minds. Nearly 70 percent of the philanthropists were born in Toronto or elsewhere in Ontario. Their parents or grandparents came from Britain or Ireland at the turn of the nineteenth century. They made a living

in industry and trade (manufacturers, merchants) or in the financial and insurance sector (capitalists, financiers, bankers, stockbrokers).<sup>29</sup> Legal and academic professions (professors, barristers, lawyers and judges) can be found only at the TGH and the ROM. The philanthropists represented all age groups between twenty and seventy, although about fifty percent were over fifty years of age. Those who invested money in charities were older than those who invested money in cultural institutions. Almost 85 percent of the philanthropists of the AGT and more than 62 percent of those of the ROM were born after 1860. In contrast 54 percent of the those who supported the TGH and 44 percent of those who supported the THC were born before 1860. The reason for this may be the difference between amounts invested in social and cultural philanthropies. Much higher amounts were necessary for the building of the Toronto General Hospital and so donations to the ROM or the AGT were smaller. While Torontonians could afford to give smaller amounts to museums and art galleries while building their careers, giving to hospitals demanded a successful and well-established person who had already made his fortune. More than one-third of the those who supported the Art Gallery of Toronto had only a grammar or public school education. Like Sir Edmund Walker, they entered business at a young age and did not have an opportunity for higher education. The other two-thirds were educated at schools such as Jarvis Street Collegiate Institute or Upper Canada College and then later at the University of Toronto.

Many philanthropists belonged to the Toronto Club or the York Club (or in many cases to both), the Royal Canadian Yacht Club, the National Club, and either the Ontario Club or the Albany Club, and to at least one of the important golf clubs in the Toronto area (Toronto, Rosedale, Lambton or Mississauga Golf Club). The Toronto Club and the York Club were both social meeting places for the business elite of Toronto.<sup>30</sup> The Toronto Club was founded in 1835 and carried on a tradition of a "fraternity of the business elite". Businessmen met in the club daily for lunch to discuss business. The York Club was founded in 1909. Membership was possible only at the invitation of two existing members, and membership in both clubs was limited. More than 23 percent of the members of the Toronto Club and more than 33 percent of the members of the York Club invested money in one or more philanthropies. Although there was a significant overlap in membership, there were differences in the members' preferences for philanthropic endeavours. While members of the Toronto Club favoured the Toronto General Hospital, members of the York Club preferred to donate money to the Art Gallery of Toronto. The Ontario Club and the Albany Club were the political clubs for Liberals and Conservatives respectively and were nearly equally represented among the philanthropists under study. A large number (79) of the philanthropists belonged to the National Club. This club can be seen as a political as well as a social club. Founded in 1874, the club promoted the loyalty of Canada to the British Empire while demanding a certain sovereign status for Canada. Furthermore, their views included the acceptance of political representation of minorities in Canada. However, they also maintained that voting power should be proportional to wealth. After the Liberal and Conservative parties were formed, the National Club lost much

of its political character and became a social club for the Toronto business elite, similar to the Toronto and the York Club.

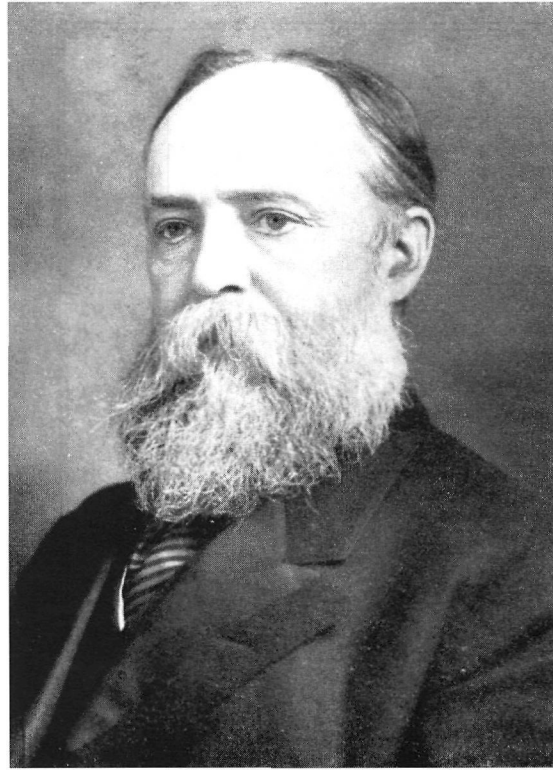
Both men and women participated in Toronto's philanthropic culture. However, detailed information on women is lacking because of contemporary sexist views regarding the importance of women. A typical male Toronto philanthropist was born in Ontario and his parents or grandparents had emigrated from Britain or Ireland. A large number of philanthropists attended only grammar or public school and lacked a formal education. For this reason a wealthy Torontonian, such as Sir Edmund Walker, invested money in various educational institutions, thus proving himself to be a man of education and culture. The typical philanthropist had a very successful career in industry, railways, banking or insurance. His reasons for supporting cultural, educational, and social philanthropies were various, including religious beliefs, feelings of social responsibility (*noblesse oblige*), and caring for the well being of others. Nevertheless, this philanthropic behaviour secured the social status of the donor, although this was not the intention in every case. Based on E. P. Thompson's definition of class, philanthropic behaviour would legitimize an individual as part of "High Society". This pattern of bourgeois behaviour was also common among the new industrialists in New York, Boston and Leipzig. Unlike the others, Torontonians could crown their success with knighthood from the British King; thus gaining the legal status of nobility with its accompanying social recognition.

Having drawn a picture of typical Toronto philanthropists, it is essential to look at the origin of their ideas and how they obtained them. As I have already mentioned, philanthropy originated not in North America, but in Europe. Therefore, we must investigate where and how Canadian philanthropists found their models for organizing museums, such as the Art Gallery of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum, and charities, such as the Toronto Housing Company.<sup>31</sup>

### ***The Transfer of Philanthropic Blueprints***

#### *Cultural Philanthropy*

In the process of searching throughout Europe and the United States, Byron E. Walker, later Sir Edmund Walker (Figure 1),<sup>32</sup> and James Mavor<sup>33</sup> obtained models and ideas about how to organize an art gallery. When Walker was sent to New York as a junior agent of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1873, he used this opportunity not only to gain experience in the banking profession and establish his career, but also to visit private and public galleries in the city. He witnessed the foundation of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1870. Impressed by the broad support of this undertaking by wealthy citizens and the city council, Walker, together with his wife, spent much time there and obtained firsthand knowledge of the municipal financial support and the cultural philanthropy of the New York elites. Members of the old and new elite joined the membership of the Metropolitan Museum in large numbers. The museum makers had estab-



**Figure 1: Sir Edmund Walker.**

lished a membership of four classes: Patron for \$1,000, a Fellow in Perpetuity for \$500, a Fellow for \$200, or an Annual Member for \$10. There is no direct proof that the Toronto gallery was modeled on the Metropolitan Museum, but it does seem more than coincidence that the membership organization of the Art Gallery of Toronto had a four-class membership system.<sup>34</sup>

As an enthusiastic traveler, Walker spent time in Europe, Japan and South America visiting churches, museums, private collections, commercial galleries, and artists' studios. "Walker developed tastes in art consistent with the educated Anglo-Saxon taste of the day. He was drawn to the 'Primitives' of the Northern and Italian Renaissance, especially to Van Dyck, Van der Weyden, Cimabue, Ghirlandaio, Lippi and Giotto. He was also interested in the 17th-century Dutch School and its 'modern' exponents, the Barbizon and Hague Schools."<sup>35</sup>

The same is true for James Mavor who used his business travels to obtain knowledge about art galleries in Germany. When he went to Europe to examine the possibilities of European immigration to Canada and the effect of the German and Austrian workmen's insurance system in 1899, he used his stay to also study art collections and galleries in Dresden, Leipzig, Munich, Nuremberg, Prague, and Stockholm. Mavor ordered photos made of these galleries and their pictures and he collected catalogues. A small red notebook from this voyage confirms his deep interest in all organizational aspects of these institutions. Mavor made detailed notes not only about entrance fees but also the accessibility of these art galleries to the public. The ta-

SIR EDMUND (BYRON EDMUND) WALKER, C.V.O., LL.D., D.C.L., President, The Canadian Bank of Commerce, Toronto; Director, Toronto General Trusts Corporation; Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S.; Massey-Harris Company, Ltd.; Mond-Nickel Company; Brunner-Mond (Canada), Ltd.; Chairman, Board of Governors, Toronto University.

Born in Seneca Township, Haldimand County, Ont., Oct. 14, 1848, son of the late Alfred E. Walker.

Educated in Central School, Hamilton; Hon. D.C.L., Trinity University (Toronto), 1904; Hon. LL.D., University of Toronto, 1906.

Entered the office of his uncle, J. W. Murton, private banker, Hamilton, Aug. 10, 1861 (then less than thirteen years of age); joined the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Hamilton, in 1868, as Discount Clerk; Junior Agent in New York, May, 1873; held several positions as Manager of Branches, 1875-1880; Inspector of the Bank, 1880-1881; Joint Agent in New York, 1881-1886; General Manager of the Bank, 1886-1907; appointed President, 1907.

Chairman, Bankers' Section, Toronto Board of Trade, 1891-1892; Vice-President, Canadian Bankers' Association, 1893; President of that Association, 1894-1895; President of Canadian Institute (oldest scientific society in Canada), 1898-1899; President, Toronto Guild of Civic Art, 1897-1898; Trustee, University of Toronto, 1892-1906; Senator, 1893-1901; Governor, 1906; Chairman Board of Governors, since 1910; Hon. President, Mendelssohn Choir since its foundation in 1900, (leading Choir in America); Chairman, Board of Governors, Toronto Conservatory of Music; Trustee, Toronto General Hospital; Chairman of Commission on Money and Credit, Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis Exposition, 1904; President, Council of the Art Museum of Toronto; President of the Council of the Royal Ontario Museum; President, Champlain Society; Commander of Victorian Order, 1908; Knight Bachelor, 1910; Knight of Grace, Order of

the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, 1910; Fellow of the Geological Society (England); of the Institute of Bankers (England), of the Royal Economic Society (England), of the Royal Colonial Institute (England), and of the Royal Society of Canada, 1917.

Member of the following commissions:

(1) Ontario Government—to determine Financial Position of Government, Chairman, 1900; (2) Ontario Government—Reorganization of University of Toronto, 1905-1906; (3) Dominion Government—Advisory Arts Council, Member, 1907; President, 1910; (4) Dominion Government—National Battlefields Commission; (5) National Gallery of Art, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

A well-known Art Connoisseur; gave his paleontological collection and his library connected therewith to the University of Toronto, 1904; portrait by John Lavery, R.S.A., R.H.A., presented to him by the senior officers of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, 1910; author of "Canadian Surveys and Museums" (1899), and a paper on "Early Italian Art," 1894.

Is the author of many important articles on banking and financial matters and has delivered addresses before the Institute of Bankers in London, Eng., the Canadian Bankers' Association, the American Bankers' Association, the New York State Bankers' Association, the Louisiana Bankers' Association, the Bankers' Club at Detroit, etc., etc.

Presented to King George (on receiving honor of Knighthood) at St. James' Palace, June 1911; present at Westminster Abbey, by invitation, at the coronation of Their Majesties, June, 1911.

Married Mary Alexander, daughter of Alexander Alexander, of Hamilton, Ont., 1874; has four sons and three daughters.

Clubs: Toronto; York; Toronto Hunt; R.C.Y.C.; University, all of Toronto; Rideau (Ottawa); Bankers' Club and Lawyers' Club (New York).

Summer Residence: "Broadeaves," DeGrassi Point, Lake Simcoe, Ont.

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ble opposite containing data about various Dresden art galleries is an example from his notes:<sup>36</sup>

<i>Dresden Art Galleries</i>			
Gallery	Nature	Opening Hours	Entrance Fee
Palace of the Grosse Garden	Antiquities	10-12:30 and 3-6	50 Pfg.
Albertinum-Bruehls che Terasse	Antiquities	9-3	Free
Royal Castle Green Vault		9-2	100
Johanneum	Hist. Collection Armour Porcelain	9-2	50
Gemälde Galerie in the New Museum		Monday 9-1	150

This information might have been valuable for the organization of the Art Gallery of Toronto a few years later. The issues of accessibility to the public and the entrance fee dominated the discussions before its opening. Although the question of accessibility was of common interest for the Dresden and Toronto museum makers, the social strata, which financed the museums in Dresden and Toronto were different. Mavor found two types of art galleries and art museums while traveling around Germany—those in "court cities", like Dresden, and those in "independent cities", like Leipzig. While the first ones were established by the nobility to demonstrate the importance of their owners, the second were organized by wealthy bourgeois families copying the behaviour of the nobility. Only the latter served as a blueprint for the Toronto, New York, and Boston art museums. The art gallery of Leipzig, especially, served as a model for many North American art museums.<sup>37</sup>

However, Toronto philanthropists did not copy exactly the model of art galleries in "independent cities" of Germany. They developed different concepts about the participation of artists in

these endeavours and about the tasks of these institutions. The first difference is the degree to which artists participated in the organization of the art gallery. While artists played no role in Leipzig establishing an art museum, artists did participate in organizing the Metropolitan Museum of Art and played a major role in establishing the Art Gallery of Toronto. The second is the difference between the function of museums in Germany and in North America. On both sides of the Atlantic, museums served to legitimize wealthy citizens as members of the "High Society" of their respective cities. Donation of money for a museum was connected to an attempt to establish social leadership. However, philanthropically minded New Yorkers and Torontonians also founded museums with the purpose of educating the lower classes. This was not the intention of the philanthropists in Leipzig.<sup>38</sup>

Wealthy Torontonians were in the habit of spending time in European art galleries and art museums. They enjoyed them so thoroughly that it sparked in them the realization that they lacked such institutions at home. This was the true beginning of the Art Gallery of Toronto. The Royal Ontario Museum, on the other hand, was not conceived of, or planned by, philanthropists. Rather, scholars such as Charles Trick Currelly and Henry Montgomery desired to establish a museum and they not only had to rally wealthy Torontonians to their cause, but also to search abroad for models.

In March 1906, Professor Henry Montgomery visited a number of American Museums and collected his observations in a "Report on Museums". Montgomery, an outstanding geologist of his day, received his early education at Upper Canada College in Toronto. After his study of geology, mineralogy, and biology at University College and the University of Toronto he held professorships at the universities of North Dakota and Utah. In 1894, he returned to Toronto to become head of the Department of Geology and Biology at Trinity University. With the federation of Trinity and Toronto universities in 1903, Montgomery became the curator of the new museum of the university.<sup>39</sup>

In 1906, Montgomery went to visit the Smithsonian Institute and the United States National Museum in Washington, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Yale University in New Haven, the Art Museum and the Natural Science Museum in Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Harvard University Museum in Cambridge. He compiled information about the organization, financing, and architecture of these different museums. In his conclusions, Montgomery recommended erecting a building about 180 feet in length and 65 feet in width with three stories and a basement, the location of this first wing to be chosen with a view to future expansion.<sup>40</sup>

Referring to a survey of American and European natural museums by A. B. Meyer, Montgomery demanded that this new Toronto Museum should play a role in popular education. He favoured the principle developed by Louis Agassiz of having a separate exhibition collection for visitors and a scientific collection for investigators. "Consequently, the visitor to a museum is not tormented with endless series of like or similar objects, and he need not himself laboriously pick out from an excess of mate-

rial the objects which are to him comprehensible, instructive or entertaining. They are placed before him without any annoying and tiresome labor on his part."<sup>41</sup> The American museums were meant for the education not only of the "educated" but also of the "half-educated and uneducated classes". For this reason the American museums "were almost universally open daily from morning till evening, free of charge." To keep the door open to everybody was one of the basic principles among museum makers in the United States.<sup>42</sup>

The Board of Trustees of the University of Toronto not only received the report written by Montgomery in 1906 but was also provided with the study of natural museums in North American and European cities compiled by A. B. Meyer, the director of the Royal Zoological, Anthropological and Ethnographical Museum in Dresden, who was sent to the United States in 1899 to visit museums in New York City, Albany, Buffalo, and Chicago. This latter report, which Montgomery quoted in parts, was printed in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute in 1905.<sup>43</sup>

#### *Social Philanthropy*

Toronto philanthropists were interested not only in establishing art galleries and museums for educational purposes, they were also aware of the social problems caused by industrialization. The housing of working-class families became one of the most important issues of the time. After the turn of the twentieth century, architects and social reformers on both sides of the Atlantic developed a large number of potential solutions to this problem.<sup>44</sup>

When Goldwin Smith, Thomas Roden, and Frank Beer started to think about solutions for Toronto's housing problem, they used blueprints from London—such as those of Sir Sidney Waterlow and Octavia Hill—and other British cities such as Glasgow. James Mavor seems to have been the kingpin of philanthropy in Toronto at the time. He not only observed the organization of German art galleries, but also brought his experience with the Glasgow Working Man's Dwelling Company to Toronto. This company was modeled upon Sydney Waterlow's "Philanthropy and Five Percent" concept. In 1863, Waterlow started a commercial company in order to demonstrate concretely how the housing problem could be solved using capitalist methods. Together with his colleague and friend Mathew Allen he built a small block of dwellings on Mark Street in London. Their intention was "to produce a housing unit which could be easily built and let at a suitable rent to artisans, while at the same time showing a profit of five per-cent for the owner."<sup>45</sup> Normally, capitalists who invested in housing projects expected a profit of around 25 per-cent. That Waterlow and Allen allowed for such a low profit margin was truly revolutionary. Philanthropy and capitalism were linked for the first time and the idea of "Philanthropy and Five Percent" was born.

Mavor participated in this Glasgow undertaking and in the Kyrle Society, which adopted methods introduced in London by Octavia Hill. In 1864, Hill started to purchase run-down houses in order to reconstruct them and let them to working-class families at a modest rent, allowing—like Waterlow—a five percent profit for



the owner. In contrast to Waterlow, Hill did not have new buildings constructed but bought run-down buildings and had them renovated. She developed a system of "friendly rent collecting." Under her new terms the rent was to be paid weekly (instead of monthly or quarter-annually) and was to be collected by upper class women (a nineteenth-century version of a social worker) who were expected to establish friendly relations with the tenants; finally, these same women ensured that standards of cleanliness were maintained by the tenants.<sup>46</sup>

Even though we have no direct evidence of how Goldwin Smith's interest in social housing projects emerged, we can imagine that Mavor played an important role in inspiring Smith. By 1892 Mavor was acquainted with Smith and until 1910 met him regularly for huge discussions about various political and social topics. For many years both organized a "Round Table" at the Grange—a "little dining club" of eminent Torontonians who met once a month during the winters.<sup>47</sup> Mavor provided Smith not only with theoretical knowledge about the concepts of Octavia Hill and Sydney Waterlow, but also provided practical experience from the Glasgow experiment and from the undertaking of his friend, Miss Mary Hill Burton in Edinburgh.<sup>48</sup>

Following the principles outlined by Sydney Waterlow, Goldwin Smith suggested forming a joint stock company to be called the "Artisans' Dwelling Company of Toronto, Limited." This limited-dividend company was to be capitalized with \$100,000 divided into \$10 shares which were to be sold to philanthropically minded Torontonians. Smith followed in Waterlow's footsteps when he limited the annual profit of the invested capital to no more than five percent. Although this idea had already been translated into the American context by Henry I. Bowditch in Boston thirty years earlier, Goldwin Smith was not aware of the Bostonian housing projects. Nevertheless, there was one difference from the Waterlow scheme. Smith bought land on Gerrard Street east of the Don River sufficient for thirty houses, which he was going to donate to the proposed Artisans' Dwelling Company. This specific idea did not derive from the Waterlow scheme but from the competing scheme of George Peabody. A wealthy American banker, Peabody donated a large amount of money to a foundation "for the benefit of the London poor." In contrast to the Waterlow scheme, Peabody bought and then donated the land on which the buildings were erected. Peabody excluded the idea of a personal return from the rental income. Whatever profit was made was to be reinvested in the trust.<sup>49</sup> However, things did not work out and the plan of Goldwin Smith was abandoned in 1907. Only five years later Frank Beer took up Smith's idea.<sup>50</sup>

### ***The Landmarks of Toronto Philanthropy***

#### **The Toronto General Hospital (TGH)**

In June 1820, the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada decided to grant £4,000 for the establishment of the York General Hospital. This hospital relied on financial support from the municipality of York (later Toronto), the Upper Canada (later Ontario) government, and from philanthropists including John Macdonald, William Gooderham, James G. Worts and William Cawthra. These wealthy Torontonians donated large amounts of

money for the expansion of the hospital in the 1870s. Macdonald—who was called "the merchant prince of the wholesale trade in Toronto"<sup>51</sup>—bequeathed \$40,000 to the hospital for the erection of a branch hospital in the vicinity of the University of Toronto in 1890. Gooderham, his brother-in-law Worts, and Cawthra donated the necessary money for the designated west wing of the hospital. Coming from England and Scotland, these people represented the first generation of Toronto philanthropists.

Gooderham and Worts immigrated to Upper Canada after 1831 and established a mill at the mouth of the Don River near York. They formed the partnership of Worts & Gooderham, which became the largest taxpayer in the city of Toronto in the 1840s. Worts and Gooderham invested in railways and Gooderham became a director of the Bank of Toronto in 1864, a position that he held until his death. Worts Jr. invested heavily in the Bank of Toronto during the 1850s, finally becoming the second largest stockholder and vice-president of the Bank in 1858, and so remaining until 1881. Cawthra, director of the Bank of Toronto, was active in real estate and was connected with Gooderham and Worts through his position at the Bank of Toronto.<sup>52</sup>

Construction of a new building complex south of College Street, between University Avenue and Elizabeth Street, was linked to the leading industrialist and financier Joseph Flavelle who represented the second generation of Toronto philanthropists. His parents emigrated from Ireland to North America in 1847 and settled in Peterborough. Born in 1858, he received his education at the public grammar school of Peterborough. When he had the opportunity to enter high school in 1871 he decided to get a job in a dry-goods store instead. After his apprenticeship in a general store, he returned to high school in 1874 without success. As Michael Bliss points out "there are no records of Flavelle's schooling, only his lifelong sensitivity about his lack of higher education."<sup>53</sup> Flavelle shared this feeling of lack with Walker and other Toronto philanthropists who left school at a very early age and began careers in business. Having achieved success they started to invest money in cultural and educational institutions to prove themselves as men of education and culture. The lack of higher education is another factor why these people became patrons of art and education. One may also see this in the context of social integration and competition, whereby wealthy, but poorly educated, bourgeois sought to achieve recognition from people with wealth and better educations.

Flavelle started his business career as a successful provision merchant in Peterborough before he moved to Toronto in 1887 where he became not only one of the leading industrialists and financiers but also an eminent Toronto philanthropist. He was a prominent member of the board of governors of the University of Toronto, a trustee of the Royal Ontario Museum, and chairman of the board of trustees of the Toronto General Hospital. Flavelle made several donations to Victoria University: in 1905, he endowed a chair in Hebrew with a subscription of \$25,000; in the same year, he founded a travelling fellowship of \$750 per year in classics at the University of Toronto, and he subscribed handsomely toward the erection of new residences for students at the University in 1908.<sup>54</sup>

The new Toronto General Hospital was the focus of Flavelle's philanthropic interests. In 1902, he was asked by the Gooderhams to join the board of trustees of the TGH as a representative of the benefactors. Only two years later, Flavelle took over the position of chairman, which he held until 1920. Collecting subscriptions among the philanthropically minded Torontonians for the new hospital on University Avenue was a task that absorbed most of his time until 1913. Unlike the Art Gallery of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum, single subscriptions reached amounts over \$100,000 and totalled over one million dollars. The first donation above \$100,000 was from the Mulock family. Cawthra Mulock, the heir of the Cawthra family fortune, was going to inherit eight million dollars. "In the summer of 1904 someone close to Mulock—perhaps his father, Sir William Mulock—approached Flavelle: "Flavelle, you are on the board of the Toronto General Hospital. Cawthra Mulock is coming into manhood. I am very anxious he should make something out of his life. He has enough money to spoil him if he does not have some serious work to do, and I think if he were to go into the Hospital, and you could get him to go to work, it might be of benefit."<sup>55</sup> Mulock donated \$100,000 for the construction of a new hospital building and was appointed to the board of trustees in 1904.

The budget for construction costs amounted to \$2,600,000 - \$600,000 for the land and two million dollars for the building. Flavelle managed to receive \$600,000 from the University, \$400,000 from City Council and \$1,600,000 from private citizens. Flavelle worried about this sum because "Torontonians had never been asked for so much money", and did not believe that Toronto had the necessary wealth for this undertaking. For this reason, he developed a special plan for collecting the money. He decided to ask five well-known and very wealthy philanthropists—George Cox, Timothy Eaton, Chester Massey, Edmund B. Osler, and William Mackenzie—for donations of \$50,000 to \$75,000. He offered "to name sections or wings of the hospital after each large donor to establish a basis for similar future gifts."<sup>56</sup> Flavelle and Walker organized a special meeting with these prominent philanthropists, "enabling the hospital board to proclaim that more than a quarter of a million dollars had been raised in two and a half hours." This was the beginning of the public subscription campaign. Before the completion of the new building, Flavelle convinced most of his friends to increase their donations. Eventually Timothy Eaton's donation amounted to \$360,000.<sup>57</sup>

In the end, nearly three-and-a-half million dollars were spent on the new building. This amount consisted of \$610,000 from City Council, \$600,000 from the University of Toronto, nearly \$1.3 million from individuals who belonged to the Trustee Board, almost \$140,000 from banks and corporations and over \$520,000 from private citizens. More than one third of the total came from philanthropists such as Cawthra Mulock, Sir William Mackenzie, Timothy Eaton, Sir Edmund Osler, Sir Edmund Walker, Peter Larkin, Zebulon Aiton Lash, Edward Rogers Wood, George Albertus Cox, and Joseph Flavelle. Some of these names you can still find in the hospital today—the surgical wing is named after the late Timothy Eaton, the Nurses' Home is in memory of the

first wife of George A. Cox and the out-patient building bears the name of Cawthra Mullock.<sup>58</sup>

### **The Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT)**

In New York, Boston, and Leipzig, wealthy patrons developed plans to establish an art gallery, while in Toronto artists formed the Ontario Society of Artists (OSA) in 1872 with the goal of establishing an art museum and a school of art. A precondition for the establishment of art museums is the existence of an upper class able and willing to finance such institutions. In New York and Boston such an upper class already existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century and this enabled the opening of art museums in both cities in the 1870s. Such an upper class emerged later in Toronto. And it took three more decades before a new social elite of industrialists, manufacturers, bankers, and financiers was able to successfully establish itself as the upper class and found institutions like the Royal Ontario Museum and the Art Gallery of Toronto.

When the OSA president, George A. Reid, persuaded Byron E. Walker to chair a committee with the purpose of establishing a Toronto Art Museum in 1900 the idea became feasible. Cronin argues that, "Reid could not have picked a better organizer", because Walker had a "yearning for academic experience and for recognition as a man of culture."<sup>59</sup> At the first meeting of interested Torontonians on December 7, 1900, Walker was able to announce \$26,000 in subscriptions—\$5,000 each by Messrs. Joseph W. Flavelle, Hon. George A. Cox, William Mackenzie, the estate of H. O. Massey and Frederic Nicholls, and \$1,000 from Byron E. Walker. In January of the following year, a roll of annual members was started.<sup>60</sup> Four classes of membership were established. One could become a Founder for \$5,000, a Benefactor for \$500, a Life Member for \$100, and an Annual Member for an annual fee of \$10 for a layman or \$5 for any member of a recognized art body. Within the next twenty-five years, the membership list included 35 Founders, 87 Benefactors, 254 Life Members, and 557 Annual Members (including 130 Artist Members). The financial support of the first three classes of membership amounted to nearly \$244,000 by the mid 1920s.<sup>61</sup>

The main question for the committee was about the facilities for this new art gallery. Coincidentally at this time Harriet Elizabeth Mann Dixon, the widow of William Henry Boulton who married Goldwin Smith in 1875, thought about bequeathing their home, the Grange, for some public purpose. The architect D'Arcy Boulton had erected this building in 1820, "and the records state that it was one of the pioneer dwellings which ushered in the 'brick period' of York's history."<sup>62</sup> Harriet Elizabeth Mann Dixon, who brought the Grange into her marriage to Goldwin Smith, was two years younger than he and—as Wallace points out—"completely devoid of any intellectual interests."<sup>63</sup>

Although Walker and Mavor were often guests at the Grange, neither were true friends of Goldwin Smith. In writing about his companionship with Goldwin Smith, Mavor noted that he received no intellectual stimulus from Smith and that Smith had neither an interest in, nor knowledge of, art. Walker, though loyal to the British Empire, was a staunch Canadian. As such he did

**THE ART GALLERY OF TORONTO**

**FORM OF APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP**

I desire to have my name enrolled as a \* .....

of the Art Gallery of Toronto, and in accordance with its By-laws I agree to pay the sum of .....

..... †Dollars.

(cheque enclosed) .....

Date ..... Address .....

\*Founder, Benefactor, Life Member, Annual Member, Annual Artist Member.  
†In cases of large subscriptions this sum may be divided as arranged with the Council of The Art Gallery,  
payments to be made at the call of the Council.

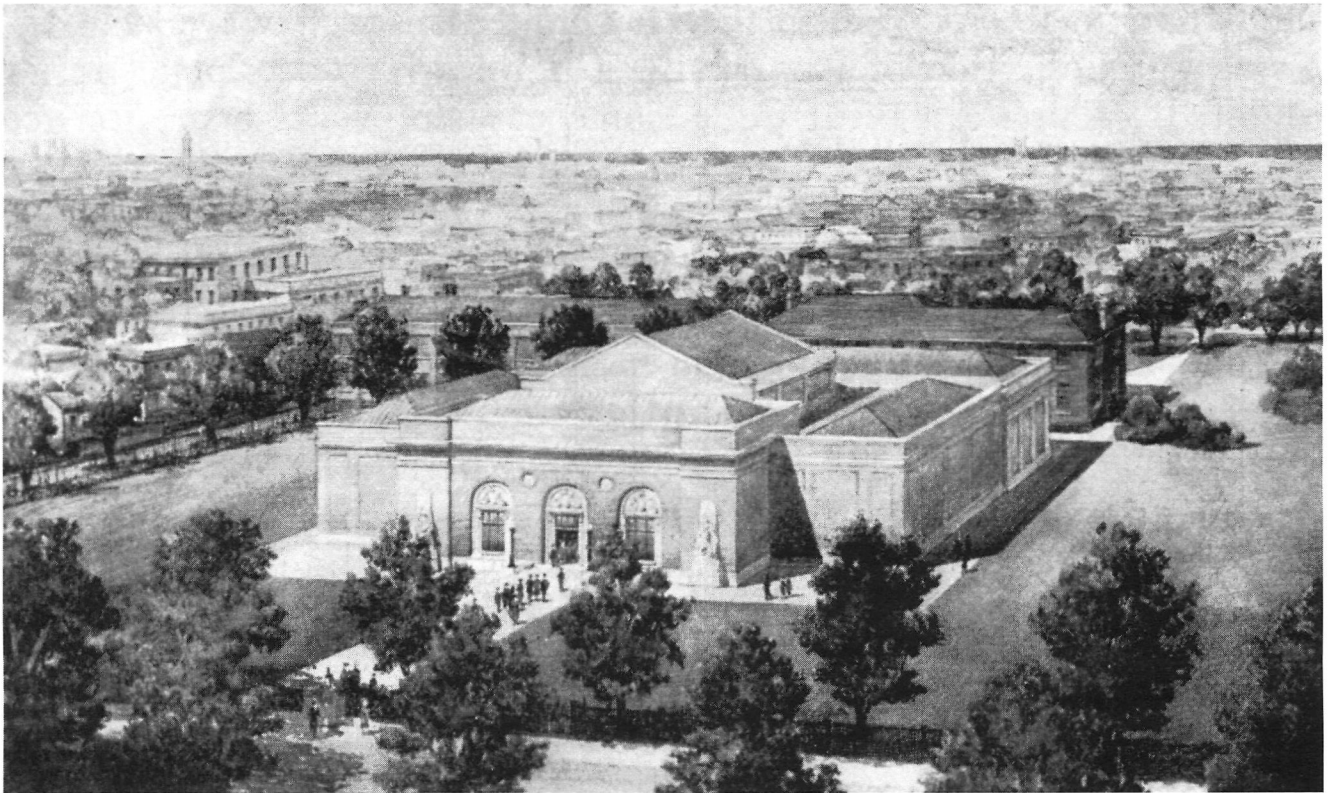
not have much in common with Goldwin Smith who not only believed in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, but went so far as to demand the incorporation of Canada into the United States.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1903, B. E. Walker convinced Mrs. Smith to leave the Grange to the Art Museum of Toronto after the deaths of her and her husband. Walker used the next seven years, until the death of Goldwin Smith, to quietly acquire much of the property surrounding the Grange. If he had not done so, the city of Toronto would have had to expropriate it at great cost. Sir Edmund sold this property at cost to the city when the time came, and thus saved them a very large sum.<sup>65</sup> After the death of Goldwin Smith in June 1910, the museum council was able to take possession of the Grange. The Art Museum of Toronto signed an agreement with city council under which the grounds became a public park. The city would contribute \$5,000 annually to the maintenance of the gallery. The trustees agreed that one day each week admission to the gallery should be free of charge. The city council agreed to acquire the land surrounding the Grange, which was needed for the construction of a new building for the art gallery.<sup>66</sup> In both cases, in Toronto as well as in New York, the city government supported the philanthropists in the establishment of an art gallery by providing the land for the building. However, the New York municipal government also financed the museum building, which was not the case in Toronto. On the other side of the Atlantic, the city government of Leipzig provided the philanthropists with neither the land nor the building.<sup>67</sup>

After some alterations and repairs, the Grange was officially opened to the public on June 5, 1913. As subscription to the new art gallery swelled rapidly, the trustees started to plan a new building at an estimated cost of \$75,000 to \$100,000. In 1916 construction was started and two years later the building opened to the public. In contrast to the establishment of the

Royal Ontario Museum, money for the construction came exclusively from wealthy Torontonians such as Mrs. Harry Dorman Warren, Edward Rogers Wood, Sir Henry Pellatt, Herbert Coplin Cox, and Chester Daniel Massey. Contemporary newspapers complained that the art gallery was "a private club for the residents of Rosedale"—i.e., this was meant as an institution for the Toronto "High Society". However, in contrast to German art galleries such as the Leipzig Art Gallery, the Art Gallery of Toronto was open to all people. Entrance to the Leipzig Art Gallery, founded in 1846, was restricted to members of the Art Society—i.e., the "High Society" of the city—until World War I. While the founders of the Art Gallery of Toronto envisioned their institution as an educational one for the lower classes, Leipzig philanthropists claimed their art gallery as an exclusive institution only for the "High Society". Cultural philanthropy in Leipzig followed the concept of social segregation of urban society, while cultural philanthropy in Toronto attempted to integrate all social strata into urban society. Therefore, unlike Leipzig, a division between working-class culture and upper-class culture, with separate institutions, did not emerge in Toronto.<sup>68</sup>

A mere seven years later, in 1925, two new wings and a sculpture court were added to the gallery doubling its size (Figure 2). Again private citizens raised most of the \$280,000 for the gallery's expansion. The city council contributed only \$50,000 on the condition that the gallery raise \$150,000 through private subscription. The Canadian Bank of Commerce offered a gift of \$10,000 on the condition that the sculpture court be named after Sir Edmund Walker. Harris Henry Fudger announced a subscription for the two west gallery rooms. Nearly \$120,000 were raised by eighteen Founder Members who had contributed \$5,000 each, 42 Benefactor Members who had contributed \$500 each, and 51 Life Members who had contributed \$100 each. The Founder Members were: Charles Seward Blackwell, Harris Henry Fudger, Miss H. L. Fudger, Sir Edward Kemp, R. A.



*Figure 2: The Art Gallery of Toronto, model (1916).*

Laidlaw, Thomas Frank Matthews, Albert E. Mathews, Norman B. McPherson, George Andrew Morrow, Frederick Burton Robins, Alfred Rogers, Sigmund Samuel, Herbert Hale Williams, Hamilton B. Wills, Mrs. E. R. Wood, Frank P. Wood, Thomas H. Wood, and the Canadian Bank of Commerce.<sup>69</sup>

While the Art Gallery had no trouble finding financiers for the construction of the new building, it lacked funds to purchase new paintings. These came into the gallery only by bequest or donation. For this reason, at the laying of the cornerstone, Vincent Massey demanded that

we need more persons who can be placed under the classification of founders and benefactors, whose contributions can provide the nucleus of an endowment fund for the acquisition of works of art for the Gallery's permanent collection. Without such a fund, this collection can only grow in a haphazard way, and with no consistent plan.<sup>70</sup>

Acquiring the requisite funds, however, was not so much a problem for the Art Gallery of Toronto as it was for the Royal Ontario Museum.

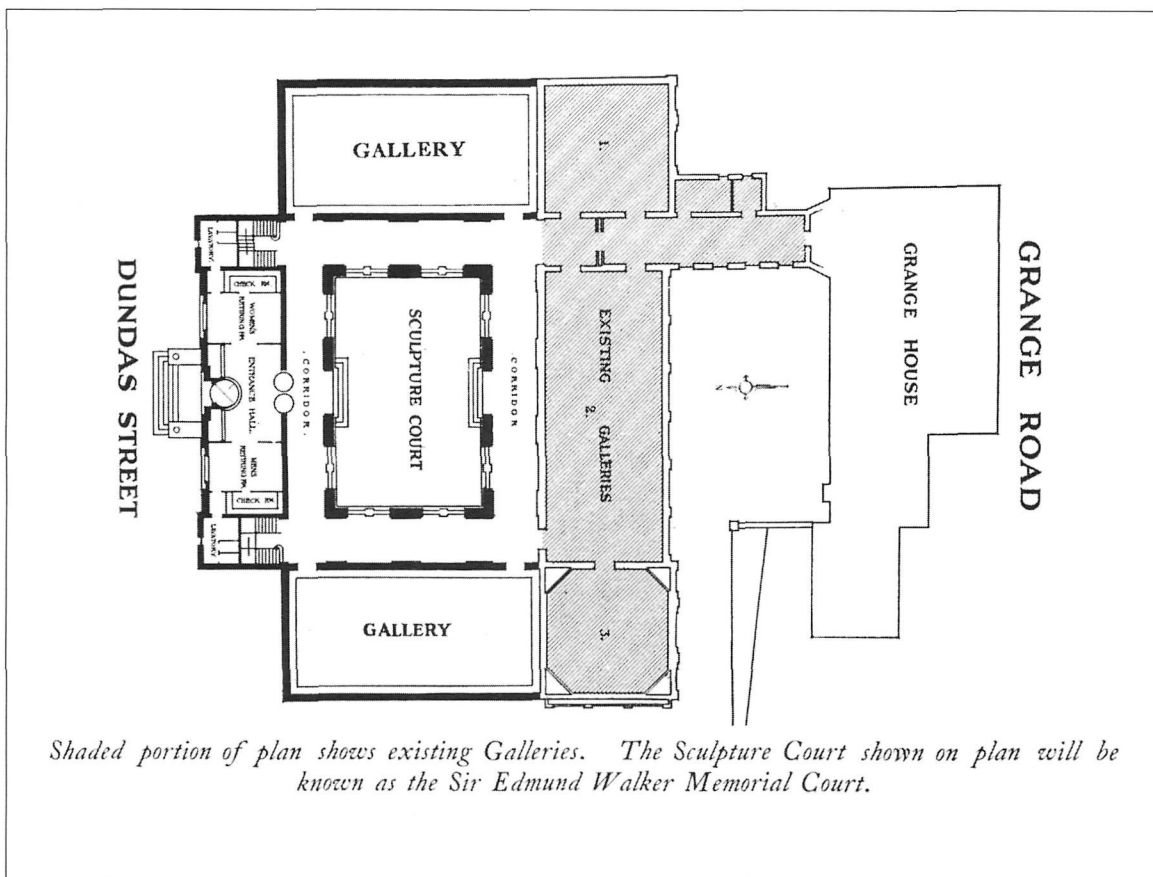
### **The Royal Ontario Museum (ROM)**

In the autumn of 1905 Charles Trick Currelly, who was engaged in excavations in Egypt under the supervision of Flinders Petrie, returned to Toronto to visit his family. He wished to speak with influential Torontonians of the academic and business communi-

ties about establishing a public museum. Because of his long friendship with Edmund Walker, the son of Byron E. Walker, he had no difficulty in reaching the elder Walker. Invited to his house, Currelly disclosed his dreams for a museum in Toronto. He immediately found a comrade-in-arms in Walker, who had had the same dream for more than twenty years. He had been deeply impressed by the museums and the cultural philanthropy of New York during his time with the bank there. By 1886, Walker felt secure in business after he was appointed general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and began to engage himself in a large number of philanthropic undertakings over the next few years.<sup>71</sup>

In December 1905, Currelly was appointed, without salary or money for expenses, to collect Egyptian artefacts for a possible museum at the University of Toronto.<sup>72</sup> He used the next four years to buy a large number of artefacts at the expense of the provincial government, the University of Toronto, and private subscriptions. His accumulations in these years were impressive. "It was a museum of archaeology—all it required was a building."<sup>73</sup> Currelly organized, in January of 1909, an exhibition which "was sensational both in the scope of the collection it revealed and in the individual artefacts, many of them as striking and unusual as those to be seen in the great museums of London and New York."<sup>74</sup> This exhibition succeeded in impressing the Premier of Ontario, Sir James Whitney, some of his cabinet, and the board of governors of the university. When Walker

*Philanthropic Landmarks in Toronto*



received a letter from William Arthur Parks, a professor of geology, pointing out that the university collections of geology and mineralogy needed new space, he took the opportunity in February 1909 to urge both the provincial government and the board of governors of the university to take action. He asked the university to approve the building of the first section of the museum. Walker enclosed plans for the new museum, which were based on Montgomery's and Meyer's observations of American museums. He estimated the construction costs for the museum to be \$400,000, proposing "that the Ontario government and the university should each provide half the capital and half the cost of maintenance."<sup>75</sup> This pattern was very similar to funding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History in New York City where the buildings were erected with financial support from the city government without philanthropic support. Philanthropy was the financial source only for the collections stored in these museums.<sup>76</sup> This financing scheme for the ROM seems to support Finlayson's argument about "mixed economy". However, other Toronto and New York philanthropies were based solely on financial support that excluded state participation.

Walker, as well as Sir Edmund Osler, was convinced that this would be a good time to bring the matter of the museum building before the Ontario government. Currelly described Osler as "one of the leading members of the Conservative Party, one of the shrewdest businessmen in Canada, and the man on whose

advice the party leaned a great deal." His support was necessary for the realization of a government-supported museum because the Conservative Party had the majority in the Ontario Parliament. The Premier listened attentively to Walker and Osler's proposal "and then explained that he was much interested, but he couldn't tell what the House would say when it met in February." Osler replied: "That's all right, Whitney; you give it to us, and if there's any objection from the House, I'll pay it out of my own pocket."<sup>77</sup> This statement by Osler convinced Whitney that there would be no resistance in the legislature. He authorized the payments and construction began before the bill was passed in parliament.<sup>78</sup>

Construction began immediately and the building costs were about \$350,000, leaving \$50,000 from the initial funding for equipment. The new museum was actually a complex of five museums—the Museums of Archaeology, Geology, Mineralogy, Palaeontology, and Zoology—each with its own director and collections. The provincial government and the university agreed to share the annual maintenance costs. These increased from \$30,000 in 1912/13 to \$75,000 in 1924. However, acquisitions and special exhibitions depended upon wealthy philanthropists who either presented new objects to the museum or donated purchasing funds. Sir Edmund Walker and Mrs. H. D. Warren (Figure 3) had key positions in the philanthropic network that secured the existence of the ROM. Walker opened, in the name of the Royal Ontario Museum, an account at the branch of

the Canadian Bank of Commerce in London with a limited overdraft which Currelly was able to use for payment of his museum purchases.<sup>79</sup> To ensure that Currelly's expenses were repaid, in 1917 Walker organized the "Twenty Friends of Art" from the High(est) Society of Toronto each of the members agreeing to contribute \$500 annually to a purchasing fund for the museum. All subscriptions were transferred to the museum account in London, and were used to offset the overdraft incurred by Currelly. In 1924, the name of this fund was changed to the "Ten Friends of Art". Between 1917 and 1924 a sum of \$23,000 was donated to this fund by the following:<sup>80</sup>

Sir Edmund Osler	\$ 3,000.00
David Alexander Dunlap	3,000.00
Sigmund Samuel	3,000.00
Colonel R. W. Leonard	3,000.00
Mrs. H. D. Warren	2,500.00
Chester D. Massey	3,000.00
Sir Edmund Walker	2,500.00
W. C. Edwards	2,500.00
Zebulon Aiton Lash	1,000.00
Sir Alfred Mond, 2 payments, one being paid direct to C. T. Currelly	928.98
Interest	153.76
<hr/>	
TOTAL	\$ 23,582.74

Sarah Van Lennen, later Mrs. H. D. Warren, became one of the most important benefactors of the ROM. Born in Orange, N.J., she married Harry Dorman Warren, the first president of Gutta Percha & Rubber, Ltd., in June 1885. After the death of her husband in 1909, Mrs. Warren assumed his position as chairman of the board of directors of the Dominion Rubber Company. She was a widow of considerable wealth and involved in a large number of philanthropic endeavours in Toronto. Mrs. Warren was the only female member of the board of trustees of the ROM and donated regularly to the museum. Together with Robert Mond and Sigmund Samuel, Mrs. H. D. Warren "formed a protective ring around Currelly, often saving him at the last moment from the consequences of expensive purchases he had not been authorized to make."<sup>80</sup>

Beginning in 1914, the Royal Ontario Museum received a large number of gifts, bequests, and donations. Most of them were intended for the Museum of Archaeology—227 of 232 donations between 1911 and 1920. Major contributions were made by Sir Edmund Osler, D. A. Dunlap and Sigmund Samuel. It is not really clear how such donations were made. The museum account in London gave Currelly a free hand in purchasing artefacts that he felt worthwhile or necessary for the museum. This is very similar to the "system of guided philanthropy" developed by Arnold Wilhelm von Bode in Berlin. Bode tried to influence Berlin philanthropists in their donations towards the museums. He recommended that they purchase special objects befitting the collections, thereby preventing the Leipzig situation



**Figure 3: Mrs. H. G. Warren.**

where philanthropists donated paintings to the art museum without checking their artistic value. Therefore the Leipzig art gallery was seen as a collection of a high number of diverse and partly dubious paintings and sculptures. In fact, it became more a curiosity cabinet than an art gallery. Subsequently, the museum director Julius Vogel started to "clean" the gallery collection of all un-artistic objects after the city government took over the institution in 1909. Compared to this, cultural philanthropy in Toronto was ahead of both Leipzig and Berlin cultural philanthropy. While German philanthropists bought the objects for the museum, Toronto philanthropists made the necessary financial support available and entrusted Currelly to buy appropriate artefacts that would fit the museum concept. Interference of philanthropists in the concept of the exhibition was much less noticeable in Toronto than in Leipzig or Berlin.<sup>82</sup>

When Sigmund Samuel announced his gift of £5,000 sterling he did not add new objects to the museum, he simply attached his name to previously existing parts of the exhibition. He wrote that the donation was made

on the understanding that he is to become the donor of the objects set forth in a letter from the Chairman to him, as follows:



The Royal Ontario Museum

Toronto March 10<sup>th</sup> 1920

Sir (or Madam)

At the last meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Royal Ontario Museum the Director of the Archaeological Section reported your donation of a stone axe from Korea; stone axe from Potosuyan, Manchuria; Report by the Curator of the Manchuria and Mongolia Museum, Port Arthur; miscellaneous small objects, etc., from China; Humphrey's Illuminated Book of the Middle Ages and I was directed to convey to you the thanks of the Board for this gift.

Yours truly

J. A. Moore

SECRETARY

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[Letter back to Currelly: 22 Oct. 1919 and 31 Jan. 1920 refer.]

1. Grecian and Etruscan vases acquired by the Museum from Dr. Sturge.
2. Tanagra figurines acquired by the Museum from Dr. Sturge.
3. Previous collection of Greek and Italian vases acquired by the Museum through Professor Currelly's efforts over a series of years.
4. Tanagra and other figurines acquired in the same manner.
5. Bronze vases and four bronze statuettes of Greek origin acquired in the same manner.
6. The Greek Venus."<sup>83</sup>

This offer placed the board in a catch-22 situation, because the Sturge collection had already been purchased by an Ontario government grant. For this reason the board of trustees had to redirect the money from the government to the collection of Egyptian necklaces.<sup>84</sup> This example demonstrates three important ideas. First, it demonstrated clearly how philanthropy worked. Second, it shows clearly how Samuel tried to find important pieces with which he could link his name. By associating his name to an important piece Samuel elevated his own importance. Finally, this example points out the difficulties and conflicting interests that occur within a system of mixed economy.

Although the number of donations was high, Currelly suggested in March 1922 the establishment of a membership association

similar to that of the American museums. The directors of the other four museums of the ROM recommended that

each of the constituent Museums should have a separate membership, issuing its own membership cards and deciding what privileges should be accorded to members but that the scale of subscriptions and donations should be the same for each:

Annual Members	\$ 10 per annum
Sustaining Members	\$ 25 per annum
Fellows	\$ 100 per annum
Friends	\$ 500 per annum
Fellows for Life	\$ 1,000.00
Fellows in Perpetuity	\$ 5,000.00
Benefactors	\$10,000.00 <sup>85</sup>

After these recommendations were approved by the board of trustees, Currelly started, with limited success, to build a membership organization for the Museum of Archaeology. Only 78 Torontonians—14 long-time members and 64 annual members—were willing to support the Archaeological Museum of the ROM in the mid-nineteen twenties. The art gallery had at the same time nearly ten times as many members. In December 1924 the balance in the membership account was only \$3,455.<sup>86</sup> Most of the financial support for the ROM had come from the university and the government. From 1921 until 1948

"the Ontario government, in addition to bearing half the cost of the Museum's maintenance, had given the institution 'special funds' totalling almost a million dollars." In the same period private donations and bequests had totalled \$558,411.<sup>87</sup>

Walker was convinced that major cities in Canada needed museums and art galleries supported by wealthy citizens just as much as did American cities. The financing scheme of the Metropolitan Museum of Art had made a big impression on him. When Walker began to organize the Toronto Art Gallery and the Royal Ontario Museum he tried to follow the New York model of cultural philanthropy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History were, as already discussed, jointly financed through private and public capital. While the money raised from wealthy businessmen was spent on acquisitions, the buildings of both museums were financed by government funds.<sup>88</sup>

This was not the same situation in Toronto. While the building for the ROM, similar to the museum building in New York, was financed by the provincial government in collaboration with the university, the building for the art gallery was donated by Mrs. Smith. Therefore, given this donation and the large sum of money raised through private subscriptions, there was no need for government money. Establishment of the Art Gallery of Toronto followed the examples of Boston and Leipzig where the art galleries neither solicited nor received public funds for their construction. The Toronto city council agreed in 1911 to support the art gallery with \$5,000 each year to pay for maintenance. It was only in 1925 that the AGT received \$50,000 from the city for the construction of two new wings and a sculpture court. But even then, private subscription was more than four times as high as government support. In contrast, the ROM was built at the same time with much less private support. The university and government shared the construction costs. Like New York, there was no private subscription for the building. Maintenance was shared equally by both the provincial government and the university.

While the Art Gallery of Toronto was supported by a membership association similar to the Metropolitan Museum's, plans to establish a similar organization at the ROM were not successful. Although 383 permanent members and 439 annual members supported the art gallery in 1926, only 14 permanent members and 64 annual members supported the ROM. However, both were dependent on private donations of art and private funds for acquisitions.

Development of cultural institutions in Toronto shows that social and cultural questions were solved only by a combination of governmental and private support. This Toronto and New York have in common. In both cities philanthropy and governmental support went together hand in hand. However, it seems that in Toronto the philanthropic part of the equation was larger than in New York. To further demonstrate the specific philanthropic culture of Toronto, which was characterized by a link between private and public support, let us now look to the Toronto Housing Company.

### **The Toronto Housing Company (THC)**

The THC was formed in 1913 by a group of prominent Torontonians, led by the whitewear merchant George Frank Beer, in order to "build model residential suburbs upon the limited dividend principle as an example to private enterprise that such projects were economically feasible." Beer followed the model of Sydney Waterlow's "Philanthropy and Five Percent." By limiting the dividend of this enterprise, Beer hoped to attract wealthy Torontonians for his project and to solve the social problem of working-class housing. However, Beer not only copied Waterlow's ideas; he combined them with the idea of co-partnership. He "proposed building houses for sale or rent along co-partnership lines; tenants would own a minimum of five shares (at \$50 per share); dividends to all shareholders would be limited to six per cent."<sup>89</sup>

Beer did not intend "to house all workmen in the city, or indeed any large part of them," but to demonstrate "how a workman may be decently housed at an annual rental rate that is not going to eat up a third to a half of his annual income."<sup>90</sup> Like prominent social philanthropists of his time, e.g., Waterlow in London and Herrmann Julius Meyer in Leipzig, Beer differentiated between strata within the working class. He maintained that there existed three "classes" of people that social workers dealt with: those with "physical and mental deficiencies"; the "boarder-land" men and women who were generally self-sufficient except in times of economic depression; and the "financially independent," whose offspring were nevertheless susceptible to moral degeneration, that is, they could easily fall into the first two classes and therefore needed general guidance and social enrichment.<sup>91</sup> Only the latter were the preferred tenants of the THC, which restricted access on two conditions: the rent was payable in advance and a damage deposit was required. With his classification of the working class Beer followed Waterlow's theory to the letter. Waterlow contended that the working class consisted of various levels—the upper, the lower and the middle strata—and

it would not have been right to build down to the lowest class, because in so doing his company would have been obliged to construct a class of tenements which, it is to be hoped, no one at the end of a few years would be satisfied with.<sup>92</sup>

However, it was exactly this thinking that came under criticism from American philanthropists such as Elgin Gould who rejected Waterlow's view. He stated that this

dissimilarity of outlook reflected the difference between the comparatively closed society of Britain, gradually raising standards of its poorest citizens through a century of evolutionary reforms, and the open, immigrant society of the United States continuously absorbing the indigent of Europe. The former could assume a constant rate of improvement that would render a low-standard building obsolete long before the end of its normal life. The latter envisaged a constant high level of need by a recurring influx of similar groups.<sup>93</sup>



The THC was able to start its first housing project only after the Ontario government initiated legislation that enabled the municipality to guarantee the THC's bonds. The so-called *Hanna Act* allowed an incorporated company that provided housing at reasonable rental rates to petition municipal council in order to guarantee its bonds up to eighty-five percent of the value of its holdings, the guarantee to be secured by a first mortgage.<sup>94</sup>

This company acquired two properties and built two rental developments with a total of 322 dwellings by the beginning of World War I. The original plan to sell the houses erected by the company on a co-partnership basis was completely abandoned by the end of 1913. Its policy was changed from that of selling the houses, to one of a simple rental arrangement, because the company realized that most workingmen could not afford to buy shares as stipulated in the original plan. They may also have felt that with a relatively mobile labour force there was more desire among the workers to rent than to purchase.<sup>95</sup>

The initial plan of sales on a co-partnership basis distinguished the Toronto Housing Company from similar undertakings in the United States, but brought them closer to the German co-operative movement. Hermann Schulze Delitzsch, Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, and Victor Aimé Huber founded the German co-operative movement, which included co-operatives for consuming, producing, and housing. The latter were the most successful co-operatives in Germany, and remain so today. German housing co-operatives are based on the idea of co-partnership in property and renting. The individuals who rent apartments from the housing co-operative are the owners of the whole enterprise at the same time.<sup>96</sup> This model was not practicable for Canadian and American cities—perhaps because of the high mobility among the working class in there. Neither in New York nor in Boston, did philanthropists think about selling shares of the New York City and Suburban Homes Company or the Boston Co-Operative Building Company to the tenants. Both undertakings were limited-dividend companies organized by wealthy philanthropists like Henry I. Bowditch and Elgin Gould with the goal of providing working-class families with housing. There was no thought of a co-partnership with the tenants, based on the idea of equality of both groups. In contrast to the American philanthropists, Toronto philanthropists tried to realize a co-partnership arrangement, but it was not successful.

The Toronto philanthropists obtained their idea of co-partnership from British housing reformers such as Henry Vivian who toured Canada after the turn of the twentieth century, and preached the co-partnership housing idea. While the dividends would be limited to five per cent, the houses were to be rented only to shareholders. However, as the example of the Toronto Housing Company (THC) shows, the plans did not work because the workers did not have the desire and the money for purchasing the \$50 shares.<sup>97</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Actions of giving and donating have a very long tradition stretching back to Ancient times. However, it would be wrong to assume that the character and function of giving did not change along the way. The establishment of an industrialized and urban-

ized society during the nineteenth century changed tremendously the tradition of giving. In the pre-modern era, help was given individually and it was limited; there was no attempt to change society or the living conditions of large groups of people. A nobleman would give money to poor people in the form of handouts. Modern philanthropy (i.e., philanthropy in an industrialized society) was no longer the action of an individual but of a larger social group. Philanthropy became a behavioral pattern of the upper class. As such, philanthropy formed a group identity and legitimized the new bourgeoisie. Furthermore, modern philanthropists attempt to resolve general deficiencies of an urban industrialized society, using modern means (such as investment-philanthropy, foundations, membership organizations, etc).

After the mid-nineteenth century, philanthropy assumed a new function for the stratification of urban society on both sides of the Atlantic. From Leipzig to Toronto, new elites copied the philanthropic behaviour of old elites in order to integrate themselves into the "High Society" of their respective cities. Economic success was, in all of the cases, the precondition, but economic success alone did not guarantee social recognition. The adoption of bourgeois behaviour as described throughout this essay was one way to integrate the *homo novae* into the upper class. Philanthropic behaviour was meant to legitimize both new social elites and women. The social recognition of Mrs. H. D. Warren raises more questions about emancipation than it answers. However, the motives of philanthropists, such as Sir Edmund Walker, included not only a social-climbing strategy, but also feelings regarding his lack of education and the attempt to compensate for this through donations to both cultural and educational institutions.

This bourgeois behavioural pattern of philanthropy was symbolic of a crisis in the social order of nineteenth-century European and North American cities. The industrial revolution, the emergence of the working class, as well as of a new class of industrialists and entrepreneurs who attempted to gain access to the upper class, created tremendous changes in terms of social class structure. The only possibility for reorganizing social order in nineteenth-century urban society lay in these various patterns of bourgeois behaviour. Seen in this light, philanthropy is a vehicle for the establishment of a new bourgeois upper class—a bourgeoisie who, in pursuing their own benefits, also greatly enriched the cities of their time.

### **Notes**

1. I would like to dedicate this essay to Karen Beckerman and Wentworth Walker. This essay is part of my research project "Forging a new Elite: Bourgeois Practice and Philanthropy in the Cities of Nineteenth-Century North America and Germany" which is very generously supported by a Feodor Lynen Fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. I would like to thank James Retallack for his support, which made this research project possible. I am grateful to James Lemon and Michael Bliss for their critiques of an earlier version of this paper. Last, but not least, I would like to thank Sarah Wobick for her comments and help in bringing it into shape.
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  16. See for example, for Leipzig: *Stiftungsbuch der Stadt Leipzig*; for New York: *Annual Reports of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor 1848–1900*; *Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and of the American Museum of Natural History*.
  17. See the example of Willmar Schwabe in Thomas Adam, *Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse Leipzig 1887 bis 1997* (Leipzig: PRO Leipzig, 1999), 29–42.
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  19. Pierre Bourdieu, *Sozialer Sinn: Kritik der theoretischen Vernunft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993).
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  22. *The Society Blue Book Toronto. A Social Directory* (Toronto: Dau Publishing Co., 1920). The following analysis is based on my biographical databases about the Toronto philanthropists.
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  25. F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 5.
  26. *Ibid.*, 6.
  27. *Ibid.*, 1.
  28. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 76.
  29. The professions are taken from the biographical entries in the used dictionaries and represent self-descriptions.
  30. The information about the clubs in Toronto is based on interviews with Christopher P. Parkinson (Toronto Club), William N. Morari (The National Club), Eckehardt Heurling (York Club) and Joseph E. Martin (Albany Club) whom I would like to thank for their cooperation. Joe Martin, "Club Feat", in *The Beaver* August–September 1998, 40–42; *Toronto Club 1835–1995* (Toronto, 1996); Fergus Cronin, *First Draft: History of the Toronto Club – short version* (unpublished manuscript from the club's archive); *The National Century. A History of The National Club 1874 to 1984* (Toronto: T.H. Best Printing Company, 1974) ed. by D.F. Hawkes; *By-Laws and House Rules of the National Club. With Sketch of Origin and career of Club* (Toronto: Miln-Bingham Printing Co., 1908); *Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Into a Second Century: A View of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club 1850–1980* (Toronto, 1980); *The York Club. Regulations and House Rules* (Toronto, 1977).
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47. Mavor, *My Windows* vol II, 124–36.
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80. Archive of the ROM, Minutes of the Board of Trustees Royal Ontario Museum Vol. I (1911–1920); Vol. II (1921–26), 89–92.
81. Dickson, *The Museum Makers*, 40.
82. Adam, "Die Kommunalisierung von Kunst und Kultur", 92.
83. Archive of the ROM, Minutes of the Board of Trustees Royal Ontario Museum Vol. I (1911–1920), 171–72.
84. *Ibid.*
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86. *Ibid.*, 7; *Bulletin of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology* No. 1 (May 1923), 16.

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87. Dickson, *The Museum Makers*, 113.
88. Jordan, *Sir Edmund Walker Print Collector*, 22; Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 34–41.
89. Lorna F. Hurl, "The Toronto Housing Company, 1912–1923: The Pitfalls of Painless Philanthropy", in *Canadian Historical Review* LXV No. 1 (March 1984), 35.
90. Paul Adolphus Bator, "Saving Lives on the Wholesale Plan": *Public Health Reform in the City of Toronto, 1900 to 1930* (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1979), 207.
91. Sean Purdy, "Class, Gender and the Toronto Housing Company, 1912–1920", in *Urban History Review* XXI, No. 2 (March 1993), 78.
92. Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy*, 53.
93. Anthony Jackson, *A Place Called Home. A History of Low-Cost Housing in Manhattan* (Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1976), 111.
94. Spragge, *The Provision of Workingmen's Housing*, 143–44.
95. Hurl, "The Toronto Housing Company", 45.
96. Thomas Adam, *125 Jahre Wohnreform in Sachsen. Zur Geschichte der sächsischen Baugenossenschaften (1873–1998)* (Leipzig: Anonym, 1999); Thomas Adam/Christoph Ulrich, *Wohnungsgenossenschaften und ihre Verbände in Sachsen* (Chemnitz: Chemnitzer Verlag, 2000).
97. Spragge, *The Provision of Workingmen's Housing*, 103; about the German building co-operatives see Thomas Adam, *125 Jahre Wohnreform in Sachsen*.