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A history of music education in the Utah territory, 1850-1895

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF FINE ARTS

Dissertation

**A HISTORY OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN
THE UTAH TERRITORY, 1850–1895**

by

RHONDA LEE RHODES

B.A., Utah State University, 1987
M.M., Northern Arizona University, 2000

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Approved by

First Reader

Jeannette Fresne, D.M.A.
Professor of Music
University of South Alabama

Second Reader

Kinh T. Vu, Ph.D.
Lecturer in Music, Music Education

Third Reader

Karin S. Hendricks, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Music, Music Education

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RHONDA LEE RHODES

Boston University College of Fine Arts, 2017

Major Professor: Jeannette Fresne, D.M.A., Professor of Music, University of South Alabama

ABSTRACT

This study is a chronological narrative of how and to what extent music was taught in public and parochial schools in the Utah territory in the second half of the nineteenth century. It also documents private music instruction during the same period. A compiled list of school and private music educators is provided. Music textbooks authored by Utahans David Orson Calder and Evan Stephens are examined. These textbooks and other documented descriptions of music teaching in the territory show that the Tonic Sol-fa method of teaching was the most common from 1860 to 1890.

Music education in Utah developed within a unique ecology of a relatively homogeneous religious culture of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in geographical isolation from other developed areas of the United States from 1847 to 1869. The LDS people were encouraged by their leaders to be trained in and to participate in the arts. The gathering of LDS converts to Utah from locations such as Great Britain, Europe and Scandinavia brought conservatory-trained musicians to this isolated location. This influenced a gradual inclusion of music in the schools as early as the 1850s. The population of the territory gradually diversified beginning with the completion of the intercontinental railroad in 1869. In the public schools, by the 1890s, some urban school districts reported 100% of their students receiving music education.

At the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City, all students in the Normal College (teacher training school) were trained in music instruction.

The development of parochial schools from the 1870s forward further expanded music education in the territory. In many parochial schools, the opportunity for music study was a leading message in advertising for the school. Some parochial schools had multiple-year progressive programs in piano and vocal study.

Private music teaching was more prevalent in the Utah territory than in neighboring states and territories in the second half of the nineteenth century. The teaching careers of Sarah Ann Cooke, Dominico Ballo, David Orson Calder, Charles John Thomas, John Hasler and Evan Stephens are documented in this study.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Introduction

“Each sketch of music education activities in a particular time or place contributes to the overall picture of American music education.”¹ The particular time and place for this sketch of music education activity is the Utah territory, 1850–1895; a unique location where members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) sought a place to freely practice their religion;² where those same people used “singing, playing and dancing before an on looking world,” to unify their culture;³ where other religious entities considered the building of schools the most effective way to bring their message to bear;⁴ where European immigrants with music conservatory and military music training were hopeful to find ways to continue their music careers while faced with pressing needs encompassed in building new communities on the western frontier.⁵ This exploration into music education history in Utah is valuable not only for the documentation herein, but for the themes revealed through this study that heighten awareness of current music education issues. Nineteenth century arguments of the value of music education for all are equal in earnest to those made in the twenty-first century. Today’s music educators

¹ Martha Chrisman Riley, “Portrait of a Nineteenth-century School Music Program,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* 38, no. 2 (1990): 79.

² The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Our Heritage: A Brief History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996), 81.

³ Michael Hicks, *A History* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), x.

⁴ James R. Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah” (EdD diss., Utah State University, 1958), 137–138.

⁵ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 62.

can gain inspiration from predecessors who in the face of immediate complications of building sustainable communities felt that music education was worth valuable time and investment.

Background and Context

Upon their arrival in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847, the LDS theocracy claimed authority over an area outside the boundaries of the United States called the State of Deseret,⁶ which included all of present day Utah and Nevada, most of Arizona, and parts of California, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Oregon⁷ (see figure 1a). When Utah received its territorial status in 1850, the area was pared down by the U.S. Congress (see figure 1a). By 1868, the territory was the same size as the present state of Utah (see figure 1b and c).⁸ This study focuses on the area within the boundaries of the state of Utah.

⁶ The word ‘Deseret’ is a term from the *Book of Mormon*, meaning ‘Honey Bee.’ It denotes an image of industry and cooperation for community good. The term was and continues to be used in Utah school and business titles. Utah is now known as “The Beehive State.”

⁷ Clara V. Dobay, “Essays in Mormon Historiography” (PhD diss., University of Houston, 1980), 72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 72–73.



Fig. 1a. Utah Territory 1851.

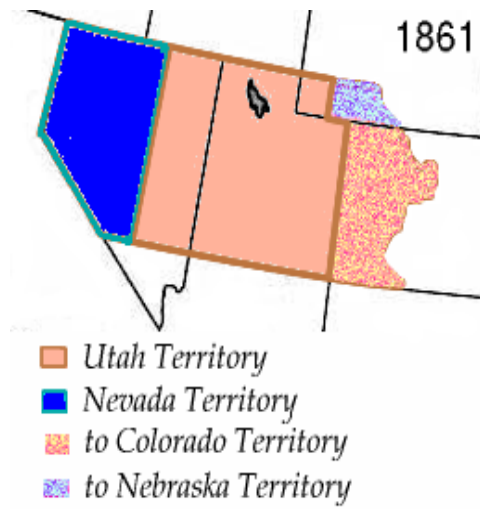


Fig. 1b. Utah Territory 1861.

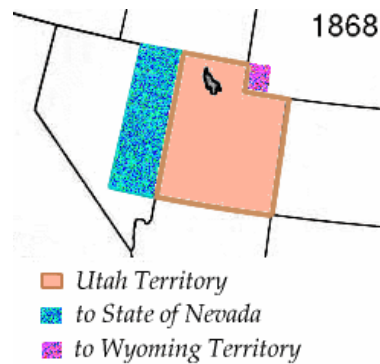


Fig. 1c. Utah Territory 1868.⁹

Soon after the establishment of Salt Lake City, families began to form communities in outlying areas.¹⁰ Settlers moved into Davis County, just north of Salt Lake City, in 1848.¹¹ Settlers began populating Weber County (north of Davis County) and Utah County (thirty miles south of Salt Lake City) by 1850.¹² Iron County, 250 miles south of Salt Lake City, was also settled in 1850.¹³ By June of 1851, over 11,000 people lived in Salt Lake, Davis, Weber, Utah, Sanpete, Iron and Tooele Counties.¹⁴ In 1862, settlers arrived in present day Washington County (300 miles south of Salt Lake City) and in the Bear Lake Valley, on the present day Utah-Idaho border, in 1864.¹⁵ This study begins with 1850, the year that Utah became a territory of the United States, through 1895. Utah became a state on January 6, 1896 (see figure 2).

⁹ Public domain. <http://wchsutah.org/maps/maps.php>

¹⁰ Families were “called” by church president, Brigham Young. Being “called” for a duty is a common term in the LDS Church. Because of the belief that church leaders are appointed by God, receiving of a “call” from a church leader—in this case the church president, Brigham Young, asking a church member to move their family to another location—is regarded as a request from God.

¹¹ Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, vol. 1, (Salt Lake City, UT: George Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1892), 373.

¹² *Ibid.*, 433.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 457.

¹⁵ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *Our Heritage*, 88–89.



Fig. 2. The State of Utah and county boundaries.¹⁶

Education Climate

By 1849, the LDS church divided Salt Lake City in nineteen geographic areas called “wards”¹⁷ (see figure 3). Each ward began to build a centrally located community

¹⁶ Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc. 1998.

¹⁷ An LDS “ward” is an ecclesiastical and geographic unit usually containing four hundred to

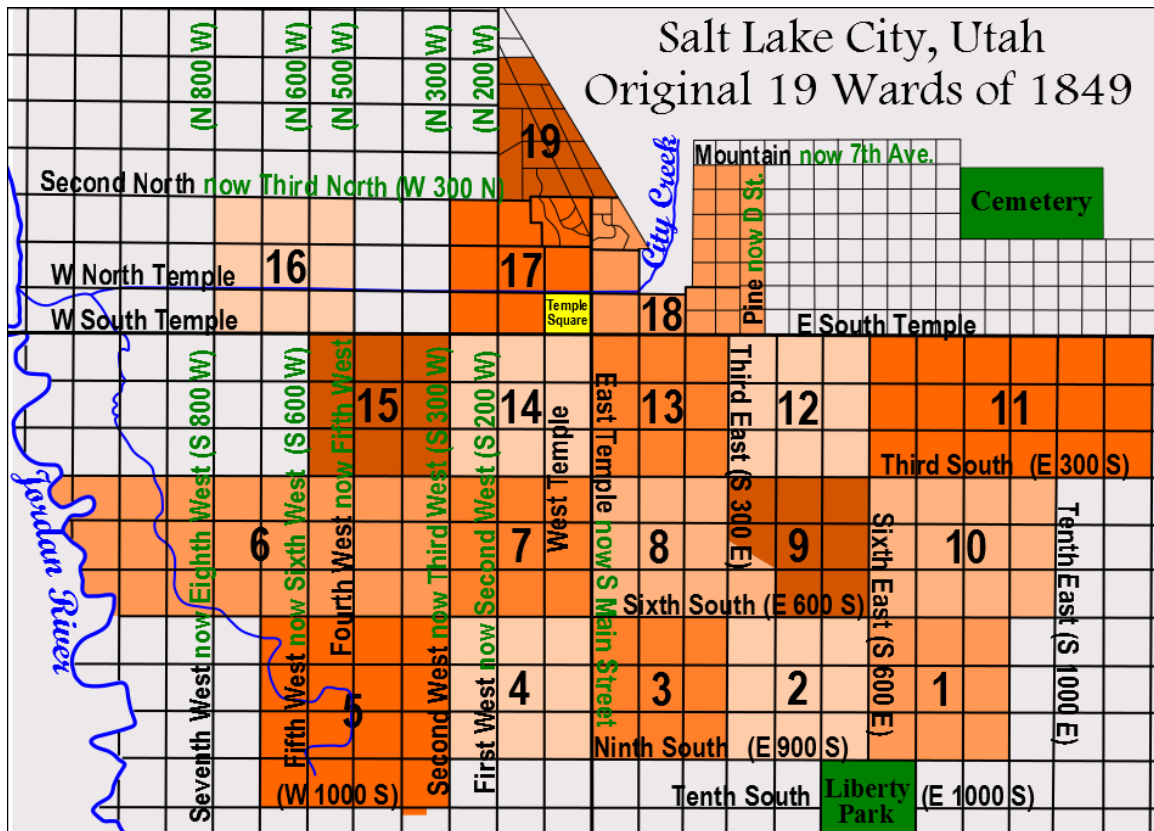


Fig. 3. Original 19 Wards of 1849, Salt Lake City, Utah.¹⁸

building for events, including school and worship. Most of these buildings were completed by 1852.¹⁹ Typically, these buildings were constructed before homes and businesses were finished.²⁰ As one of its first acts, the Territorial Legislature established the University of Deseret in November of 1850 before Salt Lake City received its charter

eight hundred members. It is led by a church member referred to as a “bishop.”

¹⁸ David Dilts, “Salt Lake City, Utah Original 19 Wards of 1849,” accessed 26 March, 2014, https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/File:Salt_Lake_City_UT_Wards_1849.png.

¹⁹ Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), 741–53. This twelve-page section is a synopsis history of each of the original nineteen wards organized in Salt Lake City on February 22, 1849.

²⁰ John C. Moffit, *The History of Public Education in Utah* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1946), 11.

in January of 1851.²¹ The territorial legislature and Brigham Young, who served as LDS church president and governor of Utah, authorized the Chancellor and Regents of the University of Deseret to appoint a territorial superintendent of schools. Young decreed that each ward was responsible for the education of their children and should report to the appointed superintendent.²² Each ward established its own school, but schools varied widely in quality.²³ This was the beginning of a public school system in the territory, which was fully realized with the passing of the Utah *Free School Act* in 1890.

Until the *Free School Act* legislation, separation of church and state in education was very gradual in Utah. In the first two decades of the territory, the leaders of the LDS church and the leaders of the territorial government were virtually the same.²⁴ The separation of church and state was “only theoretical at first, but more apparent as laws prohibiting the teaching of sectarian doctrines in the public schools were enacted from time to time.”²⁵ Though always in its sights, the Federal government turned more attention toward the Utah territory after the Civil War, including the development of its education system.²⁶ In a dissertation concerning the Federal government and its policies regarding the Utah territory, Alan Haynes stated, “a theocratic political organization” was developing in Utah. “The Federal government was determined not to allow Utah to develop outside the influence of the nation and its institutions or political

²¹ Whitney, *History of Utah*, 441. The University of Deseret became the University of Utah in 1892.

²² Moffit. *The History of Public Education in Utah*, 74.

²³ *Ibid.*, 18–28, 74.

²⁴ Milton Lynn Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (Salt Lake City, UT: Department of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), 128.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 128–29.

²⁶ Alan Elmo Haynes, “The Federal Government and its Policies regarding the Frontier Era of Utah Territory, 1850–1877.” Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1968, 263.

philosophy...The conflict between these interests forms the history of the Utah frontier.”²⁷

James R. Clark described five types of schools in Utah before 1867.²⁸

1. Voluntary schools were privately operated by unpaid teachers, often in their own homes. No tuition was required and no tax revenues were available to finance them.
2. Schools that were a private venture were completely dependent upon tuition fees. Due to the struggle of early common schools to employ trained teachers and receive consistent revenue streams, some community members started private schools in the 1850s and early 1860s. Many of these schools were also open in the evenings for adult and family education.²⁹
3. LDS “ward” schools were the first attempt by the LDS church to provide what became known as common schools. Usually organized by the local bishop, these schools were a public-private venture, where taxes were assessed by local church leaders on each property owner for money or materials to build and maintain the school, yet students paid tuition to attend the school. The teacher was paid from tuition money and with food for those who could not afford tuition. Theology was taught in these schools along with academics. Students of any religious affiliation were welcome but the population was largely LDS. These schools began to

²⁷ Ibid., 261.

²⁸ Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah,” 141–42.

²⁹ Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, 66. Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Karl G. Maeser, Mary Cook, and Eli B. Kelsey opened private schools in Salt Lake City in the 1850s and 60s.

change at the beginning of the 1860s when the legal responsibility for the schools transferred from the local LDS bishop to elected city and county councils.³⁰

4. Territorial public schools, referred to as “common schools” and “district schools” in legislative documents, were administrated through legislative enactments. The territorial superintendent was elected by the legislature and each county appointed a superintendent. These public-private schools had tax revenues available for not only building and maintenance but also teacher salaries and the purchase of school books.³¹ The common school “districts” retained the original boundaries of the LDS ward schools and often retained the name “ward school” in the speech and writing of the local population.³²

5. Special schools, such as the “LDS Schools of the Prophets,”³³ the “Deseret Dramatic Association” and the “Universal Scientific Society,” were organized by people who had backgrounds and aspirations to share more selected subject matter with their community members.

In the late 1860s, a more diverse religious population came to the Utah territory.

³⁰ Frederick S. Buchanan, “Education among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah” *History of Education Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1982): 440.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Though the term was not used in legislative records and documents “ward school” is found repeatedly in newspaper articles, letters and personal journals into the 1890s.

³³ Moffit, *History of Public Education in Utah*, 2. This term was first used when the LDS Church was in its infancy in Kirtland, Ohio. High ranking men in the church met together to discuss theology and other “intellectual interests thought to increase their ability and usefulness in the perpetuation and extension of the church.” The study of Hebrew, Greek and Latin was common in the Schools of the Prophets. This activity continued as the LDS Church members moved west.

From 1870 to 1895, Clark describes four types of schools in Utah:³⁴

1. Territorial public schools. LDS ward schools gradually came under the jurisdiction of the territorial superintendent of schools and county school boards. The LDS were “80% or more of the population, [and] they [LDS] were the public in a very real sense.”³⁵ While monetary legislative appropriations gradually increased, tuition was still charged. The first free school act was passed in 1890.
2. Mission schools. As a missionary effort, a variety of religious leaders provided schools that were superior to the existing territorial public schools.³⁶ Largely financed by supporters in the eastern United States, Methodist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist and Lutheran schools were established throughout the territory. The mission schools taught theology along with academics. Many had better facilities and more qualified teachers when compared to the territorial public schools. Many LDS families paid tuition to send their children to these schools
3. LDS Academies. These Academies, funded exclusively by the LDS church and intended for its members, combined high school curriculum with theology and were established as a direct response by the LDS to the rapid opening of schools by other religious entities in the territory.
4. Schools in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese. The largest were St. Mary’s

³⁴ Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah,” 11–12.

³⁵ Buchanan, “Education among the Mormons,” 448.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 441.

Academy established in 1875 and All Hallows College established in 1885, both located in Salt Lake City,³⁷ and The Sacred Heart Academy in Ogden, which opened in 1878.³⁸

Music Education Climate

Before locating in Salt Lake City, the main body of LDS church members and leaders lived in Nauvoo, Illinois in the early 1840s. A university was founded in Nauvoo during this time. The university had a music department with “elementary and advanced courses,” a department professor, Gustav Hills, and individual music “wardens” from the four wards in Nauvoo. The music department adopted the *Manual of Instruction* by Lowell Mason³⁹ as a textbook for the examination of teachers and as a guide for instruction in the city schools. William Porter’s *The Musical Cyclopaedia*⁴⁰ was used for advanced study.⁴¹

Two years after the arrival of the first pioneers in the Salt Lake Valley, the Deseret Musical and Dramatic Society was organized and presented concerts and plays in a bowery,⁴² one of the original structures built on the block now known as “Temple

³⁷ Dean Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah, 1776–1909* (Salt Lake City, UT: Intermountain Catholic Press, 1909), 289.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 301.

³⁹ Lowell Mason, *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music, for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music, on the System of Pestalozzi* (Boston: Wilkins & R.B. Carter, 1836). It is unclear which edition of the manual was used at the University. The manual was published in 1834 by Carter, Hendee of Boston and in 1836 and 1838 by Wilkins & R.B. Carter.

⁴⁰ William Powell, *The Musical Cyclopaedia* (Boston: James Loring, 1834).

⁴¹ Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, 30–31.

⁴² “This is the Place Heritage Park,” accessed May 19, 2014, http://www.thisistheplace.org/heritage_village/buildings/bowery.html. A “bowery” was the first structure built in a settlement until more permanent buildings could be constructed. It served as a

Square” located in the center of Salt Lake City. A Social Hall built during 1852 and 1853, was immediately used for theater productions, concerts, dances, and lectures.⁴³ Dances, concerts and plays were also held in the various LDS ward school buildings in the evenings.⁴⁴ Completed in 1862, the Salt Lake Theatre was the largest structure in the territory.⁴⁵ Proselytizing by LDS missionaries in Europe (mainly the British Isles and Scandinavia), and the subsequent desire of these converts to join the members in the Utah territory, brought a variety of people and cultures to the communities of the Utah territory. Some of these immigrants brought with them teaching and performance experience in the arts.⁴⁶ When a new LDS settlement was established in the territory, Young ensured that at least one experienced musician was a member of the group sent to the new location. These “music missionaries” were expected to organize and train a community choir and teach music in the new settlements.⁴⁷

In the earliest available report from the territorial Superintendent of Common Schools in 1860, music, drawing and painting were listed among the subjects on the teacher’s quarterly report form.⁴⁸ Music was often a headlining item in the curriculum for

gathering place for new arrivals, religious and social events, as well as a venue for theatrical productions and concerts. The Salt Lake Bowery, built in a single day, on July 31, 1847, was a 40' x 28' open-air structure built of wood posts, with a hardened dirt floor, and a roof of thatched brush and willows.

⁴³ Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith Publishers, 2000), 106.

⁴⁴ Moffit, *History of Public Education in Utah*, 11.

⁴⁵ Noelle S. Smith Poe and Mary N. Porter Harris, “Pioneer Women Musicians” in *Pioneer Pathways*, Vol. 3 (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 2000), 158.

⁴⁶ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 91.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴⁸ *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, During the Ninth Annual Session, for the years 1859–60* (Salt Lake City: John S. Davis, 1860), 25. <https://archive.org/details/actsresolutionsm01utah>.

the emerging Catholic, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational schools of the 1870s and 1880s. Performing music ensembles were part of the curriculum of some of these schools.⁴⁹

Private individual and group instruction in music was common in the Utah territory. Singing schools were common in LDS, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches; church and community music classes were often organized into musical associations and societies.⁵⁰ Prominent community members⁵¹ in Salt Lake City opened a short-lived “Philosophical Academy” in 1855. Both male and female students received instruction in core academic subjects. Additionally, male students were assigned to classes in gymnastics and military exercises, females were assigned to music and drawing classes.⁵²

David Orson Calder, a Scottish immigrant and secretary to LDS Church President Young, opened singing schools in Salt Lake City upon his arrival in 1853. An avid supporter of the Tonic Sol-fa system of teaching, his classes grew rapidly. In 1860, Calder taught singing in a school Young opened for his own children.⁵³ Young made the school building available to Calder in the evenings to conduct singing classes free of charge.⁵⁴ Young was so impressed with the effectiveness of Calder’s teaching methods that he championed the Tonic Sol-fa system in his speeches around the territory,

⁴⁹ Clyde Wayne Hansen, “A History of the Development of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools in Utah” (master’s thesis, The University of Utah, 1953), 101.

⁵⁰ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 49.

⁵¹ Lorenzo Snow, William Eddington and Samuel Conaby.

⁵² Laverne Clarence Bane, “The Development of Education in Utah (1870 to 1896)” (Ed.D. diss., Leland Stanford Junior University, 1940). 20–21.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

encouraging it to be used in all communities.⁵⁵ Calder published his own music textbook, *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-Fa Method*, in 1863.⁵⁶ He established the first music retail business in Salt Lake City⁵⁷ and published the first music related magazine in the territory, *The Utah Musical Times* (see figure 4). Calder organized singing classes into

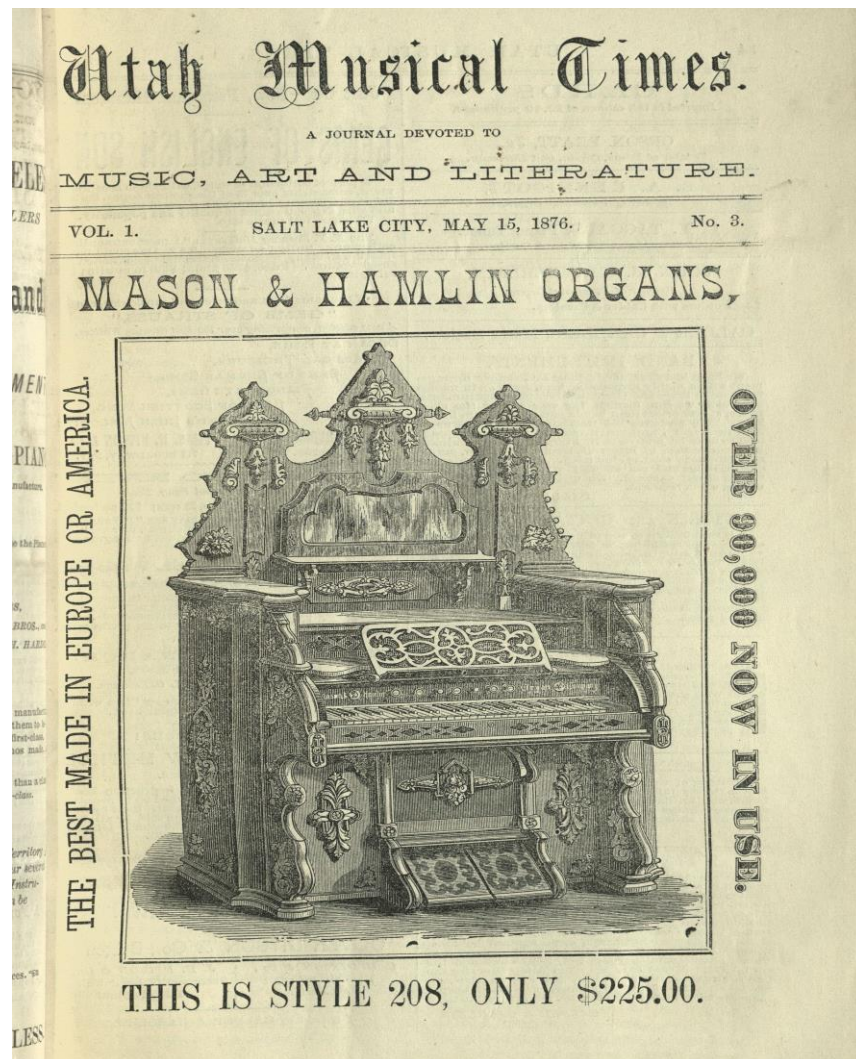


Fig. 4. *Utah Musical Times*. Cover. Vol. 1 no. 3, May 1876.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁵⁶ David O. Calder, *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-Fa Method* (Great Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Print, 1863).

⁵⁷ *Gazetteer of Utah and Salt Lake City Directory, 1874*, ed. Edward L. Sloan (Salt Lake City, UT: Salt Lake Herald Publishing Company, 1874), 199.

⁵⁸ Image provided by University of Utah Marriott Library, Special Collections.

different musical associations from 1853 through 1879, namely the Deseret Philharmonic Society (1855),⁵⁹ Deseret Musical Association (1860),⁶⁰ and the Zion's Musical Society (1879).⁶¹

Sarah Ann Cooke taught singing schools in Salt Lake City beginning in 1852. She began teaching classes in sight singing in 1854 and she produced juvenile operettas that same year.⁶² Her classes were advertised through 1860, but Cooke closed her school in 1861 due to a shortage of students. Calder, with Young's patronage, had opened free music classes that same year.⁶³

Dominico Ballo was an experienced band leader and convert to the LDS church. He directed bands and taught music lessons in many settlements as the LDS traveled west in the 1840s. Upon his arrival in Salt Lake City in 1851, he established a school for instrumental music instruction. Several successful brass band directors in the territory traced their instruction directly to Ballo or to members of his bands.⁶⁴

A Welsh immigrant, Evan Stephens, made a large impact on singing instruction in Salt Lake City beginning in 1882 after directing choirs in Willard, Utah⁶⁵ and teaching children's singing classes, organ lessons and producing children's opera performances in

⁵⁹ Marcus Sidney Smith, *With Them Were Ten Thousand and More: The Authorized History of The Oratorio Society of Utah* (Salt Lake City, UT: Actaeon Books, 1989), 16–17.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶² Patricia Lyn Scott, "Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke "The Respected Mrs. Cooke"" in *Worth Their Salt, Too: More Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, ed. Colleen Whitley (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2000), 9.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁴ Ronald L. Garner, "A History of Music Education in the Granite School District of Salt Lake City, Utah" (EdD diss., University of Oregon, 1963), 42.

⁶⁵ Jean S. Greenwood, "History of Box Elder County" in *Pioneer Pathways*, Vol. 1 (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 88.

Logan, Utah.⁶⁶ Stephens published three music textbooks, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* in 1883,⁶⁷ and *The Song Garland, A Second Reader of Vocal Music* in 1884,⁶⁸ and *The School and Primary Songster* in 1889.⁶⁹ The territorial superintendent and a textbook committee adopted Stephens' books for use in the territorial public schools of Utah.⁷⁰ Stephens was a vocal music instructor at the Normal Department of the University of Deseret beginning in 1884 and became principal of the music department from 1888 to 1892.⁷¹ Stephens was an advocate of every public school teacher being qualified to teach vocal music, as evidenced in the descriptors of his vocal classes at the University and the speeches delivered to territorial teaching conventions.⁷²

Newspapers, gazetteers, magazines and personal journals from 1850 to 1895 provide evidence of 265 private music instructors active throughout the territory. In a one-year comparison to neighboring states and territories, an 1884–85 western states

⁶⁶ Biographical Sketch of Evan Stephens, unpublished manuscript [1900–1925?], 6, MS 11082, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁶⁷ Evan Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883).

⁶⁸ Evan Stephens, *The Song Garland, A Second Reader of Vocal Music* (Salt Lake City: Daynes & Coalter, 1884.)

⁶⁹ Evan Stephens, *The School and Primary Songster, Containing Songs for Public Schools, Primary Associations, Kindergarten, Etc., All Especially Composed and Arranged to Suit Children's Voices. Also as a Reader of Vocal Music* (Salt Lake City, UT: Daynes & Coalter, 1889).

⁷⁰ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1888–89. Containing also to Proceedings of the Joint Teachers' Institute of Weber, Salt Lake and Utah Counties* (Ogden, UT: Edward H. Anderson, Superintendent, 1889), 33.

⁷¹ Ray L. Bergman, *The Children Sang: The Life and Music of Evan Stephens with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir* (Salt Lake City, UT: Northwest Publishing, 1992), 92–93.

⁷² See *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools, for the years ending June 30, 1882–1883. Also, The Report of the Chancellor and Board of Regents of the University of Deseret. And The District School Law, as amended* (Salt Lake City, UT: T. E. Taylor, Public Printer, 1884), 33, and *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1888–89*, 25.

gazetteer and directory lists forty-six “music teachers” in Utah compared to thirty-four each in Colorado and New Mexico, eight in Nevada, seven in Arizona and two in Wyoming.⁷³ In directories specific to Utah and Salt Lake City in 1884–85, eighteen additional music teachers are listed.⁷⁴ While directories such as these are not a reliable source for exact numbers, music teacher listings in directories and gazetteers of the time indicate a high demand for private music teaching in Utah.

Rationale

Historical research in music education is valued not only because it helps document the past, but because it also establishes a basis for understanding the present and planning for the future, narrating “deeds worthy of emulation.” “Original contributions to the field...investigate the unexplored,” and provide critical ventures into music education history.⁷⁵

No study prior to this one chronicles the history of music education in the Utah territory during the years 1850 through 1895. Music education in both public and parochial schools (except LDS) in the Utah territory has received very little attention

⁷³ *Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming and Arizona Gazetteer and Business Directory 1884–5. Volume 1.* (Chicago: R.L. Polk & Co. and A. C. Danser, 1884).

⁷⁴ *The Utah Directory, for 1883–84. Published by J. C. Graham & Co., Containing the Name and Occupation of Every Resident in Salt Lake City. And a complete business directory of every city and town in Utah together with a compendium of general information.* (Salt Lake City, UT: J. C. Graham & Co., Printers, 1883). *Utah Gazetteer and Directory of Logan, Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake Cities for 1884.* Robert W. Sloan, ed. (Salt Lake City: Herald Printing and Publishing Company, 1884). *Salt Lake City Directory, for the year commencing Aug. 1, 1885, Embracing an Accurate Index of Residence and a Business Directory.* (San Francisco: U.S. Directory Publishing Co. of California, 1885).

⁷⁵ George N. Heller and Bruce D. Wilson, “Historical Research,” in *Handbook of Research on Music Teaching and Learning*, ed. Richard Colwell (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 103.

from the research community. Literature specific to music education in schools belonging to the LDS is more prevalent but is limited in scope and depth.⁷⁶ There is a need for this study to document music education practices throughout the Utah territory, including private, religious and public institutions during the years prior to statehood.

Music and the arts were nurtured and developed in ways that resonated with the religious and cultural values of various religious and ethnic groups drawn to Utah in the nineteenth century. This chronological narrative study investigates the development of music education within this unique context. The purpose of this study is to document the history of music education during the in the years of 1850 to 1895 in the geographic region that became the state of Utah.

⁷⁶ Harold L. Laycock, “A History of Music in the Academies of the Latter-day Saints Church, 1876–1926” (DMA diss., University of Southern California, 1961). This study is limited to the LDS Academy system. It does not include LDS ward schools or the LDS influenced territorial public schools that were in existence twenty-five years earlier than the first academies.

CHAPTER TWO
AN OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE OF THE HISTORY OF MUSIC
EDUCATION IN UTAH

Frederick Sunderman examined records from the Utah territory in his dissertation on the history of public school music education in the United States 1830–1900.⁷⁷ Reports of the Utah Territorial Superintendent of Instruction for an eleven-year period (1864–83) were cited. Regarding music education in Utah and the intermountain west region of the United States, Sunderman stated that the obtainable records at the time of his study provided him “only a suggestion as to the presence of music instruction... [D]evelopment of school music in the West was but an embryo movement compared to the rise and growth in other sections of the United States.”⁷⁸ It is not clear why Sunderman did not have access to Utah Territorial Superintendent reports after 1883. In the earliest historical studies of music education in the United States, Utah’s contributions were under represented.

⁷⁷ Frederick L. Sunderman, “A History of Public School Music in the United States, 1830 to 1900” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1940).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 212, 216.

Histories of Music Education in Utah

Histories of Music in Public Education in Utah

Richard G. Moore⁷⁹ examined Young's educational philosophy in *A Study of Brigham Young as an Educational Administrator*. Moore includes how the first territorial governor of Utah felt about the inclusion of the arts in education. Young stated the following regarding music training:

I had not the chance to dance when I was young, and never heard the enchanting tones of a violin, until I was eleven years of age; and then I thought I was on the high way to hell, if I suffered myself to linger and listen to it. I shall not subject my little children to such a course of unnatural training, but they shall go to the dance, study music, read novels, and do anything else that will tend to expand their frames, add fire to their spirits, improve their minds.⁸⁰

In 1945, Constance Pickell wrote a thesis on the music curriculum in the Salt Lake City School District.⁸¹ Pickell obtained all published annuals of the school district from its inception in 1890 to 1945 (the year of her study) and detailed the development of music instruction. Pickell interviewed one of three music teachers, Violet Pratt Gillett, who traveled throughout the district in 1890s teaching vocal music in the elementary grades.⁸²

Steven Edward Meredith studied the history of the Utah Music Educators Association.⁸³ Included in its literature review was a synopsis of available information on

⁷⁹ Richard G. Moore, "A Study of Brigham Young as an Educational Administrator," (Ed.D. diss., University of Pacific, 1992).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁸¹ Constance Pickell. "A History of the Music Curriculum in Salt Lake City," (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1945).

⁸² *Ibid.*, 27.

⁸³ Steven Edward Meredith, "A History of the Utah Music Educators Association, 1945–1995," (DMA diss., Arizona State University, 1995).

early public music education in Utah at the time of his study. Keeping his sources to public school music education studies only, Meredith included dissertations by Ronald Garner⁸⁴ and Bonnie Winterton.⁸⁵ Garner documented the history of the music department in Granite School District in Salt Lake City from 1904 to 1960. Granite School District had the earliest established full music department offerings in the state of Utah.⁸⁶ The Winterton study was the only study extant that examined the music courses in the earliest university in the Utah territory established in 1850, the University of Deseret, which became the University of Utah in 1892.

Garner's study includes a chapter on music education in the Utah territory. The chapter includes a brief overview of private instruction,⁸⁷ singing schools,⁸⁸ music in the schools,⁸⁹ the contributions of music teachers Dominico Ballo,⁹⁰ Evan Stephens⁹¹ and Arthur Peebles,⁹² and music instruction at the University of Deseret.⁹³

Histories of Music in LDS Schools in Utah

Ralph Laycock wrote a dissertation in 1961 that specifically addressed music education in the LDS church academy system from 1876 to 1926.⁹⁴ The LDS academies

⁸⁴ Garner, "A History of Music Education in the Granite School District."

⁸⁵ Bonnie J. M. Winterton, "A Study of the Choral Program: The University of Utah Music Department," (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 1985).

⁸⁶ Meredith, "A History of the Utah Music Educators Association," 31.

⁸⁷ Garner, "A History of Music Education," 41–43.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 43–48.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 48–50.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 39–40.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 50–51.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 52–53.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 53–55.

⁹⁴ Laycock, "A History of Music in the Academies of the Latter-day Saints Church."

were private secondary institutions, though some academies established before 1900 included elementary levels as well.⁹⁵ Laycock detailed academy locations, music class enrollment numbers, educators, curriculum, and textbooks. Laycock stated in the concluding remarks of his study that information regarding music education efforts in predominantly LDS schools in the years prior to 1876 “remains in obscurity.”⁹⁶

Histories of Private Music Teachers in Utah

There are some histories of the life and works of private music teachers active in Utah during the territory years. The life of Evan Stephens, a prolific composer of LDS hymns and leader of children’s and adult choirs, is documented by Dale Johnson and Ray Bergman.⁹⁷ Harry Dean studied the life of A. C. Smyth, an influential musician in rural central Utah.⁹⁸ Sterling E. Beesley published a history of the life works of Ebenezer Beesley, prominent musician in Salt Lake City and Tooele.⁹⁹ Charles John Thomas, an early orchestra leader in Salt Lake City and “music missionary” sent by Brigham Young to the southernmost region of the territory, was the subject of a study by William Purdy.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Laycock, “A History,” 15.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 424.

⁹⁷ Dale A. Johnson, “The Life and Contributions of Evan Stephens” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1951), and Bergman, *The Children Sang: The Life and Music of Evan Stephens*.

⁹⁸ Harry A. Dean, “A. C. Smyth and His Influence on Choral Music of Central Utah” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1938).

⁹⁹ Sterling E. Beesley, *Kind Words, The beginnings of Mormon Melody. A Historical Biography and Anthology of the Life and Works of Ebenezer Beesley, Utah Pioneer and Musician* (Salt Lake City, UT: Sterling E. Beesley, 1980).

¹⁰⁰ William Earl Purdy, “The Life and Works of Charles John Thomas: His Contribution to the Music History of Utah.” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1949).

Histories of LDS Music Culture

The LDS people relished their relative isolation from the rest of the country¹⁰¹ and were determined to be self-sufficient.¹⁰² They took pride in their unique culture and eagerly encouraged participation and excellence in the arts.¹⁰³ Three dissertations pertain specifically to music of the LDS culture.¹⁰⁴

Jonathan Austin studied the focus of the LDS church on the performing arts in 2000.¹⁰⁵ This study included an historical review of the LDS church leaders' commentary to the entire body of the church in bi-annual general conferences concerning participation in and support of the performing arts. A study by Colleen Karnas-Haines examined the roll of music in instruction of young children within the LDS church Sunday Primary program.¹⁰⁶ A portion of regular LDS Sunday services includes religious instruction for children ages eighteen months through eleven years of age. This program, termed "Primary" by the general church membership, was instituted in 1878 as an auxiliary program of the church and continues to the present day.¹⁰⁷ A designated time within the weekly Primary session, typically 15 to 20 minutes, is specifically intended for instruction in music.

¹⁰¹ Haynes, "The Federal Government and its Policies," 38.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁰³ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 9–10.

¹⁰⁴ Jonathan J. Austin, "Prophetic Direction: Principles Relative to the Performing Arts, a Special Topic Course (REL 392R) for the LDS Church Educational System" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 2000). Colleen J. Karnas-Haines, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints/Mormon Children's Music: Its History, Transmission and Place in Children's Cognitive Development" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 2005). William Earl Purdy, "Music in Mormon Culture, 1830–1876" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1960).

¹⁰⁵ Austin, "Prophetic Direction: Principles Relative to the Performing Arts."

¹⁰⁶ Karnas-Haines, "Mormon Children's Music: Its History."

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

William Purdy documented the history of music within the LDS church from 1830 through 1876. Chapter three documents music education activities from early LDS communities in Ohio and Illinois in the 1830s and 1840s to the Utah territory in the 1870s. Purdy identifies prominent music educators who taught both privately and in school settings. Three of them, Dominico Ballo, David O. Calder and John Elliot Tullidge, received extended biographical discussion by Purdy. Ballo built a music training facility in the fourteenth ward in Salt Lake City in 1855. Calder was an active teacher in singing schools and his services were in high demand throughout Salt Lake City. He developed a method book using the Tonic Sol-fa system in 1863. Tullidge was the music editor for the *Utah Magazine* from 1868–69 and wrote frequently about the state of music performance and teaching in the territory. Purdy’s chapter on music education is the most comprehensive of any information extant that details music education practices among the LDS in the early territory years of Utah. No discussion of music activities in other religious denominations is included in the Purdy study.¹⁰⁸

Michael Hicks wrote the most comprehensive volume on music in Mormon culture.¹⁰⁹ In the first eight chapters, Hicks chronicled the central role music played in the early years of the church. Hicks covered the earliest hymn compilations and singing schools that pre-date the Utah years of the LDS church, to the establishment of the Deseret Philharmonic Society and other culture promoting organizations popular with early Utahans in the Salt Lake valley before the turn of the twentieth century. The Hicks volume contains a few references to music instruction (including singing schools) not

¹⁰⁸ Purdy, “Music in Mormon Culture,” 44–46, 49–56, 62–74.

¹⁰⁹ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*.

mentioned by Purdy, but the Purdy study is still the more detailed of the two even though its time frame is limited to the first thirty years of the Utah territory. Hicks included short biographies and immigrant stories of prominent teachers and musicians, but little detail about their teaching is discussed. Hicks included extensive end notes, a large bibliography and a time frame ranging from the early nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first.

E. C. Warnock documented the activities of martial and brass bands active in the Utah territory.¹¹⁰ He documents locations of various bands and their leaders. In some cases Warnock states that the band leaders were also active music educators, but does not mention schools with which they may have been affiliated.

Bryant Smith authored a study specific to the history of brass bands in the LDS culture.¹¹¹ He documented the success and popularity of brass bands in several LDS communities in the Utah territory. Smith states that as many band members were unable to read music, the band leaders had to be master teachers in private and group situations.¹¹² This study contains the most comprehensive information extant on the life of Dominico Ballo, a prominent brass band leader and music educator in Salt Lake City in the 1850s.

¹¹⁰ E. C. Warnock, "Mormon Martial and Brass Bands of the Utah Territory," *Journal of Band Research* 38 (Fall, 2002): 71–91.

¹¹¹ Bryant Whiteside Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration, 1830–1920, Including an Edition and Transcription of The Capstone March by Charles John Thomas" (D.A. diss., University of Northern Colorado, 2012).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 87.

Histories of Education in Utah

Two books on the history of education in Utah written by John Clifton Moffit, *The History of Public School Education in Utah*¹¹³ in 1946 and *A Century of Service: A History of the Utah Education Association*¹¹⁴ in 1960, are cited in the majority of dissertations on education in Utah and contain information on curriculum and teacher in-service during the years 1850–95.¹¹⁵ Moffit traced the history of public education in Utah from schools established by the LDS in Ohio and Illinois in the 1830s and 1840s, to the Utah territory in 1847 and through the first forty years of statehood. Moffit mentioned the emergence of special schools, including music and drama schools in the 1850s, but did not go into detail.¹¹⁶ Music education in school curriculum is mentioned briefly and is usually just an entry in a curriculum list. In the history of the Utah Educators Association [UEA], Moffit notes that the UEA, which was first organized in 1860 as the “Deseret School Teachers Association”¹¹⁷ had a music committee organized by 1925 but no more

¹¹³ Moffit, *The History of Public Education in Utah*.

¹¹⁴ John C. Moffit, *A Century of Service: A History of the Utah Education Association* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1960).

¹¹⁵ Mark E. Bezzant, “Utah Public Schools (K–12) in 1897: The First Year of Statehood” (Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1998). Scott C. Esplin, “Education in Transition: Church and State Relationships in Utah Education, 1888–1933” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 2006). Brian C. Hardy, “Education and Mormon Enculturation: The Ogden Public Schools, 1849–1896” (PhD diss., The University of Utah, 1995). Joyce Gay Wilkinson Leukel, “Pioneering Public Schooling in Rural Utah. Factors Contributing to Utah's Transition from Ward Schools to Public Schools: Heber, Utah, 1859–1896” (Ed.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 2001). T. Edgar Lyon, “Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865–1900” (PhD diss., The University of Utah, 1962). Meredith, “A History of the Utah Music Educators Association.” John D. Monnett Jr., “The Mormon Church and its Private School System in Utah: The Emergence of the Academies,” (PhD diss., The University of Utah, 1984). Moore, “A Study of Brigham Young as an Educational Administrator.”

¹¹⁶ Moffit, *A Century of Service*, 27.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

details are provided.¹¹⁸

Laverne Clarence Bane's study, written in 1940, is an overall historical account of education in territorial Utah. Bane chose to focus on the years between 1870 and 1896 due to the change in population that occurred in 1870. Whereas the majority of settlers from 1850–70 were LDS, the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 increased the number of settlers who represented a variety of religious affiliations. Also impacting the growth and diversity of the area was mineral wealth, which greatly increased in 1870. Several religious denominations began to proselytize in the territory. Their missionary activities included building schools. Young, the LDS church president and central figure in establishing the earliest colonies in the territory, was now losing influence over governmental entities, further intensifying diversification in the territory.¹¹⁹

James Clark uses 1867 to divide his comparison of early and late territorial schools. From 1850 to 1867 the LDS church controlled education in the territory. Beginning in 1860, the territorial government gradually began taking control over school administration. After 1867, schools of other religions began to emerge as the territory population became more diverse.¹²⁰

John Monnett, Jr. examined the development of ward schools and private education ventures entered into by the LDS church, such as LDS academies, and how

¹¹⁸ Moffit states that music was one of many “sections” added by the UEA in the “first twenty-five years of this [20th] century,” 65.

¹¹⁹ Bane, “The Development of Education in Utah,” 1–2.

¹²⁰ Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah,” 11–12.

they co-existed with other religious schools as the population expanded.¹²¹ Brian Hardy studied how people of various religions, who were not LDS, perceived the territorial public schools as vehicles for Mormon enculturation in Ogden, a city forty miles north of Salt Lake City.¹²² Joyce Leukel investigated the struggle that people in rural areas encountered in educational endeavors by documenting the development of schools in Heber City during the territory years. Heber City is thirty-five miles to the east of Salt Lake City.¹²³ Scott Esplin used documentation of LDS school expansion in the St. George area in southern Utah from 1888 to 1933 to examine the unique church/state relationship present in Utah at the time.¹²⁴

Literature that documents education by religions that were not LDS in the Utah territory includes studies by T. Edgar Lyon,¹²⁵ Clyde W. Hansen,¹²⁶ and Dee Richard Darling.¹²⁷ Lyon set the context of his history by discussing the two principle reasons why churches disagreed with the LDS people: 1) the issue of plural marriage practiced at that time by the LDS church and, 2) the combination of church and state in LDS established communities.¹²⁸ The LDS seemed “un-American” to the non-LDS citizens.¹²⁹ Lyon reported that early endeavors by missionaries of various religions were primarily unsuccessful among the LDS and others who had come to the Utah territory to work in

¹²¹ Monnett, “The Mormon Church and its Private School System in Utah.”

¹²² Hardy, “Education and Mormon Enculturation: The Ogden Public Schools, 1849–1896.”

¹²³ Leukel, “Pioneering Public Schooling in Rural Utah.”

¹²⁴ Esplin, “Church and State Relationships in Utah Education, 1888–1933.”

¹²⁵ Lyon, “Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities.”

¹²⁶ Hansen, “A History of the Development of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools in Utah.”

¹²⁷ Dee Richard Darling, “Cultures in Conflict: Congregationalism, Mormonism and Schooling in Utah, 1880–1893.” (PhD diss., The University of Utah, 1991).

¹²⁸ Lyon, “Evangelical,” 4.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

the mines or to set up businesses in the cities.¹³⁰ As a result, they shifted their focus to establishing schools in the Utah territory as a way to proselytize.¹³¹ The Episcopal and Catholic churches were not included in the Lyon study because they did not fit into his definition of an ‘evangelical church.’¹³² Lyon’s study included the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, Baptist, Lutheran and Christian churches.¹³³ Most of the denominational schools studied by Lyon were not in operation until 1870 or later. Lyon stated that LDS territorial officials often excluded denominational school statistics from their reports.¹³⁴ Darling documented the education endeavors specific to the Congregationalist church in the Utah territory.¹³⁵

Frederick Buchanan is the author of many scholarly articles detailing the history of education in Utah. One is a biography of an early Superintendent of Common Schools in Utah, Robert L. Campbell, who was instrumental in procuring initial legislative funding of territorial common schools in the 1870s.¹³⁶ Other articles explored the development of Utah public education in the environment of LDS religious dominance.¹³⁷

¹³⁰ Ibid., 6.

¹³¹ Ibid., 7, 199–122, 177, 204.

¹³² Ibid., 13.

¹³³ Ibid., 231. Lyon gives his definition of “Christian Church” as the movement started by the Rev. Thomas Campbell in 1807 of Pittsburg as an attempt to unite all Christians unto one church. This religion first established itself in Utah in 1890.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 73.

¹³⁵ Darling, “Congregationalism, Mormonism and Schooling in Utah, 1880–1893.”

¹³⁶ Frederick S. Buchanan, “Robert Lang Campbell: “A Wise Scribe in Israel” and Schoolman to the Saints,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 3 (1989): 5–27.

¹³⁷ Frederick S. Buchanan, “Mormon Response to Secular Education,” *Religious Education* 81, no.4 (1986): 643–654, and “Education among the Mormons,” 435–459.

Summary of Reviewed Literature

It was determined that no comprehensive study existed on the topic of music education in the Utah territory spanning the years 1850 through 1895. Literature specific to music education in LDS schools is more prevalent than literature addressing music education in schools of other denominations. The LDS information is incomplete – only accounting for one section or chapter within studies having broader historical music topics.¹³⁸ Some studies, such as the Laycock study, focus on a narrow window of time and only on one type of school. Music education in parochial and protestant mission schools in the Utah territory has had very little attention from the research community.

There was a need for a comprehensive study to document music education practices throughout the Utah territory, including public and parochial institutions and private music teaching during the years 1850 to 1895; a study to clarify Utah's contributions to the development of music education in the United States. This study adds much needed documentation and provides deeper understanding of the development of music education in the Utah territory. A comprehensive study is now available to assist music education historians and current music educators in Utah in weaving together past and present concerns of advocacy and pedagogy.

¹³⁸ Garner, Purdy and Hicks, respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to present a history of music education in the territory of Utah during the years 1850 to 1895.

Research Questions

The following research questions were the primary focus of this study:

1. How was music included in schools in the Utah territory?
2. Who was responsible for music instruction in schools in the Utah territory?
3. What was the content of music instruction in schools in the Utah territory?
4. What pedagogical approaches were used for music instruction in the schools in the Utah territory?
5. How did religious, immigrant, and other community groups affect music instruction in the schools in the Utah territory?
6. What was the influence of private music instructors, singing schools and musical associations/societies in the promotion of music education in the Utah territory?

Introduction of Techniques and Sources

This study presents a chronological view of music instruction within topic chapters. Chapter topics include public and parochial educational institutions, private

instruction and locally produced music instruction books present in the Utah territory during the years 1850 through 1895. I used archival research techniques described by Hill¹³⁹ and Hodder,¹⁴⁰ and historical research techniques of immersion or saturation as described by Volk.¹⁴¹ Diverse sources, primary and secondary, were identified and examined.

Techniques

Volk states that *immersion* or *saturation* is finding and reading everything possible on a topic so as to gain a complete picture of the historical context.¹⁴² I immersed myself in information, from primary and secondary sources, about music education in the Utah territory in order to gain a complete contextual picture of the topic. Forethought was taken on how to interpret “mute evidence” as it is termed by Hodder.¹⁴³ Since the object of examination cannot be engaged in conversation, I derived meaning from what was seen at surface level. Artifacts, records and documents were examined in conjunction with as many sources as possible; keeping in mind that the written word is not always the “truer” source.¹⁴⁴ Documents can be taken out of context by the archivist, the researcher or inadvertently by the donor of the material.

¹³⁹ Michael R. Hill, *Archival Strategies and Techniques* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989).

¹⁴⁰ Ian Hodder, “The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture” in *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials* ed. Norman. K. Denzin and Yvonna.S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998).

¹⁴¹ Terese M. Volk, “Looking Back in Time: On Being a Music Education Historian,” *Journal of Historical Research in Music Education* 25 (October 2003): 49–59.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁴³ Hodder, “The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture,” 155.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

Sources

Barzun and Graff refer to John Martin Vincent's *Historical Research* of 1911 and classify sources or "evidence" as being either *records*, which are intentional transmitters of fact, or *relics*, which are unpremeditated transmitters of fact.¹⁴⁵ *Records* for this study included government, religious and educational annals and minutes, autobiographies, biographies, genealogies, memoirs, journals, diaries and newspaper reports. *Relics* for this study included preserved school buildings, teacher planning books, musical instruments, printed and handwritten music, school music textbooks and song books, concert advertisements and programs, period music magazines and photographs. Primary and secondary records and relics were examined.

Primary Sources (Records and Relics) and Source Locations

- Territorial Education Records. Official education reports from the territorial legislature and territorial superintendent of schools, including summaries of educational activities throughout the territory, statistics and education legislation.
- District Education Records. Local school board meeting minutes and individual school records related to personnel, finances, attendance, grade keeping and facilities.
- Ecclesiastical Records. Official reports and minutes of meetings at general church level and local congregation level.

¹⁴⁵ Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff, *The Modern Researcher*, 5th ed., (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992), 157.

- Journals, Diaries and Autobiographies. Personal records of musicians, music educators, government and religious officials, music students and period historians.
- School Relics. School buildings, school books, catalogs, concert and commencement programs, photographs and advertising materials.
- Music Instruction Books. Original music books used in the public and parochial school systems of Utah. Some copies contain writing in margins and inside front and back covers indicating ownership and use in music instruction.
- Personal Letters and Letterpress Copy Books.¹⁴⁶ Correspondence between teachers, between students and teachers, between teachers and administrators, between musicians, and between teachers and music merchants.
- Music Journals/Magazines. Publications intended for music store customers, musicians and music teachers, containing pedagogical articles, original compositions, music teacher advertisements and reports of music news and events, local, national and international.
- Printing and Publishing Company Records. Accounting books and printing ledgers of companies that published music instruction and songbooks in the territory.

¹⁴⁶ A letterpress copy book was a common way to create facsimiles of business letters and documents in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. It was originally a bound volume of blank, tissue paper pages. A freshly written letter done in special copying ink was placed on a dampened page. The book was closed and a mechanical press was screwed down tightly. An impression of the letter was retained on the underside of the facing tissue sheet. Oil cloths protected other pages in the book during the process.

- Newspaper Articles. Letters to the editor, reports of teacher association meetings, advertisements and concert reviews. Some territorial and district school reports were published in newspapers.

The Utah State Historical Society Research Center

The Utah State Historical Society Research Center in Salt Lake City houses original documents and microforms of territorial legislation records from 1850 to 1896. All reports of the territorial legislature include summative education reports. Also on file is a nearly complete collection of separately published annual and biannual territorial education superintendent reports from 1864 to 1895.¹⁴⁷ These separately published reports often included more details than the summaries in the legislative reports.

The research center houses a Bindery Ledger of the Deseret News Printing Plant for the years 1853–67. Deseret News Printing was a prominent printing company in the territory during these years and printed music textbooks and songbooks by local authors. This company also printed educational reports and school catalogs.

An extensive collection of St. Mark's School and Rowland Hall publications is in the research center. Included are school annuals, graduation programs and photographs from 1867 to 1895. St. Mark's School, sponsored by the Episcopal Church, was the first parochial school in the territory. St. Mark's school merged with the newly formed Rowland Hall in 1881.

The *Abbie Parish Noyes Papers, 1889–1896* contain letters between Noyes and

¹⁴⁷ Superintendent reports in the state archives are from 1864–65, 1868–69, 1871–84, 1886–89, 1892–95.

other teachers in the New West Education Commission schools in Ogden along with school entertainment and graduation programs, two annual reports of the New West Education Commission from 1886 and 1893 and a Utah teacher institute program book from 1891. The New West Education Commission was affiliated with the Congregational Church.

Original copies of the following music textbooks by Utah authors are in the research center: One copy of *Singing Lessons in the Tonic Sol-fa Method* by David Orson Calder published in 1863 and two copies of *The School and Primary Songster* by Evan Stephens published in 1889.

Two record books from county education superintendents, one from Washington County, 1864–75 and one from Wayne County, 1892–94 are in the research center. It is from records such as these that the county superintendents consolidated the reports that were sent annually to the territorial superintendent of education. There is also a record of Board of Trustee meeting minutes and an account book from the Beaver County School District (1881–1914).

LDS Church History Library

The LDS Church History Library in Salt Lake City houses records from most of the LDS wards organized in Salt Lake City and surrounding area beginning in 1847. Many of these ward records include minutes from meetings of school boards that were organized within the wards in the 1850s and 1860s.

The library holdings include record books, account books and teacher association

minutes from the Tooele County School District (1874–1915), record books from Weber County School District (1867–81), roll books from the Logan City School District (1875–78), a record book from the Salt Lake City nineteenth school district (1852–76) and an account book from the Salt Lake City tenth school district (1878–90). A collection of records from the office of the territorial superintendent of schools (1877–86) includes letters from county school superintendents reporting statistics and school conditions in their counties, reports from some parochial schools and drafts of territorial superintendent reports for the legislature. A circular from 1890 and an annual report from 1895 of the public schools of Salt Lake County are in the library. Records books from the University of Deseret (1869–87) include minutes from board meetings, correspondence and financial records.

A letterpress copybook (1855–67) from the office of David Orson Calder contains letters recording business transactions for the LDS church and Calder's orders for sheet music, Tonic Sol-fa music journals, musical instruments and accessories from music merchants in London, Liverpool, New York City, Boston and Chicago. The correspondence with these merchants includes shipping instructions, payment procedures and discussion of Calder's music teaching endeavors.

Many journals and diaries of early Utah residents are housed in the library. Journals searched for this study included those of musicians, general educators, music teachers, music class students, ecclesiastical leaders, and county and territory education superintendents. Records and relics from the life of Evan Stephens are in the library, including personal correspondence, autobiographic and biographic sketches,

compositions and photographs.

Three music magazines published between 1876 and 1891, *Utah Music Times* (1876–77), *Utah Musical Bouquet* (March–November, 1877) and *Utah Musical Journal* (December, 1891 and January, 1892) are in the library. These magazines include music teacher and music merchant advertisements, compositions by local composers, advertisements for concerts, concert reviews and music pedagogy articles.

Original copies of the following music textbooks by Utah authors are in the library: One incomplete copy of *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* by David Orson Calder (1861), *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* by Calder (1863), three copies each of *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* by Evan Stephens (1883) and *The School and Primary Songster* by Stephens (1889) and one copy of *The Song Garland: A Second Reader of Vocal Music* by Stephens (1884). Other relics include posters for the first two concerts of the Deseret Musical Association in 1862 and a textbook price list published by the office of the territorial superintendent of schools in 1876.

University of Utah Marriott Library Special Collections

Special Collections in the University of Utah Marriott Library holds a large collection of records from the First Presbyterian Church in Utah (1872–1908). These records include minutes and financial records regarding schools in the territory. Other ecclesiastical records include all reports of the New West Education Commission (1880–93) on microform.

Records and relics from the tenure of University of Deseret president John R. Park are in the collection. Park was president when the music department of the university expanded in the 1880s. Music books from his personal library were examined. Records and relics of Robert L. Campbell, an early Salt Lake County and territorial education superintendent, include a diary (1855–73) that documents his school visits around the territory. University of Deseret and University of Utah publications from 1850–95, including annuals, catalogs, graduation programs, library lists, student newspapers and alumni lists are in the collection. The library also holds original issues of *Utah Musical Times*.

L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University

The L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah holds attendance registers from Salt Lake City twenty-eighth school district (1890–91), records of school district one in Grantsville (1877–91) and Provo City school district account books (1890–92). Annual territorial superintendent reports from 1866 and 1867 are also in the collections. These two years are missing from the collection of reports in the Utah State Historical Society Research Center. Brigham Young Academy records including annuals, catalogs, attendance records and financial records are in the library.

Original copies of the following music textbooks by Utah authors are housed in the library: *The Tonic Sol-fa Singing Exercises* by David O. Calder (1861), *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* by Calder (1863), two copies of *A Primer and First*

Reader of Vocal Music by Evan Stephens (1883), *Song Garland: A Second Reader of Vocal Music* by Stephens (1884) and two copies of *The School and Primary Songster* by Stephens (1889).

Dixie State University Library Special Collections and Archives

The Dixie State University Library Special Collections and Archives in St. George, Utah holds a teacher planning book from the St. George Academy 1888–91. Weekly curriculum plans for variety of school subjects are entered in the book. A sample of student work in music is attached to a page in this planning book. Other school related records in the library include school teacher certification exams and score sheets.

Microforms of early newspapers published in St. George, *The Rio Virgin Times*, *Our Dixie Times* and *The Cactus*, are available in the collection. These newspapers are not available through *Utah Digital Newspapers*, an online repository of historical newspapers in Utah. The library holds the journal of Charles Lowell Walker. Walker was an active amateur musician, taking flute and violin lessons, attending singing schools and singing in choirs in Salt Lake City (1860–62) and upon moving to St. George in late 1862, became a member of a brass band in St. George under the direction of Charles John Thomas.

Other University Libraries

Utah State University Merrill-Cazier Library Special Collections in Logan holds records of Logan City Schools (1872–1951). These records include minutes from board

meetings, a ledger and a financial journal predating 1896. Weber State University Stewart Library Special Collections in Ogden, Utah houses relics from early schools in Ogden including building photographs, an 1881 gradebook from Central School and an annual catalog from Sacred Heart Academy (1895–96), a Catholic School. Westminster College Library Special Collections in Salt Lake City, Utah holds annual circulars and catalogs for Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, a Presbyterian school, for the years 1876, 1877 and 1887 through 1895.

Museums

The International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers has a central museum in Salt Lake City. It holds several music relics from early settlers in Utah including a copy of *Song Garland: A Second Reader of Vocal Music* by Evan Stephens (1884) and a copy of *Song Echo* by H. S. Perkins. *Song Echo* was approved in 1876 to be used as a music textbook in the territorial public schools. This particular copy of the book was used in a juvenile singing class taught by Stephens in Salt Lake City in 1884.¹⁴⁸ The museum also holds personal and family histories, musical instruments, band uniforms, hand written and published music and photographs of bands and choirs dating from 1850–95 donated by people in the Salt Lake area. Satellite museums in Idaho, Nevada, Wyoming and Utah hold similar items donated by people in the immediate area of each museum. I examined several collections in the Daughter of Utah Pioneers satellite museums. Documentation of music education activities resides in part in museums in the following locations in Utah:

¹⁴⁸ On the inside front cover of this book, the name “Julia Eldredge” is written near the top and “Used in Evan Stephens singing class 1884” is written near the bottom.

St. George, Kanab, Orderville, Cedar City, Parowan, Panguitch, Beaver, Fillmore, Kanosh, Manti, Springville, Provo, American Fork, Heber City, Vernal and Ogden. A copy of *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* by Stephens (1883) is in the Orderville museum. A copy of *The Young Chorister: A Course of Lessons and Songs on the Tonic Sol-fa Method*, edited by A. L. Cowley and published by Curwen & Sons, London,¹⁴⁹ is in the Manti schoolhouse museum.

The Territorial State House Museum, Fillmore, Utah is in a building that served as center of the territorial government for 1855–56. After government activities returned to Salt Lake City, the building was periodically used as a school. The museum holds a collection of letters written by teachers of a Presbyterian school that occupied the building in the 1880s and 1890s.

Sisters of the Holy Cross

Sisters of the Holy Cross founded schools in the territory beginning in the 1870s. The Archives and Records Department of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in Notre Dame, Indiana holds some school catalogs and graduation programs for the Catholic schools in Ogden and Salt Lake City.

Utah Digital Newspapers

Utah Digital Newspapers (<http://digitalnewspapers.org/>) is a digital repository of newspapers published in Utah beginning in 1850. Thirty-six newspapers published

¹⁴⁹ A publication date was not printed in the book.

between 1850 and 1895 are currently accessible. It is maintained by the University of Utah Marriott Library. The University of Utah, Utah State University, Brigham Young University and Salt Lake Community College all contribute to the content and host different sections of the website. Primary source information from newspapers includes minutes from teacher institute meetings, official education reports, concert advertisements, concert reviews, music teacher and music lesson advertisements and letters to the editor.

Secondary Sources and Source Locations

Phelps, et al. state that secondary sources are preferable to incomplete or questionable primary sources. Valuable secondary sources are in most cases documented since they are based on primary source material.¹⁵⁰ Such was the case with secondary sources used for this study. Valuable secondary sources for this study were as follows:

LDS Journal History

Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a daily history of the LDS Church from 1830 to 2008. Compiled primarily from newspapers but also from minutes and daily entries by church historians, this history is housed in the LDS Church History Library. Some elements within the history would be considered primary sources (newspaper accounts, meeting minutes), but items included in the history each day were at the discretion of the church historian at the time.

¹⁵⁰ Roger P. Phelps et al., *A Guide to Research in Music Education* 5th ed., (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2005), 213.

Frederick Stewart Buchanan Papers

Frederick Stewart Buchanan was an instructor in the education department at the University of Utah from 1970 to 1996. His papers are in the special collections of the University of Utah Marriott Library. One of his research interests was Utah education history. He wrote several peer reviewed articles on the subject. His collection of research notes served as a point of immersion into education history in the Utah territory.

Regional and City Directories and Gazetteers

Nineteenth century directories and gazetteers for the Western United States region, the Utah territory and its several cities are available in the Utah State Historical Society Research Center, the LDS Church History Library and online. These directories typically contain residential and business listings and advertisements. Residential listings include the street address and the occupation of the head of household. Business listings include addresses and proprietors names. The directories also include short histories and statistical information of towns, counties, territories and states.

Academic Journals

Utah Historical Quarterly, a publication of the Utah State Historical Society is a peer-reviewed journal that commenced publication in 1928 and has continued uninterrupted. Many libraries in Utah have a full complement of current and back issues. Current and back issues of the journal are also available on line.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ <http://utahhistory.sdlhost.com/>

On-line Historical Repositories

FamilySearch¹⁵² is a genealogy web site provided by the LDS Church with links to millions of government records including census, death and burial, tax, employment and immigration records. These records are valuable when confirming and triangulating birth and death dates, name spellings, residency dates in Utah, etc. Many family history documents are also accessible. There is no peer review process for uploading family history documents, so information from these histories may contain a degree of personal bias.

The Mormon Overland Trail Database,¹⁵³ also maintained by the LDS Church, provides information on the various immigrant wagon train and handcart companies that entered Salt Lake City between the years 1847– 68. The website contains departure and arrival dates and names, ages, birth and death dates, of each individual in over 350 separate companies. This recourse was valuable in triangulating information found in other sources.

Many Utah community historical societies maintain web sites and/or internet blogs. For example, Mt. Pleasant Pioneer Blogspot¹⁵⁴ is a repository of pioneer stories from the central Utah town of Mt. Pleasant. Digitized original documents and photographs accompany many of the histories of early town residents.

¹⁵² <https://familysearch.org/>

¹⁵³ <https://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/>

¹⁵⁴ <http://mtpleasantpioneer.blogspot.com/>

Method of Investigation

As Hill suggests, the investigation process for this study was cyclical.¹⁵⁵ What was found determined what was analyzed, and what was analyzed structured what was looked for going forward. Early investigations lead to the creation of a master name list, a timeline of music events and a timeline of education events in the territory. Deeper inquiry into individuals and events invariably lead to more names and other events worthy of investigation.

Archival investigation “cannot be predicted or neatly packaged in methodological formulas that guarantee publishable results.”¹⁵⁶ When an apparent gap in available material arose, I took a step back and thought of other ways the information may have “come to rest on archival shelves.” Hill calls this process following the path of “archival sedimentation.”¹⁵⁷

For example, early in the investigation, reports from the territorial superintendent of public education were examined. It was evident from these reports that each county superintendent in the territory was required to keep detailed records wherein music instruction may have been recorded. The county-level education reports were more difficult to obtain. Only two were in the same archive as the territorial reports, and they were not complete. Further investigation revealed some county reports were published in local newspapers, some “came to rest” in other library collections closer to the county location. Where county reports were not available, individual school reports, newspaper

¹⁵⁵ Hill, *Archival Strategies and Techniques*, 6.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 9.

articles, personal letters and journal entries provided school information.

Treatment of Sources and Methods of Analysis

The research for this study was archival in nature. Proper permission and appointments to enter archival depositories were procured. Understanding the policies pertaining to document handling, photocopying, scanning, etc. at each depository prior to the visit helped prevent wasted time and travel. Hill recommends entering archives with “targets” and “tools”.¹⁵⁸ *Targets* for this study included names of musicians or music educators, specific schools, music organizations and music textbooks. *Tools* for this study included a master name list, a master bibliography, and a master biography file — a “who’s who” style data bank about music education in the Utah territory. As literature review materials were read, names of music educators, musicians, prominent educators, prominent policy makers, religious leaders, and so forth were written down and categorized.

Once items were discovered, I collected data and examined it for accuracy and validity. Guidelines for evaluating primary, secondary and web sources are stated in Rampolla¹⁵⁹ and Phelps et al.¹⁶⁰ These authors informed my note taking process as data was examined. Some data was found to be *authentic* after evaluating it for external validity, but was not actually *credible* when evaluating it for internal validity. For example, an authentic school course listed in a pamphlet or newspaper advertisement

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 27.

¹⁵⁹ Mary L. Rampolla, *A Pocket Guide to Writing History* 5th ed., (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martins), 10–11, 14, 17.

¹⁶⁰ Phelps et al., *A Guide to Research in Music Education*, 225.

may not be credible because it is found to be an inflated list of classes the school hopes to offer if enough students enroll. Establishing internal validity requires a higher level examination of data than does establishing external validity. Point of view of the author or producer of the data was considered; the reason for which the data exists was investigated.

After each case of examining specific data for authenticity and credibility, the information was classified topically, chronologically and geographically. With classified and properly documented research notes and extensive bibliographic information, I began to transfer research notes to historical narrative.

Bias

Bias within sources was evident throughout the investigation for this study. Some of the discovered documents were written from specific points of view, either in favor of or in opposition to certain religious beliefs, persons, materials, or pedagogical approaches. I carefully examined the context of original documents, articles and books to present any information gleaned from them in an objective a manner as possible. As a result, modern norms and cultural judgments were not imposed on writings of the past. Galgano et al. calls this writing from an “ahistorical” or “nonhistorical” perspective.¹⁶¹

Researcher bias was addressed and mitigated throughout the course of this study. I have lived in Utah my entire life and attended public schools in Utah. I am a descendent of generations on paternal and maternal sides of members of the LDS Church. I was

¹⁶¹ Michael J. Galgano, J., Chris Arndt and Raymond M. Hyser, *Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age* (Belomont, CA: Wadsworth, 2008), 4.

cognizant of the fact that this could potentially preclude writing from an objective point of view. With assistance from my supervisor and later on, the full dissertation committee, I strived to maintain scholarly distance and unbiased critique throughout all phases of the project. Committee members had varying knowledge of Utah music education history. One member had an insider's perspective having been a music student, music teacher and music education association officer in Utah. Two members had an outsider's perspective, knowing little about Utah. This provided checks and balances through the editing process and has resulted in a stronger document.

I was in a unique position to investigate this topic because of my familiarity with Utah, its culture, communities and past and present educational institutions. Foreknowledge of various archival depositories, personal acquaintance with some music educators and authors whose works were reviewed for this study expedited matters during the investigative stage of the project. I have traveled the state extensively and am familiar with many rural areas where communities were established during the territorial years of Utah. I have twenty-five years' experience in public school music teaching in Utah and have served in various positions in the Utah Music Educators Association and currently hold a leadership position. From this vantage point, I can see how past events compare to, and continue to influence the current state of music education in Utah.

CHAPTER FOUR

MUSIC IN THE COMMON SCHOOLS THROUGH THE 1870s

The Utah territorial legislature defined ‘common schools’ as “all schools organized by the direction of the Board of Trustees in the respective School Districts of this Territory, which are under the supervision of said Trustees...and shall be entitled to a just and equitable proportion of any public School fund, arising from the General Government or by Legislative enactment of the Territory.”¹⁶²

The Development of Common Schools

By 1851, most LDS wards in Salt Lake City had opened a semi-private school, operating with a combination of funds from tuition and self-imposed taxes. The citizens of the city of Ogden, forty miles north of Salt Lake City, voted to fund the schools completely by taxation.¹⁶³ Called ‘common schools’ or ‘district schools’ in legislative records from 1850 forward, they were often referred to as ‘ward schools’ among the community members well into the 1890s.¹⁶⁴ According to legislation in 1850, LDS church leaders¹⁶⁵ were legally responsible to organize elections for school trustees, supervise the school, and report to the territorial “Superintendent of Common

¹⁶² *Annual Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools for the year 1868* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Office. 1868), 16.

¹⁶³ Bane, “The Development of Education in Utah,” 18.

¹⁶⁴ *28th District School Attendance Registers. 1899–9*, MSS 4052, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah. Both “28th District” and “Big Cottonwood Ward” are entered as the school name in the “Utah School Register for 1890–1.”

¹⁶⁵ Each ward was led by a “bishop,” who lived within the ward boundaries and was appointed by the general LDS church leadership.

Schools.”¹⁶⁶ By the 1860s, the legislature required each county to elect a school board and superintendent and report to the territorial superintendent.¹⁶⁷

Minutes from local school board meetings in the early 1850s provide detail into some procedures followed in establishing the common schools. According to the minutes of the Salt Lake seventh ward council dated November 1849, the ward bishop inquired about getting a school started within the ward boundaries. The officials decided to rent a room from a ward member at the rate of three dollars a month and begin enquiring about one who may be qualified to be a teacher. Four months later, discussion of building a school house on a lot owned by the ward bishop began. All lots in the ward were to be taxed equally to bear the cost of building the school. In October of 1850, the ward council approved the construction of a twenty foot by thirty foot building, which was intended to be the first wing of a larger structure. The wing was dedicated on November 9, 1851. In a meeting one week later, a teacher was chosen from two candidates and each lot in the ward was to provide a half load of wood “for school and meeting purposes.” This building served as a meeting place for church services as well as school.¹⁶⁸

Seven blocks north of the seventh ward, in the boundaries of the Salt Lake sixteenth ward, each lot was taxed twenty-five cents to build a sixteen by eighteen log school house in October of 1850. The building was finished in December and continued to be supported by taxation. When a replacement building was planned in a meeting on February 4, 1852, a local board member was asked to “hire a teacher for the next quarter

¹⁶⁶ Buchanan “Education among Mormons,” 439.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 440.

¹⁶⁸ *Minutes of Ward School Boards (S.L.C.)*, in Fred Steward Buchanan Papers, Accn 379, box 56, folder 4. Special Collections, University of Utah Library.

and agree to pay in such things as we have to pay in such as produce.”¹⁶⁹

In a Salt Lake eleventh ward citizens meeting on October 30, 1851, the following was recorded:

Resolved 1st that the members of the 11 ward do agree by a unanimous vote to rent the house of Brother Atkins for one year for a school house at the rate of two dollars and fifty cents a month. Resolved 2nd that the rent of the school house be paid by taxing the head of each family equally. Resolution 3rd that we appoint three trustees to manage the affairs of the school.¹⁷⁰

One week later on November 6, further resolutions were adopted:

Resolved 1st that we proceed to furnish the house with seats stone wood etc... upon which the undersigned agree to furnish the following articles [a list of people and items follow; some will bring seats, others wood, others agree to make desks]. Resolved 2nd that we employ a male teacher. Resolved 3rd That [sic] a tax be levied on all the property in the ward to defray the expenses of the school. Resolved 4th that the term of teaching be 3 months.¹⁷¹

Centralized Supervision of Common Schools

A Legislative Assembly passed an ordinance creating the University of Deseret functioning under a chancellor and board of twelve regents. Though November 11, 1850 is currently recognized as the opening date of the university, no secondary or collegiate instruction was offered until March 8, 1866. In the interim, under the auspices of “University of Deseret,” the regents established a “parent school,” a grammar school, obtained real estate for future building sites, and gave numerous educational lectures.¹⁷²

The main object of the “parent school” was to train adults to be teachers in the

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Bane, “The Development of Education in Utah,” 30.

common schools of the territory.¹⁷³ In 1851, the chancellor and board of regents of the University were authorized to appoint a “Superintendent of Primary Schools” for the territory.¹⁷⁴ This was the first territory-wide appointment made in the interest of education. In a general letter to church members, the LDS First Presidency wrote in 1851:

School houses have been built in most of the wards, both in the city and country, and schools have been sustained therein the past winter, and we joyfully anticipate that the time has arrived when our children may be partakers of the blessings of constantly continued schools in their several wards. The Parent school is in successful operation in the Council House, under the tuition of Chancellor O. Spencer and Regent W. W. Phelps. The design of this school is to prepare its pupils to become teachers, and for all who may desire to advance in the higher branches of education. It is designed for the Parent school to be open continually.¹⁷⁵

The Parent School was only in operation for six months, from November 1850 to May 1851.¹⁷⁶

The 1852 education act included language requiring every county court to divide their county into school districts.¹⁷⁷ The school districts were drawn along the same lines as the extant LDS ward boundaries.¹⁷⁸ The residents of each school district elected three trustees who selected a district superintendent. The superintendent and trustees were authorized to levy taxes for the support of the district school. The superintendent and trustees also appointed a three-member teacher examination board for their district.¹⁷⁹

There is no evidence that the first two territorial superintendents of schools—

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁷⁴ Moffit, *The History of Public Education in Utah*, 74.

¹⁷⁵ Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, “Fifth General Epistle,” *Millennial Star* 13, no. 14 (1851): 213.

¹⁷⁶ Bane, “Development of Education,” 32.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁷⁸ Buchanan, “Education among Mormons,” 439.

¹⁷⁹ Bane, “Development,” 19.

Elias Smith, who served from 1851 to 1856, and William Willis,¹⁸⁰ who served from 1856 to 1862— submitted territorial school reports to the regents of the University of Deseret.¹⁸¹ Obediah. H. Riggs, territorial superintendent from 1874 to 1877, documented the travels of Willis to the outlying areas of the territory to observe the conditions of schools. Willis traveled as far north as Brigham City in 1856 and as far south as Old Fort Harmony in Iron County in 1857.¹⁸²

In 1860, the legislature created the office of “county superintendent of schools.” The county superintendent was required to report the conditions of the county schools to the territorial superintendent. The territorial superintendent of schools was now appointed by the legislature and not the university trustees.¹⁸³ An examination of an early 1860s Salt Lake County Superintendent Report reveals the limited reach of the common schools even in the most populated area of the Utah territory.

In his statistical report for 1861, Robert L. Campbell, Superintendent in Salt Lake County, stated, “It has been extremely difficult to get reports from the Trustees, and especially to get correct ones.”¹⁸⁴ His report shows thirty-eight schools reporting in thirty-six districts; four of the thirty-six districts did not hold school or gave no report.

¹⁸⁰ There is inconsistency in the spelling of William Willis in histories and official documents. The current Utah State Office of Education spells the name “Willis.” Moffit, in *The History of Public Education in Utah* spells the name “Willis.” Obediah. H. Riggs in a *Historical Sketch of Education in Utah* included in the *Bi-Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, 1875–1876* uses the spelling “Willes.”

¹⁸¹ No mention is made of any reports in the relevant literature.

¹⁸² Obediah. H. Riggs, “Historical Sketch of Education in Utah” in *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, 1875–1876*. (Salt Lake City, UT: David O. Calder Public Printer, 1876), 56–57. Series 84427, Box 1, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹⁸³ Moffit, *The History of Public Education*, 75.

¹⁸⁴ Robert L. Campbell, “Report of Superintendent of Common Schools for Great Salt Lake County,” *Deseret News* (May 7, 1862), 8.

There were 2,275 children in the county: males between the ages of four and eighteen and females between the ages of four and sixteen. Approximately sixty-seven percent (1,536) attended school during the year with an average daily attendance of 769. Three districts in the county held school for only three months during the year, while seven districts reported holding school at least ten months or more during the year. The average length was eight months of the year.¹⁸⁵

Campbell became the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools in 1862. For twelve years, Campbell was employed as LDS Church Historian, continued his position as Superintendent of Salt Lake County Schools, and was a member of the first board of regents for the University of Deseret all while serving as the Territorial Superintendent. He died suddenly in 1874 from typhoid fever.¹⁸⁶

In his annual reports to the territorial legislature, Campbell wrote passionately about the inconsistency in education standards throughout the territory. It was difficult for him to obtain reports from remote communities. He wrote about the lack of qualified teachers, no standardization in the adoption of textbooks, poor facilities and reluctance of some communities to provide tax money for the schools as directed by the legislature.¹⁸⁷

The first report Campbell delivered to the legislature as Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools was for the year 1862. Eight of sixteen territorial counties reported partial statistics and only two, Salt Lake and Weber counties, submitted a complete

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Robert L. Campbell, *Diary, 1855–1873*, 165. Typescript. Accn 0376. Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

¹⁸⁷ *Utah School Report, 1864* (Salt Lake City: UT, 1864), 3. Series 84427, Box 1. Utah State Historical Society.

report. In total, the report shows 7,618 school-aged children in the territory with fifty percent enrolled in territorial common schools at an average daily attendance rate of sixty-two percent.¹⁸⁸ Campbell notes in the report that he received information for Cache County through an intermediary and not official statistics from the county superintendent. Statistics from Juab County were not included because there were no schools “kept within the meaning of “Common School Act”” though the superintendent reported there were “four schools...with about 120 scholars of various ages.”¹⁸⁹ Indifference towards legislative direction was evident in outlying counties regarding the mandates of school governance. Some counties failed to immediately select a superintendent while others, who were appointed, lacked dedication to their office.¹⁹⁰

In the 1864 territorial school report, Superintendent Campbell stated that turnover in county superintendents and a shortage of proper forms hindered him in obtaining accurate statistics from each county.¹⁹¹ Many school districts did not avail themselves of the portion of the school law that authorized taxation for school purposes. From 1860 to 1865 an average tuition of \$3.50 per student per term was typical in the territory. Teachers were often burdened with the task of collecting the tuition.¹⁹²

Beginning in 1865, the Superintendent of Common Schools was elected by the legislature.¹⁹³ By 1871, there were twenty counties in the Utah territory. Two hundred

¹⁸⁸ Robert L. Campbell, “Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools,” *Deseret News* (January 28, 1863), 3.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ “School Commissioners,” *Deseret News*, August 8, 1860. 4.

¹⁹¹ *Utah School Report, 1864*, 3.

¹⁹² Riggs, “Historical Sketch of Education in Utah,” 58.

¹⁹³ Gustive O. Larson, *Outline History of Territorial Utah* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1972), 132.

twenty-three school districts included 268 schools and employed 358 teachers. Twenty-five districts failed to report in 1871. Of the districts that did report, fifty-nine percent of the total school population enrolled in the common schools, while the average daily attendance was about seventy-five percent of those enrolled.¹⁹⁴ Enrollment and attendance numbers are slightly better than those of the previous decade.

In 1876, the school law stipulated that a “Territorial Superintendent of Public Schools” was to be chosen in a general election for a two-year term. This is also the first year that the territorial legislature began to make annual appropriations for school purposes. Appropriations were made based on school-age per capita in each county.¹⁹⁵ The Territorial Superintendent Report submitted by Obediah H. Riggs for the 1875–76 school year stated that at the end of 1875, common schools enrolled fifty-four percent of the total school population of the territory with seventy percent of those enrolled attending daily during a school year. The school year averaged just over six and a half months of the calendar year.¹⁹⁶ The total school-aged population in the territory exceeded 35,500. In 1878, the Utah territory assumed full burden of public education by inaugurating a school tax.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Robert L. Campbell, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, 1871* (Salt Lake City, UT, 1871), 5, Series 84427, Box 1, Utah Historical Society.

¹⁹⁵ Larson, *Outline History of Territorial Utah*, 132.

¹⁹⁶ Obediah H. Riggs, *Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, 1875–1876*, 22.

¹⁹⁷ Larson, *Outline History of Territorial Utah*, 132.

Music Education in the Early Common Schools

1850s and 1860s

On January 10, 1852 the founding editor of the *Deseret News*, Dr. Willard Richards, made a plea for music education in the schools. Richards praised the people of the European countries for their emphasis on music training among their young people, claiming that “in all the common schools in Germany, singing and music are taught.” He further argued that almost all young people in Europe could play an instrument of some kind and read music. As a result of this training, German communities have music “every night in the streets” and some sort of keyboard instrument in almost every household. “Why cannot music be introduced into our schools in Utah, and from them reach our domestic circle?”¹⁹⁸ It is not clear how he knew about music in German schools. His only time overseas was as an LDS missionary in England from 1837–41.¹⁹⁹ Richards had experience as a clarinetist in a military band in Massachusetts.²⁰⁰

In May of 1852, Young stated in the *Deseret News*, “Schools have been common in the various wards and districts, and well attended. . . and every exertion possible has been made for the promotion of the arts and sciences.”²⁰¹ During the 1850s and 1860s, there is little documentation of music teaching in the common schools of Utah territory. The University regents did not require any reports of the territorial superintendent until

¹⁹⁸ “Music” *Deseret News* (January 10, 1852), 4.

¹⁹⁹ Howard C. Searle, “Willard Richards as Historian,” *BYU Studies* 31, no. 2 (1991): 42, <http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/byusq/vol31/iss2/5/>.

²⁰⁰ At the time, Richards was second counselor to President Young in the general presidency of the LDS Church; a highly influential member of the community at the time the editorial was published. In the editorial, Richards requested an answer from “The Regency,” the school regents of the University of Deseret. There was no answer given in the *Deseret News* from the Regents regarding this issue.

²⁰¹ “Seventh General Epistle” *Deseret News* (May 1, 1852), 2.

1855.²⁰²

There is evidence of a possible music connection with William Willis, the second Territorial Superintendent. The bindery ledger of Deseret News Print shows an order of 500 song books for “Willis” on October 2, 1856, and then an order for 1,000 song books for “Willis” a month later on November 4.²⁰³ A total of fifteen dollars was charged for the order; each book cost one cent. Chances are strong that the “Willis” mentioned in the bindery ledger and William Willis, second Territorial Superintendent of common schools, were the same person. According to LDS pioneer company records, two men, William Wesley Willis and William Thomas Willis entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 and 1852 respectively.²⁰⁴ By 1852 William Wesley Willis left the Salt Lake Valley and was living in southern Utah.²⁰⁵ William Thomas Willis stayed in the northern part of the territory. In 1867 “William Willis” was a school teacher in the Salt Lake City 12th Ward.²⁰⁶ “William Willis” is listed as a musician in the town of Lehi in 1880.²⁰⁷ There is no known connection between the purchase of song books and the implementation of music in the common school curriculum by Willis in 1856.

From 1856 to 1868, John Menzies Macfarlane and John Chatterley included

²⁰² Riggs, “Historical Sketch of Education in Utah,” 56.

²⁰³ Deseret News Printing Plant, *Bindery Ledger, 1853–1867*, 9. MSS A 129, Utah State Historical Society.

²⁰⁴ *Pioneer Overland Trail Database*, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, <http://history.lds.org/overlandtravels/searchPage?lang=eng>.

²⁰⁵ Becky A. Homer, *The Life of William Wesley Willis*, unpublished manuscript, 1978, M270.1 W735L 1978, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²⁰⁶ *Salt Lake City Directory, Including a Business Directory, of Provo, Springville, and Ogden, Utah Territory* (Salt Lake City, UT: G. Owens, 1867), 105.

²⁰⁷ Henry L. A. Culmer, ed. *Utah Directory and Gazetteer for 1879–80* (Salt Lake City, UT: J. C. Graham & Co., Book and Job Printers, 1879), 232.

music in their curriculum as common school teachers in Cedar City, 250 miles south of Salt Lake City. According to a student at the time, “If the teacher sang, the students were in luck, because they were exposed to music, but if the teacher didn’t, this phase of the school curriculum was neglected.” Another teacher, Nellie Houchen, “introduced little English songs and singing games to the children.” It is possible that six other local musicians,²⁰⁸ who were also schoolteachers in Cedar City, included music in their curriculum.²⁰⁹

Throughout territorial history, it was not uncommon for teachers in the common schools to also have experience as musicians. For example, William Frampton, a noted musician and choir leader, was the first school teacher in the Utah County community of Pleasant Grove in 1852. He then moved to the southern end of the Salt Lake Valley for a year and taught school from 1854 to 1855 in Draper. He returned to Pleasant Grove and continued to teach for a total of twenty-five years.²¹⁰ Charles Wright, a resident of Huntsville in Weber County, taught in the common school there from 1876 to 1887.²¹¹ He was listed as a private music teacher in an 1880–81 territorial directory.²¹² James

²⁰⁸ O.C. Anderson, E.B. Dalley, Kate Dalley, Jennie Cosslett, Sadie Jones, and Hazel Dalley Granger.

²⁰⁹ Cynthia Williams Dunaway, “A Historical Study of Musical Development in Cedar City, Utah, from 1851 to 1931” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969), 228.

²¹⁰ John William Fitzgerald, “One Hundred Years of Education in a Utah Community” (Ed.D. diss., Stanford University, 1948), 180.

²¹¹ *School Record of Weber County [1867–75]*, 19, in Weber County Record Books, Weber County School District, Superintendent’s Office, MS 2532, folder 1, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Edward H. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1886–87* (Ogden, UT: Edward H. Anderson, Superintendent. 1887), 31, 379.792 W373 1887, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²¹² *Pacific Coast Directory for 1880–81*. (San Francisco, CA: L. M. McKinney & Co., 1880.) 28.

Samuel Page Bowler arrived in southern Utah from England in 1880. A celebrated choir leader and singer, he was also a teacher in the district schools in Washington and Iron counties at various times from 1882 to 1893.²¹³ The specific music curriculum taught by these teachers is unclear.

In January 1860, a revised education act was passed by the territorial legislature. Local teachers and county superintendents received forms from the territorial superintendent for preparing and submitting quarterly reports. The “Form of School Teacher’s Report” shows the subject of music included in a list of sixteen branches of study for which the teacher was to report statistics (see figure 5). The form appears unchanged in territorial superintendent reports from 1860 through 1874.²¹⁴

FORM OF SCHOOL TEACHER'S REPORT.																		
Quarterly Report of School No.—, District No.—, County of —, Territory of Utah, ending—, 186 .														Teacher.				
NAMES OF PUPILS	Age.	Total number of Boys.	Total number of Girls.	Daily attendance.	Average daily attendance.	BRANCHES TAUGHT.										SCHOOL BOOKS USED.	CERTIFICATE AND REMARKS.	
						Alphabet.	Spelling.	Reading.	Writing.	Geography.	Grammar.	Arithmetic.	Book-keeping.	Algebra.	Geometry.			Astronomy.

Fig. 5. Form of School Teacher's Report, 1860–74.

In a letter to the editor of the *Deseret News* in 1860, David Orson Calder, a teacher in the private school Young established for his own children and champion for the “Tonic

²¹³ James Samuel Page Bowler, *Autobiography of an English Immigrant to Southern Utah* (unpublished manuscript, ca. 1922), 111 and 114, MS 17957, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²¹⁴ *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials passed by the Legislative Assembly, 1859–60*, 25.

Sol-fa” system of teaching, made a case for including music in the public schools.

To introduce vocal music as a branch of education in our schools, in my opinion, would be the best physical exercise at present within our reach. It would also be a most pleasing and interesting relaxation from the dry and tedious studies of the school room, and greatly aid to strengthen the mental powers of the children.

I have no doubt that many of our teachers would have given more attention to the study of the art but for the excessive perplexities in the way of teaching it by the present accepted notation. Even when taught by the Wilhelm and Mainzer methods, it is a dry and cumbersome study, and nothing short of the most indefatigable exertions will carry the student through the course of lessons.

The Tonic Sol-Fa method has more to recommend it than any other system, because of its extreme simplicity and adaptation to the minds of children. It introduces the student to a new music notation consisting merely of the initial letters of the syllables Do, Re, Me, Fa, &c., arranged with graduated spaces between them to indicate the duration of the notes.

This new notation claims to assist in giving to children an acquaintance with the elements of music, upon scientific principles, long before they are of age to grapple with the difficulties of the old notation, and to lead the pupils to sing *better in tune and sooner at sight*, and to imbibe *more correct notions* of the Theory of Music.²¹⁵

Music was included in the curriculum of schools in Utah County in 1860. At a Utah County Teachers’ Association Convention in August of that year, officials adopted the book *Juvenile Choir* for use in county schools.²¹⁶ The author and publisher for the choir book were not listed in the report of the convention.²¹⁷

In the early 1860s, John Rocky Park, who became president of the University of Deseret in 1869, taught school in Draper when he first arrived in the territory. According

²¹⁵ “Study of Vocal Music,” *Deseret News* (December 19, 1860), 8. Italics in original.

²¹⁶ “Utah County Educational Convention,” *Daily Enquirer* (August 15, 1860), 3.

²¹⁷ Books with this title available at the time were R. Shaw and J. H. Pestalozzi, *The Juvenile Choir: Together with a Manual of Instruction, on the Pestalozzi or Inductive System* (Baltimore: 1838) and George Kingsley, *Juvenile Choir* (New York: 1850).

to the record of a student at the time, he “taught children to sing by note and to read music at sight.”²¹⁸

1870s

In addition to reporting statistics, the typical territorial superintendent’s annual report included a section of commentary on the condition of schools and teaching in each year. The first mention of music education occurs in the commentary section in the report for 1872–73. Under “recommendations,” Campbell states, “Drawing, sewing and vocal music should be taught in our common schools.”²¹⁹ Campbell had visited nearly all the counties of the territory in 1872 and 1873 and “counseled” with the county superintendents.²²⁰ Apparently, the conversations with county officials included some discussion on the status of music education. In his report of schools in Salt Lake County, Campbell (also Salt Lake County superintendent at this time) is stronger and more specific about his music teaching recommendation. He called music a “necessity” and that it should be taught at least twice each week.²²¹

In the territorial superintendent report for 1874–75, the teacher report form changed slightly from the version used from 1860 to 1874. While music retained its place in the list of “branches taught,” the branches of algebra, geometry, astronomy, languages

²¹⁸ Kate B. Carter, *Pioneer Schools and Schoolmasters* (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939), 13.

²¹⁹ Robert L. Campbell, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, for Utah Territory, for the years 1872–3* (Salt Lake City, UT: David O. Calder, public printer, 1874), 8, Series 84427, Box 1, Utah Historical Society.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

²²¹ Robert L. Campbell, *Annual Report of Salt Lake County Superintendent of Common Schools, for the Year Ending Oct. 31, 1873*, (Salt Lake City, UT: 1873), 379.792 S176 1873a, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

and painting were eliminated. These branches were likely absorbed into the branches of arithmetic, writing and drawing that remained on the list, but music retained its separate listing.²²² It is apparent that as school policy and laws evolved in the territory, music education continued to be included. To what extent music was actually being taught in the classroom is not defined in the territorial superintendent reports until 1889. The detailed evidence of music teaching in the common schools in the earlier years of the territory appear in individual ward and school records, minutes of school trustee meetings, personal journals and newspaper articles.

In 1875, Superintendent J. E. Johnson of Washington County, located in the southern part of the territory over 300 miles from the Salt Lake Valley, reported to the territorial superintendent, Riggs, that “in some instances music drawing [and] elocution” were taught along with the “ordinary branches” of study.²²³ In the rural central part of the territory in Round Valley,²²⁴ Ann Martin taught in the district school for thirty-five years beginning in the early 1870s. She commonly used singing in her classroom to help students learn other subjects such as arithmetic and geography.²²⁵ Ellice McClenahan Carter recorded that in 1876, the first school she attended in Mt. Pleasant had an organ in one classroom. One of the two teachers, Lydia Hasler, accompanied the students for their “marches” and for “Friday programs.”²²⁶

²²² Riggs, *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools*, 65.

²²³ School Record, Washington County Report and Budget Record, 1864–1890, Series 23784, Box 1, Utah State Historical Society.

²²⁴ The current community of Scipio.

²²⁵ Marcella Johnson Robins, “Schools of Round Valley,” unpublished manuscript, MSS A 2334, Utah State Historical Society.

²²⁶ Ellice McClenahan Carter, “Schools We Attended,” Accessed October 4, 2014 <http://mtpleasantpioneer.blogspot.com/2012/01/early-mt-pleasant-schools-as-remembered.html>.

In April of 1876, a three-day textbook convention was held at the University of Deseret for the purpose of adopting textbooks to be used throughout the common schools in the territory for a period of five years. Superintendent Riggs was president of the adoption committee and subcommittees were created for each subject area from the attendees. After deliberation, each subcommittee recommended a textbook for their subject area to the full committee for adoption. *Song Echo* by H. S. Perkins²²⁷ was adopted for music instruction “along with our home productions on music.” It is not clear what the “home productions” were but evidently there were enough locally produced music books or sheets to be included in the recommendation.²²⁸ It is possible that David O. Calder’s *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method*, published in 1863 in Salt Lake City, was considered for use in the schools. Riggs distributed a price list of the books approved at the convention.²²⁹ The price, author and publishing information for *Song Echo* were not included on the book list produced by the convention. The textbooks adopted for all other subject areas had price, author and publishing information included. It is unclear whether or not this factored into how widely *Song Echo* was used in the schools.

In August of 1876, common school teachers from throughout the territory attended a two-week Territorial Normal Institute at the University of Deseret. The institute was free of charge and lodging was offered at a reduced price. Various lectures

²²⁷ H. S. Perkins, *The Song Echo: A collection of copyright songs, duets, trios, and sacred pieces, suitable for schools, juvenile classes, seminaries, and the home circle* (Oliver Ditson & Co., Boston, 1871).

²²⁸ “Convention of School Superintendents,” *Deseret News* (April 19, 1876), 6.

²²⁹ Obediah H. Riggs, *Textbook Price List* (Salt Lake City, UT: Office of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools, December 13, 1876), Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

and demonstrations were presented on a wide range of school subjects.²³⁰ Louis F. Moench, one of the keynote speakers, lectured on the importance of general health and disposition of students and teachers while at school. He stated that “every school room should be supplied with an organ or piano. The children should be taught music whenever possible.”²³¹ In two institute sessions, a Salt Lake City private music teacher and performing musician, George Careless, presented the subject of music teaching for the classroom teacher. Careless formed the institute into a class and instructed them as he would beginners in order to demonstrate music teaching methods.²³² During his two sessions, Careless taught musical symbols, musical terms, “fully explained” ascending and descending major, minor and chromatic scales, and discussed rhythms. He said, “Every school should have music.” The key to success was to keep the students’ interest through the use of songs with amusing lyrics and the incorporation of physical activity while singing.²³³ “Even though a teacher understands nothing of music, and is unable to sing, he should still have music in his school by all means.”²³⁴

²³⁰ John R. Park, *Scrapbook, 1866–1869*, in John R. Park Collection, MS 242, box 1, folder 7, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

²³¹ “Normal Institute. August 12,” *Salt Lake Herald* (August 13, 1876), 3.

²³² “Normal Institute. August 14,” *Salt Lake Herald* (August 15, 1876), 3.

²³³ “Normal Institute August 14,” *Deseret News* (August 23, 1876), 7 and “Normal Institute August 16,” *Deseret News* (August 23, 1876), 8.

²³⁴ “Normal Institute. August 15,” *Salt Lake Herald* (August 16, 1876), 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

MUSIC IN THE COMMON SCHOOLS FROM THE 1880s THROUGH 1895

Further Development of Common Schools

After 1880, Federal law reduced the extent to which the LDS dominated Utah legislature could control public schools.²³⁵ From 1887 to statehood in 1896, the chief territorial education official, the “Territorial Commissioner of Schools” was appointed by the territorial Supreme Court instead of chosen by general election. This change was a result of the Edmunds-Tucker Act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1887, which broke up the LDS religiously dominated governmental structure of the Utah territory and placed federally appointed, non-LDS men into territorial government positions.²³⁶

The 1888–89 Territorial Superintendent Report includes “An Act Providing for a System of Free Schools Throughout the Utah Territory.” Enacted in 1890, it was the first legislation to require a tax-supported school system for all students in the territory and made school attendance compulsory.²³⁷ This act also included language for the establishment of high schools in each county.²³⁸ At this time, the school districts in the several communities throughout the territory were consolidated into one district per county.²³⁹ Larger cities such as Salt Lake, Ogden and Provo retained a city school district

²³⁵ Charles S. Peterson, “A New Community: Mormon Teachers and the Separation of Church and State in Utah’s Territorial Schools” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1980), 298.

²³⁶ Moffit, *The History of Public Education*, 75.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 115–116.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 180.

²³⁹ District consolidation on a small scale had begun as early as the 1860s in Weber County and the 1870s in Utah and Washington Counties. Moffit, 211–212.

and the remainders of their counties were organized into county school districts. In the school-year ending June of 1892, 53,000 children were enrolled in territorial public schools.²⁴⁰ On average, districts held school 153 days out of the year. Average daily attendance varied widely. For example, while roughly sixty-five percent of students in Salt Lake City and Ogden attended school daily, less than twenty percent attended regularly in the remote counties of Beaver in the south and Uintah in the east.²⁴¹ From 1890 to 1895, the percentage of enrollment of school-aged children in Salt Lake City Schools rose from seventy-two percent to ninety-two percent.²⁴²

Music Education in the Late Common Schools

1880s

The territorial common school report for the 1880–81 school year was the most detailed of any report to date. L. John Nuttall, the Territorial Superintendent at the time, recommended that each county superintendent and the University of Deseret officials make a list of the textbooks used in their institutions. Nuttall included the category of “Vocal Music” on the list of textbook titles he requested.²⁴³

The 1880–81 territorial report includes detailed reports from Utah and Weber

²⁴⁰ 44,000 were children of LDS parents and 9,000 were children of non-LDS parents. The report does not mention the religious affiliations of the non-LDS parents.

²⁴¹ Jacob S. Boreman, *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Schools for Utah Territory for the Years 1892 and 1893* (Ogden, UT: O. A. Kennedy, Printer, 1894), Exhibit E, Series 84427, Box 1, Utah State Historical Society.

²⁴² *Fifth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake for the Year Ending June 30th, 1895* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret News Publishing Company, 1895), 2.

²⁴³ L. John Nuttall, *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools, for the Years ending June 30, 1880–1881, Including the Report of the Regents of the University of Deseret. And the Amended School Law* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Company, Printers, 1882), 78.

county schools. In the Utah County School report, Superintendent M. H. Hardy reported the requirement of teacher training and teacher examinations through the Utah County Teachers' Association. Nineteen different training sessions were held throughout the county over the course of two school years, 1879–80 and 1880–81. Ebenezer Hunter and Charles W. Wright, taught vocal music for “the season” of training sessions.²⁴⁴ The Utah County Teachers Association was highly organized and active along with the trustees in improving education in the county. All teachers in the county were required to be “certified” through the association. Two-day public examinations were held twice each year in conjunction with the teacher association sessions and, if a teacher elected not to participate in one of the public exams, they were to take private exams at their own expense. Vocal music teaching was included in the second day of the exam where the teacher would demonstrate “class drill.”²⁴⁵ Teacher certificates were to be renewed each year until the teacher scored at least eighty-five percent on the examinations. Once this level of proficiency was attained, the certificate was “good till [sic] revoked.”

Examination of Utah County Teacher's Association reports in the Utah County newspaper *Daily Enquirer* reveals further detail about the teacher association meetings held in Utah County over the two-year period. In February of 1881, thirty teachers passed examinations and were “certified District School teachers of Utah County for the current school year.”²⁴⁶ Wright and Hunter were on this list of certified teachers from the towns of Payson and American Fork, respectively. Wright and Hunter, who taught the music

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁴⁶ “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (February 2, 1881), 3.

sessions in the teacher training meetings, were regular classroom teachers in the county.

The contents of the teacher training sessions of the Utah County Teacher's Association document the place of music in the common school classroom in Utah County. Ten association meetings in 1879–80, were held in different parts of the county; all teachers having the opportunity to present lessons on a rotating basis. During 1880–81, nine meetings were held in Provo at Brigham Young Academy for teachers in the northern part of the county and in Payson for teachers in the southern part of the county, using a regular panel of lecturers. Wright gave music lectures in the Payson meetings, while Hunter delivered music lectures in Provo. The presenters at the association meetings were not compensated for their time, having one “common motive—the advancement of public instruction.”²⁴⁷

At a Utah County Teachers' Association meeting held in Payson on March 5, 1881, Charles W. Wright presented instruction on how to teach vocal music. His lecture was given along with presentations by other teachers and guest speakers on the theory and practice of teaching, orthography, penmanship, reading and elocution.²⁴⁸ In a report following the meeting, Wright's vocal music session was described as “a practical introductory exercise in vocal music with a class of twenty juveniles.”²⁴⁹

On March 12, 1881, a session was held at Brigham Young Academy. The following was reported in the *Daily Enquirer*:

E. Hunter continued his instructions in vocal music, conducting a class of

²⁴⁷ “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (June 8, 1881), 3.

²⁴⁸ “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (March 2, 1881), 2.

²⁴⁹ “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (March 12, 1881), 2.

juveniles with reference to tune, using his modulator throughout.²⁵⁰ The sol-faling [sic] was interspersed with suitable explanations. This exercise was closed practical illustint [sic] of time measurement.

Later in a question-and-answer period, a question was posed, “How can Vocal Music be introduced in District Schools?” The recorded answer was “On the principle of alternating studies. It being an element of order, in this way, it is made both recreative [sic] and instructive.”²⁵¹ At this meeting, it was announced that “Chas. W. Wright” would teach a class in “Vocal Music” in Payson on Saturday, March 19, for the southern members of the association. The public was invited to the training session as well.²⁵²

On March 19 in his third lecture to the northern members of the association at Brigham Young Academy, Hunter again used his modulator and wrote music on the blackboard “presenting the subject under following heads: 1–Length of respective notes, 2–The use of sharps and flats, 3–Changing from the use of the “Modulator” to the common staff. Owing the very practical presentation of this lecture it must be witnessed to be appreciated.”²⁵³

A description of sequence in teaching note-reading used by Wright came from an association meeting lecture given on April 16, 1881 in Payson.

It has been fairly demonstrated that where all alike are subjected to the same general rules, the elements of vocal music may be taught with the same degree of success that attend any other regular branch of study.

Method: 1st. Teacher and class alternate with the first three sounds of the scale, with numerals and *words*, working upon the principle of the *idea*

²⁵⁰ A Modulator is a vertical list of sol-fa symbols used as a teaching aid. The students would sing as the teacher pointed to different syllables.

²⁵¹ The article does not include the name of the responder. It is assumed to be Hunter.

²⁵² “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (March 12, 1881), 2.

²⁵³ “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (March 30, 1881), 2.

before the sign. 2nd. Teach the staff as first line, second line, etc., first space, second space, etc., Pupils make the staff upon their slates. 3rd. Develop notes in the staff. 4th. Exercises for imitation, and extemporaneous exercises upon the first four sounds of the scale. 5th. Extemporize in the same way upon sounds from one to five. 6th. Let pupils sing alone, teaching position, opening mouth wide enough to admit fingers between the teeth. 7th. Sounds from one to six, including imitation exercises upon the scale so far as learned. Question the class thoroughly about the places for one, for two, etc. 8th. Sounds from one to seven and eight, completing the Diatonic Scale. 9th. Exercise the class upon the scale ascending and descending with numerals, syllables and words, lastly, requiring each pupil to stand and sing the scale alone. 10th. Pupil make [sic] staff and copy the scale.²⁵⁴

In an association meeting held on May 14, Wright lectured on the sequence for learning rhythms:

The lecture on vocal music prepared by Chas. W. Wright embraced the following bends: –1st. Introducing double measure by scale exercise. 2nd. Introducing triple measure by scale exercise. 3rd. Quadruple measure by scale exercise. 4th. Simple exercises by scale measure. 5th. Exercises may commence and end on 1, 3, 5 and 8 of the scale. 6th. Quarter note and hold. 7th. Exercise on quarter note and hold. 8th. Writing notes promiscuously on the staff. 9th. Time–Measure–Bars–Double Bar–Beating Time.²⁵⁵

In the 1880–81 territorial report, Lewis Moench the superintendent of district schools in Weber County, mentions music instruction in the “schoolhouses and furnishings” section of his report to the territorial superintendent.

Central Schoolhouse in Ogden City, [is] the largest and most expensive district school building in Utah...The house is also well supplied with first class furniture, blackboards, clocks, charts and maps, and has lately added one of the finest upright pianos in the market, by aid of which we are enabled to give a course of music, instrumental and vocal, which is of great intellectual, moral, and mental advantage to all the pupils.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (April 23, 1881), 2. Italics in original.

²⁵⁵ “District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (May 21, 1881), 3.

²⁵⁶ Nuttal, *Biennial Report, 1880–81*, 86.

In a letter dated November 10, 1881 reporting the status of Ogden City schools to Weber County officials, Moench stated “applications for instruction in instrumental music now number 40” at Central School.²⁵⁷ In July of 1882, Moench further reported on the status of his district during the 1881–82 school year. He documented that Nettie Southworth,²⁵⁸ a music instructor, “failed to render a statement of the work done before her departure south” but whose instruction consisted of “Instrumental music, theory, vocal music, and the instruction of a school choir.”²⁵⁹ An 1881 grade report book from Ogden’s Central School does not show music listed as a subject in which grades were given. There are seven additional blank column spaces, however, where additional subjects and grades may have been hand-written in the grade book.²⁶⁰ Southworth was an active music teacher in both Weber and Utah Counties²⁶¹ in the early 1880s. Circulars of Brigham Young Academy in Provo list Southworth as music faculty in 1881–82 and then again in 1883–84.²⁶²

The Salt Lake City Tenth District School Records contain evidence of music teaching through the 1880s. In May of 1880, the budget record shows a payment for

²⁵⁷ “Weber County Schools,” *Ogden Herald* (December 23, 1881), 3.

²⁵⁸ Moench did not mention Southworth by name in the 1882 report. According to Riggs, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1886–1887*, 13, Nettie Southworth was music instructor from 1881 to 1883.

²⁵⁹ “School Report,” *Ogden Herald* (July 12, 1882), 2.

²⁶⁰ *Ogden Central School Report*, (Ogden, Utah: Junction Printing Association, 1881?), Special Collections, Stewart Library, Weber State University, Ogden, Utah. Hand written date on first page is “Feb. 25, 1881.”

²⁶¹ Separated by eighty miles.

²⁶² *BYA Circular 1881–82* and *BYA Circular 1883–84*, in Brigham Young Academy, *Annual School Catalogs 1867–1892*, UA1150, Box 1, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

“striping”²⁶³ a music board. In 1882, “music cards” were purchased. James Woods was the classroom teacher at the time of these purchases. In 1888, payment was made to transport an organ from Springville to the school. In 1889, proceeds of \$52.70 from a school concert were entered into the books.²⁶⁴

In newspaper reports from Logan, in the northeast corner of the territory, there is evidence that vocal music instruction was a topic in the Cache County Teacher Institute meetings of the early 1880s. William Apperley, who eventually became the county superintendent of schools, gave a “lesson in vocal music” to the teachers in 1882.²⁶⁵

The records of Weber County schools and the Ogden City schools in particular are rich with mentions of music education. The minutes of weekly meetings of the Ogden City Teacher’s Association and monthly meetings of the Weber County Teacher’s Association were published in the *Ogden Herald* and *Ogden Standard* newspapers from April of 1882 through the spring of 1890. Not only were there fairly regular reports regarding the status of the music classes but the association meetings were saturated with music participation and performances. The Ogden City Teacher’s Association meetings would always open and close with a song, which was typical for any public meeting of the time. Additionally, a teacher’s choir led by the current music teacher would often present at least one song in each meeting, many times more than one. Usually, two to three solo or small ensemble pieces were presented in each meeting. The current music

²⁶³ Lining a blackboard with music staff “stripes.”

²⁶⁴ *Salt Lake School District (10th) account book*, 109, 123, 157, 162, 228 and 239, MS 11620, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²⁶⁵ “Cache Co. Educational Institute,” *Utah Journal*, September 2, 1882. Apperley was referred to as superintendent in Institute minutes beginning in 1887.

teacher would often present solo vocal numbers or solos on piano, organ or violin. Other teachers in the city would also appear regularly as soloists or in duets and trios with their fellow classroom teachers. Occasionally, groups of students would perform in the teacher association meetings at city and county levels. Southworth was in attendance and performed at some of the meetings in the spring of 1882.²⁶⁶ Weber County Superintendent Moench “advised all the teachers to adopt the pleasing feature of teaching the children to sing as they are marching from the schoolroom to the gate.”²⁶⁷

Three individuals were specifically responsible for teaching music in the Ogden City schools during 1882–1890 according to the *Ogden Herald* and *Ogden Standard* articles: Carl Linn, Rosa Pearce and Lewis D. Edwards. From August of 1882 through February of 1883, Linn taught music at Central School in Ogden.²⁶⁸ The youngest students in Ogden attended one of four primary schools and then progressed to Central School. Not all students received music training from Linn. He focused on teaching organ and piano lessons. There were three organs and one piano at the school. The December 18, 1882 teachers’ association minutes record that thirty-four students received two lessons each week.²⁶⁹ By the end of February, the number had grown to forty students. During this time the total population of students in the Ogden City District (the four primary schools and Central School) was about 670.²⁷⁰ In addition to teaching instrumental lessons, Linn prepared larger groups of students for vocal performances at

²⁶⁶ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (April 3, 1882), 1 and (May 22, 1882), 1.

²⁶⁷ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (May 29, 1882), 1.

²⁶⁸ Anderson in *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1886–87*, lists Nettie Southworth as music teacher in 1882–83 and does not list Carl Linn.

²⁶⁹ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (December 18, 1882), 3.

²⁷⁰ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (February 21, 1883), 3.

community soirees and celebrations.²⁷¹ He also directed a teachers' choir that performed regularly at teacher association meetings.²⁷²

The 1882 territorial textbook convention records do not mention any discussions regarding music books.²⁷³ Perhaps there was no need to revise the recommendation of 1876. There is evidence in the Superintendent report of 1882–83 that music continued to be included in the curriculum of the territorial common schools. The amended District School Law continued to include teacher quarterly report forms that were returned to each county superintendent. While music was still included in the list of subjects, it was labeled an “additional class in graded schools” on the form along with penmanship and bookkeeping, orthography and punctuation, drawing, elocution and political science²⁷⁴ (see figure 6). Previous report forms were not separated into main subjects and “additional classes”.²⁷⁵ It is not clear if this new form reflects a fact that music was only taught in graded schools or if it is a response to what was typical in the statistics derived from previous reports.

²⁷¹ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (January 12, 1883), 1.

²⁷² “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (April 26, 1883), 2.

²⁷³ L. John Nuttall, *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools, for the years ending June 30, 1882–1883. Also, The Report of the Chancellor and Board of Regents of the University of Deseret. And The District School Law, as amended* (Salt Lake City, UT: T. E. Taylor, Public Printer, 1884), 52, Series 84427, Box 1, Utah State Historical Society.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, *District School Law, 1882–83*, 10.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Form No. 3.

SCHOOL TEACHER'S TERM REPORT

Of School No.....District No.....Co. of.....U.T., for the ten weeks ending.....188 .

.....Teacher.

Primary.		Kind of School.	
Intermediate.		Mixed.	
Boys.	No. of Pupils enrolled.		
Girls.	No. new Pupils not enrolled 1st term.		
Boys.	No. new Pupils not enrolled 1st and 2d terms.		
Girls.	No. new Pupils not enrolled 1st, 2d and 3d terms.		
Boys.	No. children in School between the ages of 6 and 18 years.		
Girls.			
Total.			
Average Daily Attendance.			
No. of Days School has been in session.			
Boys.	No. attending under 6 years of age.		
Girls.			
Total.			
Boys.	No. attending over 16 years of age.		
Girls.			
Total.			
Branches Taught.			
		No. of Pupils in each.	
* Reading.			
Spelling.			
Writing.			
Arithmetic.			
Grammar and Composition.			
Geography and History.			
Elementary Drawing.			
Penmanship & Bookkeeping.			
Orthography & Punctuation.			
Music.			
Drawing.			
Elocution.			
Political Science.			
Remarks .			

Fig. 6. School Teacher's Term Report, 1882.

A new element in the District School Law printed in the 1882–83 territorial report is a form for teacher certification. Since 1852, when school districts were first organized, each county was to create a board of examiners to determine the qualification of its teachers.²⁷⁶ By 1876, the legislature required “a suitable certificate” be presented by the examining board. In 1880, a revision in the law caused school funds to be withheld if the county trustees did not hire certified teachers.²⁷⁷ The 1882–83 certificate (see figure 7) states the holder of the certificate is “of good moral character” and has “passed an examination” in up to ten subject areas, one of which is “vocal music.” There is a place on the certificate for an examination percentage to be recorded for each subject. This certificate was only good for one school year. It is not clear in the language that accompanied the form if a teacher must be competent in all areas to be considered

²⁷⁶ Moffit, *History of Public Education*, 300.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 304.

certified.²⁷⁸

Form No. 13.		TEACHER'S CERTIFICATE.	
No: of Certificate.....	Utah,188...	
Date.....	188...	This certifies that Mr.....	
Name		having given evidence of a good moral character, and having passed an examination in the following branches, viz.:	
Age		PER CT.	PER CT.
Residence.....		Theory and Prac-	Grammar and
Time		tice,	Composition,
		Reading and Elo-	Geography and
		cution,	History,
		Orthography and	Vocal Music,
		Punctuation,	Elementary Draw-
		Penmanship and	ing,
		Book-keeping,	Physiology and
		Arithmetic,	Hygiene,
			Is therefore eligible to teach in the Dis-
			trict Schools of.....County, (during current
			school year or until this certificate shall be
			revoked.)
		No.....	Board of
			Examination, {
			{
			{

Fig. 7. Teacher's Certificate, 1882.

The *Ogden Herald* reported in 1882 a discussion of teacher certification in the minutes of a weekly teachers' association meeting. Without a certificate, a teachers "services could not be continued."²⁷⁹ The practice of annual examinations for teachers was praised "showing that the object was to stimulate the teacher to higher attainments and thus become progressive in the great responsibilities resting upon him."²⁸⁰

Even with evidence of an increase in music inclusion in the curriculum, there are other indicators that show it was not fully integrated. In the School Law section of the

²⁷⁸ Nuttall, *Biennial Report of the Territorial Superintendent of District Schools, 1882-1883*, 18.

²⁷⁹ "Teachers' Association," *Ogden Herald* (September 26, 1882), 2.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

1882–83 report, there was a suggested schedule for a typical school day. Music instruction time is not listed in the suggested schedule. The schedule shows the subjects taught in six grades under the direction of one teacher. While one grade is working on writing, another grade would be working on reciting, for example, so the teacher could give attention to each grade on a rotating basis throughout the day. Opening and closing “exercises” were listed on the schedule for five minutes at the beginning and ten minutes at the end of the school day. There is no way to know how closely district teachers followed the suggested schedule.

The 1882–83 territorial report included detailed information from the Normal Department of the University of Deseret. Music instruction at the university began in 1868 under Harmell Pratt. George Careless was music instructor from 1869–71. According to information in school circulars, music was not a part of the curriculum again until the hiring of Evan Stephens in 1883.²⁸¹ Students in the Normal Department of the university were in a two-year program to prepare them to teach in the common schools. The following is from the description of the music program in 1882:

Vocal music is taught with special reference to the Normal Department. While the student receives instruction in the principles of the science, he is thoroughly drilled in their execution, so that with a moderate natural endowment, he may be able to read music readily at sight, and become so proficient in his knowledge of the subject as to teach the elements himself.²⁸²

In a summary statement about the Normal Department, the University of Deseret states:

²⁸¹ *Annual of the University of Deseret, 1883–84* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Deseret, 1883), Faculty.

²⁸² John R. Park, “Report of the University of Deseret,” in Nuttal, *Biennial Report, 1882–83*, 33.

The training given to its normal students is of the most practical character, not only making them familiar with the details of the every day [sic] work of the schoolroom, but inspiring them with the broad and true principles that must animate the really successful teacher and underlie all his labor...In penmanship, vocal music and book-keeping, the student is trained to the skill of a teacher.²⁸³

The faculty of the Normal Department considered music to be part of the “every day work of the schoolroom” and knowledge of such would help a teacher be successful.

There was an average of seventy-three students taking the vocal music courses at the University of Deseret during the four terms of the 1882–83 school year. There were fewer students enrolled in the Normal Department the same year, so the vocal music classes drew more than those required to take it as part of their Normal courses.²⁸⁴

In the circular of the following year (1884–85) the music training for the University of Deseret Normal student was detailed further.

While the student receives instruction in the principles of the art, he is thoroughly drilled in their execution, so that with a moderate natural endowment, he may be able to read music readily at sight, as well as to write it from sound. A primary object in the course is to make him so proficient in his knowledge of the subject as to be able to teach the elements himself. He is made familiar with both of the popular methods of expression, the old notation and the tonic sol-fa. Care has been taken to secure talent specially suited to giving instruction in this branch.²⁸⁵

In the 1882–83 Territorial Superintendent Report, Utah County reported on its teacher training as it did in the 1880–81 report. County Superintendent George H. Brimhall stated that their county teachers’ association, “having a membership of twenty-seven teachers,” met in ten sessions during the 1882–83 school year. Southworth taught

²⁸³ Ibid., 8–9.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 18–19.

²⁸⁵ Utah Territory Superintendent of District Schools, Records 1877–1886, MS 2926, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

“five lessons in music.”²⁸⁶ In the spring of 1883, Rosa Pearce replaced Linn when he left his teaching position in the Ogden Central School. The number of students involved in instrumental instruction declined dramatically.

Pearce succeeded Linn as music teacher in Ogden in 1883. The April 20, 1883 minutes of the Ogden City Teacher’s Association, reported only thirteen students taking music lessons.²⁸⁷ By the end of the school year in June of 1883 the numbers had increased to nineteen.²⁸⁸ Pearce did not take charge of the teachers’ choir as Linn had done so the principal was asked to direct. During the 1883–84 school year, Pearce continued as music teacher but there are few music statistics recorded in the association meeting minutes. At one point, Pearce was scheduled to give a lecture to the teachers entitled, “How to Teach Music,”²⁸⁹ but there was no mention in the following minutes that the lecture was delivered. It is not documented why music student numbers were down in 1883–84. It may have been due to the instructor or the overall decline in school enrollment at the end of the 1883–84 academic year by almost 300 students.²⁹⁰

Records of teacher association meetings outside of Ogden City and Weber County at this time are not as prevalent. There is evidence, however, that teacher association meetings in Salt Lake City also included music performances. In a meeting in December 1884, invited school choirs sang at the beginning and ending of the meeting and all

²⁸⁶ Nuttall, *Biennial Report, 1882–1883*, 104.

²⁸⁷ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (April 26, 1883), 3.

²⁸⁸ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (June 14, 1883), 1.

²⁸⁹ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (March 6, 1884), 1.

²⁹⁰ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (June 7, 1884), 3.

attendees sang together at the mid-point.²⁹¹

In the mid-1880s in central Utah, the small community of Beaver included music in the school curriculum. Music was listed as part of the “advanced studies” curriculum at Beaver Central School.²⁹² “Professor” W. G. Bickley gave lectures on music at teacher association meetings.²⁹³

Beginning with the 1884–85 school year, music at Ogden’s Central School began to thrive again under the direction of Professor Lewis D. Edwards, a Welsh-born immigrant. He resided in Willard for a time where he conducted choirs and was a student of Evan Stephens.²⁹⁴ By the end of November 1884, Edwards had instructed 255 instrumental lessons and fifty vocal lessons with twenty-five music students; he had delivered a lecture to the teacher’s association on music history, tracing the developments of music from “Guido to Palestrina, and from J. S. Bach to the great Richard Wagner;” and he was preparing the Central School Choir to perform for an upcoming County Teacher’s Association meeting.²⁹⁵ The choir performed three times for the County Teacher’s Association during 1884–85.

In January of 1885, Edwards was asked by the Board of Trustees of the Ogden District to begin teaching one vocal lesson each week to each of the four primary schools in the city.²⁹⁶ In the minutes of a teacher’s association meeting held on March 10, 1885,

²⁹¹ “Teachers’ Association,” *Deseret News* (December 24, 1884), 13.

²⁹² “Beaver Central School,” *Southern Utonian* (October 10, 1884), 3.

²⁹³ “Teacher’s Association,” *Southern Utonian* (February 5, 1886), 2.

²⁹⁴ Karen Lynn Davidson, *Our Latter-day Hymns: The Stories and the Messages* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1988), 371.

²⁹⁵ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (October 15, 1884), 3, and (November 10, 1884), 2. Evan Stephens was conductor of the Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir from 1890 to 1916.

²⁹⁶ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (January 27, 1885), 1.

the following is recorded, “Prof. L. D. Edwards gave forty-eight vocal, and seventy-five instrumental music lessons during the past six weeks, he was pleased to report that the music department is in a very prosperous condition.” The 1884–85 school year ended with a large celebration held on May 15. The choirs under Edwards’ direction presented many numbers including music from Gilbert and Sullivan’s *H.M.S. Pinafore* that had debuted in London seven years earlier.

At the beginning of the 1885–86 school year, Edwards proposed that a choir of selected school teachers rehearse every Thursday evening under his direction. Edwards argued that a choir would increase the union among the teachers of the city and would lead to their success inside and outside of teaching.²⁹⁷ At the end of the 1885–86 school year, Mr. McQuarrie, a School Trustee,²⁹⁸ noted the progress of the schools during the year and made special mention of Edwards’ work with the music department, “which is in a most credible condition under the direction of Prof. L. D. Edwards. The singing is delightful to listen to and credit is due the Professor and also the students.”²⁹⁹ The 1886–87 school year teacher meetings included starting the year with Edwards giving drills in vocal music to the teachers of the entire county.³⁰⁰ He presented an on-going lecture series that included topics such as music history and composition. He often used humor as he demonstrated points in his lectures from the organ.³⁰¹ Many Ogden City and Weber County Teacher’s Association meetings included the performance of a new composition

²⁹⁷ “Teacher’s [sic] Association,” *Ogden Herald* (August 29, 1885), 4.

²⁹⁸ No first name is recorded in the minutes.

²⁹⁹ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (June 14, 1886), 3.

³⁰⁰ “Weber County Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (September 27, 1886), 3.

³⁰¹ “Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (Oct. 12, 1886), 1.

by Edwards.³⁰²

In October of 1886 the Weber County Teacher's Association reported that nearly all schools opened and closed the school day with a song. In the November 27, 1886 county association meeting the following occurred:

Miss Marian Treseder read and [sic] excellent address on the benefits to be derived from vocal music in the schools, and interesting remarks were made by Trustee Joseph Stanford and others present. Music tends to elevation and refinement and develops a taste for the esthetic, all evil passions being subdued by its influence. Reference was also made to the great benefit resulting from the introduction of the theory of music into the public schools of the district under the tuition of Prof. L. D. Edwards.³⁰³

On April 7, 1887 the minutes state:

The Music Departments were reported by Prof. L. D. Edwards. He was pleased to report that some of his classes were progressing rapidly, having gone over the rudiments of reading music and being familiar with the laws of transposition. He reported three of his classes as being perfect in examination, and the others would average about 90 percent.

Later in the same meeting,

Mrs. R. Monch [sic] read an excellent essay on 'Music.' Following this, the students of the Academic Department sang a chorus. Trustee Stanford next addressed the association. Becoming anxious to know how students were receiving music in the several departments [meaning the four primary schools and three separate departments within Central School], he had visited some of them and was very much interested. The pupils are taught to train and cultivate their voices, and this has the effect of a refining and smoothing influence upon their minds, thus resulting in better order...If the patrons of the schools feel that music is a luxury, let them come and visit the schools before judging.³⁰⁴

In a Weber County Teacher Association meeting on May 28, 1887, a trustee

³⁰² "Teachers' Association," *Ogden Herald* (March 3, 1885), 3. "Teachers' Association," *Ogden Standard* (April 7, 1885), 2. "Teachers' Association," *Ogden Herald* (May 5, 1885), 2.

³⁰³ "Teachers' Association," *Ogden Herald* (November 30, 1886), 3.

³⁰⁴ "Teachers' Association," *Ogden Herald* (April 7, 1887), 1.

reported that vocal music was taught “with the best of results” in one of the two schools in Harrisville. N. J. Harris and Riley G. Dixon were the teachers in Harrisville at the time.³⁰⁵ This is an example of a classroom teacher choosing to include vocal music in the curriculum without the assistance of a specially hired music teacher. Harris and Dixon were listed as certified teachers in Harrisville through the 1888–89 school year.³⁰⁶

It appears that even though many district schools in Utah County embraced music activities, the subject itself was not regarded as academic. At a teacher’s association meeting in Provo held on April 3, 1886, a discussion was held on what should be taught in the district schools. In attendance at this meeting were Karl G. Maeser, keynote speaker and a well-respected educator in the territory, as well as Charles W. Wright, who earlier in the decade had taught music teaching methods to the district teachers and who was still a classroom teacher in the district. The list of subjects that emerged from this discussion did not include music.³⁰⁷

One month prior to this meeting, district schools in Lehi (15 miles north of Provo) reported giving instruction in vocal music.³⁰⁸ In the fall of 1886, Spanish Fork district schools, south of Provo, engaged the service of music teacher Professor Owen Rowe “whose valuable services have been secured by the Trustees for the present school year,

³⁰⁵ “County Teachers’ Association,” *Ogden Herald* (June 2, 1887), 4.

³⁰⁶ Edward H. Anderson, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1888–89. Containing also to Proceedings of the Joint Teachers’ Institute of Weber, Salt Lake and Utah Counties* (Ogden, UT: Edward H. Anderson, Superintendent, 1889), 9, 379.792 W373 1889, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³⁰⁷ “The Teachers’ Association,” *The Daily Enquirer* (April 13, 1886), 2.

³⁰⁸ “Lehi District Schools,” *The Daily Enquirer* (March 23, 1886), 2.

to teach singing and music reading in the District schools of this place.”³⁰⁹ In a superintendent report of Provo District Schools in 1887, Lillie Roberts is listed as “Instructor of Music.” Music is listed as an “optional course” in this report.³¹⁰ At the end of the 1886–87 school year, 225 out of 854 students in Provo City Schools were taking music in four classes taught by Roberts.³¹¹ Beginning with the 1887–88 school year, Professor Henry E. Giles began to teach and supervise music in the public schools of Provo.³¹² Giles was professor of music at Brigham Young Academy at the time.

Tooele is located thirty-five miles west of Salt Lake City. The trustees of the school there hired J. Bowen³¹³ to take charge of the music department of the school in 1887.³¹⁴ Bowen was first listed as a district teacher in 1880 in the Tooele County Education Association Minutes, but to what extent he taught music from 1880 to 1886 is not stated in the record.³¹⁵

A territorial textbook convention was held in Salt Lake City from June 20 to 22, 1887. The convention, held every five years, did not adopt any music textbooks in the 1882 session. In the 1887 session, music readers by Utah author and musician Evan

³⁰⁹ “Spanish Fork District Schools,” *The Daily Enquirer* (November 16, 1886), 2.

³¹⁰ “Superintendents Report of Provo District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (February 1, 1887), 1.

³¹¹ “Yearly Report of Superintendent of Provo City District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (June 10, 1887), 1.

³¹² “Provo District Schools,” *Daily Enquirer* (August 23, 1887), 3.

³¹³ No first name is listed in the record.

³¹⁴ *School Trustees Minutes 1874–1892*, 60, in Tooele County School District Records, 1874–1915, MS 10741, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³¹⁵ *Tooele County Educational Ass’n Minutes 1880–1893*, in Tooele County School District Records, 1874–1915, MS 10741, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Stephens³¹⁶ were adopted for use in the district schools.³¹⁷

In the summer of 1889, a joint Teachers' Institute was held for the teachers of Salt Lake, Weber and Utah Counties in Salt Lake City. Stephens was scheduled to deliver a lecture entitled, "Vocal Music in the District Schools." Evans was unable to attend the institute due to illness but Superintendent Edward H. Anderson of Weber County read the lecture to the attendees in its entirety³¹⁸ (see appendix A).

Stephens began by extolling the virtues of music study, stating that it is the best mental aid if the teachers' goal is to keep a pupil's mind in favorable condition for study. Touting the emotional and physical rewards of music study, Stephens argued that the schools cannot afford to be without it.

Whatever will enable the child to accomplish the most without injury at school, is what we need most in our schools. If the student can be kept in the proper mood for study, it must be a poor teacher, indeed, who can not [sic] get good results. I will not say that music can always accomplish this; but I will say that no other one thing can equal it, if properly used.³¹⁹

Stephens encouraged teachers to consider music literacy as a necessary life skill. Since music is such a part of everyday life, it is the duty of the school to devote time to its instruction as it does to other studies that are useful in life after the school years end.

The next segment of Stephens' lecture centered on how to implement music study

³¹⁶ Evans, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, and *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music*.

³¹⁷ William M. Stewart, *Circular of the Public Schools of Salt Lake County. Containing Course of Study, Suggestions to Teachers, the School Law, and Miscellaneous Matters* (Salt Lake City, UT: Wm. M. Stewart, Superintendent, 1890), 23.

³¹⁸ "The Second Day's Session of the Joint Teachers' Institute," *Salt Lake Herald* (June 27, 1889), 22.

³¹⁹ Evan Stephens. "Vocal Music in District Schools," in *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah 1888-1889*.

in the common schoolroom. Stephens was aware of the demands on a teachers' time during school hours. He knew that many teachers considered music training as just one more subject to crowd the instructional schedule. He argued that if music were included in a skillful manner, all other subjects would be positively affected, thereby justifying its inclusion. He encouraged the classroom teacher to teach music even if they did not feel accomplished in the art. He recommended that teachers qualify themselves as best they can and even if their musical understanding is limited, if it is correct, it is worth teaching to pupils.

If you are not much of a singer, do not pretend to be more than this, and let your pupils understand that you are not attempting to teach them so much how to sing as what to sing, and if their voices are better than yours, that you expect them to sing better accordingly, and if it is possible to get a more gifted teacher than yourself into the school to teach this special study, use all your influence to get him there; then take advantage of his work in aiding to make yours better in every way. It will cease to be an additional burden the moment you turn it to good use. Throw away half of your switches, change your shoutings for order into a pleasant song, and by cultivating order you will soon obtain it without asking.³²⁰

Stephens finished his lecture by commending Provo and Ogden area schools for having a qualified music teacher giving two lessons a week throughout their districts.³²¹ He strongly encouraged the Salt Lake County districts to do the same.

Other music matters were discussed at this teachers' institute. A lecture was delivered by Moench of Ogden touting the superiority of German schools. He lauded the Germans' inclusion of music, drawing and calisthenics in their schools. He considered

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ He is referring to Lewis D. Edwards in Ogden and Henry E. Giles in Provo.

these studies of great importance in every school.³²² Vickie Clayton of Salt Lake City lectured on the effectiveness of object lessons. She encouraged the inclusion of songs in support of the lessons.³²³ A choir of young children from district school nineteen in Salt Lake performed two songs and was encouraged by the audience to sing a third. The director was “Miss Dean.”³²⁴ It was evident to the teachers that her singing class was a success.³²⁵

Drucie Hedger of the Salt Lake district school ten lectured on the first Kindergarten started in Utah territory under her direction.³²⁶ The following is an excerpt of her speech:

The great prominence of music in the Kindergarten follows out the theory of its softening influence. The author of Moral Education equal to the voice of the pupil, raised in song. The school in which song is not a prominent part of its exercises, is not a Moral School. It is one of the most innocent of amusements and a child is rarely found, who does not enjoy singing. The songs in the Kindergarten nearly always have a bearing on the subject of the day. Stories and conversations are interwoven with the work of the day. With this system, what an amount of general knowledge the child will have acquired, by the time he is old enough for real study... The harmonious blending of play and work, of freedom and order, of rights and duties, the connection that is established between the works and plays of the child, and the industries, arts, and sciences of men surely creates an atmosphere favorable to the formation of Good Habits and the love of the *beautiful*, the *true* and the *good*.³²⁷

At the conclusion of the report on this joint teachers’ institute, Weber County

³²² “The Second Day’s Session of the Joint Teachers’ Institute,” *Salt Lake Herald* (June 27, 1889), 22.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 23.

³²⁴ Emily Dean and Bessie Dean, both of Salt Lake City, are listed as attending the conference. It is not clear which one directed the children’s choir.

³²⁵ Anderson, *Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, 1888–89*, 25.

³²⁶ The tenth district school building where Hedger taught Kindergarten is still in use as a place of worship in the Salt Lake City LDS tenth ward.

³²⁷ Anderson, *Weber County, 1888–89*, 29. Italics in original.

Superintendent Anderson encouraged the trustees and teachers in his county to engage a music teacher as fast as possible.³²⁸ The school districts in outlying areas of Weber County were considerably behind the school districts in Ogden City in providing music for their students. Some schools reportedly had organs in their schools,³²⁹ but there was no regular music instruction reported to the superintendent.

Immediately following the joint teachers' institute, Territorial Superintendent W. M. Stewart called for a meeting of all school district trustees in the territory. Scheduled to be discussed was the adoption of a plan for teaching vocal music in the district schools. On this issue, Stewart stated:

This is but imperfectly done at present, and in some cases is practically a failure. The proposed plan is to give this matter into the hands of a competent instructor such as Professor Evan Stephens, who, with his assistants, will take charge of this line of instruction and make it thorough. The plan is feasible, and presents so many features that are superior to the present system, that there is no comparison between them. The subject is an important one, and every trustee should attend the meeting and take those steps that will be beneficial to the children.³³⁰

In 1889, there was a strong movement across the territory to consolidate school districts. Territorial Superintendent Stewart used the frustrating experience of implementing music education into the various Salt Lake County schools as an argument for consolidation:

The supervision is very imperfect. Sixty-three trustees to manage the schools of the city. These trustees receive little or no compensation, and it is difficult to get that number of men who are willing and at the same time

³²⁸ Ibid., 32.

³²⁹ Anderson, *Weber County, 1886–1887*, 30. The school in Huntsville had an organ.

³³⁰ “Vocal Music in District Schools,” *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (July 1, 1889), Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

capable to manage the schools without compensation. As an example of the difficulty experienced in making improvements in our schools, I wished to have Professor E. Stephens teach vocal music in the schools. In order to do this I was compelled to call a meeting of the sixty-three trustees. After a week's work I succeeded in getting only thirteen or fourteen of the districts to accept the proposition.³³¹

Superintendent Anderson of Weber County reported at the end of the 1888–89 school year that Evan Stephens' music readers were in use.³³² Just over 3,000 students were enrolled in Weber County schools³³³ with nearly 1,200 in the Ogden City schools.³³⁴ Eight hundred fifty-six students in Ogden City were receiving weekly music instruction from L. D. Edwards.³³⁵ Miss Tillie Nielson provided piano instruction for Ogden city schools. She had classes at Ogden's Central School and students paid a fee for her instruction; she was not on the school payroll as was Edwards.³³⁶

The 1889 Territorial Commissioner's Report is the first to include statistics indicating the number of students in the territory studying specific subjects. Commissioner Jacob Boreman bemoaned the fact that some statistics from the school year ending June 30, 1889 had still not been received by him by late in the calendar year.³³⁷ According to this report, approximately 34,400 students enrolled in Utah Territorial Common Schools; however, just over 4,000 or twelve percent of the student population received music instruction. The breakdown of music instruction percentage

³³¹ "School System," *Salt Lake Herald* (October 9, 1889), 1.

³³² Anderson, *Weber County, 1888–89*, 33.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 2.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

³³⁷ Jacob S. Boreman, *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Schools for Utah Territory for the years 1888–89. Together with the Free School Law* (Salt Lake City, UT: George C. Lambert, Public Printer, 1890), 4.

per county is as follows:³³⁸

Utah County	33%
Weber County	28%
Morgan County	19%
Salt Lake County	17%
Juab County	16%
Beaver County	10%
Sanpete County	8%
Summit County	7%
Cache County	6%
Washington County	4%
Iron County	3%
Tooele County	3%
Box Elder County	1%

Davis, Emery, Garfield, Kane, Millard, Piute, Rich, San Juan, Sevier, Uintah and Wasatch Counties did not report any students enrolled in music.

1890s

In the school year ending June 30, 1890, Salt Lake County Schools (including Salt Lake City and outlying areas) reported that every student from first to eighth grades would receive music instruction according to policy.³³⁹ The texts required were “Stephens’ Music Readers.” However, this stipulation seems incongruous with what is published in the circular. In the suggested daily schedule given to the teachers, there was no designated time slot for music study. Music may have been included in the recommended ten-minute opening exercises at the beginning of the school day, but is not stipulated as such.³⁴⁰ In order to obtain a certificate to teach in the district, one did not

³³⁸ Ibid., Schedule C. On this form, Music is labeled as “additional class in graded schools.”

³³⁹ Stewart, *Circular of the Public Schools of Salt Lake County* [1890], 6–11.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 12.

have to have an acceptable examination score in music.³⁴¹ There were no music items entered on a list of equipment recommended for each school, such as a piano, organ or music charts.³⁴² According to the statistics listed in the 1890 circular, fifty-four percent of students throughout the fifty-seven school districts in Salt Lake County received music instruction. A focus on districts within Salt Lake City reveals eighty percent received music instruction. Eight Salt Lake City school districts reported that all of their students studied music,³⁴³ and four more reported ninety-five to ninety-nine percent rate of music instruction.³⁴⁴ Outside of Salt Lake City, South Cottonwood (District 25) and Pleasant Green Districts reported one-hundred percent, and Farmer's District and Brighton Second District reported ninety-eight and ninety-five percent participation, respectively. Three districts within Salt Lake City reported no music instruction, and thirty-one districts outside of the city reported no music instruction.³⁴⁵

Salt Lake School District 28, also called the Big Cottonwood District was located on the east side of the valley. Two school record books covering four school terms from September 22, 1890 to May 15, 1891 included statistics on the number of students studying music. The school was under the direction of teacher Brigham W. Ashton and assistants Belle White and Adelia Spencer. The record books show that 137 students, the entire school enrollment, studied music during the first term. Sixty-one of 165 students studied music in the second term. In the third term, 155 students were enrolled in the

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁴³ First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Tenth, Sixteenth, and Nineteenth Districts.

³⁴⁴ Third, Eighth, Twelfth, and Twenty-first Districts.

³⁴⁵ "County Superintendent's Annual Statistical Report" in Stewart, *Circular of the Public Schools of Salt Lake County*, [1890], foldout page.

school but there are no student numbers listed under the music subject heading. The entire school enrollment was down to eighty-seven students in the fourth term and all of them studied music during the term.³⁴⁶ It appears that statistics were entered into the record in a rather inconsistent manner. It is possible that the music numbers may not have been recorded during the third term. The record book is filled out in pencil. The handwriting on the daily attendance pages is noticeably different than the handwriting on the summary pages in the back of the record books. Some of the term pages have a list of textbooks used and others do not. No music textbook is listed anywhere in the record book. Student enrollment numbers fluctuated from term to term in Big Cottonwood District. Average enrollment numbers for the academic year may have been supplied to the county superintendent or teachers may have reported the number from the highest enrollment point during the year.

At a July 1890 teacher's institute in Heber City in Wasatch County, forty-five miles east of Salt Lake City, Mrs. Belle Sharp suggested to the group that especially in the primary grades, the district should provide vocal music instruction in every school. No mention was made as to the implementation of her proposal.³⁴⁷

In the early 1890s, Utah County newspapers were replete with articles announcing school fairs, first semester closing ceremonies, and school year commencement ceremonies where school choirs and individual students performed on the program. Giles continued teaching music in the Provo schools. In the celebrations, he directed choirs from different department levels within one school and sometimes combined choirs from

³⁴⁶ 28th *District School Attendance Registers, 1890–1891.*

³⁴⁷ "Primary School Work," *Wasatch Wave* (August 5, 1890), 2.

multiple schools.³⁴⁸ At a Teachers' Association meeting in Provo on April 18, 1890, Giles handed out the music to four songs that were to be sung by the teachers and students at a May Day school fair that was only two and a half weeks away.³⁴⁹ Giles instructed Utah County teachers in vocal music teaching techniques³⁵⁰ and it was common for Giles to have school choirs sing at Teacher Association meetings.³⁵¹ Choirs in the Pleasant Grove schools sang in a similar fashion at their celebratory events. Instrumental solos were included along with the choral numbers.³⁵²

E. A. Wilson was superintendent of Provo District Schools in the early 1890s. A summary report of Provo schools was provided by Wilson for the 1890–91 school year. One thousand forty-four students, apparently the entire enrollment of students in the district, studied reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, physiology and hygiene. Nine hundred forty-seven studied 'morals and manners' and 847 (or eighty-one percent) studied music. Twelve other subjects including English grammar, geography, and U.S. History, had less than 800 students studying them.³⁵³

In Tooele, Della Atkin was paid a total of \$50.50 for music teaching in the school district from February 26 to May 8, 1891.³⁵⁴ In Box Elder County in northern Utah, the school board in Deweyville advertised for a male school teacher, preferring a person who

³⁴⁸ "Our District Schools," *Daily Enquirer* (January 31, 1890), 4.

³⁴⁹ "Teachers' Association," *Daily Enquirer* (May 18, 1890), 2.

³⁵⁰ "First Spring Meeting," *Evening Dispatch* (March 7, 1891), 4.

³⁵¹ "The Teachers' Association," *Deseret Evening News* (December 31, 1891), 5.

³⁵² "Pleasant Grove District Schools," *Daily Enquirer* (April 11, 1890), 4.

³⁵³ "Provo District Schools," *Daily Enquirer* (August 6, 1891), 4. *Evening Dispatch* (August 8, 1891), 1.

³⁵⁴ *Tooele County School District Account Book 1886–1901 and School Trustees Minutes 1874–1892*, 84, in Tooele County School District Records, 1874–1915.

could teach instrumental music.³⁵⁵

School district consolidation was part of the Public School Act of 1890. The 1890–91 school year was the first for the Salt Lake City School District. The twenty-one schools in the city limits, each previously considered its own district, were consolidated into one. The first annual report from this district superintendent includes some detail about music teaching. In the first semester of the year the district employed, Lewis D. Edwards (previously a music teacher in Ogden), Evan Stephens and Viola Pratt as music teachers.³⁵⁶ In the second semester, the district employed Stephens and Pratt and J. C. Wolfe.³⁵⁷ For the school year, \$1,484.25 in total salary was paid to the music teachers.³⁵⁸ The district used Stephens’ Music Readers for textbooks. Four organs are listed on the district furniture inventory.³⁵⁹ Music was taught in each semester of first through eighth grades.³⁶⁰ The superintendent described the music teaching and future goals for “grading” the subject.

Though the work of music has met some serious interruptions during the year, it has on the whole yielded results as satisfactory as could have been expected under the circumstances. The year’s experience, however, has shown the desirability of the preparation of an outline of study in this department, to be carefully graded and placed in the hands of every teacher for daily use. A fifteen-minute exercise in music every day will do more to teach the art to children than an hour’s time under the best

³⁵⁵ “Special Notices,” *Brigham City Bugler*, November 7 and 14, 1891.

³⁵⁶ J. F. Millspaugh, *First Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake for the Year Ending June 30, 1891* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Job Printing Co. 1891), 26.

https://archive.org/details/annualreportofp1189salt_3

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 26 and 46. Edwards \$175, Stephens \$312.50, Pratt \$536.25 and Wolfe \$460.50. There is an error in the calculations of the total amount of money paid to music teachers in the first semester. The total is \$100 less than the sum of the line items. It is not clear if the total is incorrect or a line item is incorrect.

³⁵⁹ Millspaugh, *First Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake*, 79.

³⁶⁰ See Appendix D for a detailed list of music studies for each grade.

instruction if given only once a week.³⁶¹

In the 1891–92 school year, Wolfe became the supervisor of music instruction and was assisted by Pratt and Lily Snyder.³⁶² These music instructors were paid a combined total of \$1,887 during this year, a \$400 increase. The music studies for each grade were not as detailed as they were in the district report of the previous year.³⁶³ In the primary grade the following music teaching goals were stated:

- Musical sense of the child to be awakened by means of simple, interesting songs.
- Recognition and placing of the sounds of the scale.
- Elements of music brought within the comprehension of the child.
- Nine major scales and keys presented.
- Cultivation of soft, pure tones in all exercises.³⁶⁴

For the grammar grades and the high school level:

- Development of the science and art of music.
- Special attention to be given to scale drill.
- Drills to be conducted by means of scale names, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.; pitch names, C, D, E, F, etc; syllables, Do, Re, Mi, Fa, etc.; and the musical signs.
- Exercises in writing music as an aid in sight reading.
- All exercises and songs to be studied with special reference to time and expression.
- The utmost care to be shown to correct position, proper articulation, clear enunciation and pure intonation in every musical exercise.³⁶⁵

There is evidence of some debate surrounding the music curriculum in the early years of the Salt Lake City School District. Stephens' music readers were used in 1889–90, the year before Salt Lake County and City schools were separated into two large

³⁶¹ Millspaugh, *First Annual Report*, 115.

³⁶² J. F. Millspaugh, *Second Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake for the Year Ending June 30, 1892* (Salt Lake City, UT: Ackerman Printing Company, 1892), 30. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112109662707;view=1up;seq=3>.

³⁶³ See Appendix D.

³⁶⁴ Millspaugh, *Second Report*, Part II, 101.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

districts.³⁶⁶ Since no music teachers are listed in the 1889–90 report, it can only be assumed that Stephens himself taught music in the Salt Lake County schools during that year.³⁶⁷ Stephens is listed as a music supervisor in the Salt Lake City School District in 1890–91 but his readers are not listed as textbooks. In fact, it is evident from the music course descriptions³⁶⁸ that the *National Music Course* by Mason was used.³⁶⁹ There may have been some disagreement between Stephens and Wolfe, who moved from an assistant role in 1890–91 to music supervisor in 1891–92. Salt Lake City School District Superintendent, J. F. Millspaugh, reported “interruptions” in music instruction during 1890–91³⁷⁰ and in 1892 reported “there have been many difficulties to prevent most successful instruction in music.”³⁷¹ Another source of conflict may have been between Stephens and Thomas McIntyre, another music teacher in Salt Lake City schools at this time and a staunch proponent of the Tonic Sol-fa System. He and Stephens argued over the best music teaching system for the LDS Church Sunday Schools. Stephens favored a mixture of Tonic Sol-fa and traditional notation in his instruction.³⁷²

At a Utah Teachers’ Association meeting held in Salt Lake City in January of 1892, Wolfe directed a choir that was formed of twenty-four students from different city

³⁶⁶ Stewart, *Public Schools of Salt Lake County* [1890], 23.

³⁶⁷ Several schools in Salt Lake County offered music instruction in 1889–91. “County Superintendent’s Annual Statistical Report” in Stewart, *Public Schools of Salt Lake County*, [1890], foldout page.

³⁶⁸ See Appendix D.

³⁶⁹ It is officially listed as a textbook in 1891–92.

³⁷⁰ Millspaugh, *First Annual Report*, 115.

³⁷¹ Millspaugh, *Second Annual Report*, 119.

³⁷² Abraham Hoagland Cannon, *Diaries (1859–1896)*, October 24 and 31, 1890. MSS 62, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

schools.³⁷³ Wolfe wrote an article in the *Utah Musical Journal* one month prior and stated that:

If teachers will spend ten or fifteen minutes daily in the reading and singing the music lesson, they will find that it is not so much time lost, because the pupils will do more and better work from the life and enthusiasm awakened in them. There is no more difficulty in learning to read music at sight than there is in learning to read common print at sight...Knowledge in music is in the *thinking*, not in *memorizing*...When teachers learn that sounds can be taught to the youngest pupils much more easily than numbers, and that all difficulties in the study of intervals can be overcome by practice with the sounds of the major scale, thousands of teachers who at present regard the difficulties as insurmountable, will teach music successfully under the instruction of the special teacher...When vocal music is taught in the schools it should be placed on the same basis as other studies. Pupils should be required to pass examinations in their music and attain the same proficiency in it as is necessary for promotion from one grade to the next in any other study.³⁷⁴

The following statement about the importance of music in the schools was included in the *Manual of the Public Schools of Weber County, Utah* in 1892:

Music has a refining influence. It should be encouraged always, and unfortunately it is neglected frequently in public schools. It is highly important that children should be cultivated to appreciate choice music, and the best place to do this is where they assemble five days in the week for instruction. If possible teachers should open and close the exercises of the day with singing. Where there is an organ and the teacher or a pupil plays, it would be well to have the children march out to the time of music.³⁷⁵

In a speech to the territorial legislature on January 12, 1892, Governor Arthur Lloyd Thomas listed suggestions received from the several county school superintendents of the territory. Reacting to the impact of the “Free School Act” of 1890, county

³⁷³ “Utah Teachers’ Association,” *Deseret News* (January 2, 1892), 21.

³⁷⁴ J. C. Wolfe, “Music in the Public Schools,” *Utah Musical Journal* Vol. 1, 1 (December 1891), 14–15. For entire article, see Appendix B. Italics in original.

³⁷⁵ Joseph S. Perry, *Manual of the Public Schools of Weber County, Utah. Containing a List of Officers and Teachers, a Course of Study and Suggestions for 1891–92* (Ogden, UT: Joseph S. Perry, County Superintendent, 1891), 13.

superintendents had communicated a variety of concerns and suggestions to the governor through the territorial superintendent. One of the suggestions mentioned by the governor in his speech was that music should be made a regular branch of study. It is not clear which county superintendent(s) brought this suggestion.³⁷⁶

The 1892–93 Territorial Commissioner of Schools Report indicated that at the end of the 1892 school year, 51,403 students were enrolled in common schools in the twenty-eight districts throughout the territory. Thirty-eight percent of these students, or 17,868, were enrolled in music.³⁷⁷ At the end of 1893 school year, 54,327 students were enrolled in common schools and 21,332 of them were enrolled in music, or thirty-nine percent³⁷⁸ (see Table 1).

³⁷⁶ “The Message,” *Deseret News* (January 12, 1892), 1.

³⁷⁷ Boreman, *Biennial Report, 1892 and 1893*, Exhibit E.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Exhibit F.

End of 1892 School Year		End of 1893 School Year	
City Districts	%	City Districts	%
Ogden	100	Ogden	100
Provo	98	Provo	99
Salt Lake	98	Salt Lake	100
County Districts	%	County Districts	%
Beaver	6	Beaver	--
Box Elder	--	Box Elder	44
Cache	16	Cache	10
Davis	8	Davis	--
Emery	4	Emery	12
Garfield	5	Garfield	--
Grand	--	Grand	--
Iron	--	Iron	7
Juab	37	Juab	35
Kane	--	Kane	17
Millard	21	Millard	--
Morgan	--	Morgan	28
Piute	1	Piute	--
Rich	--	Rich	22
Salt Lake	57	Salt Lake	42
San Juan	--	San Juan	--
Sevier	12	Sevier	23
Summit	--	Summit	19
Tooele	7	Tooele	--
Uintah	--	Uintah	11
Utah	19	Utah	28
Wasatch	30	Wasatch	--
Washington	--	Washington	2
Wayne	--	Wayne	--
Weber	61	Weber	9
Territory	38	Territory	39

(-- = no music enrollment reported)

Table 1. 1892–93 Music Enrollments: A Comparative List.

It is not clear from the data in the territorial reports what constituted ‘enrollment’ in music. Some districts may have been as lenient as reporting the number of students who sang in their classrooms during the school year. Others may have only counted students studying music with a specially hired music teacher.

Perhaps these reports spurred the discussion of music education in particular counties. In the above report, little or no music instruction was reported in Davis County, adjacent to Salt Lake County to the north. The hiring of a music teacher was discussed and agreed upon during a meeting of the Davis County teachers’ institute in October of 1892. Superintendent D. O. Willey was to look for qualified candidates and report in the next meeting.³⁷⁹ Two weeks later, Willey told the teachers’ institute that “Professor Wolf” of Salt Lake City would charge ten dollars a day to teach in Davis County. The teachers agreed to hire him for five lessons, but encouraged the superintendent to try to negotiate a lower salary.³⁸⁰ In a meeting on November 19, the teachers voted not to hire Professor Wolf.³⁸¹ Notwithstanding the situation with Professor Wolf, district officials proceeded with plans for music inclusion. In December, an outline of the curriculum for Davis County schools was published in the local newspaper. Music study would begin in the fourth grade and continue through the seventh.³⁸² A year later in a Davis County teachers association meeting, “Miss Salmon” taught movement songs to the group for

³⁷⁹ “Teachers’ Institute,” *Davis County Clipper* (October 26, 1892), 3.

³⁸⁰ “TeachersInstitute [sic],” *Davis County Clipper* (November 10, 1892), 1.

³⁸¹ “Teachers’ Institute,” *Davis County Clipper* (November 24, 1892), 1. J. C. Wolfe was supervisor of music in Salt Lake City schools in 1892. It is not clear if he is the “Professor Wolf” referred to in the teachers’ institute reports.

³⁸² “Outline Course of Study for Schools of Davis Co.,” *Davis County Clipper* (December 22 and 29, 1892), 2.

incorporation into their classrooms.³⁸³

The music enrollment numbers in the 1892–93 superintendent report are not entirely correct. There are instances where local school records indicate music teaching but the territorial record does not. For example, the Tooele County School District reported no students studying music in the school year ending in June of 1893. Yet, the minutes of the Tooele County School District Trustees recorded that Ebenezer Beesley was hired to teach music during the last term of 1893. Beesley approached the board and proposed giving two lessons each week in two of the school departments.³⁸⁴ Beesley was paid fifteen dollars per month for April and May of 1893. Records also show approval for Beesley to purchase two “music modulator charts” for a total of sixty cents.³⁸⁵ Perhaps the school year statistics were reported before Beesley began his teaching.

The 1892–93 school report lists textbooks for use in the territory district schools for a period of five years beginning after July of 1892.³⁸⁶ This list includes “NATIONAL MUSIC COURSE” *Mason’s New Music Readers* (first through fourth readers),³⁸⁷

³⁸³ “Davis Co. Teachers’ Associa’n,” *Davis County Clipper* (November 16, 1893), 4.

³⁸⁴ *School Trustees Minutes 1874–1892*, 154, in Tooele County School District Records.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 156.

³⁸⁶ This would have been in keeping with the five year pattern established in earlier Territorial Textbook Conventions. The one previous to 1892 was in 1887.

³⁸⁷ Luther Whiting Mason, *The New First Music Reader: Preparatory to Sight-Singing, Based Largely Upon C. H. Hohmann* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1889). *The New Second Music Reader: Based Largely Upon C. H. Hohmann, Giving First Lessons in Reading Music at Sight with One and Two-Part Exercises and Songs, And Directions to Teachers* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1891). *Third Music Reader: A Course of Musical Instruction, With Songs in Two and Three Parts, Based on the Elements of Harmony, For the Use of Schools and Families* (Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co., 1871). *The Fourth Music Reader: A Course of Musical Instruction, Containing Musical Theory, Original Solfeggios, A Complete System of Triad Practice, and Sacred Music and Songs with Accompaniment for the Piano* (Boston, Ginn Brothers, 1874).

*Tilden's Common School Song Reader*³⁸⁸ and "Mason's Charts and Easels, to accompany Music Books."³⁸⁹

In April of 1893, all county superintendents in the territory met to prepare a "course of study" for all schools in the territory. In the prescribed curriculum outline, music is listed in the category "Morals" for instruction in grades one through three. In grades four through seven, music is included in the category "General Lessons." "General Lessons" category is not listed in the eighth grade or final course of study.³⁹⁰ The superintendent report from Weber County at this time showed compliance with the territorial directives in the adoption of music texts and the recommended course of study.³⁹¹ Bane suggests that this established course of study for the territory was a product of the best educational thought in Utah at the time, and not necessarily representative of the typical educational practice in the territory.³⁹²

In October of 1893, George C. Young, director of music programs in the Salt Lake City Schools gave a speech about the value of music in the school curriculum. He stated that the great value of music lies in the direct and indirect relation it has to other studies. Young felt music was especially valuable in the study of reading.³⁹³

³⁸⁸ William S. Tilden, *Common School Song-Reader: A Music Reader for Schools of Mixed Grades: First Lessons in Singing and Reading Music with Exercises and Songs in One, Two, and Three Parts, and Directions to Teachers* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1889).

³⁸⁹ Boreman, *Biennial Report, 1892 and 1893*, Exhibit S.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Exhibit T.

³⁹¹ Joseph S. Perry, *Manual of the Public Schools of Weber County, Utah. Containing a List of Officers and Teachers, a Course of Study and Suggestions for 1892-93* (Ogden, UT: The Post Publishing Company, 1892), 25.

³⁹² Bane, "The Development of Education in Utah," 88.

³⁹³ George C. Young, "Music in School," *Deseret Weekly* (November 4, 1893), 17. See Appendix C for a full copy of the speech made in a Salt Lake City teachers meeting on October 28, 1893.

Beesley continued to teach music in the Tooele School District through the remainder of the territory years.³⁹⁴ Beesley's music teaching assignment was a discussion at the beginning of each academic year. On September 17, 1894, the following is recorded.

Board met pursuant to the call of the chairman for the purpose of discussing the practicability [sic] of having vocal music taught in the Intermediate and Primary grades of the schools. The matter was laid before the teachers all of whom expressed their willingness, to have music taught in the 1st Primary and Intermediate grades of the school, and on motion it was decided to this effect.³⁹⁵

Throughout the 1894–95 school year, Beesley's compensation was \$15 per term. In October of 1895, the board reduced his pay and teaching assignment, directing him to only teach in the primary grades.³⁹⁶

T. B. Lewis, Territorial Commissioner of Schools for the Utah Territory and author of the reports submitted in 1894 and 1895, commended the courses of study used in Salt Lake and Ogden cities.

I have examined both of these courses quite thoroughly, and in comparing them with some of the courses received from cities east and west, I can say truthfully – in so far as I am capable of drawing correct conclusions, unbiased by favor – that I have found *none* superior to these and very few equal.³⁹⁷

Salt Lake and Ogden city school districts reported at least 93 percent of their students

³⁹⁴ *Tooele County School District Account Book 1886–1901* in Tooele County School District Records. Regular payments were made to Ebenezer Beesley starting April 27, 1893 to November 15, 1897.

³⁹⁵ *School Trustees Minutes 1874–1892*, in Tooele County School District Records, 213.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 234.

³⁹⁷ T. B. Lewis, *Bi-ennial Report of the Commissioner of Schools for Utah Territory, for the years 1894 and 1895* (Salt Lake City, UT: Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons Company, 1896), 6.

enrolled in music during 1894 and 1895.³⁹⁸

A writer of the *Evening Dispatch*, a Provo newspaper, praised the work of Giles in the Provo schools in 1894. The once punishable act of singing during school time was now, through the aid of the graded Mason music system, a tool for teachers to stimulate finer emotions and aid mental discipline.³⁹⁹

Prof. Giles is employed to impart musical instructions to the children just as any other teacher is employed, and pursues his labors in much the same manner—going from the known to the unknown. Music is no longer a great unapproachable mystery requiring years of drudgery and an abnormal development to acquire it. It is perhaps the most universal to talents. It is as rare to find a pupil who cannot learn to sing and read music as it is to find one who cannot learn to read print, and much more rare than it is to find persons who do not master the English orthography readily.

About the third week in this month there is to be a musical contest among the children, the leading feature of which will be the song “After the Ball,” sung by six little fellows under seven years of age. To have them trained so that they can face an audience and sing at all, is perhaps the most wonderful part of it.⁴⁰⁰

The writer then mentions the need for more music to be arranged so it is suited for young singers.

One serious fault can still be found with this feature of entertainment and education; nearly all the music, even when written especially for juvenile choirs, is suitable only for matured voices.⁴⁰¹

In rural central Utah communities, the inclusion of music in the curriculum was becoming more common. A newspaper writer in Ephraim argued for the inclusion of music in public school curriculum:

³⁹⁸ Ibid., Exhibit E and F.

³⁹⁹ “Provo’s Musical Advantages,” *Evening Dispatch* (January 8, 1894), 4.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

Music should never be an accomplishment, and should never be taught as such. It should be as much a part of the regular training of every youngster as reading and spelling...As almost every house in the land has a musical instrument of some sort, it seems strange that every school house has not its musical chart and its simple and comprehensive course in musical study...It would be well worth while to incorporate a thorough musical training into the public school system.⁴⁰²

In 1894 in Lehi, John L. Gibb taught vocal music two times each week in the central school of the town. The local school board made a special visit to his classes to check on the progress of the music classes.⁴⁰³ In Manti, music instruction was part of a specialized summer school in which advanced branches of study were taught.⁴⁰⁴

In the final biennial report of the commissioner of schools for the Utah territory, submitted for the school years ending June 30, 1894 and June 30, 1895, Lewis included statistics that indicated forty-four percent of the students enrolled in common schools were enrolled in music at the end of 1894. Only eleven percent were enrolled in music at the end of 1895⁴⁰⁵ (see Table 2).

⁴⁰² "Shall All Children Learn Music?" *Ephraim Enterprise* (January 27, 1894), 4.

⁴⁰³ "Local News," *Lehi Banner* (March 22, 1894), 2.

⁴⁰⁴ "The Summer School," *Manti Messenger*, (March 2, 1894), 1. "The Summer School," *Manti Messenger*, (July 13, 1894), 1.

⁴⁰⁵ Lewis, *Bi-ennial Report, 1894 and 1895*, Exhibit E and F.

End of 1894 School Year

City Districts	%
Ogden	99
Provo	100
Salt Lake	98
Logan	--
County Districts	%
Beaver	.03
Box Elder	12
Cache	1
Davis	28
Emery	31
Garfield	--
Grand	--
Iron	1
Juab	3
Kane	--
Millard	5
Morgan	3
Piute	6
Rich	--
Salt Lake	49
San Juan	72
Sevier	35
Summit	22
Tooele	3
Uintah	20
Utah	35
Wasatch	21
Washington	1
Wayne	22
Weber	9
Territory	44

End of the 1895 School Year

City Districts	%
Ogden	93
Provo	--
Salt Lake	--
Logan	--
County Districts	%
Beaver	27
Box Elder	16
Cache	11
Davis	1
Emery	17
Garfield	28
Grand	26
Iron	21
Juab	47
Kane	60
Millard	3
Morgan	44
Piute	26
Rich	6
Salt Lake	57
San Juan	28
Sevier	32
Summit	39
Tooele	27
Uintah	--
Utah	14
Wasatch	7
Washington	3
Wayne	3
Weber	11
Territory	11

(-- = no music enrollment reported)

Table 2. 1894–95 Music Enrollments: A Comparative List.

The statistics for 1895 are skewed because two large city districts with traditionally high percentages of music enrollment did not report statistics in time for the publication of the report. Of the twenty-five county districts, sixteen reported an increase in music enrollment in 1895. Of those, nine reported an increased enrollment of twenty percent or more. If Salt Lake and Provo cities maintained the percentage of students enrolled in music in 1894, the 1895 territorial percentage of music students in common schools would have been forty-six percent. This biennial report included a list of textbooks adopted for the territory. *Mason's New Music Readers* (first through fourth levels) and *Tilden's Common School Reader* were on the list.

Though Salt Lake City district reported no statistics to the territorial commissioner for his 1895 report, Salt Lake City School District employed George C. Young as “supervisor of music” for the salary of \$1,282.50.⁴⁰⁶ This salary was about two-hundred dollars more than the average salary of high-school teachers in the district and one-hundred dollars more than the principal of Grant School, a school housing intermediate grades.⁴⁰⁷ Young is the only music teacher listed by the district. Young’s music curriculum was instituted at the class level largely by the classroom teachers.⁴⁰⁸ In total, 225 teachers were employed in the district.⁴⁰⁹ Fourteen percent of the district textbook expenditures in 1895 went toward music books. Over \$1,300 was paid to Ginn

⁴⁰⁶ His salary in the previous school year (1893–94) was \$1,387.50. Millspaugh, *Fourth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake for the Year Ending June 30th, 1894* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Job Printing Company, 1894), 33.

⁴⁰⁷ J. F. Millspaugh, *Fifth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake for the Year Ending June 30th, 1895* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret News Publishing Company, 1895), 34–35.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

& Co. publishers, the publishers of the *Mason Music Readers*.⁴¹⁰ The total money spent on textbooks for the year was just over \$9,300.⁴¹¹ After the accumulation of music textbooks over three school years (1892–95), the inventory in the district included the following:

- 69 “Music No. 1”
- 1600 “Music No. 2”
- 580 “Music No. 3”
- 399 “Independent Music Readers.”⁴¹²

The district purchased 10,000 sheets of music paper at the beginning of the 1894–95 and distributed 9,400 during the school year.⁴¹³

Young submitted a report to Salt Lake City Superintendent J. F. Millspaugh describing the condition of music study in the district at the end of the 1894–95 school year. Three years previously, Young had instituted a plan of “the pursuance of the study of music as a regular branch of instruction” and not merely as a recreational activity. In its third year, music study in grades one through six was progressing quite well. Under Young’s supervision and the integration of music study by individual classroom teachers, the first grade curriculum included special pitch dictation exercises and recreational songs to reinforce those exercises. Students were also taught to sing songs at sight from syllables, eventually moving to staff notation.

⁴¹⁰ Millspaugh, *Fourth Annual Report*, 35. \$544 was paid to Ginn & Co. during the 1893–94 school year.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 115. Beginning in the 1890–91 school year, the school board committed to providing music paper for all students. Millspaugh, *First Annual Report*, 86.

Second grade curriculum centered on mastering the elements of rhythm, meter, movement, scales, intervals and key signatures. Because of the basic instruction attained in grades one and two, students in grades three and four were introduced to a more comprehensive course than was previously attainable, including sight-singing exercises through two-thirds of the second Mason Music Reader. Young felt confident in advancing the fifth through eighth grades to the third Mason Music Reader wherein study included “the elements of harmony and a judicious selection of songs in two-part and three-part form.” School choruses made up of students in the upper grades (five through eight) were very successful.⁴¹⁴

While praising the music instruction in the primary and middle grades, Young reported disappointing results at the district high school. The previous school year, high school students met “two periods each week” for music instruction by Young.⁴¹⁵ The district had purchased a piano for the high school⁴¹⁶ and Young anticipated forming both a mixed and girls chorus in 1894–95.⁴¹⁷ Unfortunately, there was no space within the high school large enough to accommodate a school chorus. Young was optimistic that cooperation with the superintendent and the high school principal would result in a satisfactory solution. Young encouraged one more year of his systemic instruction to fully implement the program. He urged the superintendent to continue support of the program by assuring that the flow of necessary supplies would continue. Young proposed that the school district provide a music reader for every pupil from third to eighth grade.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 99.

⁴¹⁵ Millspaugh, *Fourth Annual Report*, 110. The time length of a “period” is not documented.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, 36. Purchase price was \$275.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 104.

“By this means alone shall we accomplish the one thing we have sought to attain,—the recognition of music as an essential in the system of common school education.”⁴¹⁸

Summary of Music Education in the Common Schools

The common schools of the Utah territory reached an average fifty-five percent of the total school-aged population of the territory from 1862 to 1875.⁴¹⁹ Average daily attendance increased from sixty-two percent to seventy percent during these years.⁴²⁰ By June of 1889, enrollment and attendance numbers stabilized.⁴²¹ Due to the passage of free school and compulsory education laws in the early 1890s, ninety-one percent of the school-aged population was enrolled in public schools by the end of the 1895 school year with sixty-four percent average daily attendance.⁴²² Common schools were slow to develop but music instruction was a consideration from the very beginning. As evidenced in territorial superintendent reports, music may have been present in the curriculum of some schools as early as 1860. From the 1870s, music books were a consideration in the territorial textbook conventions. By the 1880s, teacher certification forms included the subject of music. The Normal Department of the University of Deseret included music training in the required courses for prospective teachers seeking certification to teach in the common schools.

Available statistics show that music instruction was most present in the common

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 98–100.

⁴¹⁹ Moffit, *History of Public Education*, 202.

⁴²⁰ Stanley S. Ivins, “Free Schools com to Utah,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 no. 4 (1954): 325.

⁴²¹ Boreman, *Report of the Commissioner of Public Schools for Utah Territory, 1888–89*, Schedule “C”.

⁴²² Lewis, *Report, 1894 and 1895*, Exhibit F.

schools of Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake City. Music was taught by both classroom teachers and specially hired music teachers. In the 1880s, Wright and Hunter, in Utah County, were regular classroom teachers actively involved in training their fellow teachers in music teaching techniques. In Ogden, music instructors Linn, Pearce and Edwards taught at the Central School and also traveled to surrounding primary schools to teach.

There is ample evidence that lectures on, and demonstrations of, music teaching techniques were included in teacher association meetings at the territorial level and at the local level in both urban and rural school districts. School performing groups often performed at teacher association meetings. Since common school teachers were required to attend association meetings in order to obtain or retain their certification, many teachers were regularly informed on music instruction techniques. Lectures and teaching demonstrations were given by district music teachers, local musicians and regular classroom teachers.

Reports by the territorial commissioner of schools included statistics of the number of students enrolled in music in the common schools beginning in 1889. According to these reports, the percentage of students receiving music instruction in the Territorial Common Schools rose from twelve percent in 1889 to forty-four percent by 1894. Due to problems collecting statistics from all districts, these reports may not accurately reflect the number of students involved in music activities in the common schools. It is not clear what constitutes “music study” in the territorial reports. Some districts may have only reported students studying with specially hired music instructors;

other districts may have reported any music activity in which their students were involved, such as singing in opening exercises for each school day and/or singing in school celebrations. Reports published by specific districts and local school board records are a more accurate record of music teaching in the common schools. By 1890, many of the Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake City schools reported 100% of their students receiving music instruction. By 1895, Salt Lake City School District regarded its music instruction as a serious study and essential in the system of common school education.

Key people in the promotion of music in the common schools of the territory were David O. Calder in the 1860s, Territorial Superintendent of Schools Robert L. Campbell in the 1870s, Lewis D. Edwards, Evan Stephens, Henry E. Giles in the 1880s and 1890s and George C. Young in Salt Lake City after 1890. They envisioned music as a core subject in the common school curriculum and lauded its value as a science as well as its positive effects on student behavior and the learning environment in general.

From the 1860s to the mid-1880s, Utah territorial common schools used music textbooks published by Utah authors David O. Calder and Evan Stephens. After 1890, the educational reports indicate an increase in the use of publications from outside the territory, specifically *Mason's Music Readers* and *Tilden's Common School Music Reader*.

Where there is a record of the techniques used to teach music in the common schools, a systematic approach was often followed. Teaching music reading and singing simultaneously in simple patterns using the Tonic Sol-fa system then gradually progressing onto reading from the music staff. Teachers focused on increasing a students'

ability to sing at sight, making music more than just a recreational activity in the common school.

CHAPTER SIX

MUSIC EDUCATION IN THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Parochial schools flourished in Utah from 1870 to the mid-1890s with the following influential factors: 1) territory population became more religiously diverse with the completion of the trans-continental railroad in 1869; 2) until the passing of the Free School Act in 1890 the quality of the common schools was inconsistent leading many people to seek a better educational experience; 3) most common schools, especially in rural areas, were not graded resulting in few opportunities for education at the high school level, and 4) religious denominations felt that educational efforts would be an effective means of proselytizing.⁴²³

The Territorial Superintendent Report of Common Schools submitted by Riggs for the 1875–76 school year was the first to include statistics on what he termed “Private, Select and Mission Schools” in addition to the common school statistics.⁴²⁴ At the end of 1875, fairly early in the parochial school growth period, school-aged population in the territory exceeded 35,500. Common schools enrolled fifty-four percent of the total school-aged population and were in session an average of six and a half months of the calendar year.⁴²⁵ Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Catholic schools enrolled just over 1,600 students, or less than five percent of the total school population, and were in

⁴²³ Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah,” 137–138.

⁴²⁴ Riggs, *Biennial Report, 1875–1876*, 22.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

session for an average of ten months in a year.⁴²⁶ Average attendance rates were higher for the parochial schools than for the common schools. Parochial schools averaged over seventy-seven percent daily attendance, while common school attendance averaged seventy percent.⁴²⁷ Ten years later (1886–87) at the height of parochial school enrollment, the total school-aged population exceeded 46,200.⁴²⁸ Parochial schools were drawing thirteen percent of the total school-aged population at this time.⁴²⁹

The parochial school movement did much to further the quality of education in the Utah territory. “With [the mission] school came the enrichment of the curriculum. Music and art soon became daily exercises.”⁴³⁰ The territorial commissioner of public schools stated the following in his 1886–87 biennial report regarding “denominational schools:”

[They] are accomplishing a worthy object in affording educational opportunities to a large number of children...that many of these schools are superior to our public schools is probably true; that the attendance upon them is increasing year by year, and their success is becoming more apparent and widely known, and thus securing to them a constantly increasing number of friends and patrons, is also true...it seems to me that in this very condition is found an element that must operate to the detriment of the public schools, tend to hinder their advancement and lessen their influence.⁴³¹

In the opinion of one early twentieth century Salt Lake City district superintendent, the

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ Boreman, *Report, 1888–89*, 26.

⁴²⁹ Bane, “The Development of Education in Utah,” This is an estimate taken from figures on pp. 118, 132, 141, 151, 157, 163, 171 and 173.

⁴³⁰ D. H. Christensen, “Mission Schools in Utah” *Utah Educational Review* 8, (March 1915): 13.

⁴³¹ P. L. Williams, *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Schools for Utah Territory, for the years 1886–7. Together with the School Law of Utah Territory, and such acts and portions of acts of Congress as are made applicable to the Schools of Utah Territory* (Salt Lake City, UT: Ackerman & Co., Printers, 1888), 19.

parochial schools gave the territory an example which “moved our schools forward at least a decade.”⁴³² Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, Congregational and LDS churches offered music education in territory parochial schools. A small number of Baptist and Lutheran schools also existed in Salt Lake City during the 1870s and 1880s.⁴³³ Records of music instruction in these schools have not been found.

Episcopal

St. Mark’s Grammar School for Boys was the first protestant school in Utah. It opened on July 2, 1867 in Salt Lake City. By 1871, St. Mark’s Girl’s School opened.⁴³⁴ Elsewhere in the territory, schools opened in Ogden (School of the Good Shepherd) in 1870, Logan (St. John’s School) in 1873, Plain City (St. Paul’s School) in 1873 and Layton (St. Jude’s School) in 1888.⁴³⁵ The St. Mark’s Girl’s School merged with Rowland Hall, a girl’s day and boarding school, in 1881⁴³⁶ and is in operation today as a co-educational school serving students from kindergarten through twelfth grade. Episcopal schools grew in enrollment from 1867 to 1886, then began to decline and disband through the 1890s due to improving public schools.⁴³⁷ At their height, over eight-hundred students were enrolled in schools around the territory and twenty-nine teachers

⁴³² Christensen, “Mission Schools in Utah,” 14.

⁴³³ Hansen, “A History of the Development of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools in Utah,” 109.

⁴³⁴ Bane, “The Development of Education,” 123.

⁴³⁵ Hansen, “A History,” 25–29.

⁴³⁶ Bane, 123.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

were employed.⁴³⁸

As early as 1868, St. Mark's Grammar School for Boys offered music. The school was established by Reverends George W. Foote and Thomas W. Haskins, serving as school Rector and Principal, respectively.⁴³⁹ A flyer announcing the opening of the third term on January 7, 1868, states that Foote was the teacher of piano and Mr. H. W. Isaacson is the teacher of vocal music.⁴⁴⁰ The catalogs of St. Mark's school show a continuation of music in the curriculum. In 1872, "Piano music" was offered each quarter for twenty-four dollars and "Class lessons in Vocalizing" were three dollars per month.⁴⁴¹ Mr. F. Wm. Gabriel was listed as instructor for Music and German.⁴⁴² Vocal music was part of the "course of instruction" for Primary School (the first two years) and optional or "as needed" for all four years of High School. Music was not listed as being included in the four years of "grammar school" between the primary grades and high school.⁴⁴³

In the 1874–75 catalog, Mrs. Ellen G. Haydon is "Teacher of Vocal Music," and Miss Ella B. Haydon is "Teacher of Instrumental Music."⁴⁴⁴ Extra classes in "Piano Music" were twenty-two dollars per quarter and "Class Lessons in Vocalizing" were five

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 118.

⁴³⁹ Mary Peach and Kathryn L. Miller, "Episcopalians in Utah," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Accessed March 12, 2015, http://www.uen.org/utah_history_encyclopedia/e/EPISCOPALINAS_IN_UTAH.html.

⁴⁴⁰ Grammar School (flyer), 379.792 G745 1867, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁴⁴¹ *St. Mark's School. A. D. 1872–73* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Printing and Publishing Company, 1872), 8, Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School Records, Mss B 84, box 1, folder 12, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 5.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., 7. Bane, "The Development of Education in Utah," 212, indicates that music was included in this same manner in 1871 but does not give a source for this information.

⁴⁴⁴ *St. Mark's School. A. D. 1874–5* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Printing and Publishing Company, 1874), 5, Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School Records. Mss B 84, box 1, folder 12, Utah State Historical Society.

dollars per quarter,⁴⁴⁵ a slight reduction in price from the two previous years. Music continued to be part of the curriculum in the primary department and in high school.⁴⁴⁶ In 1875–76, no instrumental music instructor is listed, but Ellen Haydon remained as vocal music instructor.⁴⁴⁷ Vocal music was taught in the primary grades but the high school had suspended operation for this year.⁴⁴⁸ Haydon continued as vocal music instructor in 1876–77.⁴⁴⁹

Miss Helena Gorlinski was the teacher of vocal music in the 1877–78 year at St. Mark’s Grammar School and St. Mark’s School for Girls.⁴⁵⁰ The “grammar department” was comprised of four grades after six “primary” grades and two “intermediate” grades were completed. The grammar department included daily exercises in vocal music.⁴⁵¹ Extra “Class Lessons in Vocalizing” were five dollars per quarter.⁴⁵² In 1880, Mrs. N. K. Robinson was teacher of vocal music for the grammar school and girl’s school.⁴⁵³ Extra vocalizing classes continued to be offered at five dollars a quarter.⁴⁵⁴ The 1884–85 circular for St. Mark’s School indicates that Emma J. Kelly was an instructor for piano,

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6–8.

⁴⁴⁷ *St. Mark’s School. A. D. 1875–6* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Printing and Publishing Company, 1875), 5, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁴⁹ *St. Mark’s Schools. A. D. 1876–7* (Salt Lake City, UT: J. C. Graham & Co., Printers, 1876), 7, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁵⁰ *Register. St. Mark’s Grammar School. St. Mark’s School for Girls. A. D. 1877–8* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Printing and Publishing Company, 1877), 7 and 17, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁵³ *Fourteenth Annual Register of St. Mark’s Grammar School, Salt Lake City. Utah. For the Years 1880–81* (Rochester, NY: Evening Express Printing Co., 1880), 4, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

organ and guitar. Music classes were open to “regular pupils of the school and to those who do not wish to take other work.”⁴⁵⁵ Commencement programs for St. Mark’s School from 1882 through 1888 show that performances of the “school chorus” and three to four solo piano or voice performances were common in each year’s ceremony.⁴⁵⁶

At Rowland Hall, Professor Thomas Radcliffe, and Miss Abby S. Marsh were piano instructors⁴⁵⁷ and Mrs. J. Fidelia Hamilton taught “vocal culture” beginning in 1882.⁴⁵⁸ Music was an “optional” course in the curriculum along with drawing and painting.⁴⁵⁹ Piano lessons were eighteen or twenty-five dollars per quarter. “Use of the Piano” cost six dollars and twenty-five cents per quarter and vocal lessons cost thirty-five dollars per quarter.⁴⁶⁰ Radcliffe, Marsh and Hamilton were still listed as music instructors in the 1883–84 and 1884–85 catalogs.⁴⁶¹ Music remains an optional course with the same prices listed for piano use, piano lessons and vocal lessons as in the 1882–83 catalog.⁴⁶² In the 1884–85 year, piano lessons were offered at the twenty five dollar rate. Vocal

⁴⁵⁵ Utah Territory Superintendent of District Schools, Records 1877–1886. MS 2926, reel 2, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Kelly also worked at the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, a Presbyterian school 1884–85.

⁴⁵⁶ Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records, Mss B 84, box 1, folder 6, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴⁵⁷ *Rowland Hall. A Home School for Girls. Salt Lake City. Second Year* (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah Printing Company, 1882), 4, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records, Mss B 84, box 1, folder 9, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴⁵⁸ Mary R. Clark. “Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School: Alternative Education for More than a Century.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (November, 1980): 281.

⁴⁵⁹ *Rowland Hall, Second Year*, 10.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁶¹ *Rowland Hall. A Home School for Girls. Salt Lake City. Third Year, 1883–’84* (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah Printing Company, 1883), 4. *Rowland Hall. A Home School for Girls. Salt Lake City. Fourth Year, 1884–’85* (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah Printing Company, 1884), 4, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁶² *Rowland Hall, Second Year*, 11–13.

lessons are not listed.⁴⁶³ Beginning in 1885–86, Marsh was no longer listed as a piano instructor.⁴⁶⁴

Radcliffe continued as piano instructor at Rowland Hall through 1890.⁴⁶⁵ Vocal lessons were discontinued when Hamilton left the faculty sometime between 1886 and 1888.⁴⁶⁶ Though not fully explained in catalogs, music was not offered to the general student population as an optional course after 1886. Piano instruction was the only music course listed through to the 1890–91 school year.

Miss Lyda E. Watson served as the piano teacher beginning in the 1890–91 year.⁴⁶⁷ In 1891–92, Watson taught piano and voice. Miss Louise Lionberger joined Watson as an additional piano instructor. “Prof. Olson”⁴⁶⁸ was listed as instructor for violin and guitar.⁴⁶⁹ Fifteen dollars “per term” was charged for two piano lessons per week; eight dollars for one lesson per week. “Vocal culture” lessons were fifteen dollars for the term.⁴⁷⁰ The 1891–92 catalog contains the following description of the “School of Music:”

A graduating course of study in vocal and instrumental music has been

⁴⁶³ *Rowland Hall, Third Year*, 13.

⁴⁶⁴ *Rowland Hall. A Home School for Girls. Salt Lake City. Fifth Year, 1885–86* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Book and Job Printing House, 1885), Officers and Teachers, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁶⁵ *Rowland Hall. A Home School for Girls. Salt Lake City, Utah. Ninth Year. 1889–90* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1889), Officers and Teachers, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁶⁶ She is listed again as a music teacher at Rowland Hall in 1893.

⁴⁶⁷ *Rowland Hall. A Home School for Girls. Salt Lake City, Utah. Tenth Year, 1890–91* (Salt Lake City, UT: Krantz Bros., & Reilly, Printers, 1890), 4, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁶⁸ This is likely Mangus Olson, who advertised widely in Salt Lake City as a private violin, guitar and mandolin instructor in Salt Lake City from 1877 to 1893.

⁴⁶⁹ *Rowland Hall. A Home School for Girls. Salt Lake City, Utah. Eleventh Year, 1891–92* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1891), Officers and Teachers, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

instituted, comprising a preparatory department, and four years of study in those branches. The aim of this department is to give to pupils the systematic training of the most successful modern schools, and to develop to the greatest extent the talent of each individual pupil, giving the same attention to the correct and tasteful interpretation of simple music as to the most advanced. Pupils finishing three years of the course will be entitled to certification of merit, and, on finishing the entire course, will receive a diploma. One year's study of Harmony and Musical History will be required to complete the course. Piano pupils will have special practice in the reading of music at sight, and in the practice of duets, trios, and quartettes. Choral classes, meeting twice a week for the study of sight-singing, and the choruses of the best composers will be open to all pupils at the school, and held throughout the year. For the purpose of giving pupils self confidence, private recitals will be given every month, at which all pupils will be required to take part; and public recitals will be given at intervals throughout the year, at which all pupils who have gained sufficient proficiency will take part. Candidates for certificates and diplomas will be required to present acceptably a programme [sic] of not less than six numbers. A course in Violin, Guitar, and Mandolin has also been arranged. Two medals are given in this department—the Behr-Calder medal—to the pupil making the most progress during the year in instrumental music—the Davidson medal—to the pupil making the most progress during the year in vocal music.⁴⁷¹

The specific listing of music courses and class content was as follows:

PIANO. PREPARATORY. This will include the elementary principles of Note Reading, Knowledge of the Staff, Signs, Keys, and Major Scale formations, with simple pieces.

FIRST YEAR. Selections from the following studies as adapted to the pupil: Aloise Schmidt; Koehler, Op. 157 and Op. 50; Loeschorn, Op. 52, 1–6; pieces from Hummel, Spindler, Gurlitt and the lighter classics.

SECOND YEAR. Bertini, Op. 29; selected Studies from Heller; Bach's English Suites; Burgmuller's Studies in Style; Sonatas of Kuhlau, Mozart and Haydn. Selected pieces from Mendelssohn, and modern composers.

THIRD YEAR. Krause's Trill Studies; Hummel's Studies for the left hand; Bach's English Suites continued; Cramer, Book 1. Study of Chopin, and continued study of modern composers.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 19.

FOURTH YEAR. Cramer, Book II; Clementi, *Gradus ad Parnassum*; Bach's Preludes and Fugues; Sonatas of Beethoven, and study of Liszt, and modern composers.

VOCAL. PREPARATORY. Instruction in the use of breath, anatomy of the vocal organs, the placing of the voice, and the production of tone.

FIRST YEAR. The vocal studies of Abt. Nava, Concone, and Vaccai with simple songs. The study of Italian pronunciation.

SECOND YEAR. Continuation of the above with the Concone Vocalises. Luetgen Bks. I and II. Panofka Bk I. The study of Rubenstein, and other modern composers.

THIRD YEAR. Panofka Bks. I, II, III, IV. Marchesi exercises for agility and flexibility. The study of Schumann, Schubert, and other modern composers.

FOURTH YEAR. Combined study of solfeggi, and of the scales, major, minor and chromatic. Study of movements and embellishments suitable to different styles of singing. The study of church, concert and operatic music as exemplified in the English, French, German and Italian schools of music.⁴⁷²

A concert held on June 9, 1891 included twenty-seven different selections, including five chorus pieces, six piano ensemble pieces (four by quartettes and two by duets), six piano solos, six vocal solos, two vocal trios, one vocal duet and one violin solo.⁴⁷³

The 1892–93 catalog included the names of thirty-seven students in the “music department.”⁴⁷⁴ Watson was instructor of piano, voice and harmony, and Emily F. Taylor was instructor of art and piano.⁴⁷⁵ Slight adjustments were made in the music course content. The course of study in piano was lengthened to five years. In the preparatory

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 20–21.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, 26–27.

⁴⁷⁴ *Rowland Hall – Salt Lake City, Utah. 1892–93* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Job Printing Company, 1893), 10, Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School Records.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Officers and Faculty.

piano course the piano methods of Wohlfart, Koehler, Czerny, Lebert and Stark were added. In the first year, Loeschorn, Op. 66, Streabbog, Op. 63, and Lemoine, Op. 157, were added and the Clementi sonatas, Op. 36, Nos. 1–6, were moved to the second year. Heller, Op. 47, was added to the second year and teachers required one hour a day of practice by students in the first and second year. The Cramer studies were moved from the third to the fourth and fifth years. The study of Bach’s works was moved to the fourth and fifth years. Study of Chopin was moved to the fifth year as was the study of Clementi’s *Gradus ad Parnassum*. Teachers required one and a half hours of practice per day by third-year and fourth-year students and two hours a day by students in the fifth year.⁴⁷⁶ In the vocal courses, solfeggio study began in the second year instead of the fourth while “the study of operas and oratorios as a whole” was included in the fourth year of study.⁴⁷⁷ Two piano lessons per week cost twenty dollars for the term; one lesson per week cost twelve dollars for the term. Two “vocal culture” lessons per week cost twenty dollars for the term.⁴⁷⁸

In the 1893–94 year, Miss Belle Lucas taught piano, voice and harmony.⁴⁷⁹ The list of twenty-two music students includes ten who studied in the previous year.⁴⁸⁰ The 1893–94 catalog includes an announcement of the anticipated arrival of Miss Gratia Flanders as director of the piano department for the next academic year. Flanders had

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 22–23.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 25.

⁴⁷⁹ *Rowland Hall. Salt Lake City. 1893–’94* (Atchison, Kansas: O’Connell & Woodhouse Printers, [1894]), Officers and Faculty, Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School Records.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 9.

recently moved to Salt Lake City.⁴⁸¹ A former student of Emil Liebling in Chicago, the catalog cites positive reviews of Flanders' performances from four different local publications, then states:

Miss Flanders will have for assistant one of her advanced pupils, Mrs. A. C. Standart, who will instruct beginners under her direction, until sufficiently advanced to come under Miss Flanders instruction. Pupils will be expected to play in private recitals frequently during the school year, and from time to time all the students in music will have the benefit of illustrated lectures upon the great Masters and their works given before them by Miss Flanders.⁴⁸²

The 1894–95 catalog lists Flanders as instructor in “Piano and Musical Literature,” Mrs. Fidelia B. Hamilton as instructor in “voice culture,” and Mrs. A. C. Standart as “assistant piano and art” instructor.⁴⁸³ Twenty-five piano students and ten voice students are listed by name in the 1894–95 catalog, with four of the students listed in the two previous years' catalogs. One was listed in 1892–93 but not in 1893–94. Four students were in their second year. Two students (Eva Davis and Edna Remington) were listed as students in both piano and voice departments.⁴⁸⁴ In the 1894–95 year, oral and written examinations in music were part of the music department requirements.⁴⁸⁵

The 1895–96 catalog includes twenty-nine piano students, seven vocal students and one violin student listed by name.⁴⁸⁶ In comparing this list of students to the three previous lists, two students were now in their fourth year of study, four students were in

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁸³ *Rowland Hall. Salt Lake City, Utah. 1894–95* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Job Printing Company, [1895]), Officers and Faculty, Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School Records.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁸⁶ *Rowland Hall. Salt Lake City, Utah. 1895–96* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Job Printing Company, [1896]), 11, Rowland Hall-St. Mark's School Records.

their third year and eleven were in their second year. Kathryn Blythe (in her second year) was listed as a piano and vocal student.⁴⁸⁷ This year was the beginning of increased study in music theory.⁴⁸⁸

Methodist

First called the Rocky Mountain Seminary, the Salt Lake Seminary opened its doors on September 12, 1870 in Salt Lake City. It was the largest Methodist school in the territory. Within the first few years, the student body exceeded two hundred students. For the remainder of its existence, enrollment numbers fluctuated between one hundred and one hundred seventy-five.⁴⁸⁹ The seminary operated until 1894.⁴⁹⁰

Methodist missionaries rapidly opened schools in many smaller communities in the territory.⁴⁹¹ In the early 1870s, schools opened in Tooele, Corinne, Ogden, Provo and Beaver.⁴⁹² In 1883, an additional group of schools opened in Grantsville, Ophir, Park City, Mount Pleasant, Rush Lake and a Norwegian speaking school opened in Salt Lake City. Territory wide, student enrollment totaled 825 in 1883.⁴⁹³ By 1890, school enrollment peaked at 1,467. At this time, English speaking schools were located in Beaver, Benson, Grantsville, Heber, Logan, Murray, Nephi, Payson, Provo, Salt Lake City (two), Stockton and Tooele. Scandinavian schools were located in Brigham City,

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 24.

⁴⁸⁹ Bane, "The Development of Education in Utah," 129–131.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 131.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 131. Bane says "at an astounding rate."

⁴⁹² Ibid., 131–132.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 132.

Elsinore, Ephraim, Hyrum, Levan, Moroni, Mount Pleasant, Provo, Richfield, Santaquin, Salt Lake City, Spanish Fork and Spring City.⁴⁹⁴ Construction began on a university in Ogden in 1893, but plans were abandoned due to financial difficulties.⁴⁹⁵

From its inception, the Salt Lake Seminary (Rocky Mountain Seminary) included music in the curriculum.⁴⁹⁶ The 1877 Rocky Mountain Seminary annual, after listing regular courses for “elementary”, “intermediate,” and “grammar” levels, states, “Special attention shall be given to Vocal Music.”⁴⁹⁷ The first school circular indicated “extra charges” for “Instrumental Music” but no exact fee is listed.⁴⁹⁸ In 1884–85, the circular lists “Mrs. J. B. Wilson” as music and piano faculty. There may have been additional music instructors. “Superior facilities for the study of Vocal and Instrumental Music will also be afforded under the tuition of the best teachers of the city.”⁴⁹⁹ In 1891–92, the Salt Lake Seminary organized a “Musical Conservatory” with “Miss Lincoln” as the faculty member “in charge” of the conservatory.⁵⁰⁰ The course catalog contains the following information about the new conservatory:

Improved facilities for the study of music will be afforded this year in the establishment of a Musical Conservatory, in charge of an experienced and competent director, whose name adds strength to the faculty corps, and assures unprecedented success in this department. Miss Lincoln, in charge of this department, has no superior in the West as a vocalist and teacher of

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 132–133.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 135.

⁴⁹⁶ Linda Sillitoe, *A History of Salt Lake County* (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah State Historical Society and Salt Lake County Commission, 1996), 71.

⁴⁹⁷ *Rocky Mountain Seminary, Salt Lake City. Eighth Year. August 27th, 1877* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1877), 2, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁹⁹ Utah Territory Superintendent of District Schools, Records 1877–1886, MS 2926, reel 2, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁵⁰⁰ *Annual Catalogue of the Salt Lake Seminary and Normal Training School. 1891–1892* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1891?), 4, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

vocal and instrumental music and as a choral and oratorio conductor.⁵⁰¹

The conservatory offered classes at no extra charge above the regular tuition costs for the institute. In an advertisement located on the back cover of the catalog for the Salt Lake Music Company, the conservatory is referred to as the “Western Conservatory of Music of Salt Lake Seminary and Normal Training School.”⁵⁰²

In 1871, the school in Ogden hired Miss Sarah Brown to assist “in the regular branches, and...as a teacher of instrumental music.”⁵⁰³ Instrumental music continued as part of the curriculum through 1892.⁵⁰⁴ A Scandinavian school in Elsinore, which opened in 1886, was called the “Columbus Home” because it was donated by a woman from Columbus, Ohio. The first furniture donated to the school included an organ.⁵⁰⁵

Presbyterian

The Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. opened the first Presbyterian school, Rocky Mountain Academy, in Utah in the town of Corinne in September of 1871.⁵⁰⁶ Music was one of six subjects taught.⁵⁰⁷ In preliminary notices for the school in July of 1871, the word “Music” was written in print over twice as large as the other subjects listed.⁵⁰⁸ Vocal music was included in the regular tuition and instrumental music cost an

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁰² Ibid., Back Cover.

⁵⁰³ “Teacher for Ogden,” *Salt Lake Tribune* (November 18, 1871), 1.

⁵⁰⁴ Hansen, “A History of the Development of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools” 101.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 105.

⁵⁰⁶ Carl Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools in Utah,” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1968), 16–17. The school was listed as “Rocky Mountain Female Academy” in the business directory of the local newspaper on July 28 and 29, 1871.

⁵⁰⁷ “Rocky Mountain Academy,” *Corinne Reporter* (July 8, 1871), 1.

⁵⁰⁸ Notices dated July 8, 28, 29 and August 18, 22, 23, 1871.

extra two dollars a month.⁵⁰⁹ This school closed in November, only two months after opening.⁵¹⁰

Presbyterian Schools were commonly started by church members rather than by the church itself.⁵¹¹ Soon an overall organization was established, which included many “grade schools” or “mission schools” in communities around the territory. After students attended these grade schools, they would graduate to more centrally located “academies” and then they would go on to attend a Presbyterian college.⁵¹² This “college,” The Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, established in 1875, served all grade levels initially. It began to phase out the lower grades and began offering college courses in 1892. It became Westminster College in 1902 and continues today.⁵¹³ By 1881, thirty-three grade schools operated around the territory taught by forty-five teachers.⁵¹⁴ In 1885, the average enrollment in a grade school was thirty-eight.⁵¹⁵ The academies were located in American Fork (Willard Academy), Logan (Cache Valley Seminary also called New Jersey Academy), Mount Pleasant (Wasatch Academy), Nephi (Huntington Academy),⁵¹⁶ Parowan (Iron County Academy) and Springville (Hungerford Academy).⁵¹⁷ Enrollment in the academies averaged sixty-seven with 225 enrolled in Salt Lake Collegiate Institute

⁵⁰⁹ Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools in Utah,” 18. Advertisement for the school continued in the local newspaper until December 28, 1871.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Bane, “The Development of Education in Utah,” 139.

⁵¹² Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools,” 21–22.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Bane, 140.

⁵¹⁵ *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1885*, 309–310, quoted in Bane, 141.

⁵¹⁶ Bane, 141.

⁵¹⁷ Hansen, “Non-Mormon Denominational Schools,” 78–79.

in 1885.⁵¹⁸ In 1890, the Utah Commissioner of schools reported 1,322 students enrolled in Presbyterian schools in the territory.⁵¹⁹

In the first circular for the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute in 1876, “singing” is listed in the subjects for the “Primary” grades (first and second year), but not in subsequent grades. Piano instruction cost fifteen dollars per ten-week quarter.⁵²⁰ In the second circular, music is a component of “general exercises” that is included in primary “grade B” and in all intermediate grades. “Vocal music” is listed in “weekly exercises” for the “High School Department.” Piano instruction is listed again at fifteen dollars per quarter.⁵²¹

In church minutes, the earliest mention of a music teacher by name occurs in 1880, Miss Emma J. Kelly, the music teacher for the 1880–81 year at Salt Lake Collegiate Institute.⁵²² For the next school year (1881–82), Thomas Radcliff was the music teacher.⁵²³ Radcliffe was simultaneously employed as a piano instructor at Rowland Hall, an Episcopalian school in Salt Lake.

Kelly and Radcliffe apparently worked together in music instruction. In 1881, a

⁵¹⁸ Bane, 141.

⁵¹⁹ *Biennial Report of the Commissioner of [Utah] Schools. 1890–1891*, Schedule F, quoted in Bane, 142.

⁵²⁰ *First Annual Circular of the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute for the year ending June 8th, 1876* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1876), Special Collections, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁵²¹ *Catalogue of the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, for the year 1877* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Printing and Publishing Company, 1877), Special Collections, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁵²² “Church-wide minutes 1872–1908,” in First Presbyterian Church Salt Lake Records, 357, Accn 1049, box 1, folder 6, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. The spelling changes between “Kelley” and “Kelly” throughout the minutes. In all school publications, the spelling is “Kelly.”

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 360.

publication printed upon the tenth anniversary of the Presbyterian Church in Utah provided a snapshot of the condition of music instruction at the institute. It described the facilities and announced “Miss E. J. Kelly...Associate Principal of the Music Department.”⁵²⁴

The Music Department of the school is in charge of Prof. Radcliffe, with Miss Kelly as assistant. The facilities for instruction and practice are ample. There are four pianos and one organ. One of the pianos is a new upright of splendid tone and finish. The rooms of this department are agreeable and capacious, with reception room attached. There is vocal music in the school every day. There has been quite an increase of patronage in the Music Department.⁵²⁵

Church minutes state that Miss Annie McKean was employed as a “teacher of music” in April 1883.⁵²⁶ McKean had been teaching in a mission school⁵²⁷ and providing community singing classes in the central Utah community of Fillmore for at least two previous years.⁵²⁸ Kelly traveled to Fillmore to visit McKean in early July of 1882. Kelly was leaving for California soon and wanted McKean to take her place at the Institute. McKean initially did not want the position, intending to study music in Chicago the coming year.⁵²⁹ She remained in Fillmore, however, and accepted the position at the

⁵²⁴ Col. Wm. Nelson, “Collegiate Institute,” in *Addresses at the Tenth Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Salt Lake City, November 13, 1881. Also a Statement of the Present Condition of the Church, A Sketch of the Collegiate Institute, and of Presbyterian Work in Utah* (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah Printing Company, 1882), 12.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵²⁶ “Church-wide minutes 1872–1908,” First Presbyterian Church, 368.

⁵²⁷ This mission school was held in the old Territorial State House building. Annie McKean and fellow teacher Mary Agnes Craig lived in rooms on the upper floor.

⁵²⁸ Mary Agnes Craig McMicken, Letters to her family, from Fillmore, Utah, letters no. 10 (Nov. 21, 1881) and 15 (Feb. 24, 1882), typeset by Sally Murrow Hitchcock Collins, Territorial Statehouse State Park Museum, Fillmore, UT.

⁵²⁹ McMicken, letter no. 20.

Institute the following year.⁵³⁰ In August of 1886, two school officials, Professor Millspaugh and Dr. McNiece, were charged with securing new teachers for the music department.⁵³¹ They secured the services of “Miss Mattie Royale” and rehired Radcliffe.

In the school circular for the 1886–87 school year, Radcliffe and Royale are listed as piano instructors.⁵³² The circular mentions that music “will be open to regular pupils of the school and also to those who do not wish to take other studies.”⁵³³ Twenty lessons in piano cost ten dollars and twenty dollars depending on the lesson length.⁵³⁴ Use of the piano for one hour per day cost two dollars and fifty cents per quarter. There is a textbook list in this circular but there is no music book included.⁵³⁵ Information for the “Kindergarten Department” included the following:

Circle Games and Singing: These games give to the child a healthful recreation, and teach a sympathetic love for the natural life about him. There is a healthy moral sentiment pervading all the songs, molding the spirit and stimulating the child to his best behavior.⁵³⁶

Radcliffe is the only piano teacher listed in the 1887–88 circular. Of the music department, the circular states: “Under the charge of a specialist like Prof. Radcliffe, no other recommendation for thoroughness and efficiency of instruction is needed.”⁵³⁷ In the fee schedule, only the twenty-dollar per term lessons are listed along with the piano use

⁵³⁰ McMicken, letter no. 32.

⁵³¹ Nelson, “Collegiate Institute,” 415.

⁵³² *Annual Circular of Salt Lake Collegiate Institute. Twelfth Year, 1886–87* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1886), 2, Special Collections, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵³⁴ It is not clear in the document why there are two rates given. It is likely that it refers to thirty minute lessons and sixty minute lessons.

⁵³⁵ *Annual Circular of Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, 1886–87*, 15–16.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8. This information is also included in the 1887–88 circular, 6.

⁵³⁷ *Annual Circular of Salt Lake Institute. Thirteenth Year. 1887–88* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1887), 2, Special Collections, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

fee.

Radcliffe continued as piano instructor through the 1888–89 year. The 1888–89 circular includes the following:

It is designed to make the Department of Music especially excellent. Those who do not take other studies at the school, as well as regular pupils, may enjoy the advantages of this department. As heretofore, Prof. Radcliffe will have the advanced pupils. He will be assisted this year by Miss Lucia E. Danforth, who comes to us with such recommendations as justify highest anticipations of success.⁵³⁸

Twenty piano lessons for the term cost twenty dollars or ten dollars for beginners and the piano-use fee remained at two dollars and fifty cents per term.⁵³⁹ Radcliffe and Danforth continued to teach piano in 1889–90⁵⁴⁰ and all music fees remained the same as in 1888–89.⁵⁴¹ There are no music teachers listed in the 1890–91 circular and there is no mention of a music department; however, piano lesson fees and piano use fees are still listed.⁵⁴² The faculty list in the 1891–92 circular includes “Mrs. Chas. A. Richardson, Teacher of Piano.”⁵⁴³ The next four circulars do not include any information regarding music.

Music was included in the curriculum of academies and mission schools outside the Salt Lake Valley. In the Iron County Academy, which opened in 1881, “Miss M. J. Cort” was the instructor for instrumental and vocal music. This academy had three terms

⁵³⁸ *The Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, Salt Lake City, Utah. Fourteenth Annual Circular. 1888–9* (Salt Lake City, UT: Salt Lake Tribune Printing and Publishing Company, 1888), 5, Special Collections, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵⁴⁰ *The Collegiate Institute, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1889–90* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1889), 2, Special Collections, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵⁴³ *The Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, Salt Lake City, Utah. 1891–92* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Job Printing Company, 1891), 2, Special Collections, Giovale Library, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah.

per year and a sixteen-week evening school.⁵⁴⁴ In a speech read before the Synodical Home Missionary Society in Ann Arbor Michigan, Mrs. William M. Ferry reported in 1883, “At Nephi...we visited the school and heard sweet singing and good recitations from the children.”⁵⁴⁵ While in Ephraim “the children sang for us.”⁵⁴⁶ Wasatch Academy in central Utah in Mt. Pleasant is still in operation today; it opened on April 19, 1875.⁵⁴⁷ In 1879, the founder of the school, Duncan McMillan, married Emily Kent Johnson. Soon after the wedding, Mrs. McMillan, a musician, had her “two-manual Mason and Hamblin organ” that she had purchased in Chicago and brought to Salt Lake City, delivered to Mt. Pleasant. This was evidently the beginning of music activities at Wasatch Academy.⁵⁴⁸ The McMillan’s left Mt. Pleasant in 1880.⁵⁴⁹ An official music department did not exist until 1901.⁵⁵⁰

The Cache Valley Seminary (renamed the New Jersey Academy in 1890) existed from 1879 to 1934. Miss Margaret A. Parks, “teacher of music,” was one of the first three teachers at the institution; the other two were her parents, Susan Parks and Reverend Calvin Parks. Instrumental music was charged an extra fee over the regular tuition. Vocal music was included in the “course of study” for “primary,” “junior class” and the “senior

⁵⁴⁴ Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools in Utah,” 31.

⁵⁴⁵ Mrs. Wm. M. Ferry, “Our Schools in Utah,” read before the Synodical Home Missionary Society, Ann Arbor, Michigan, October 11, 1883, 5, Scrapbooks Volume I, 1877–1897, First Presbyterian Church Records, 1870–1988, Accn 1049. Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁴⁷ Donna J. Glidewell, *It Endures Like the Wasatch Mountains: The History of Wasatch Academy* (Mt. Pleasant, UT: Donna J. Glidewell, 2003), 18.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 35–36.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 62.

class.⁵⁵¹

Catholic

St. Mary's Academy for girls was the first Catholic school in Utah; it opened in Salt Lake City on September 6, 1875.⁵⁵² Though only nine or ten Catholic families lived in the city, by the end of the first week there were 100 day students and six boarders enrolled at the school.⁵⁵³ The school continued to grow until 1880 (270 scholars and eighteen staff) and then began to decline. By 1895, there were 130 students and a staff of three.⁵⁵⁴ All Hallows College opened as a day and boarding school for boys in Salt Lake City with forty-two students in September of 1886.⁵⁵⁵ At peak enrollment in 1894, one hundred-fifty attended.⁵⁵⁶

A parish elementary school opened in Ogden in 1877, but closed with the opening of Sacred Heart Academy on September 16, 1878, which had separate classes for boys and girls. In 1882, the boys' classes were combined to form St. Joseph's elementary school.⁵⁵⁷ Another parish elementary school opened in Salt Lake City in 1882 and closed in 1896.⁵⁵⁸ A school in Park City associated with St. Mary of the Assumption church, opened on September of 1881⁵⁵⁹ and maintained an enrollment of 150 students until

⁵⁵¹ Harold Y. S. Loo, "The History of the New Jersey-Logan Academy, 1878–1934" (master's thesis, Utah State University, 1952), 15.

⁵⁵² Bane, "The Development of Education in Utah," 150–151.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 157–158.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁹ Harris, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, 317.

1896. In 1886, a school opened in Eureka, maintaining enrollments between fifty and eighty students until 1896.⁵⁶⁰

Sister McLaren taught music when St. Mary's Academy opened in 1875. She taught music "all day."⁵⁶¹ Newspaper advertisements for the school show "vocal music" included in the curriculum at "NO EXTRA CHARGE."⁵⁶² In addition to the free "general vocal class," "Instrumental Music" was offered for thirty dollars per term, "Private Vocal Lessons" for twenty dollars per term and "Private Vocal Class" for six dollars per term.⁵⁶³ The program for the first commencement ceremony for St. Mary's Academy included seventeen instrumental performance pieces and vocal songs. Twenty-seven students are listed by name as participating. Performances were piano solos and ensembles, vocal solos and ensembles with piano accompaniment and choral numbers.⁵⁶⁴ Music offerings at the academy expanded rapidly. Within the first few years of the academy, there were fourteen "regular" teachers and two or three music teachers.⁵⁶⁵ By the 1882–83 academic year, harp, guitar and zither studies were included in the curriculum.⁵⁶⁶ Students could earn a "Prize Gold Metal" in vocal and instrumental

⁵⁶⁰ Bane, 159.

⁵⁶¹ Colleen Whitley, *Worth Their Salt: Notable but often Unnoted Women of Utah* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1996), 38–39.

⁵⁶² "St. Mary's Academy," *Salt Lake Democrat* (October 2, 1886), 1.

⁵⁶³ *Academy of St. Mary's, of Utah* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1875), Sisters of the Holy Cross Archive and Records, Notre Dame, IN.

⁵⁶⁴ *First Annual Commencement of The Academy of St. Mary's of Utah, July 1st, 1876* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1876), Sisters of the Holy Cross Archive and Records, Notre Dame, IN.

⁵⁶⁵ Andrea Ventilla, "The History of Saint Mary's Academy in Salt Lake City 1875–1926," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 230.

⁵⁶⁶ *St. Mary's Academy Thanksgiving Entertainment* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1883), *Eighth Annual Commencement of St. Mary's Academy* (Salt Lake City, UT: 1883), Sisters of the Holy Cross Archive and Records, Notre Dame, IN.

music.⁵⁶⁷ In 1887, 130 students completed exams with “satisfactory results” in “instrumental and vocal music, thorough bass and theory.” Special accommodations were taken in the exam scheduling at the school because of the large number of students taking music exams.⁵⁶⁸ Record books from St. Mary’s Academy in 1895 show one space per student for the placement of the “lesson grade” or the grade for all academic subjects, and separate spaces for the grades of extra subjects including “piano,” “guitar,” and “vocal lessons.”⁵⁶⁹ The sisters at St. Mary’s taught lessons on piano, zither, organ, guitar, banjo, harp, mandolin, flute, cello and violin and the school had its own orchestra.⁵⁷⁰

At All Hallows College, a “prospectus” of the school in 1895–96 showed instruction available on piano, organ, flute, guitar, violin, mandolin, banjo and clarinet. Prices for the instruction ranged from sixty dollars per year for piano, fifty for organ and forty for other instruments. “Ordinary instruction on band instrument” was ten dollars for the year.⁵⁷¹

An advertisement published one day before the opening of Sacred Heart Academy in 1878 stated that musical instruction would be a “specialty” at the school. Piano lessons were offered for twelve dollars a term.⁵⁷² The catalog for the 1895–96 year shows the expansion of music after a seventeen-year period. Tuition for a five-month session in the “Academic Course” included “lessons in note singing.”⁵⁷³ Of the fourteen “elective”

⁵⁶⁷ *Eighth Annual Commencement.*

⁵⁶⁸ “The Sisters Academy,” *Salt Lake Tribune* (June 19, 1887), 8.

⁵⁶⁹ Ventilla, “History of Saint Mary’s Academy,” 234.

⁵⁷⁰ Andrea Ventilla, “Utah’s First Catholic School,” *Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City: From the Archives*, accessed March 14, 2015, <http://www.dioslc.org/history/utahs-first-catholic-school>.

⁵⁷¹ Bane, “The Development of Education in Utah,” 156.

⁵⁷² “Sacred Heart Academy, Ogden, Ut.” *Salt Lake Tribune* (September 15, 1878), 1.

⁵⁷³ *Annual Catalogue. Sacred Heart Academy for the Academic Year of 1895–6* (Ogden, UT:

courses, over half were music.⁵⁷⁴

- Three “voice culture” options; in a “class” setting for ten dollars, in private lessons once a week for twenty-five dollars or twice a week for thirty dollars. The private lessons included instruction in “Delsarte” movement.
- Individual piano lessons for thirty dollars.
- Individual harp lessons for forty dollars.
- Two violin lessons options; with a school-furnished violin for thirty-five dollars or with a student-furnished violin for thirty dollars.
- Individual guitar or mandolin lessons for thirty dollars.
- Individual lessons in “Thorough Bass.”⁵⁷⁵

Music “conservatory” students could use the piano one hour per day for practice at no extra charge; additional hours were charged at eight dollars each.⁵⁷⁶ It was the intent of the music conservatory that not too much importance be given to “mere technique.” “A conscientious effort to comprehend and interpret music is constantly encouraged.” The instructors would select music containing “the most classical models of form” and “the most exalted expressions of genius” rather than “please fancy by compositions which are not of intrinsic merit.”⁵⁷⁷ An outline for a seven-year course in piano study and five-year course in vocal study was included in the catalog.⁵⁷⁸

Acme Printing Company, 1894), 27, Special Collections, Stewart Library, Weber State University.

⁵⁷⁴ Other electives were “type-writing,” two stenography, painting and drawing.

⁵⁷⁵ *Annual Catalogue. Sacred Heart Academy, 1895–6.* 27–28.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵⁷⁸ See Appendix E.

Congregational

The New West Education Commission was organized in 1879 as part of an aggressive westward missionary movement by the Congregational church. Their main object was “the promotion of the Christian civilization in Utah and adjacent states and territories by the education of the children and youth under Christian teachers.”⁵⁷⁹ The Commission operated four schools in Salt Lake City: one “academy” (Hammond Hall) and three “grade schools” (Phillips, Burlington and Plymouth).⁵⁸⁰ Other academies were in Ogden (Gordon Academy) and Provo (Proctor Academy). By the mid-1880s, schools were opened in twenty-five rural communities from Oak Creek in the south to Trenton in the north.⁵⁸¹ Student enrollment in the territory was 2,812 at its peak in 1892.⁵⁸² New West Education Commission ceased operations in 1893. Many of the schools closed in that year; however, a few continued under other affiliations.⁵⁸³

Arthur M. Peebles was an active music educator in the schools in the Salt Lake City. He would transport a portable organ by buggy and visit the various schools twice a month. On Peebles’ visit, most of the school day would be spent singing. On occasion, the schools would be brought together for music festivals.⁵⁸⁴ Peebles was succeeded by Isaac Huse.⁵⁸⁵ Catherine Ashley was the music teacher in Hammond Hall. She taught in each room of the school twice a week for thirty-five minutes using the Tonic Sol-fa

⁵⁷⁹ E. Lyman Hood, *The New West Education Commission 1880–1893* (Jacksonville, FL: The H & W. B. Drew Company, 1905), 9.

⁵⁸⁰ Pickell, “A History of the Music Curriculum in Salt Lake City,” 24. Tuition was charged in the academies, but not in the grade schools.

⁵⁸¹ Hood, *The New West Education Commission* 131–132.

⁵⁸² Bane, 161.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Pickell, 24.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., 25.

method.⁵⁸⁶ In an 1884–85 circular for the Salt Lake Academy (Hammond Hall), Ashley was listed as instructor of piano.⁵⁸⁷ During that school year, Ashley was scheduled to teach “a class in music reading and practice twice a week.” The class was open to “students of any grade, whether connected to the academy or not.” The course fee was two dollars per term.⁵⁸⁸

Correspondence between teachers and students at the Ogden academy lends insight to the inclusion of music there. “Miss J. W. Ludden” was a vocal music teacher from 1889 to 1891.⁵⁸⁹ In 1890, “Mrs. Copeland” started the year as an assistant, teaching music in the upper grades, but soon Ludden was in charge of all the singing again when Copland was needed to assist with the growing numbers of students in the lower grades in general studies.⁵⁹⁰ Many of the teachers would teach songs as needed for upcoming school exhibitions.⁵⁹¹ Description of a commencement ceremony at the end of the 1890–91 school year is as follows: “We had Prof. Kents’ [sic] orchestra to play for commencement and Prof. Kent drilled us for three choruses, and he played a solo. I think the music was very good.”⁵⁹² A commencement program dated June 6, 1890 indicated the

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ In this particular circular she is listed as “Mrs. K. Ashley.” Bane spells her first name beginning with a “C.”

⁵⁸⁸ Utah Territory Superintendent of District Schools, Records 1877–1886.

⁵⁸⁹ Ludden may have been teaching music in Ogden as early as 1885. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported in June, 1885 that Miss. V. W. Ludden was teaching a summer singing school at the New West Academy in Ogden. Cost of the class was \$4 for 24 lessons.

⁵⁹⁰ Abbie Parrish Noyes, to her Father, October 7, 1889, J. W. Ludden, to Abbie Parrish Noyes, October 15, 1890, MSS B 172, box 1, folder 2 and 5, Abbie Parrish Noyes Papers, 1889–1896, Utah Historical Society.

⁵⁹¹ Jennie Prout, to Abbie Parrish Noyes, November 8, 1890 and James T. Taylor, to Abbie Parrish Noyes, December 19, 1890, box 1, folder 6, Abbie Parrish Noyes Papers.

⁵⁹² L. Jennie Prout, to Abbie Parrish Noyes, June 11, 1891, MSS B 172, box 1, folder 7. Abbie Parrish Noyes Papers.

evening began with a thirty-minute “band concert.” Ten of the remaining seventeen numbers on the program were music performances, some by the band, and others by soloists.⁵⁹³ Printed programs of “Entertainments” held in the fall and spring of 1891 at Ogden Academy show regular appearances of a school “drum corps.”⁵⁹⁴ At a New West Education Commission Teachers’ Institute held in Salt Lake’s Hammond Hall on November 25–27, 1889, Ludden delivered a paper entitled, “Systematic Teaching of Music.” Following the reading of the paper, Ashley, Frances Corwin and Mary J. Hills led a discussion on the topic.⁵⁹⁵ It is not clear if Corwin or Hills were teachers in New West Education Commission Schools.

Carrie Hunt, Gertrude Samson and Florence C. Crosby taught music along with other subjects in schools in Cache County. These three women came from Massachusetts for the express purpose of teaching in the New West school system.⁵⁹⁶

Latter-day Saint

Wankier and Buchanan make the argument that common schools in Utah from 1850 to 1867 were parochial in nature because they were taught and administered exclusively by LDS members, often taught in buildings also used as places of LDS worship and, due to lack of reading material available, often used LDS scriptures for

⁵⁹³ Graduating Exercises, Friday Evening June 6, 1890, MSS B 172, box 1, folder 9, Abbie Parrish Noyes Papers.

⁵⁹⁴ Ogden Academy Entertainment, January 14, 1891, February 11, 1891 and April 14, 1891, MSS B 172, box 1, folder 9, Abbie Parrish Noyes Papers.

⁵⁹⁵ New West Education Commission Teachers’ Institute, November 25–27, 1889, 3, MSS B 172, box 1, folder 9, Abbie Parrish Noyes Papers.

⁵⁹⁶ Ross F. Peterson, *A History of Cache County* (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah State Historical Society and Cache County Commission, 1997), 196–198.

reading instruction.⁵⁹⁷ Common schools in Utah are not considered “parochial” in this study. From 1868 through 1889, though both tuition and tax revenue was collected to support the common schools, the 1868 Education Act stipulated that taxes collected for education went only to schools “under the immediate control of district trustees” not religious entities.⁵⁹⁸ Buchanan states that territorial common schools in the 1860s and 1870s, though “controlled by Mormons...with 80% or more of the population, they were public in a very real sense.”⁵⁹⁹ The 1890 Free Public School Act set forth a completely tax supported public school system from the “nucleus” of the common school system of the previous three decades.⁶⁰⁰

In response to the popularity of other denominations’ parochial “academies” filling the increased need for high school level education in the territory, the LDS church began an aggressive era of building academies throughout the territory and locations throughout the west from Mexico to Canada.⁶⁰¹ The earliest was Brigham Young Academy in Provo (1876), which is now Brigham Young University. Brigham Young College opened in Logan in 1877.⁶⁰² In 1888, a directive went out from church leaders to each of the thirty-two LDS stakes,⁶⁰³ “There should be one Stake Academy established in

⁵⁹⁷ Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools in Utah,” 12, Frederick Buchanan, “Mormon Response to Secular Education,” 644.

⁵⁹⁸ Bane, 111.

⁵⁹⁹ Buchanan, “Education among Mormons,” 448.

⁶⁰⁰ Buchanan, “Mormon Response,” 645.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 644.

⁶⁰² Arnold K. Carr, “A History of Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah,” Master’s Thesis, Utah State University (1973): 77. When the academy closed in 1926, the buildings were sold to Logan City and became the home of Logan High School. The academy library was donated to Utah State Agricultural College, now Utah State University.

⁶⁰³ An LDS “stake” is geographical region similar to a “diocese” in the Catholic Church containing approximately eight to ten smaller regions called “wards” which are similar to a

each Stake as soon as practicable.”⁶⁰⁴ Some of these academies were the forerunners of current colleges and universities in Utah. The Salt Lake Stake Academy is now LDS Business College. Weber Stake Academy in Ogden is now Weber State University, Sanpete Stake Academy in Ephraim is now Snow College, and the St. George Stake Academy is now Dixie High School and Dixie State University. In total, thirty-three academies were opened; twenty of them were in the boundaries of Utah territory.⁶⁰⁵

Two hundred thirty-six music instructors taught in the LDS academies from 1876 to 1926. Thirty-nine of those music instructors taught in the Utah territory between the years 1875 and 1895.⁶⁰⁶ The church board of education, organized in 1888, outlined curriculum for the stake academies.⁶⁰⁷ In the “primary department” (first through third grade reader), students were to engage in daily musical activities centered on singing simple songs and “voice drill.” “Preparatory department” (fourth grade reader) students were to meet twice a week for singing and the introduction of note reading. For students in the “intermediate department” (fifth grade reader), the curriculum simply stated “vocal music” with no indication as to the frequency or content of the instruction. “Vocal music” study was required for students in the “normal department.”⁶⁰⁸ Music was not required in the “academic department” above fifth grade.⁶⁰⁹ Private music instruction was also offered at many of the academies though not stipulated by the board.

Catholic parish. Each ward typically has 500 to 700 members. Each stake contains 4,000 to 7,000 members.

⁶⁰⁴ Esplin, “Education in Transition: Church and State Relationships in Utah Education,” 81.

⁶⁰⁵ Laycock, “A History of Music in the Academies,” 503–506.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendix A, 451–475.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁰⁸ The “Normal Department” was for students studying to become school teachers.

⁶⁰⁹ Laycock, 321–322.

This curriculum directive was reflected in the courses offered at the Sevier Stake Academy in 1889–90 in central Utah. “Singing class” in the primary department included “primary songs” and “voice drill.” In the preparatory and intermediate departments, “vocal music” class included “introduction to notes” and “selected songs,” while individual “vocal and instrumental (piano)” instruction was available for students in the academic department.⁶¹⁰

Karl G. Maeser, the director of Brigham Young Academy and an active mentor to many instructors in the LDS Academy system, was a trained musician. This likely influenced the inclusion of music in the curriculum in the academies.⁶¹¹ Maeser would conduct summer teaching institutes on a regular basis for academy instructors. Music instruction was a common component of summer training for teachers. Examinations held at the end of the institute held in Gunnison in 1890 included a music exam. Anthony C. Lund, who taught music at Brigham Young Academy, taught music courses during a seven-week teacher institute in Manti in the summer of 1895.⁶¹² Commonly, LDS musicians in the communities where the academies were located would contribute to the instruction and presentation of music as needed. “Integration of school and community music was found to a large degree throughout the entire history of the [LDS] academies.”⁶¹³ Evan Stephens’ Music Readers were often used as the music textbooks.⁶¹⁴

Brigham Young Academy was the largest academy. The first vocal instructors were Maeser (1867–77) and James E. Daniels (1877–78). Susa Young took over the choir

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 119.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 121.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Ibid., 122.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid., 322.

and began teaching piano and organ lessons in 1879. In 1880, Nettie Southworth was in charge of the music department and William H. King directed the academy choir. Each school department had a singing class and the best singers from each department formed the academy choir.⁶¹⁵ From 1881 to 1886, five individuals assisted Southworth with music instruction: John Foote, Jennie Harris and Willard Done (choir) and Sarah Ellerbeck and Zina L. Clinton (piano). Henry E. Giles was the head of the music department from 1886 to 1896. During this time, the academy enrollment reached over five hundred and a four-year high school was established. In addition to increased enrollment in music courses, expansions to the music department under Giles' direction included concert performances in other cities,⁶¹⁶ a two-year vocal music sequence of study, a harmony course, and an academy band.⁶¹⁷ Otilie Maeser, daughter of the academy president, taught piano and organ lessons during Giles' tenure. The high volume of piano and organ students required the hiring of assistants including Lillie Roberts, Edith Beck, "Dr." Huff, "Mrs." Herman Martin and Anthony C. Lund.⁶¹⁸ Lund took over the entire department in 1896.

At Brigham Young College in Logan, established in 1878, there is no data regarding music instruction prior to 1884.⁶¹⁹ Beginning in the 1884–85 academic year, six teachers were on staff. Of those six, two were music teachers. Nettie Thatcher taught piano and William Knowles taught vocal music and was assisted by Gottfried L. G.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 125–126.

⁶¹⁶ Salt Lake City in spring 1893.

⁶¹⁷ Laycock, 127–128.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 128.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 160.

Hessel. In 1889, Knowles was replaced by Hyrum Walstrom and Thatcher was replaced by Alex Lewis. Wilhelm Fogelberg was in charge of the music department beginning in 1891. By 1895, lessons on violin, guitar and cornet were offered and men's and women's glee clubs were formed.⁶²⁰ Beginning in 1895, students in the teacher training program were enrolled in the vocal music course because "vocal music is now almost universally taught in the public schools, as well as in the private schools and academies."⁶²¹

The Salt Lake Stake Academy opened in 1886. The name was changed to Latter-day Saints College in 1890.⁶²² In the first year of the institution, a singing class met three times a week. A select choir was also formed. The choir was directed by William Done, who also taught at Brigham Young Academy.⁶²³ Beginning in 1889 and using Evan Stephens' Music Readers as the music textbooks,⁶²⁴ the conductors of the Salt Lake Tabernacle Choir were listed as music instructors at the academy, Ebenezer Beesley, 1889–90 and Stephens, 1890–92. Joseph J. Daynes, Salt Lake LDS Tabernacle organist, had a one-year appointment at the academy in 1892–93. Piano and organ instruction began in 1893–94 under the direction of Gwendolyn Lewis. Thomas McIntyre taught vocal music the same year. For texts, McIntyre used Evan Stephens' *Songster*⁶²⁵ three

⁶²⁰ Ibid., 161–162.

⁶²¹ *Brigham Young College Circular, 1895–96*, quoted in Laycock, 162.

⁶²² Lynn M. Hilton, *The History of LDS Business College and its Parent Institutions 1886–1993* (Salt Lake City, UT: LDS Business College, 1995), Appendix B. <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/MiscellaneousBooks/id/438>. Laycock says the name change occurred in 1889.

⁶²³ Laycock, 177.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 322.

⁶²⁵ Evan Stephens, *The School and Primary Songster* (1889).

days a week and Emery's *Harmony*⁶²⁶ two days a week.⁶²⁷ In 1895, John J. McClellan, after returning from teaching at the University Of Michigan Conservatory of Music, organized the "school of music" at the academy. Courses offered included vocal and instrumental music, private instruction and music theory.⁶²⁸

Classes began at Weber Stake Academy in Ogden in January of 1889. Vocal music was taught in all departments, preparatory, intermediate and academic. The academy choir had forty members. Lewis D. Edwards, who was music instructor in the Ogden City schools from 1884 to 1890, was initially hired to teach vocal and instrumental music for the 1889–90 year, but Anton Peterson replaced him before the year began. Peterson taught for four hours each week and was paid forty dollars per month.⁶²⁹ Albert N. Tollerstrup was the music instructor when the academy moved into a new building for the 1891–92 year. He taught vocal and instrumental music and organized a choir. The first two music readers of Luther W. Mason's *National Music Course* and accompanying charts were used for instruction in the preparatory department. Squire Coop taught music in the 1894–95 year.⁶³⁰

Sanpete Stake Academy opened in Ephraim in 1888. Vocal music was included in both the preparatory and intermediate departments. A choir of twenty-six performed intermittently. Anthony C. Lund was the first music instructor on record. After his graduation from Brigham Young Academy, he taught vocal music and piano at Sanpete from 1891 to 1892 and again in the 1894–95 academic year after a two-year study period

⁶²⁶ Stephen A. Emery, *Elements of Harmony* (Boston: Arthur P. Schmidt, 1890).

⁶²⁷ Laycock, 323.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 268–269.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 269.

in Germany. He later returned to Brigham Young Academy and became head of the music school in 1896.⁶³¹

Lillian King taught a two-year inclusive vocal music course and led the choir at the Millard Stake Academy in Fillmore beginning in 1885.⁶³² Louisa Black and “Mr.” Andelin were also music teachers at this academy before it closed in 1894.⁶³³

In the Juab Stake Academy in Nephi in 1894–95, the entire student body (160 students) took vocal music class. This class included “thorough drilling of voice to execution of pieces of ordinary difficulty, reading of music from sight, writing it readily from sound, also rudiments of harmony.”⁶³⁴

The Uintah Stake Academy in Vernal opened in November of 1891. A choir directed by “Mrs.” Joseph P. Hacking was active in the first years of the academy, but there is no record of vocal music classes being offered in the curriculum.⁶³⁵

According to records of the St. George Academy, vocal music was included in the fall semester of 1889 in both the preparatory and intermediate departments. Horatio Pickett was the instructor.⁶³⁶ A rare sample of student work in a music class is glued onto page forty-nine of an academy record book. It is a sheet of lined note paper approximately five by seven inches with three music staves written out in pencil. “Music”

⁶³¹ Ibid., 243–244.

⁶³² Ibid., 170.

⁶³³ Ibid., 171.

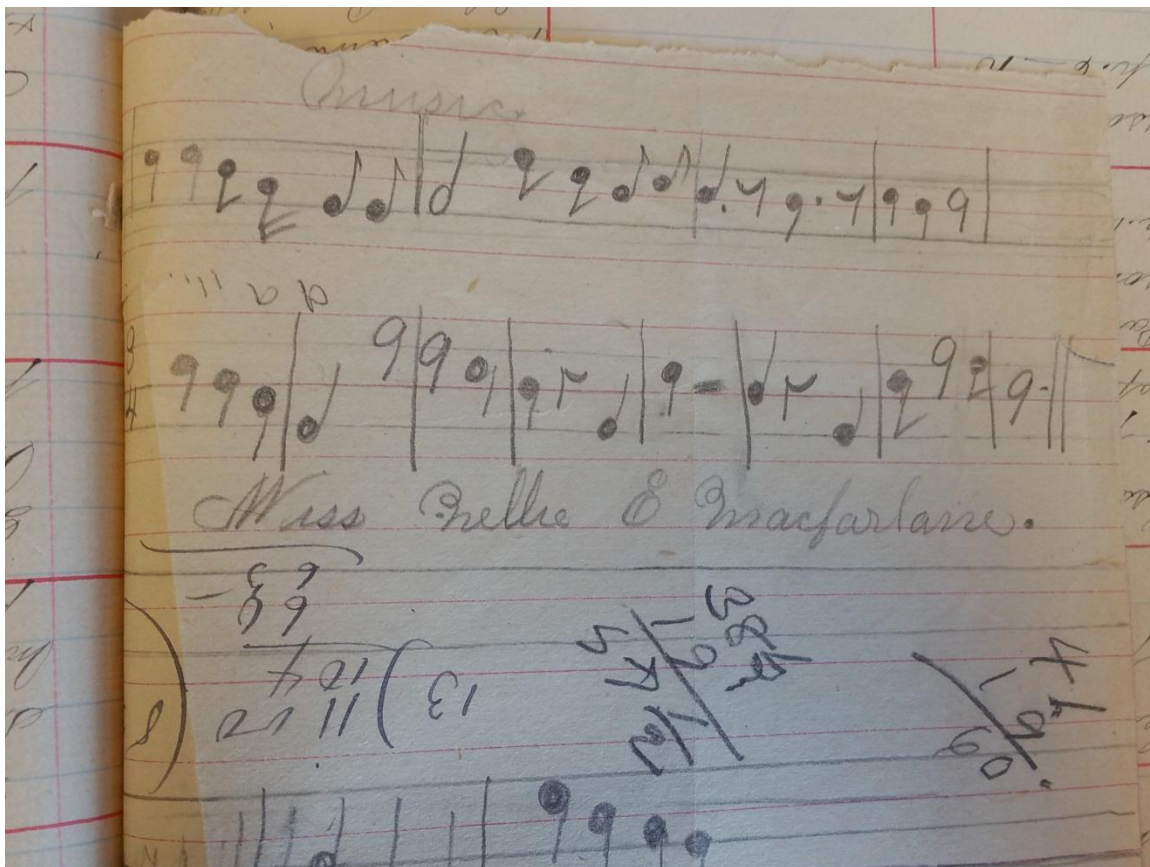
⁶³⁴ Ibid., 120.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., 292.

⁶³⁶ *Cottam Ledger of St. George Stake Academy, 1888–1891*, Special Collections & Archives, Dixie State University Library, St. George, Utah. Laycock states in his study that vocal music was only taught in the preparatory department and he does not list Pickett as a music instructor.

is written above the first staff and the words “Miss Nellie E. Macfarlane”⁶³⁷ are written in the space between the second and third staff. The handwriting appears to be that of a juvenile. Melodic and rhythmic material is written on each staff in measures that indicate common time for line one and line three but no time signature is visible. The second line contains material fitting three-four time and the time signature is visible in the left margin. There are no clef signs on any staff. The melodic material written on the first two staves begin and end on the same pitch in the third space. All of the note stems are written on the right side of the note head whether the stem is up or down. The quarter rests symbols are those common to printed music of the nineteenth century, the symbol that looks like a reversed eighth rest. The work appears to be melodic dictation, but it cannot be absolutely confirmed (see photograph below).

⁶³⁷ John Menzies Macfarlane was a prominent musician in southern Utah from 1860 to 1892. He had no children named “Nellie.” His brother, Daniel Sinclair Macfarlane lived in Cedar City, forty miles north. He had a daughter, Elizabeth Ellen, who went by the name “Nellie.” She was born in 1882 and would have been seven years old in 1889. It cannot be confirmed that the note paper was glued into the record book in 1889 or if Elizabeth Ellen Macfarlane was the student who wrote on the paper. (Family information obtained through *FamilySearch.org* (accessed March 28, 2015.)



Page glued to page 49 in Cottam Ledger of St. George Stake Academy, 1888–1891.⁶³⁸

Joseph Cosslett was a music instructor at the Parowan Stake Academy in 1890–

91. The following was reported concerning the various offerings in the music department:

Vocal Course: Consists of singing drill, with systematic instructions in reading music, and special instructions in harmony. An Academy Choir is organized with students receiving special appointments, from both departments. The Choir assists in all devotional exercises, and meet twice a week for practice. Theoretical Course: General and special instructions are given on the properties of music. Instrumental Course: On the piano

⁶³⁸ Image provided by Dixie State University Library, Special Collections.

and organ, instructions are given twice per week; optional. Tuition (Payable in Advance)...Instrumental Music Full term \$5.00, ½ Term \$2.50.⁶³⁹

In “closing exercises” for the first semester of the 1890–91 school year, Cosslett led the students in a sight-reading demonstration.⁶⁴⁰

In Heber City, Wasatch Stake Academy principal Enoch Jorgenson led the academy choir with assistant “Miss” Mary Jeffs in the 1889–90 school year. The choir rehearsed regularly once a week and more often as performances dictated. The academy also had a “glee club” separate from the choir.⁶⁴¹

According to Laycock, some LDS congregations operated private elementary schools called Seminaries.⁶⁴² These schools were outside the territorial common school jurisdiction, relying strictly on tuition and church assistance for operation. Regular inclusion of music in these schools is not clear. In one such school in Salt Lake City, the Fourteenth Ward Seminary, instrumental music was offered for twenty dollars per ten-week term under the instruction of Mrs. O. H. Riggs.⁶⁴³ Thomas J. McIntyre taught music using the Tonic Sol-fa system in the Salt Lake City Eighteenth Ward Seminary for two years in the mid-1880s.⁶⁴⁴

⁶³⁹ “Circular of the Parowan Stake Academy,” *Southern Utonian* (September 23, 1890), 1.

⁶⁴⁰ “Closing Exercises of the Parowan Stake Academy,” *Iron County News* (January 3, 1891), 4.

⁶⁴¹ “Principal’s Report of the Wasatch Stake Academy,” *Wasatch Wave* (February 18, 1890), 3.

⁶⁴² Laycock, 15.

⁶⁴³ *First Annual Circular of the Fourteenth Ward Seminary* (Salt Lake City, UT: Herald Print, 1873), M264.1 F781f 1873, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. There is no evidence that this seminary existed after its first year. The school principal was Obediah. H. Riggs who was the Territorial Commissioner of Common Schools from 1874 to 1877.

⁶⁴⁴ “Elder Thomas McIntyre,” *Juvenile Instructor* Vol. 37, no. 10 (May, 1902), 294. Accessed

Summary of Music Education in the Parochial Schools

Parochial schools were a key component in the educational landscape of the Utah territory serving over thirteen percent of the school-aged population at their height in the late 1880s. The parochial school movement subsided upon the passing of the Public School Act in 1890, yet some schools continued operations and are still open today: Rowland Hall (Episcopalian), Wasatch Academy and Westminster College (Presbyterian), Brigham Young University and LDS Business College (LDS). Weber State University, Snow College and Dixie State University were originally LDS academies, but are now public institutions.

Music instruction in these institutions contributed to an air of sophistication when compared to common schools of the time.⁶⁴⁵ Thomas Radcliffe was a prominent music educator in these schools, teaching in the largest school of both the Episcopal and Presbyterian church in Salt Lake City from 1881–90. Emma J. Kelly assisted Radcliffe at both institutions for most of these years.

Vocal music was the most common class offered, often included in the regular curriculum without an additional fee. “Instrumental Music,” usually in the form of piano lessons, was offered once or twice a week for an additional cost. Instruction was provided on other instruments as well, such as violin, guitar, mandolin, etc., especially in the Catholic schools. Some schools advertised music classes available to people who were not regular students of school. The most thorough, sequential training seems to have been at Rowland Hall, an Episcopal school for girls, and in the Catholic girls’ academies of

March 16, 2017, <https://archive.org/details/juvenileinstruct3710geor>.

⁶⁴⁵ Hansen, “Development of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools,” 86.

Salt Lake City and Ogden.

CHAPTER SEVEN
PRIVATE MUSIC INSTRUCTION

Evidence of the earliest private music instruction in Utah territory is in 1852. Dominico Ballo advertised lessons on band instruments in April⁶⁴⁶ and John M. Jones advertised violin lessons, in October of that year.⁶⁴⁷ Fifteen city and territorial directories, thirty-four newspapers, three nineteenth-century Utah music periodicals, pioneer journals and diaries and twentieth-century academic thesis have revealed 265 practicing private music teachers in the territory from 1850 to 1895.⁶⁴⁸ One hundred thirty-two were listed or advertised as “music” teachers, with no distinction as to a specialty in vocal or instrumental music. Four were listed or advertised “instrumental music” in all or part of their teaching with no designation as to the type of instrument taught. Fifty-four teachers were listed or advertised piano, organ or melodeon in all or part of their instruction. Sixty-two were listed or advertised voice or singing in all or part of their instruction. Thirty-eight were listed or advertised as band instructors or as teaching individual wind or percussion instruments in all or part of their teaching. Twelve were listed or advertised as orchestra or string instrument instructors (violin or cello) in all or part of their teaching, seven were listed or advertised as guitar, banjo and/or mandolin instructors in all or part of their teaching. Fifteen were listed or advertised as “harmony,” “theory” or “music reading” teachers in all or part of their teaching. Five were listed or advertised as

⁶⁴⁶ “Dominico Ballo,” *Deseret News* (April 17, 1852), 3.

⁶⁴⁷ “Violin School,” *Deseret News* (October 16, 1852), 3.

⁶⁴⁸ See Appendix I.

teachers of the Tonic Sol-fa system in all or part of their teaching. Thirty-four private instructors also taught music in public and/or parochial schools.

From information found in advertisements, directories and journals, it appears that most private lessons were conducted in the instructors' own homes. For an extra fee, some instructors would go to the students' home for the lessons. In some instances, private music lessons were taught in studio space of theaters or music stores, such as Calder's Music Store in Salt Lake City. Established by David Orson Calder, it first opened in 1860 on the corner of South Temple and Main Street. Beginning in the fall of 1878, Dr. Ellen Ferguson opened "The Utah Conservatory of Music," which was her own private teaching enterprise located in rooms above the music store. Ferguson charged eight dollars for twelve weeks of instruction. Lessons and group classes were available in Piano, Organ, Violin, Singing, Elocution, Dramatic Culture, Music Theory and Harmony. The classes in the first term drew fifty students.⁶⁴⁹ In the summer of 1879, Ferguson offered a one-month music course to area schoolteachers in cooperation with the Salt Lake County Teachers' Association. The course included daily vocal training, three "instrumental" lessons per week and lectures on music teaching strategies.⁶⁵⁰

Calder's music store moved to First South Street at Forty-Fifth through Forty-Seventh West after Calder's death in 1884 and was called "Calder's Music Palace."⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ "Utah Conservatory of Music," *Salt Lake Herald* (February 2, 1879), 2. Also an advertisement on the same page.

⁶⁵⁰ "Chips," *Salt Lake Herald* (June 1, 1879), 1. According to later advertisements, Ferguson continued to offer courses intended for school teachers through the winter of 1879–80.

⁶⁵¹ *Descriptive Review of the Industries of Salt Lake City, 1890: Trade, Commerce and Manufactures with Pen Sketches of Her Principal Business Houses and Manufacturing Establishment* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Trade and Commerce Publishing Company, 1890), 102, and "Calder's Music Palace," *Deseret News*, (October 6, 1900), 4.

This location had a second floor with adequate space for group classes and band, choir and orchestra rehearsals.⁶⁵² Private teachers used studio space on the third floor for lessons.⁶⁵³ In the 1890s, music instructors combined their efforts and advertised the second and third floors of Calder's Music Palace as the "Salt Lake College of Music." The store owners were the "officers" and six local businessmen were "regents."⁶⁵⁴ Advertising a faculty of ten, teaching classes in Piano, Violin, Voice Culture, Organ, Guitar, Mandolin, Delsarte, Elocution and foreign languages, the curriculum was described as follows:

The course of study is divided into Primary, Intermediate, Collegiate and Normal. It requires from three to six years to graduate. Each department is so arranged that a pupil may begin from the foundation in the proper methods, and completing any course of study here, may enter the conservatories of Europe without undoing anything that has been done. It is a common thing for pupils seeking admission into the great conservatories of Europe to have to undo a great amount of their former work, on account of its being faulty: this will be obviated in all branches, and especially so in the violin of Prof. Weihe. Prof. Weihe having studied under the best masters of Europe, has the most approved methods of bowing and thereby is able to take pupils from the first principles through the highest style of artistic playing.⁶⁵⁵

There is no evidence that the Salt Lake College of Music was anything more than a short-

⁶⁵² *Utah Gazetteer 1892–93, containing a complete index to residents and business firms of Salt Lake City, Resources of Utah and reliable business directory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, UT: Stenhouse & Co., Publishers, 1892), 73, and "The College of Music," *Salt Lake Herald* (November 20, 1892), 8. Ebenezer Beesley's Quadrille Band, Ladies Guitar and Mandolin Club, Spanish Mandolin and Guitar Club, Mangus Olson's Orchestra and Brass Band, and Youngsdale's Orchestra all held weekly rehearsals at Calder's.

⁶⁵³ *Salt Lake City Directory for 1889, Containing a Description of the city and its attractions, public buildings, churches, schools, libraries, banks, resorts, amusements, etc., etc., with a full list of government, territorial, county and municipal officers, a complete business directory and guide to public streets and avenues* (Salt Lake City, UT: Kelly & Co., 1889), 129, 224.

⁶⁵⁴ *Utah Gazetteer 1892–93*, 789.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

lived promotional effort for the Calder Music Palace and local private teachers.⁶⁵⁶

Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music submitted articles of incorporation to Salt Lake County on November 11, 1891.⁶⁵⁷ The first semester opened in September of 1892 in the Dooly Building⁶⁵⁸ in downtown Salt Lake City. The music faculty were all private music teachers in the Salt Lake area.⁶⁵⁹ Eight of the faculty (piano, violin, Delsarte and foreign language teachers) were also teachers at the School of Music in Calder's Music Palace the same year. The conservatory never found a permanent location for instruction. In its second year, classes opened "in the Hooper Block,"⁶⁶⁰ another downtown location. After ground was broken for the "Utah Normal College"⁶⁶¹ in December of 1893, in a location five miles north of Salt Lake City, it appears that the Utah Normal College and Conservatory of Music was discontinued.⁶⁶³

Occasionally, brass band leaders in one town were paid to instruct bands in other towns. During the winter of 1853–54, members of the Payson band paid John Taylor, a band leader in nearby Provo, forty dollars a month to come to Payson and give lessons twice a week.⁶⁶⁴ In 1856, Dominico Ballo, a band leader in Salt Lake City, instructed the

⁶⁵⁶ There is no mention of the Salt Lake College of Music in later Salt Lake City business directories.

⁶⁵⁷ "Normal College and Conservatory of Music," *Salt Lake Herald* (November, 12, 1891), 6.

⁶⁵⁸ 109 West 200 South Street.

⁶⁵⁹ *Utah Gazetteer 1892–93*, 72.

⁶⁶⁰ "Music Notes," *Salt Lake Herald* (September 3, 1893), 5. The Hooper Building was located at 25 East 100 South in downtown Salt Lake City.

⁶⁶¹ "A New Enterprise," *Salt Lake Herald* (October 31, 1893), 5. Name was changed from "School" to "College" in 1893.

⁶⁶³ "A Big Project," *Salt Lake Herald* (December 20, 1893), 5. There are no more references to "Utah Normal College" or "Utah Conservatory of Music" following this date in newspapers or directories.

⁶⁶⁴ Don Carlos Johnson, *A Brief History of Springville, Utah, From its First Settlement September 18, 1850 to the 18th day of September, 1900* (Springville, UT: William P. Gibson,

band in Ogden for over half of the year.⁶⁶⁵

Traditional singing school instruction was a less rigorous endeavor than individual private instruction. Singing schools were common in the eastern and southern United States in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Singing school instructors taught the rudiments of singing and note reading in a group setting, focusing on sacred music. Most singing schools lasted only a few months, long enough for beginners to learn the basics of singing and note reading.⁶⁶⁶ Early settlers in the Utah territory came from areas where singing schools were common. In the 1830s and 1840s, in Ohio and Illinois, singing schools were established in LDS communities.⁶⁶⁷ Newspaper reports show active singing schools in Salt Lake City and Provo in the early 1850s, but do not name the instructors.⁶⁶⁸ Charles Lowell Walker, a resident of Salt Lake City in the early 1860s and James Kirkham, an active amateur musician in Salt Lake and Utah Counties from 1868 to 1872 regularly attended singing schools. The instructors of the singing schools were not mentioned in their journals.⁶⁶⁹ Singing schools were held in the rural extremities of the territory, in Cache County⁶⁷⁰ and Kane County⁶⁷¹ at this time.

1900), 27. <https://archive.org/stream/briefhistoryofsp00john#page/n7/mode/2up>

⁶⁶⁵ "From Old Bandsmen," *Ogden Herald* (March 30, 1886), 1.

⁶⁶⁶ Richard Crawford and David Warren Steel, "Singing-school," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed June 19, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.bu.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2257284>.

⁶⁶⁷ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 117.

⁶⁶⁸ "Valley Journal," *Deseret News* (January 25, 1851), 5. "Improvements in Provo," *Deseret News* (February 21, 1852), 4.

⁶⁶⁹ Charles Lowell Walker, *Diary 1833–1904*, BX 8695 .W3 A32 1959, Special Collections & Archives, Dixie State University Library, and James Kirkham, *Journals, 1867–1929*, MS 1431, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁶⁷⁰ Elaine Hunsaker Call, "Pioneers of Cache County" in *Pioneer Pathways* (Salt Lake City, UT: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 304.

⁶⁷¹ Doug Liston, *Musicians of Southern Utah* (St. George, UT: Publisher's Place, 2005), 86.

H. S. Perkins, resident of Chicago and author of *Song Echo* which was used as a music textbook in the Utah territorial schools, stopped in Ogden on his way from Chicago to California in January of 1882. A former student of Perkins, L. O. Leonard, lived in Ogden and worked in the Union Pacific Railroad office. Leonard arranged for Perkins to teach some singing classes in Ogden for a few days.⁶⁷² Lewis D. Edwards taught evening singing school in Ogden from the mid-1880s through the early 1890s at the same time he was teaching music in the Ogden city schools.⁶⁷³ “Professor Bixler” taught singing school in the county courthouse in Ogden in the late 1880s.⁶⁷⁴

The Reverend C. W. Hall and Mr. B. B. Young traveled from Salt Lake City to hold singing schools in Park City in the mid-1880s.⁶⁷⁵ In the summer of 1885, singing school was held in the New West schoolhouse in Salt Lake City under the direction of “Miss Ludden.”⁶⁷⁶

In the 1890s, an LDS youth organization paid Joseph J. Daynes, a prominent Salt Lake City organist, to travel twelve miles north to Bountiful to teach a singing school which involved a series of lessons in the Tonic Sol-fa system. Daynes was paid five dollars per lesson plus his weekly train fare.⁶⁷⁷ Free weekly singing schools were held by the First Christian Church in Salt Lake City under the direction of R. D. Winters⁶⁷⁸ and weekly singing schools were also held by the Swedish Lutheran Zion Church in Salt Lake

⁶⁷² “Singing School,” *Ogden Herald* (January 24, 1882), 3.

⁶⁷³ “Random References,” *Ogden Herald* (July 5, 1884), 3, (May 21, 1887), 6, (May 23, 1891), 4.

⁶⁷⁴ “Choral Concert,” *Ogden Standard* (March 21, 1888), 4.

⁶⁷⁵ “Park Float,” *Park Record* (January 13, 1883), 4. “Park City Items,” *Salt Lake Democrat* (May 18, 1885), 4.

⁶⁷⁶ “Summer Singing School,” *Salt Lake Tribune* (June 13, 1885), 4.

⁶⁷⁷ “Singing School,” *Davis County Clipper* (March 11, 1892), 1.

⁶⁷⁸ “Church Directory,” *Salt Lake Herald* (September 18, 1892), 12.

City.⁶⁷⁹

The music instructors described below contributed to the private music teaching movement in the territory. They represent a cross section of foci, geographical location and chronological placement in the Utah territory.

⁶⁷⁹ “Church Directory,” *Salt Lake Herald* (July 8, 1894), 10.

Sarah Ann Cooke (1808–1885)



Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke⁶⁸⁰ was the earliest widely advertised female music instructor in the Utah territory. Described as the “pioneer teacher of class singing and piano playing in Salt Lake City,”⁶⁸¹ Cooke was born in Leeds, Yorkshire, England on August 15, 1808 and orphaned at an early age. She attended boarding school and received “extensive music training.”⁶⁸² Cooke and husband, William, immigrated to the United States in 1828 and lived in New York City for eight years. While there, Cooke taught music in “families” and in two private schools.⁶⁸³ The couple and their children moved to

⁶⁸⁰ Photograph courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.

⁶⁸¹ “Echoes of Music in Utah,” *Salt Lake Tribune* (January 6, 1895), 10.

⁶⁸² Scott, “Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke “The Respected Mrs. Cooke,”” 3.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 4.

North Carolina for ten years, then to Iowa, for five. In Dubuque, Cooke taught voice and instrumental music and reportedly had a “large patronage.”⁶⁸⁴

In 1852, the family had plans to move to California, having been enticed by the gold rush. In route, they arrived in Salt Lake City on July 8. Cooke and her children stayed with a former Iowan neighbor while her husband went on to California to secure living quarters.⁶⁸⁵ Cooke and her children were frequent guests in the home of LDS president Young allowing Cooke access to a piano.⁶⁸⁶ Young furnished a room in the newly constructed down town Social Hall⁶⁸⁷ with a piano and melodeon for Cooke to use for music teaching.⁶⁸⁸ Cooke also taught music in the private day-school Young provided for his children. Her curriculum included piano, vocal technique and sight-singing.⁶⁸⁹

By October of 1852, Cooke had become a member of the Deseret Dramatic Association.⁶⁹⁰ She acted in three productions each year from 1853 to 1857.⁶⁹¹ In June of 1856 and 1857, Cooke’s students presented the juvenile operetta *Flora’s Festival* by New York born composer, John Hill Hewitt in the Social Hall.⁶⁹² The *Deseret News* reported

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷ Constructed in 1852 and located on State Street between South Temple and First South streets, the Social Hall was a location for plays, musical performances, dances and other public gatherings in Salt Lake City.

⁶⁸⁸ Scott, “Sarah Ann Sutton Cooke,” 9.

⁶⁸⁹ Smith, *History of The Oratorio Society of Utah*, 9.

⁶⁹⁰ Joseph Heinerman, “Early Pioneer Cultural Societies,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 no.1 (1979), 81. Originally organized as the “Musical and Dramatic Company” in 1850, the name changed to “Deseret Dramatic Association” in 1851 and greatly increased in numbers upon the opening of the Social Hall in 1852 where the association productions were rehearsed and performed.

⁶⁹¹ Scott, 9.

⁶⁹² “Flora’s Festival,” *Deseret News* (May 28, 1856), 5. “Flora’s Festival,” *Deseret News* (June 17, 1857), 8.

the following regarding the 1857 performance and Cooke's efforts in the community:

It is presumed that the well known taste, skill and judgment so invariably presented by Mrs. Cooke and her pupils will insure them a crowded hall on the evening on June 4th to the...amusement and edification of a numerous audience, and the highly deserved benefit of one who labors so indefatigably to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of those placed under her charge.⁶⁹³

To Sister Cooke much credit is due for her efforts to not only amuse but instruct the aged and the young by the more genial and soothing influences of music; and we trust she has received the compensation for her efforts she so richly deserves.⁶⁹⁴

Cooke's husband had moved from California to Australia for the gold rush and while there converted to the LDS church and engaged in missionary work. He returned to Salt Lake City in 1857. On the same return ship was an organ that was installed in the Salt Lake LDS tabernacle.⁶⁹⁵ Cooke served as the tabernacle organist for church services and choir rehearsals for over ten years.⁶⁹⁶ At the time of her husbands' return, Cooke was running her own day school for girls, focusing on English studies, and offering supplemental lessons on melodeon.⁶⁹⁷ William Cooke was shot and killed in 1858 while a guard at the Salt Lake City jail.⁶⁹⁸ After William Cooke's death, Cooke advertised her day school and music lessons in earnest.⁶⁹⁹ In September of 1859, she advertised the "re-opening" of a day school, this time for boys and girls, and music lessons at her residence. She offered to teach one-hour piano or melodeon lessons weekly at the students' home

⁶⁹³ "Flora's Festival," *Deseret News* (May 28, 1856), 5.

⁶⁹⁴ "Flora's Festival," *Deseret News* (June 17, 1857), 8.

⁶⁹⁵ The organ arrived June 12, 1857 and installation was complete October 11, 1857.

⁶⁹⁶ Scott, 10–11.

⁶⁹⁷ "Girls School," *Deseret News* (October 27, 1858), 4.

⁶⁹⁸ Scott, 11.

⁶⁹⁹ Ads for the Day and Music School appeared in the *Mountaineer* on September 10 and 17, 1859 and in the *Deseret News* on September 14, 1859.

for fifteen dollars a quarter and at her own residence for twelve dollars a quarter. For fifteen dollars a quarter, students could include daily access to Cooke's piano along with a weekly lesson at her home. Half-hour lessons were available at half-price. Students from "the country" were offered boarding at her home.⁷⁰⁰

In the winter of 1860, Cooke announced the closing of the day school and expansion of music teaching. In addition to seeking an increase of students taking lessons on piano and melodeon, she offered juvenile and adult singing classes. The juvenile singing class met on Saturday afternoons and the adult class on Wednesday evenings at Cooke's residence.⁷⁰¹

At this time, two events coincided to cause Cooke's music classes to lose popularity and eventually close. First, a new music instructor, David Calder received permission from Young to use Young's private school facility to teach free evening singing classes. Calder was employed on Young's office staff and had other business ventures in the community;⁷⁰² he was not solely reliant on music teaching for income as was Cooke. Second, upon William Cook's death, a dispute began between Young and Cooke over the ownership of the Cooke residence. This confrontation, along with Cooke's increasingly vocal opposition to the LDS church's practice of polygamy, placed her in a tenuous position in the view of most of the community.⁷⁰³ She eventually left the

⁷⁰⁰ "Day and Music School," *Deseret News* (September 14, 1859), 8.

⁷⁰¹ "Music and Singing Schools," *Deseret News* (November 21, 1860), 8. "Music and Singing," *Mountaineer* (December 1 and 8, 1860), 3.

⁷⁰² Purdy, "Music in Mormon Culture," 50.

⁷⁰³ Scott, 15–19.

LDS church and joined the Congregationalist church in 1880.⁷⁰⁴

The Salt Lake Theater opened in 1862 and replaced the Social Hall as the main venue for public entertainment in Salt Lake City. In 1863, Cooke appeared in eighteen productions at the theater. She retired from the stage in 1864 but retained her membership in the Deseret Dramatic Association. At the urging of her friends, she returned for a final performance two years later.⁷⁰⁵ As she was coming from her dressing room at the beginning of the show she tripped on the stairs, breaking her arm, injuring herself to the point that she was unable to perform in public again. Two friends in the Dramatic Association raised funds to buy Cooke a new piano so she could continue to sustain herself financially through private music teaching in her home.⁷⁰⁶ Cooke died on August 7, 1885.⁷⁰⁷

Dominico Ballo (1805–1861)

The influence of Dominico Ballo in the 1850s in Salt Lake City was vital to the brass band movement in the Utah territory.⁷⁰⁸ He was also one of the first providers of instruction on woodwind and brass instruments in Salt Lake City at the same time singing instruction was gaining popularity under Cooke and Calder.

Ballo was born on March 21, 1805 or 1806 in Sicily. His brother taught him to play clarinet and as a teenager, Ballo attended the Milan Conservatory of Music and

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., 27.

⁷⁰⁵ “Echoes of Music in Utah.”

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁷ Scott, 26.

⁷⁰⁸ Smith, “Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration,” 75.

played with the Royal Guard of Naples. At age eighteen, he immigrated to the United States. His first residence was in New York, where he organized his own band on Bedloe's Island⁷⁰⁹ and then joined the Navy. Later, he was a clarinetist and band leader⁷¹⁰ at West Point Military Academy.⁷¹¹ He married in 1826. The couple lived in New York and then moved to St. Louis, where his wife became a member of the LDS church in 1843. Ballo joined four years later. While in St. Louis, Ballo organized a band from the church members and the group for the most part stayed intact throughout the westward journey to Salt Lake City, providing entertainment on riverboats and in temporary structures along the trail west.⁷¹² Kanesville, Iowa was a more permanent community along the wagon trail. Schools and entertainment halls were constructed there. A special building was constructed for music instruction.⁷¹³ There, Ballo established himself as a music teacher in 1850. He advertised in the local newspaper:

The subscriber has served as Teacher of Music for twenty-two years in the Army and Navy of the United States, and four years as leader at West Point. He is now prepared to teach upon any kind of WIND INSTRUMENT, either Wood or Brass. Also to arrange music for Brass, Wood or String bands. He has on hand a large assortment of music already arranged for the above.⁷¹⁴

Ballo arrived in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1851, along with many of the

⁷⁰⁹ Ballo's obituary in the *Deseret News*, June 12, 1861 states that he played under "Commander Chauncey" at Bedloe's Island for eight years.

⁷¹⁰ Horace G. Whitney, "Dominico Ballo," *The Contributor* 1, no. 2 (November 1879): 32. In an interview with historian Horace G. Whitney, Ballo's wife was unable to confirm that Ballo directed the West Point Band. He at least fulfilled the position of preparing musicians for the West Point Band.

⁷¹¹ Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration," 75.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 76.

⁷¹³ Purdy, "Music in Mormon Culture," 44.

⁷¹⁴ *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville, Iowa), June 10, 1840, cited by Purdy, "Music in Mormon Culture," 42–43. Capitalization in original.

members of his band. Though not the first brass band in the Salt Lake Valley,⁷¹⁵ “Ballo’s Band” soon became the most popular because of their superior playing. The following was stated in a *Deseret News* article in 1860:

Captain Ballo’s band was out again on Monday cheering the people with excellent music, especially those particular friends, who were honored with a visit from these accomplished performers. We do not speak disapprovingly of other bands in this city, but if any can discourse sweeter music than Ballo’s they have a gift of keeping it to themselves.⁷¹⁶

Within a year of his arrival in Salt Lake, Ballo advertised that he would teach lessons on multiple instruments or to bands as a group “in any part of the Territory.”⁷¹⁷ Ballo was employed making adobe bricks when he came to Salt Lake City and held band rehearsals and taught music lessons in his off hours.⁷¹⁸ In 1855, members of the band and “their friends” financed the building of a music hall in the boundaries of the fourteenth ward in Salt Lake City. The sixty by thirty-five foot adobe building was intended for band rehearsals, music lessons and concerts.⁷¹⁹ In addition to his busy rehearsal and performance schedule with his own band and giving individual instruction on woodwind and brass instruments, Ballo was engaged on occasion to tutor brass bands in other communities. The Ogden City Brass Band benefitted from Ballo’s instruction for “six to eight months” beginning in September of 1856.⁷²⁰

Ballo reportedly had a gentle demeanor as an instructor.

⁷¹⁵ A reorganized Nauvoo Brass Band under the direction of William H. Pitt was the first brass band in the valley. Pitt arrived in October, 1850. (Smith, “Mormon Brass Bands,” 47).

⁷¹⁶ Cited in “Echoes of Music in Utah.”

⁷¹⁷ “Dominico Ballo,” *Deseret News* (April 17, 1852), 3.

⁷¹⁸ Garner, “A History of Music Education in the Granite School District,” 42.

⁷¹⁹ “Music Hall,” *Deseret News* (June 27, 1855), 5.

⁷²⁰ “From Old Bandsmen,” *Ogden Herald* (March 30, 1886), 1.

[T]he petty vexations that assail the director of amateur musicians are as numerous as they are trying, but to none of them did Ballo ever yield. At the semi-weekly rehearsals of the band, when any discord occurred, his gentle tap would stop the piece till the instrument at fault had righted itself; “flatee, Brother Charlie,” “sharpee, Brother Spills,” his pleasant tones would admonish—for he was never able to drop his Italian vowels—and beyond this mild correction he never passed.⁷²¹

He was beloved in Salt Lake City and surrounding communities.⁷²² He was a prolific composer and arranger, an admired conductor, but was best known for his clarinet playing.

[Of] the excellent clarionet [sic] performers who have visited this place, none could be compared with Ballo; the soloists in Gilmore’s band, the German military band, and other combinations, which have played here, have failed to produce the tone that Ballo could draw from his instrument.⁷²³

[H]is command over his instrument was perfect...he is said to have exercised the full compass of the instrument, dropping from the highest notes to the lowest, and flying back again while sounding thirty-two notes to the bar. His acquaintance with the score was most thorough; after having conducted an overture once through, I am told he directed it afterwards, and prompted each part, without the aid of a copy.⁷²⁴

Ballo died suddenly on Sunday, September 8, 1861. He collapsed in his yard after an earlier performance that day in church services.⁷²⁵

⁷²¹ Whitney, “Dominico Ballo,” 35.

⁷²² Smith, “Mormon Brass Bands,” 79.

⁷²³ Whitney, “Ballo,” 31.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁷²⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

David Orson Calder (1823–1884)



David Orson Calder⁷²⁶ was born in Thurso, Caithness, Scotland in 1823 and spent most of his youth and young adult life in Edinburg. He studied and became a teacher of the Hullah⁷²⁷ system of music instruction.⁷²⁸ He was one of the founders of the Falkirk Music Association, a group which distinguished itself in music festivals at Covent Garden in London. Calder joined the LDS Church in 1840 while in Scotland and immigrated to Utah in 1853.⁷²⁹ By the end of the year, he established a singing school in

⁷²⁶ Photograph courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.

⁷²⁷ The “Hullah” system of singing used “fixed do.” It was adapted by the Englishman, John Pyke Hullah (1812–84).

⁷²⁸ Garner, “A History of Music Education in the Granite School District, 43.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

Salt Lake City.⁷³⁰ In 1855, he became a member of LDS president Brigham Young's office staff.⁷³¹ Calder was the string bass player for the first professional orchestra organized in the territory.⁷³²

An early pioneer in the history of music education in Utah, Calder was the first to promote the Curwen Tonic Sol-fa system of teaching in the territory. His teaching methods proved effective with singers of all ages but he especially impressed the community with successful concerts presented by children's choirs exceeding 300 members in the early 1860s.⁷³³ In addition to other business ventures, his music store, established in 1860, flourished for almost thirty years, becoming the largest music store in the territory.⁷³⁴ Prior to the opening of his music store Calder assisted many in the area in obtaining sheet music, instruction books, music journals, instruments and accessories from merchants in New York and London.⁷³⁵ During the height of his business, Calder supplied many fledgling brass bands and orchestras in outlying territorial settlements from Washington County in the south to Box Elder County in the north with good quality instruments.⁷³⁶

In 1860, Calder approached the LDS church president with a proposal to teach music in a private school that Young was in the process of constructing.⁷³⁷ The school

⁷³⁰ Smith, *History of The Oratorio Society of Utah*, 9.

⁷³¹ Purdy, "Music in Mormon Culture," 50.

⁷³² Smith, *Oratorio Society of Utah*, 11.

⁷³³ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 48.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁷³⁵ David Orson Calder, to Firth, Pond and Co. March 30, 1859, and to Ross and Fousey March 30, 1859 and June 15, 1859, in *Letterpress Copybook, 1855–67*, MS 2960, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁷³⁶ Calder, to John M. Macfarlane, October 15, 1863, in *Letterpress Copybook*.

⁷³⁷ Purdy, "Music in Mormon Culture," 50.

was to be used during the day for the instruction of Young's children and made available in the evenings for "further educational purposes."⁷³⁸ In a letter to Young dated November 19, 1860, Calder stated the following, arguing the general health and deportment benefits of music study:

I respectfully submit to you the following ideas in relation to the study of the theory and practice of vocal music...The practice of singing is a very healthy exercise—it exhilarates the spirits, expands the chest, and strengthens the lungs. It would be an essential benefit to children at school in counteracting the evil effects arising from the bad habit of stooping over their lessons and leaning their breasts upon the desks. It would also be a relaxation to them from the constant and wearisome study of other branches of education. They would always look forward to their singing lessons as a pleasant pastime, and, when over, renew their other studies with greater energy. To the youth it would offer a harmless entertainment, and occupy their attention in such a manner as to exert a moral influence over them.⁷³⁹

Calder proposed that he teach the children in the private school three to four times a week from one to two o'clock in the afternoon. Adults would be taught in the evening twice a week on Tuesdays and Fridays in one-hour classes; women and men in separate classes. It is likely that Calder had spoken to Young about his desires to teach before this November letter was written. Young had already ordered Tonic Sol-fa teaching materials ("charts" and "exercises"⁷⁴⁰) from London, which arrived in the summer of 1860.⁷⁴¹

Calder was eager to show the effectiveness of a new music teaching method with which he had recently become acquainted. In a letter accompanying a large order of

⁷³⁸ "New School House," *Deseret News* (December 12, 1860), 4.

⁷³⁹ David O. Calder to Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, November 19, 1860, Brigham Young office files, 1832–1878: General Correspondence, Incoming, 1840–1877; General Letters, 1840–1877; Ca–Cl, 1860, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁷⁴⁰ "New School House."

⁷⁴¹ Calder to Brigham Young, Nov. 19, 1860.

music instruction books to “Ward & Co.” of New York City, written on December 31, 1862, Calder recounts his conversion to the Tonic Sol-fa method of music teaching:

Nearly three years ago a friend of mine handed me a copy of “An Account of the Tonic Sol-Fa method of teaching to sing,” which had been sent to him by a friend and admirer of the system. I carefully looked over the pamphlet, and having been a pupil and teacher of the “Hullah School” I was not favorably impressed with the curious looking sheet. I laid it aside. A month or two afterwards I was turning over some of my papers and again the “account” was presented to me – this time I carefully read it over and over again, and beheld some of the beauties of the method. I immediately sent to Liverpool for the Reporters, grammar, Standard course of lessons, Modulators, etc. After the reception of these works in a very short time I was convinced it was the best system yet introduced, and would accomplish all it proposed.⁷⁴²

Calder was allowed to teach the private school students during the day and use the new school building in the evenings to teach music classes using the Tonic Sol-fa system. He advertised the free classes in the newspaper and achieved immediate success.

I formed two classes of two hundred each. I have now been teaching for 18 months and must say that I never have had anything like the same pleasure and satisfaction in teaching the ‘Hullah’ method that I have had in teaching the Tonic Sol-Fa method.⁷⁴³

In a slight change to his original proposal, the two evening classes were separated by ability level of the students. Male and female singers participated together. Youth and adults were welcome though the classes attracted primarily children and young adults. With few interruptions, these classes were held year-round.⁷⁴⁴

I have formed a musical association with my advanced pupils, numbering nearly two hundred; and had the pleasure of giving a public concert to

⁷⁴² David O. Calder, to Ward & Co., December 31, 1862, in *Letterpress Copybook*.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁴ “Deseret Musical Association,” *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (May 7, 1862), Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

4000 persons, on the 9th of this month.⁷⁴⁵ Our efforts were crowned with success – the people were astonished.⁷⁴⁶

The “musical association” was the *Deseret Musical Association*.⁷⁴⁷ Young was named honorary president. The formation of arts associations under the supervision of the LDS church was a common occurrence. As early as 1849, dramatic and musical societies were staging productions.⁷⁴⁸ In 1855, the *Deseret Philharmonic Society* was formed to “promote the love and study of harmony throughout the territory,” and help cultivate “all kinds of Vocal and Instrumental Music.”⁷⁴⁹ All musicians known in the territory were automatically made members. The society had goals to produce oratorios by Handel, Haydn and Mendelssohn, and masses by Mozart and Beethoven, but the organization dissolved in a year.⁷⁵⁰ The *Deseret Musical Association*, which was for a time considered an “official arm of the [LDS] church,”⁷⁵¹ was the first association in the valley to focus on fostering music activities for youth.⁷⁵² There is no documentation as to whether membership in the LDS church was required for membership in the *Deseret Musical Association*, but it is likely that all *Deseret Musical Association* members were LDS. From the entry of the LDS into the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 through the mid-1860s, the population in Salt Lake City was virtually all LDS. Exact non-LDS population in the 1860s is not known, but it most likely consisted of temporarily assigned military groups, traveling merchants and immigrants on their way to California who stopped temporarily

⁷⁴⁵ December 9, 1862.

⁷⁴⁶ Calder, to Ward & Co., December 31, 1862, *Letterpress Copybook*.

⁷⁴⁷ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 48.

⁷⁴⁸ Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah the Right Place: The Official Centennial History*, 105–106.

⁷⁴⁹ “Deseret Philharmonic Society” *Deseret News* (March 1, 1855), 3.

⁷⁵⁰ Hicks, 46.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*, 93.

in Salt Lake City.⁷⁵³

The following was printed on a poster for the first concert of the *Deseret Musical Association* scheduled for December 9, 1862 in Salt Lake City:

This Association has been organized for the purpose of diffusing throughout the Territory a taste for the cultivation of Music upon rational and scientific principles. Since its classes have been formed, it has had the attendance of between four and five hundred scholars in this city, who have thus far been taught gratuitously. With the view of defraying the expenses incurred in printing at home the music used by the classes in the Tonic Sol-Fa Notation, and in the hopes of procuring for the Association an organ and such other instruments of music as are required for the further extension of its usefulness, the patronage of the public is now solicited.⁷⁵⁴

Following this premier concert on December 9 and a second concert on December 12,⁷⁵⁵ Young encouraged people to send their children to Calder's singing classes. Young was so impressed with the performances of the *Association* that he often touted the virtues of the Tonic Sol-fa music teaching system and encouraged its implementation when he visited outlying communities in the territory. Young also encouraged that the LDS hymnal be printed in Tonic Sol-fa format.⁷⁵⁶

The week after the December 9 concert, Calder formed two new singing classes

⁷⁵³ S. George Ellsworth, *The New Utah's Heritage* (Revised) (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1992), 185. Ellsworth estimates the non-LDS population was only ten percent in Utah by "the later years" of the 19th century.

⁷⁵⁴ "First Concert of the Deseret Musical Association, December 9th, 1862," M285.301 D451 cf 1862, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁷⁵⁵ "Second Concert of the Deseret Musical Association, December 12th, 1862," M285.301 D451 cs 1862, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. These two concerts, though held in the same week, were completely different in programming.

⁷⁵⁶ Hicks, 49. The entire hymnal was never published in Tonic Sol-fa format. A few hymns printed in Tonic Sol-fa format were included in some printings of Calder's book *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* published in 1863.

numbering over 200 each. In the December 31, 1862 letter to Ward & Co., Calder concluded his Tonic Sol-fa ‘conversion’ story, “You will perceive from the foregoing that, away here in the center of the American continent, 3000 miles from New York, the Tonic Sol-fa method of singing is an established branch of education.”⁷⁵⁷

Calder envisioned Tonic Sol-fa system permeating the territory. A key goal of his singing school was to train qualified people, “to form classes and instruct others, so that a uniform system of teaching may be adopted throughout all the [singing] schools of the territory.”⁷⁵⁸ On July 24, 1862, Calder first touted the superiority of the Tonic Sol-fa system to the general public in an entry in the annual Salt Lake City pioneer parade. Female members of the *Deseret Musical Association* were dressed in white dresses with blue waist sashes and flower wreaths in their hair. They carried two banners. One displayed an open music book with traditional notation on the pages. The words “old notation” was written at the top of the banner. Another banner followed, it displayed a melody and text “O Sing Praises to the Lord” written in Tonic sol-fa notation.⁷⁵⁹ The *Deseret News* reported over 260 young people, male and female, participated in the *Deseret Music Association* procession.

Calder published a Tonic Sol-fa instruction book entitled *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* in 1863.⁷⁶⁰ This twenty-eight page book was used by Calder in his singing classes.⁷⁶¹ The book may have also been used in the common schools. In the first

⁷⁵⁷ Calder, to Ward & Co., December 31, 1862, *Letterpress Copybook*.

⁷⁵⁸ “New School” *Deseret News* (December 12, 1862), 4.

⁷⁵⁹ “The Twenty-Fourth of July” *Deseret News* (July 30, 1862), 1.

⁷⁶⁰ David O. Calder, *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* (1863).

⁷⁶¹ Garner, “A History of Music Education in the Granite School District,” 45.

textbook convention held by territorial common school officials in 1876, “our home productions on music”⁷⁶² were adapted along with a book published outside the territory⁷⁶³

An early Calder biographer claimed that Calder was the first to teach the Curwen system in the United States.⁷⁶⁴ He was certainly first to teach it in Utah and was among the first to teach it in the United States. Calder began teaching the method soon after becoming acquainted with it. Calder mentions in a letter written on December 31, 1862 that “nearly three years” earlier (early 1860) he was sent a copy of “An Account of the Tonic Sol-Fa method of teaching to sing.”⁷⁶⁵ This was likely the first edition of *The Standard Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* written in 1858.⁷⁶⁶ Calder indicates that a few months after receiving the book he was convinced of the value of the method and immediately obtained the teaching materials from Liverpool, England and began teaching using the system.⁷⁶⁷ Calder’s first publications showing use of the system were published in the later months of 1861.⁷⁶⁸

Curwen first began publishing Tonic Sol-fa articles in England in 1842.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶² “Convention of School Superintendents” *Deseret News* (April 19, 1876), 6.

⁷⁶³ H. S. Perkins. *The Song Echo* (1871).

⁷⁶⁴ John Tullidge, “Music in Utah” *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine* 1, no. 2 (January 1881), 222.

⁷⁶⁵ Calder, to Ward & Co., December 31, 1862, in *Letterpress Copybook*.

⁷⁶⁶ Robert Stevens, “The Curwen Method” in *Australian Music Education Information and Resources*, accessed January 7, 2015, <http://www.australian-music-ed.info/Curwen/HistO'view.html>.

⁷⁶⁷ Calder, to Ward & Co.,

⁷⁶⁸ David O. Calder, *Courses of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing – No.1*, 784 C146s 1861 (Great Salt Lake City: Deseret News Print) microfiche, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁷⁶⁹ Bernarr Rainbow and Charles Edward McGuire. “Tonic Sol-fa.” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 12, 2014,

Curwen was editor of the *Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* which began regular circulation in 1853 as a publication for the Tonic Sol-fa Association that was founded in the same year.⁷⁷⁰ At this time an estimated 2,000 students in London and 2,000 students in the surrounding area were following the Curwen lessons. 20,000 students were using the system in England three years later.⁷⁷¹ In 1859, Samuel Paddick, a Tonic Sol-fa emissary from London who had moved to Brooklyn, reported in the *Tonic Sol-fa Reporter* that he believed he was teaching “the only class in existence” in the United States.⁷⁷² It was not until 1863 that other articles appeared in the *Reporter* describing the systems’ use in the Boston public schools.⁷⁷³ This places Calder’s first use of the system, in late 1860 through 1861, very early in the dissemination of the method in the United States (see figure 8).

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28124>.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ Bernarr Rainbow. “John Curwen: A Short Critical Biography [1980]” in *Bernarr Rainbow on Music: Memoirs and Selected Writings*, Peter Dickinson, ed. (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2010), 109.

⁷⁷² Jane Southcott, “Daniel Batchellor and the American Tonic Sol-fa Movement,” *Journal of Research in Music Education* Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring, 1995), 64.

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

CHAPTER VIII.
TIME EXERCISES.—Table 4.

(1.) | a :— | a : a . a | a :— | a . a : a | a : a | — : a . a
 | a : a . a | a :— | a . a : a | — : a | a . a : a | a :—

(2.) | a :— . a | a : a , a , a | a :— . a | a , a , a : a | a : a | — . a : a , a , a
 | a : a , a , a | a :— . a | a , a , a : a | — . a : a | a , a , a : a | a :— . a

(3.) | a : | a . a : a , a , a | a : a , a , a | : a . a | a , a , a : a | a . a : &c.
 | a . a , a : a . | a : a . a | a . : a | a . a : a . a , a | a . a : a . a , a | a : a . &c.

(4.) | a . a : a . a | a : a . a | a . : a | a . a : a . a , a | a . a : a . a , a | a : a . &c.
 | a , a : . a | a : a . a | . a : a | a . a : a . a | a : a . a | a . a : . a &c.

(5.) | a , a : a . a | a : a . a | . a : a | a . a : a . a | a : a . a | a . a : . a &c.
 | a , a , a : a . a , a | a : a . a | a . a , a : a | a . a : a . a , a | a . a : a . a , a | a . a , a : a &c.

EXAMPLE 1. KEY A. Minor Mode.

{ | l₁ :— . t₁ | d r | m :— | m :— . r | d : t₁ | l₁ :— ||
 { | Sad the | toll - ing | bell, | Sad the | toll - ing | bell. :— ||

EXAMPLE 2. KEY C. Minor Mode.

{ | l | m : l . t | d¹ : t | l :— | — : d¹ | s : d¹ . r¹ | m¹ : r¹ | d¹ :— | — : m¹
 { | And | must this bo - dy die? | This | mor - tal frame de - cay? | And

{ | r¹ : d¹ | t : l | s : f | m : m¹ | l : r¹ | d¹ : t | l :— | — ||
 { | must these | ac - tive | limbs of | mine Lie | mould'ring | in the | clay? | — ||

EXAMPLE 3. KEY C. Minor Mode.

| l : l | l . d¹ : t . l | ne : ne | ne . t : l . ne | l : l | l . d¹ : t . l | m¹ : ne | l :—
 | d¹ : d¹ | d¹ . m¹ : r¹ . d¹ | t : t | t . r¹ : d¹ . t | l : l | l . d¹ : t . l | m¹ : ne | l :— ||

Fig. 8. Calder, *Course Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing*, 1861, 8.

At the height of activity for the *Deseret Musical Association*, Calder intended to have the association perform Vincenzo Bellini's opera *La Sonnambula* in the winter of 1863. He "translated, transposed and printed the choruses of that opera into the Curwen

notation.”⁷⁷⁴ At this especially busy time, his health was weakened and Calder and several of his family members battled diphtheria.⁷⁷⁵ Five of Calder’s children succumbed to the disease that winter.⁷⁷⁶ The *Deseret Musical Association* and Calder’s singing classes were discontinued soon afterward.⁷⁷⁷

From March of 1876 through March of 1878, Calder and fellow musician and friend, George Careless, edited and published the *Utah Musical Times*. The monthly publication contained music news from around the world as well as local events. Local music teachers placed ads and Calder used it to continue to promote the use of the *Tonic Sol-fa* system as a teaching tool around the territory. There was a certain amount of promotion for the goods in Calder’s music store, giving a glimpse into the amount of inventory he carried in instruction books. One-hundred thirty seven different titles were listed, evenly distributed between piano, organ, violin & cello/bass, guitar, flute, cornet, accordion and concertina, band and orchestra, music theory, vocal methods, church vocal books, Sabbath and day school books, and books for “home and concert room.”⁷⁷⁸ Each issue of *Utah Musical Times* contained a newly composed hymn or anthem for three-or four-part choir. Several local composers contributed.

⁷⁷⁴ Tullidge, “Music in Utah,” 222.

⁷⁷⁵ Calder, to John M. Macfarlane, October 15 1863, in *Letterpress Copybook*. Calder stated he needed to hold on to the music stand to make it through rehearsals.

⁷⁷⁶ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 93.

⁷⁷⁷ Tullidge, “Music in Utah,” 222.

⁷⁷⁸ “Instruction Books,” *Utah Musical Times*, 2 no. 9 (December, 1877), 141–142. Identical listings are also in volumes 10 through 12.

Music Education Articles in "Utah Musical Times"

Instructional articles in the journal addressed a variety of topics including choir conducting, choir recruiting and retention, implementing music in schools and the correct usage of the Tonic Sol-fa method of teaching. From information in the journal, it is not clear if Calder or Careless authored these articles. The two men are merely listed as "editors and proprietors" of each issue. In articles of music news around the globe, the editors usually mention the sources of the information. This indicates that the instructional articles are likely original writings of the editors, since no source is ever listed.

In the April 1876 issue of *Utah Musical Times*, in an article illuminating the necessary characteristics of a successful choir conductor, instructions are given for constructing a home-made metronome using a piece of string with a one-ounce lead weight at the end.⁷⁷⁹ Beginning with this second issue of the journal and continuing to the fifth, a series of four articles detail the "five essential points in good choral singing: perfect time, correct intonation, unity of tone, expression, and distinct articulation."⁷⁸⁰

In the September 1876 issue there is an article on vocal instruction in singing schools and Sunday schools in the Utah territory where "Mormons" are lovers of music:"

What has been done by class-teaching out of the public school, gives an excellent example of what can be done with it in the public school. Surely teachers may readily see that, what had already become a branch of popular education properly belongs to the common school education.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁹ "Choir Singing," *Utah Musical Times* 1 no.2 (April, 1876), 24.

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁸¹ "Vocal Music in Schools," *Utah Musical Times* 1 no. 7 (September, 1876), 106.

“A musical writer”⁷⁸² argues three reasons why vocal music study needs to be included in public school curriculum. First, singing is a “very healthy exercise.” Second, “singing is amusing” and creates an atmosphere in the classroom more conducive to learning. Third, “The study of vocal music itself contributes to mental improvement.” In addition to determining proper expression and articulation, “a close examination and analysis of the music ... will be just as good a discipline of the mind as the study of geometry.”⁷⁸³

An article in the October 1876 issue outlined specific procedures of how to implement vocal music education in the common schools. Music in the curriculum must not be just a practice of group singing where the students simply learn “singing by ear,” a practice that often “spoils more singers than it makes.” Preferred is an “exact and slower system” or “rudimental” study that “will then become at once entertaining and educational.”⁷⁸⁴ The author proposes that in the common school districts of Salt Lake City, a small fee be charged per pupil toward the hiring of a professional music teacher. This teacher would “teach a number of schools, in the week, the rudiments of singing.”⁷⁸⁵

The article further states, “Music education of the public [tends] to the general refinement and pleasure of society”⁷⁸⁶ but there is the public perception that music education is hard. Under the correct system of learning that music education is easy:

⁷⁸² The name of the “musical writer” is not given in the article, but the ensuing paragraphs are in quotation marks.

⁷⁸³ “Vocal Music in Schools,” 106.

⁷⁸⁴ “Singing in Schools,” *Utah Musical Times* 1 no. 8 (October, 1876), 121.

⁷⁸⁵ “Singing in Schools,” 121.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

For instance the exercises on the “ladder”⁷⁸⁷ are quite entertaining as well as instructive. The pupil will not only soon learn “to take the intervals,” but will also learn the quality and variety of sound which enter into the combination of music. The pupil will soon perceive that by the simple transpositions on the scale, running up and down, and skipping among the intervals, beautiful strains and tunes are constructed. They will discover how easy it is for the teacher to put popular songs on the “modulator,” and thus by the examples learn the primary elements not only of singing but also of *composition*. For the first time the pupil will gain an insight into the art of composition and musical construction, and this too not at the end of the study, but at the very beginning; for it is at the first round of the leader that *composition* commences. In this, music is ahead of all other branches of art; for music is the most perfectly taught art.⁷⁸⁸

Pupils with “bad ears”⁷⁸⁹ seldom improve if the only music activity they engage in is group singing by ear. Students can be taught to sing well if they are taught using “system and science....If the ear is to be trained, then youth is the proper time for that training and the public school is the proper place.”⁷⁹⁰

In the December 1876 issue was an explanation of the leading delivery systems of vocal music teaching. The *Hullah* (fixed *do*) and *Curwen* (moveable *do*) approaches are explained in detailed then a conclusion is proposed:

Mr. Curwen’s system embodies nearly all the first principles of musical theory and the method of the art. It exposes the very principles of composition, and half educates their pupil for a composer. Dealing so much with the primal laws of music, it carries the student beyond practice into the realms of theory, most easily while he only thinks he is “learning the way” to sing. In this is immense value.⁷⁹¹

The only weakness in the Curwen system was the notation. After a student was

⁷⁸⁷ Referring to a list of ascending sol-fa syllables.

⁷⁸⁸ “Singing in Schools,” 122. Italics in original.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ “Which is the Best System of Teaching?” *Utah Musical Times* 1 no. 10 (December, 1876), 154–155.

taught in the Curwen system of seeing the letters *d, r, m, etc.*, for the syllables *do, re, me, etc.*, they would not be familiar with the round-note notation most commonly used in printed music.

We would recommend then, that the Curwen system should in the main, be applied by teachers in class education, adapting it, however, to the old notation. In effect this would mean that, in the absence of a perfect and universally accepted plan by the profession, teachers must do as they have always done, namely, somewhat construct their own systems, and adapt the best methods of teaching suggested by the constantly improving plans.⁷⁹²

It was recommended that instructors avoid the tendency to only use vocal exercises in the key of C major. Teachers were encouraged to take advantage of the versatility inherent in the Tonic Sol-fa system and use regular music notation to expose the learners to reading music in all keys.⁷⁹³

In 1876, the Utah territorial legislature provided five-thousand dollars to the University of Deseret for forty students to attend University of Deseret's newly organized Normal School. After receiving their diplomas, the students were to return to their communities and teach in the public schools.⁷⁹⁴ An article in the April 1877 issue states that this legislative directive "has actually afforded the very means for the musical education of the entire community."⁷⁹⁵ Citing the earlier articles in the journal, the argument is reiterated regarding the ease and necessity of implementing vocal music in school curriculum. The University was called on to hire a professor of music and to include vocal music training in the requirements for graduation from the Normal

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, 155.

⁷⁹³ "The Moveable Do," *Utah Musical Times* 1, no. 11 (January, 1877), 169–70.

⁷⁹⁴ Moffit, *History of Public Education in Utah*, 130 and 168.

⁷⁹⁵ "Musical Education," *Utah Musical Times* 2, no. 1 (April, 1877), 10.

School.⁷⁹⁶ Calder's influence at the University of Deseret included an appointment to the Board of Regents. He was a member of its executive committee from 1867–69 during a re-organization of the institution and was appointed university president.⁷⁹⁷ He was the primary instructor and taught business courses from 1867–69.⁷⁹⁸ The position of music professor/instructor was intermittent at the University of Deseret from its inception in 1850 to the 1870s. Finally, music instruction and the inclusion of music methods in the Normal School became commonplace in the 1880s.

During the 1870s and 1880s, Calder placed increasing emphasis on his music retail business. He opened a branch store in Ogden, thirty miles north of Salt Lake City in 1879.⁷⁹⁹ He was involved in the organization of two music societies. He was the director of the educational department of the *Deseret Philharmonic Society* upon its re-organization in 1871.⁸⁰⁰ This society offered tuition classes in both vocal and instrumental music.⁸⁰¹ In 1879, Calder helped to organize *Zion's Musical Society* in 1879.⁸⁰² Both societies were short-lived.⁸⁰³ Calder passed away on July 3, 1884.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., 9–10.

⁷⁹⁷ Moffitt, *History of Public Education*, 172.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ John Tullidge, "Biographical Sketch of David O. Calder," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 1, no. 3 (April, 1881), 415–416.

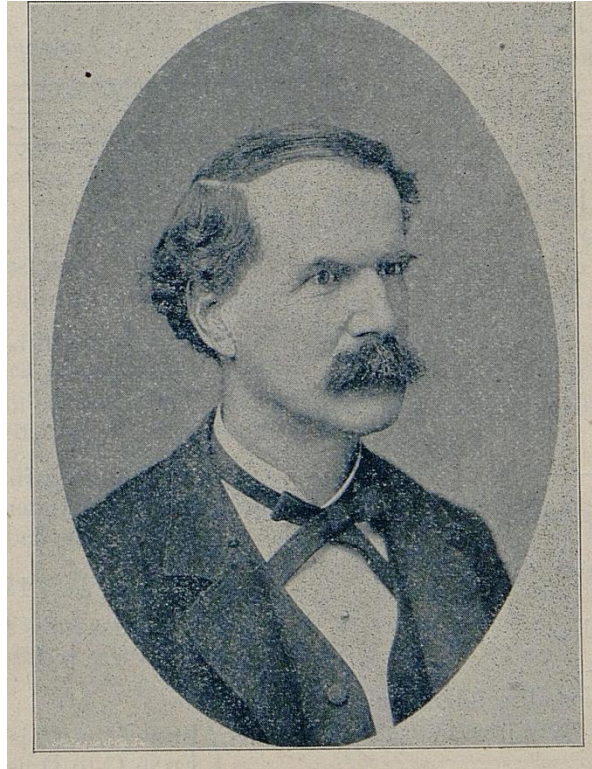
⁸⁰⁰ Smith. *History of The Oratorio Society of Utah*, 6. The *Deseret Philharmonic Society* was first organized in 1855 under the direction of James Smithies.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., 16–17.

⁸⁰² Ibid., 17.

⁸⁰³ Ibid., 20.

Charles John Thomas (1832–1919)



Charles John Thomas⁸⁰⁴ was born into a musical family in Burnley, Lancashire, England on November 20, 1832. Thomas' father was a professional horn player and by age 9, Thomas was performing alongside him in professional theater performances.⁸⁰⁵ After the family moved to London, Thomas studied harmony with Professor John Wade Thirlwall, a violinist and composer at Theatre Royale, Covent Garden. Thomas learned to play piano, organ and violin prior to his arrival in Salt Lake City.⁸⁰⁶ His professional horn playing included touring the British Isles with Karl Anschutz's Italian opera company in

⁸⁰⁴ Photograph courtesy Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁸⁰⁵ William Earl Purdy, "The Life and Works of Charles John Thomas," 8.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid.

the early 1850s.⁸⁰⁷

From 1857 through 1860, Thomas regularly performed on horn with the orchestra at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, London. While there in 1857, he participated in one of the triennial Handel Festivals under the direction of Sir Michael Costa.⁸⁰⁸ Later in his life, Thomas frequently spoke of this experience as being highly influential and key to his success in orchestral conducting in Salt Lake City.⁸⁰⁹

Thomas immigrated to Salt Lake City in 1861. He immediately became the director of the Ballo Band, as Dominico Ballo had passed away in September, the same month as Thomas' arrival. Thomas was recommended by David O. Calder to conduct the orchestra of the newly constructed Salt Lake Theater in 1862. Thomas assisted Calder with the *Deseret Musical Society*, providing the orchestral accompaniments for the society's performances.⁸¹⁰ Thomas had brought orchestral scores, parts and some instruments with him from England, including probably the first two French horns in the territory.⁸¹¹ After exhausting the music library he brought from England, Thomas composed several works for the theater orchestra. The twenty orchestra members had varied levels of playing ability. Thomas taught the less experienced players and brought the volunteer group to a level that rivaled professional groups that stopped at the Salt Lake Theater on tour.⁸¹² "During each rehearsal a portion of the time was taken up giving

⁸⁰⁷ Hicks, 92.

⁸⁰⁸ Nigel Burton and Keith Horner, "Costa, Sir Michael" *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed December 29, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06635>.

⁸⁰⁹ Purdy, "Life and Works of Charles John Thomas," 14.

⁸¹⁰ Hicks, 93.

⁸¹¹ Purdy, "Charles John Thomas," 17.

⁸¹² Purdy, "Charles John Thomas," 17–18.

the beginners instruction on their instruments.”⁸¹³ In a *Deseret News* article written by Thomas later in his life he said the following about the beginnings of the theater orchestra:

We were a crude organization, indeed, at first, but as time went on, and we had more rehearsals and became more interested in the promotion of the musical welfare of the theatre, and the other interests for which we played, the orchestra became one of the chief features of the theatre. When our first stock dramatic company was organized and we played more, we received many compliments from the visiting troupes which carried their own orchestra with them. Our own people here at home appreciated us more and more, and expressed their appreciation. These things helped encourage us.⁸¹⁴

A theater company member, who played leading roles in early productions of the Salt Lake Theater, referred to Thomas as a “rigid disciplinarian:”

People had to attend to their business at rehearsals. When there was a ballad or chorus to be rehearsed, they knew it was their duty to do it to the best of their ability for the eagle eye of the conductor was on them constantly, and if any of them got a little careless or negligent, they were called to account immediately. He never allowed any one to slight his work, but gave praise willingly when deserved. The company learned to fear, respect, and admire him. He was the right man in the right place.⁸¹⁵

Thomas’s own daughter said this of her father’s musical gifts and mannerisms:

He could take down a tune from the voice almost as fast as one could sing it...He was a wonderful sight-reader - - could sing at sight the most difficult orchestral music, even when the music was turned upside down. All early day singers and musicians in Utah knew of his wonderfully sensitive ear. He heard instantly a false note and knew who made it, whether in a large band or in a choir of hundreds of voices. The trouble

⁸¹³ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸¹⁴ *Deseret News* (March 2, 1912) quoted in Purdy, “Charles John Thomas.” 19.

⁸¹⁵ Mrs. M. G. Clawson, quoted in Sterling E. Beesley, *Kind Words, The Beginnings of Mormon Melody. A Historical Biography and Anthology of the Life and Works of Ebenezer Beesley*, 248.

was he told them of it, and in no uncertain manner, because to him the discord was really physical torture. This nervous sensitiveness and impatience to inharmony[sic] was the weakest spot in Father's character. But he had been trained to listen for this from childhood by his father and his teachers.⁸¹⁶

Thomas also directed the theater choir and one month after the theater opening he was appointed director of the Salt Lake LDS Tabernacle choir.⁸¹⁷

Previous to this the [Tabernacle] choir had never risen above the status of an ordinary country church, but, under the baton of Prof. Thomas, a decided improvement was soon observed, and good music was more the rule than the exception.⁸¹⁸

Thomas made his living teaching private music lessons. The following ad appeared in the *Deseret News* on July 2, 1862.

Instrumental Music will be taught by C. J. Thomas, at his residence, Main street, opposite the old Post Office, on Tuesday and Saturday evenings. String instruments, from 7 to 8, and brass instruments from 8 to 9 o'clock. Terms - \$15 per quarter; \$5 in advance. Arrangements can be made for private lessons during the day. Music arranged for bands. Piano Fortes tuned.⁸¹⁹

In November of 1865, Thomas was asked by LDS Church President Young, to travel to and settle in southern Utah. The settlement of St. George, over 300 miles to the southwest of Salt Lake City, was established to develop the cotton industry. Thomas' assignment in the new community was to instruct the settlers in music and to organize choruses and bands.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁶ Anna Thomas Piercey, "Biography of Professor Charles John Thomas: a Tribute to My Father," 2, unpublished manuscript, M270.1 T455pi, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁸¹⁷ Purdy, "Life and Works of Charles John Thomas," 22.

⁸¹⁸ Edward W. Tullidge. "Charles John Thomas," *Utah Musical Journal* Vol. 1, no. 2. (1892): 17.

⁸¹⁹ Similar ads appeared in the *Deseret News* through 1864.

⁸²⁰ Purdy, "Charles John Thomas," 26.

While in St. George, Thomas taught private music lessons, group music classes, organized a six member brass band a community adult choir and a children's choir.

He has accomplished wonders, especially among the very young, -- mere children seemed to utter music and respond to time under his guidance, with a perfection of art which would grace many long practiced choirs.⁸²¹

The daughter of a woman who attended Thomas' classes in St. George reported,

I recall that my mother attended the classes of Professor Thomas, of which he held many for the different groups. Mother said he was very efficient and expected the best of his group, but when a mistake was made he would pull the worst faces and go through such expressions that there was no doubt in the minds of the group as to what they were doing or how they were doing it.⁸²²

After two years in St. George, Thomas was asked to move one hundred miles north to the community of Beaver and establish community music groups as he had in St. George.⁸²³

In 1871, Thomas returned to Salt Lake City and resumed his private teaching studio and direction of the theater orchestra.⁸²⁴ He reduced the orchestra numbers to twelve or less, depending on the season, retaining the very best players.⁸²⁵ He achieved a long-time goal of getting himself and the orchestra members paid for their work during the three-month theater season. He conducted the orchestra for the next fourteen years.⁸²⁶

In 1876, Thomas organized and conducted the Union Glee Club. This was a select all-male chorus of no more than twelve singers at any time.⁸²⁷ The first of its kind in the

⁸²¹ *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (July 6, 1867), quoted in Purdy, "Charles John Thomas," 34.

⁸²² An interview with Ella J. Seegmiller, quoted in Purdy. "Charles John Thomas," 34

⁸²³ Purdy, "Charles John Thomas," 35.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸²⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸²⁷ According to Piercy, Ebenezer Beesley and Evan Stephens, prominent Utah music educators, were members of this glee club from time to time.

territory, the members were very experienced singers and active choir directors from the Salt Lake valley.⁸²⁸ The Union Glee Club was active for twenty years.⁸²⁹

The money Thomas made from his private music teaching and theater orchestra conducting was not enough to fully support his family. He was appointed as custodian on the “Temple Block” in the center of Salt Lake City in 1876.⁸³⁰ In 1893, he was put in charge of all music activities on the temple block.⁸³¹

In 1888, Thomas was elected President of the newly organized Salt Lake Symphony Orchestra. The group was organized with both professional and the best amateur musical talent in Salt Lake City. Its purpose was to perform the great works of the world’s greatest composers.⁸³²

Thomas’ daughter, Anna Thomas Piercey said the following about her father:

[O]nly a small portion of the activities in which Professor Thomas has engaged in are a matter of record. His music life, activities and obligations,...required almost every night of his life...We know only of the outstanding events in his life, but added to these should be numerous occasions on which he sang solos, conducted choirs,...the advice he gave to new musical organizations, the many choirs he fostered and nursed to success, the many students in Utah who received their first inspiration from his renditions or from the lessons he gave so widely for so little, the spiritual food and joy he gave to people hungry from spiritual stimulation, entertainments, and cultural activities.⁸³³

⁸²⁸ Purdy, “Charles John Thomas,” 43–45.

⁸²⁹ Piercey, “Biography of Charles John Thomas,” 5.

⁸³⁰ Purdy, “Charles John Thomas,” 43.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, 47.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, 49.

Thomas died on March 31, 1919. In his obituary is the following tribute, “Professor Thomas is given credit of laying the foundation of the study of music in Utah.”⁸³⁴

John Hasler (1839–1914)



Citizens in remote communities in central Utah were benefitted by the music teaching of John Hasler.⁸³⁵ Born in Switzerland on April 17, 1839, Hasler showed skills early on for playing band instruments. Because of the scarcity of printed music, he borrowed music from proficient musicians in his town, copied it down and arranged it for

⁸³⁴ “Founder of Music in Utah is Dead,” *Salt Lake Tribune* (April 1, 1919), 10.

⁸³⁵ Photo courtesy Mt. Pleasant Pioneer Relic Home and Blacksmith Shop Internet Blog, <http://mtpleasantpioneer.blogspot.com/search/label/Hasler>

different instruments.⁸³⁶

I spent whole nights in writing and arranging popular music, and when morning dawned, I would steal up to my room and disarrange my bed to make mother believe I had slept in it.⁸³⁷

Hasler entered the military at age fifteen and at age twenty-one was a Lieutenant and leader of the Swiss Calvary Band.⁸³⁸

Hasler and his wife arrived in Utah in 1869 and settled in Mt. Pleasant a small community in Sanpete County in the central part of the territory where his brother-in-law lived. Hasler had only been there one week when he was asked to assemble a band for a military drill. At the objection of his wife, Hasler had brought with him from Switzerland a “trunk full” of band instruments in place of a “fine mattress and some household treasures.”⁸³⁹ He spent evenings getting the instruments into playing condition. The town had a bass drum they could use.

I divided my instruments and drilled almost day and night, our young men. In three weeks at the appointed time, they were able to play a number of national hymns. My skill in writing notes came handy. I had to write every part of the band.⁸⁴⁰

Hasler’s wife recorded the following about her husband’s work with the band:

John Hasler was well equipped with every kind of music and books as he had been director of the cavalry band in his company in Switzerland. But he had to write out and arrange every individual part in smaller books for each band member...Hasler writes of this work not as a hardship but he tells of his love of his labor, and of the pleasure and satisfaction he got out of it. To associate with the young people who loved and appreciated his

⁸³⁶ “John and Louisa Thalman Hasler – Pioneers of the Month (August 2010),” accessed October 4, 2014, <http://mtpleasantpioneerofthemoth.blogspot.com/search/label/Hasler>.

⁸³⁷ Ibid.

⁸³⁸ Harry A. Dean, “A. C. Smyth and his Influence on Choral Music of Central Utah,” 21.

⁸³⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁰ “John and Louisa Thalman Hasler – Pioneers of the Month.”

labor, he was greatly thankful to be able to do this work.⁸⁴¹

Hasler was in charge of the Mt. Pleasant choir, a position he held for twenty years, and taught three young ladies piano skills so they could serve as accompanists. The remuneration for his work with the band and the choir was a partial of land; ten acres apportioned out by the LDS bishop. It became known as “brass band field.”⁸⁴²

In 1876, Hasler organized a band in Spring City, five miles south of Mt. Pleasant. He would go to Spring City to teach the boys or sometimes would have them come to his home in Mt. Pleasant and “work all day at the price of two dollars.”⁸⁴³ This may have been the beginnings of a music boarding school that Hasler taught out of his home in Mt. Pleasant for several years.⁸⁴⁴ Groups of four to six students would rotate through in six-week terms learning organ. The regimen required three one-hour lessons per day and intense practicing sessions between lessons.⁸⁴⁵ Three organs were “going all day.”⁸⁴⁶ A student of Hasler’s boarding school reminisced that he studied from “The Ballak Method” and “The Golden Chord” while at the school. These books “came with the organs.”⁸⁴⁷ Another student remembered:

⁸⁴¹ Louisa Hasler, “Organization of the First Brass Band in Mount Pleasant, Under John Hasler,” in Dean, “A. C. Smyth and his Influence on Choral Music of Central Utah,” 27.

⁸⁴² Dean, “A. C. Smyth,” 22.

⁸⁴³ Dean, 28.

⁸⁴⁴ It is not clear the exact years this boarding school was in operation. One of Hasler’s daughters is recorded by Dean as saying it started “Soon after coming to Mount Pleasant.” Hasler was incapacitated with Rheumatic Fever from Fall 1875 to Spring 1876. He served an LDS mission to Switzerland from April 1880 to Fall 1882. If it did start soon after his arrival in Mount Pleasant, it was not in continuous operation.

⁸⁴⁵ Dean, 25.

⁸⁴⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid., 25. *The Golden Chord, a Choice Collection of Favorite and Modern Pianoforte Music, Consisting of Marches, Waltzes, Polkas, Schottisches, Mazurkas, Dances, Pianoforte Gems, Fourhand Pieces, &c., Being a Choice Repertoire of Gems for the Home Circle.*

[H]is teaching was kind, but firm...Each student learned a military march and military music seemed to please him most. For teaching materials he used the White and The [sic] Whitney organ methods and a book called the Golden Chord...He also had a method of his own which he would write for us.⁸⁴⁸

Instead of cash payments for tuition and room and board, he would often accept food, building materials and clothing.⁸⁴⁹ Hasler's students described him as a very fine musician and one who was "desirous of building a musical community."⁸⁵⁰ His daughter described Hasler's sensitivity to pitch:

Father was very sensitive to pitch. If anyone played or sang a discord, he was told about it immediately. He even sent to Switzerland for cowbells for his domestic animals, and then filed them so they harmonized in the form of a chord. So even the cows had to be in tune.⁸⁵¹

When his boarding school closed in 1890,⁸⁵² Hasler started traveling through central Utah counties selling musical instruments and "teaching music in homes."⁸⁵³ He traveled as far as Pleasant Grove to the north, Wayne County to the south and east into Emery County teaching in twenty-three different towns.⁸⁵⁴ He would give free lessons with each instrument sold.⁸⁵⁵ Hasler's daughter reflected:

Many homes at that time in the out-of-the-way territories where there were no railroads or other means of communication would never have known the cultural influence of music had it not been for my father's seeking them out and making it possible to have instruments and music in the home and wards. Also much talent was found in these out-of-the-way

(Cleveland, OH: S. Brainard, 1863).

⁸⁴⁸ Dean, 29.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., 28

⁸⁵¹ Ibid., 23–24.

⁸⁵² "John and Louisa Thalman Hasler – Pioneers of the Month."

⁸⁵³ Dean, 22–23.

⁸⁵⁴ "Early Pioneer Ends Life of Usefulness," *Mt. Pleasant Pyramid* (January 16, 1914), 1.

⁸⁵⁵ Dean, 23.

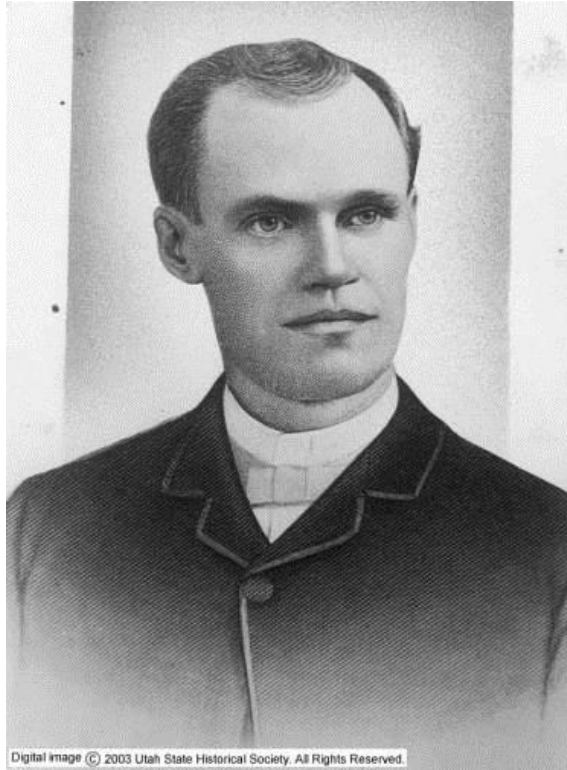
places that would have otherwise gone unnoticed.⁸⁵⁶

Some students of Hasler went on to extensive careers in music. John Jasper McClellan served as Salt Lake LDS Tabernacle organist from 1900 to 1925. Clair William Reid was chair of the Brigham Young University School of Music from 1917 to 1920. Anthony Canute Lund who preceded Reid as Music Department chair at Brigham Young Academy from 1897 to 1916, directed the Salt Lake LDS Tabernacle Choir from 1916 to 1935.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁶ Dean, 23.

⁸⁵⁷ “Early Pioneer Ends Life of Usefulness.”

Evan Stephens (1854–1930)



Evan Stephens⁸⁵⁸ was born June 8, 1854 in Wales, the youngest of 10 children.⁸⁵⁹ His family converted to the LDS church while in Wales and soon immigrated to Salt Lake City arriving in October of 1866. Within a week the family settled in Willard, fifty miles north of Salt Lake City. Thirteen-year-old Stephens became involved with the local choir. He borrowed choir books from the directors to study notation on his own.⁸⁶⁰ At age sixteen he taught himself to play organ⁸⁶¹ and by 1870, at age seventeen, Stephens was

⁸⁵⁸ Photograph courtesy Utah State Historical Society.
http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/ref/collection/USHS_Class/id/3445

⁸⁵⁹ Johnson, "The Life and Contributions of Evan Stephens," 1.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2–3.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

teaching a “note school”⁸⁶² and was in charge of the alto section of the Willard choir.⁸⁶³ In 1873, Stephens took over as director of the choir. The group was invited to participate with the Tabernacle choir in Salt Lake City and perform at the semi-annual general conference of the LDS church in October. Within three months, Stephens taught the choir 25 hymns and anthems including the “Hallelujah” chorus from the *Messiah* by G. F. Handel.⁸⁶⁴ There was only one organ in Willard and Stephens was the only community member with ability to play. His keyboard skills were limited to hymn playing. The most efficient way for him to teach the choir the more difficult anthems was “by voice.”⁸⁶⁵

From 1870 to 1882, Stephens’ music teaching expanded from note-reading classes to teaching youth and adult singing classes and organ lessons. His composing expanded from simple children’s songs to “anthems, glees, plays and operettas.”⁸⁶⁶ Beginning in 1873, his songs were occasionally published in the *Juvenile Instructor*, a monthly publication circulated to all LDS Sunday Schools. As much as he could, Stephens would keep abreast of all the prominent composers in Europe. When he could afford it, he would buy scores of the new Wagner operas.

I gradually became acquainted with the great music of Germany, France, Italy, Scandinavia, England, and Wales. And naturally tried to write my own music, too, after the styles I most admired. By giving the simplest of them to my little choir to sing, I could, as it were, test them out.⁸⁶⁷

From 1879 to 1882, Stephens lived in Logan, thirty miles to the northeast of

⁸⁶² Jean S. Greenwood, “History of Box Elder County,” in *Pioneer Pathways* vol. 1, 88.

⁸⁶³ Johnson, “The Life and Contributions of Evan Stephens,” 8.

⁸⁶⁴ Bergman, *The Life and Music of Evan Stephens*, 65.

⁸⁶⁵ *Biographical Sketch of Evan Stephens*, [1900–1925?].

⁸⁶⁶ Bergman, 70.

⁸⁶⁷ Evan Stephens, “How I Graduated from a Boxcar,” *The Children’s Friend* 19 (April 1920): 142.

Willard. He first supplemented his income in a blacksmith's shop by accepting a position of organist at the Logan LDS Tabernacle. He soon was employed full-time by local church officials at the salary of sixty dollars per month to teach organ lessons, singing classes, and take charge of the Logan Tabernacle choir.⁸⁶⁸ He taught children's singing classes in the afternoon and adult classes in the evening. With his singing class members, he produced performances of two original operettas. He offered free individual voice lessons for those who participated in the operettas. At the height of his teaching in Logan, he was giving ten organ lessons per day and had 250 students in his youth and adult singing classes.⁸⁶⁹ Stephens included the study of the life of composers such as Mozart, Beethoven and Mendelssohn in his adult singing classes. He also had the scores of several "standard operas" for reference.⁸⁷⁰ While teaching in Willard and Logan, Stephens developed and solidified his teaching philosophy based on Pestalozzian principles, which would be the basis of his music teaching publications to come in the next decade.⁸⁷¹

Stephens moved to Salt Lake City in March of 1882 to focus on his own music education.⁸⁷² He began to study organ with Joseph J. Daynes, the organist at the Salt Lake LDS Tabernacle. Stephens sang in a board meeting of the LDS Sunday School Union on April 3, 1882 and asked to be allowed to form a select children's choir of ten students from each Sunday School in the city. Stephens proposed that the choir perform quarterly

⁸⁶⁸ Bergman, 68–69.

⁸⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁸⁷⁰ "Musical Books Arrived," *Logan Leader* (September 16, 1881), 3.

⁸⁷¹ Bergman, 75.

⁸⁷² *Ibid.*, 81.

“grand concerts.” He proposed to teach for free, but retain the proceeds from the first concert. He proposed that proceeds from subsequent concerts go toward missionary tract materials.⁸⁷³ The board agreed and rehearsals began within the month. The first concert was held on July 19 in the Salt Lake Theater. By July 28, an additional 400 students joined Stephens’ classes.

Evan Stephens’ pupils do not only stick to him, but they accumulate. The number already exceeds 800 and still they come to join his singing classes. He says he will not take more than one thousand till some of his present pupils are able to assist in teaching.⁸⁷⁴

Stephens would demonstrate to his concert audiences how proficient his young choir members understood the elements of singing on sight. In early December of 1882, between five and six hundred young singers performed in the morning in the Salt Lake City Assembly Hall:

The exercises...consisted of pieces of music given vocally by Brother Stephens for the first time, written on the spot by the children, and sung off hand without preparation. The writing exercises presented a pretty novel sight. The little heads bobbed up to catch the sounds and down again to place the notes upon the paper, reminding one of a flock of little ducks burying their heads under water and popping up again...[In another exercise] Two small boys, under thirteen years, called out the sound names at random and the scholars sang them with admiral exactness, showing the thorough character of the training they had received, being able to distinctly individualize any note on the scale.⁸⁷⁵

Stephens’ music instruction to LDS Sunday School students continued in similar

⁸⁷³ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 101.

⁸⁷⁴ “Evan Stephens,” *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (October 28, 1882), Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁸⁷⁵ “Delightful Musical Exhibition,” *Deseret News* (December 6, 1882), 9.

fashion through the 1880s extending at times to communities outside Salt Lake City.⁸⁷⁶ Two classes of 150 students each were formed in Ogden in 1883. It was advertised that Stephens “commences with pupils at the foundation of their studies, teaches them to read the music, and not to sing by imitation, or simply listening to the voice of the instructor.”⁸⁷⁷ Stephens published his own music instruction books in 1883, 1884 and 1889.⁸⁷⁸ He used these books in his class instruction. He also used *The Song Echo* by H. S. Perkins.⁸⁷⁹ This book was an approved music text for the territorial public schools.

Stephens began a seventeen-year association with the University of Deseret⁸⁸⁰ in the 1883–84 academic year.⁸⁸¹ He was head of the music department and was primarily responsible for teaching the methods of music instruction to students in the normal department, who were preparing for certification to teach in the territorial common schools. He taught from his own music instruction books. In the 1884–85 university annual, the following is written under the heading “music”:

Vocal music is taught with special reference to the Normal Department. While the student receives instruction in the principles of the art, he is thoroughly drilled in their execution, so that with a moderate natural endowment, he may be able to read music readily at sight, and to write it as well from sound.

A primary object in the course is to make him so proficient in his

⁸⁷⁶ Bergman, 88.

⁸⁷⁷ “Music,” *Ogden Herald*, (March 19, 1883), 2.

⁸⁷⁸ Evan Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* (1883), *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music* (1884), *The School and Primary Songster* (1889).

⁸⁷⁹ H. S. Perkins, *The Song Echo* (1871). A copy of this book held in the International Society Daughters of Utah Pioneers Museum in Salt Lake City, UT, contains the inscription “Used in Evan Stephens singing class 1884” on the inside front cover and on the back of the title page.

⁸⁸⁰ University of Deseret became University of Utah in 1892.

⁸⁸¹ *Annual of the University of Deseret 1882–1891*, LD5526 .U652, and *Catalogues of University of Utah 1891–1901*, LD5526 .U82, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

knowledge of the subject as to be able to teach the elements himself. He is made familiar with both of the popular methods of expression, the old notation and the tonic sol-fa.

Care has been taken to secure talent specially suited to giving instruction in this branch.”⁸⁸²

Mary D. McClellan, a student of Stephens at the University recorded, “[H]e would dictate lessons and the students would have to copy everything he said, and handing this in complete at the end of the term would be their examination.”⁸⁸³

In September of 1885,⁸⁸⁴ Stephens left to study for ten months in Boston at the New England Conservatory of Music.⁸⁸⁵ Upon his return, he resumed his teaching at the university and singing classes for LDS Sunday School children. The Salt Lake Tabernacle, the principle venue for Stephens’ concerts, was closed when the federal government confiscated the property as a result of the Edmunds-Tucker act of 1887. As a result, Stephens turned his attention toward assisting in public schools and teaching adult classes.⁸⁸⁶ The Stephens Opera Company was formed from the top performers in his adult classes. A trio of operas, the first in Utah “to be staged by home talent” were Balfo’s *The Bohemian Girl* in June of 1888, Donizetti’s *Daughter of the Regiment* in April of 1889 and Flotow’s *Martha* in June and again in October of 1889.⁸⁸⁷

Mr. Evan Stephens is the most prodigious professional worker at present before the public. We have, however, just one word to say to him, and that is, that if he don’t pull up in his labors and let the country breezes daily

⁸⁸² *Annual of the University of Deseret, 1884–85*, (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Deseret, [1884]), 34.

⁸⁸³ Johnson, *The Life and Contributions of Evan Stephens*, 89.

⁸⁸⁴ Bergman, 97.

⁸⁸⁵ Johnson, 93.

⁸⁸⁶ Bergman, 100.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

through his whiskers awhile, he should at once go to work on a funeral anthem for his own personal use.⁸⁸⁸

Two events precipitated the formation of the Salt Lake Choral Society by Stephens in 1889. Stephens brought together 400 of the city's best adult singers to present a benefit concert for the victims of a flood in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. He then conducted a choir of 500 that performed in conjunction with the Patrick Gilmore band while on a tour that included a performance in Salt Lake City. Gilmore insisted that Stephens conduct the combined numbers on the concert.⁸⁸⁹ A 1,200-voice choir from the area public schools also participated on the concert held on October 31 and November 1, 1889.

On May 30 and 31, 1890, the newly formed Salt Lake Choral Society presented its first music festival in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. The 1,200-voice children's choir performed on the matinee concert.⁸⁹⁰ After concert expenses, proceeds from the concert were used for "the furnishing of the district schools of this city with more of the music books now generally in use, [and] for the special benefit of children whose parents cannot well afford to purchase such textbooks."⁸⁹¹ The music books "generally in use" in the Salt Lake City schools in 1890 were written by Stephens.

⁸⁸⁸ "Sunday Salad" *Salt Lake Herald* (June 2, 1889), 5.

⁸⁸⁹ Smith, *History of the Oratorio Society of Utah*, 28.

⁸⁹⁰ Bergman, 102.

⁸⁹¹ "May Musical Festival," *Deseret Weekly* (May 17, 1890), 19



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Stephens officially took over as conductor of the Salt Lake LDS Tabernacle Choir on November 1, 1890.⁸⁹³ In addition to his teaching duties at the University of Deseret, through 1892, Stephens taught music in the Salt Lake City School District during the 1890–91 school year⁸⁹⁴ and at Latter-day Saints College from 1890–92.⁸⁹⁵ From 1892–94, Stephens taught choir, harmony and composition at the Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music.⁸⁹⁶ Stephens died on October 27, 1930.

⁸⁹² Public domain. Photo provided by Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁸⁹³ Bergman, 110.

⁸⁹⁴ Millspaugh, *First Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake*, 26.

⁸⁹⁵ Hilton, *The History of LDS Business College*, 134.

⁸⁹⁶ *Utah Gazetteer 1892–93*, 72.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MUSIC INSTRUCTION BOOKS PUBLISHED IN UTAH

A lack of textbooks in the fledgling common schools was just one of many challenges facing counties around the territory. Securing buildings and teachers were a higher priority. The first annual report from the Washington County School District Superintendent to territorial education officials in 1864 stated, “The great labors required of the brethren opening their farms, have prevented them giving as much attention to school matters...In most settlements the school houses are temporary buildings, or the school [is] taught in private houses.”⁸⁹⁷ In 1865, little improvement had been made.

You will see that in many of the districts the children are taught in private houses, this, with a scarcity of appropriate books, have to be remedied in the future. There is a great call for the labor of children as soon as they can be used, owing to a scarcity of men to do the great amount of work to be done necessary to establish this mission. This, of course, will not last many years, and I hope to the education interests of the children guarded with more care and attention.⁸⁹⁸

Beginning in 1865, it was permissible by law for the common schools to use tax revenue for textbook purchases.⁸⁹⁹ It took time before this practice was consistent. From Washington County in 1868, school records included the following:

The classes of books recommended by the Territorial Superintendent are principally used in the County, and I am adopting measures for obtaining a full supply. The School Fund arising from the sale of stray stock is not yet in a condition to be advantageously used. However what little has become

⁸⁹⁷ George A. Burgon (County Superintendent), to Robert L. Campbell, Territorial Superintendent, October 28, 1864, School Record, Washington County Report and Budget Record, 1864–1890, Series 23784, Box 1, Utah State Historical Society.

⁸⁹⁸ Burgon, to Campbell, November, 1865, School Record.

⁸⁹⁹ Moffit, *History of Public Education in Utah*, 119.

available has been used in furnishing suitable books.⁹⁰⁰

Song Echo by H. S. Perkins was the first music textbook approved for Utah public schools by the territorial textbook committee in 1876. Other “home productions on music” were also approved at this time.⁹⁰¹ It is not clear exactly what “home productions” were approved but music textbooks by Utahan David O. Calder were available at the time. In the 1880s, Utah music education advocate, Evan Stephens, published music textbooks that he used in his private singing classes and in his music courses at the University of Deseret. Salt Lake City and Ogden public schools and LDS academies used Stephens’ music textbooks.⁹⁰² Stephens’ music textbooks were approved for use in public schools throughout the territory in 1889.⁹⁰³ A majority of the exercises and songs in books by Calder and Stephens were original compositions.

Books by David Orson Calder

Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method published in 1863 includes exercises, duets, rounds and part songs to help a student progress from beginning to competent music reading skills in one volume. There is no text containing explanation or instruction for teacher or student; the instructor must provide all explanation in how to read the symbols contained in the volume. There are seventy-four musical terms defined in the

⁹⁰⁰ Burgon, to Campbell, December 18, 1868, School Record.

⁹⁰¹ “Convention of School Superintendents,” *Deseret News* (April 19, 1876), 6.

⁹⁰² Stewart, *Circular of the Public Schools of Salt Lake County* [1890], 8. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1888–89*, 33. Laycock, “A History of Music in the Academies of the Latter-Day Saints Church,” 322.

⁹⁰³ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah, 1888–89*, 33.

last two pages of the book. Eight chapters, which divide up a total of fifty-two singing exercises,⁹⁰⁴ progress from a one-phrase duet with intervals held within the range of an octave, to four-part (SATB) songs that include tempo changes, dynamic markings and modulations. All notation is in the Tonic Sol-fa system, using moveable *do* and single letters indicating the first letter of the solfege syllables for each diatonic pitch. A superscript mark after a pitch letter indicates the pitch is high *do* or higher, a subscript mark after a pitch letter indicates the pitch is below *do*. Chromatic alterations *bah*, *de*, *fi*, *ne* and *te* are spelled out completely. A colon (:) separates beats within a measure, a dash (–) indicates the continuation of a previous pitch. Rests are indicated by leaving a space blank. Figure nine is the first six exercises from the book followed by a realization in staff notation.⁹⁰⁵

⁹⁰⁴ There is a misprint in the exercises numbering. There is no exercise number 45. There are two exercises numbered 47, on pages 14 and 18.

⁹⁰⁵ For examples of a mid-level and advanced exercise in the book along with staff realizations see Appendix F and G.

THE TONIC SOL-FA SINGING EXERCISES.

CHAPTER I.

No. 1. KEY C. TWO-PULSE MEASURE.

{ | d : m | s : d' | d' : s | m : d ||
 { | d : d | d : d | d : d | d : d ||

FAH'
 ME'
 RAY'
 D.

No. 2. KEY C.

{ | d : - | m : - | s : - | d' : - | d' : - | s : - | m : - | d : - ||
 { | d : - | d : d | d : d | d : d | d : d | d : d | d : d | d : - ||

TE
 LAH

No. 3. KEY D.

{ | d : m | s : m | s : m | d' : - | d' : s | m : s | s : m | d : - ||
 { | d : d | d : d | d : d | d : - | d : d | d : d | d : d | d : - ||

SOH
 FAH
 ME'

No. 4. KEY D.

{ | d : d | m : m | s : s | m : - | d' : d' | m : m | s : s | d : - ||
 { | d : d | d : d | m : m | m : - | m : m | d : d | m : m | d : - ||

RAY
 DOH

No. 5. KEY G.

{ | d : - | s : - | m : - | d : - | m : - | m : - | d : - ||
 { | d : - | d : - | s₁ : - | d : - | s₁ : - | s₁ : - | d : - ||

TE₁
 LAH₁
 SOH₁

No. 6. KEY D.

{ | d : r | m : f | s : l | t : d' | d' : t | l : s | f : m | r : d ||
 { | d : t₁ | d : r | m : f | s : l | l : s | f : m | r : d | t₁ : d ||

Fig. 9. Calder, *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method*, 1. Exercises 1-6.

The image displays six numbered musical exercises, each consisting of two staves (treble and bass clef) in 2/4 time. Exercise No. 1 features a simple melody in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. Exercise No. 2 has a melody in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. Exercise No. 3 includes a treble staff melody with several sharps and a bass line. Exercise No. 4 has a treble staff melody with sharps and a bass line. Exercise No. 5 consists of a treble staff melody with a few sharps and a bass line. Exercise No. 6 features a treble staff melody with many sharps and a bass line.

Fig. 9a. Calder, *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method*, 1. Staff realization of exercises 1–6. Staff realization by Rhonda Rhodes, August 30, 2016.

Introductory rhythm exercises entitled “time exercises” use the letter *a* or the syllable *la* for the demonstration and are not numbered as part of the fifty-two singing exercises (see figure 10).

4 THE TONIC SOL-FA SINGING EXERCISES.

CHAPTER III.

ELEMENTARY TIME EXERCISES.

M. 60. FOUR-PULSE MEASURE.

“ONES”		La : la		la : la		la : la		la : la		la : la		la : la		
“TWS”		La : —		la : —		la : —		la : —		la : —		la : —		
“THREES AND ONES”		La : —		— : la		la : —		— : la		la : —		— : la		
“FOURS”		La : —		— : —		la : —		— : —		la : —		— : —		
“HALVES.”		La . la : la . la		la . la : la . la		la . la : la . la		la . la : la . la		la . la : la . la				

THREE-PULSE MEASURE. M. 60.

“ONES”		La : la : la		la : la : la		la : la : la		la : la : la		
“TWS AND ONES”		La : — : la		la : — : la		la : — : la		la : — : la		
“THREES”		La : — : —		la : — : —		la : — : —		la : — : —		
“HALVES”		La . la : la . la : la . la		la . la : la . la : la . la		la . la : la . la : la . la				

Fig. 10. Calder, *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method*, 4. Elementary Time Exercises.

To Calder, one of the advantages inherent in using Tonic Sol-fa notation was the ease in which students could sing in different keys.⁹⁰⁶ Of the fifty-two singing exercises, eleven are in the key of C major, five are in G major, thirteen are in D major, four are in A major, seven are in F major, seven are in B-flat major, one is in E-flat major, one is in A minor, one is in D minor and two are in C minor.

⁹⁰⁶ “The Moveable Do,” *Utah Musical Times*, 169–70.

Calder split the drills in rhythm into two sections in the text, gradually immersing students into more advanced subdivisions.⁹⁰⁷ “Elementary time exercises” are at the beginning of chapters three and six. “Force exercises,” which indicate different dynamic levels for each note in a four-beat pattern, begin chapter seven. The minor mode is introduced in chapter eight, the final chapter in the book.

There is no indication in the book whether the exercises and songs are Calder’s original compositions. “Fairyland” on page twenty is by John Wall Callcott (1766–1821) and is included in a book of glees published in Scotland around 1843.⁹⁰⁸ “Fairyland” is written in standard staff notation in the 1843 glee book. In Calder’s book, the Tonic Sol-fa notation includes a modulation to the dominant key.⁹⁰⁹ In the 1843 glee book, the modulation is not indicated with a key signature change, but is accomplished by the use of accidentals. Calder included material in his book that he may have become familiar with during his years teaching in Scotland.

One thousand copies of *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* were printed in June of 1863 at a total cost of \$125.00.⁹¹⁰ This was the most expensive printing project to date produced by the Deseret News Print company.⁹¹¹ Some volumes of *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* were bound with an extra fourteen pages of “part

⁹⁰⁷ Subdivisions do not pass the level of eighth-notes.

⁹⁰⁸ *The British Minstrel, and Musical and Literary Miscellany*, Vol. 3 (Glasgow: William Hamilton, ca 1843), 114.
<http://www.archive.org/stream/britishminstreilm00glas#page/114/mode/2up>.

⁹⁰⁹ See Appendix G.

⁹¹⁰ *Deseret News Print Bindery Ledger, 1853–1867*, 68.

⁹¹¹ The Utah Historical Society, LDS Church History Library, and the libraries at Brigham Young, Yale and Princeton Universities each hold one copy of this volume.

songs” following the twenty-eight pages of singing lessons.⁹¹² The “part song” section was re-numbered from page one and includes twelve part songs, six each of three-part and four-part, all written in Tonic Sol-fa notation. These songs were not authored by Calder.

There is evidence of other music teaching publications by Calder. The LDS Church History Library in Salt Lake City holds a partial book attributed to Calder entitled *Courses of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing – No. 1*⁹¹³ A handwritten inscription on the inside front cover contains the date “December 13, 1861.” The “No.1” in the title may indicate that subsequent volumes were intended. The *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* at the LDS Church History Library only contains pages one through ten. The singing exercise on the final page is not completed with a double bar as all other exercises and the lyrics of the exercise do not complete a sentence. It is not known how many pages the original publication contained.

The existing pages of *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* do not include any part songs. It is comprised of a few duets, two, three, and four-voice rounds and “time” (rhythm), “force” (dynamics), and “form tones” (accenting and articulation) exercises. Comparison points of the incomplete 1861 *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* with 1863 *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* reveal the following similarities:

- The first five exercises in both books are identical save one key signature

⁹¹² The volumes held at the LDS Church History Library and Brigham Young University Library have the “part song” addition. The volume at the Utah Historical Society does not.

⁹¹³ David O. Calder, *Courses of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing – No.1*, (1861).

difference.⁹¹⁴

- Three exercises in the “minor mode” are identical in both books save one key signature difference.⁹¹⁵
- Rhythm exercises are similar in composition and in progression; *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* contains six where *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* contains only two.⁹¹⁶
- Two “rounds for three voices” in *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* are found in *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method*.⁹¹⁷
- Modulation to the dominant key is introduced in both publications.

Major differences between the two publications include the following:

- *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* is more rudimentary and concise.
- *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* contains only five to seven short exercises in a chapter, where *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* contains up to fifteen in a chapter.
- Exercises in *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* are generally longer than eight measures.

⁹¹⁴ Exercise No.1 is labeled “Key D” in *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* and is labeled “Key C” in *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method*.

⁹¹⁵ Example 2 on page 8 is labeled “Key C” in *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* and is labeled “Key D” in *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* on page 18.

⁹¹⁶ “Elementary Time Exercises” on page 2 and 4 of *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* are found in *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* on page 4 and 7 respectively.

⁹¹⁷ Exercise 7 and 18 in *Course of Lessons on the Tonic sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* are found in *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* on page 3 and 6 respectively.

- Some tunes in *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* are attributed to composers other than Calder.

Another Calder publication in 1861 was a four-page pamphlet, *The Tonic Sol-fa Singing Exercises*, containing only twenty exercises.⁹¹⁸ It is an exact replication of the first four pages of the incomplete *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* volume held at the LDS Church History Library with the exception of two printing differences.⁹¹⁹ The bindery ledger of Deseret News Print company lists the binding of “200 singing books bound for D. O. Calder” on May 12, 1861 at the cost of \$5.00⁹²⁰ and “72 music books bound for D. O. Calder” on November 25, 1861 at the cost of \$10.00.⁹²¹ It is possible that the 200 singing books for \$5.00 were the *The Tonic Sol-fa Singing Exercises* pamphlet; printed at the individual cost of two and one-half cents. The seventy-two books for \$10.00 could possibly be the *Course of Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* book printed at the individual cost of approximately fourteen cents. This cannot be confirmed from the information in the ledger.

These different publications by Calder show his pension for producing products to facilitate his teaching in the Tonic Sol-fa system. Not unlike his fellow Utahans, Evan Stephens, and nationally renowned music textbook authors such as Luther Whiting Mason, John W. Tufts and H. E. Holt who also continued to publish music teaching

⁹¹⁸ David O Calder, *The Tonic Sol-fa Singing Exercises*, 094 Ut1 1861 no.3, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

⁹¹⁹ The four page pamphlet is missing a subscript “1” after the highest syllable “Fah” on the ladder in the right-hand margin of page one. The title of exercise thirteen on page two is missing the parenthesis around “or eight” in the four-page pamphlet, where the *Course Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method of Teaching to Sing* includes them.

⁹²⁰ *Deseret News Print Bindery Ledger*, 46.

⁹²¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

materials after their initial works.

Books by Evan Stephens

A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music and *The Song Garland, A Second Reader of Vocal Music* were published in 1883 and 1884 respectively.⁹²² In the preface of his second reader, Stephens expresses his intent to publish a third reader as well. *The School and Primary Songster* was published in 1889⁹²³ and rather than serve as a third reader, it is a combination of the first two readers. Stephens used these books in his own singing classes and at the University of Deseret. They were used in LDS Academies and were recommended textbooks for Utah territorial common schools.

A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music

Having very little formal music training by 1883, Stephens states in the preface of his first reader:

Nothing but a desire to follow my *own* mode of teaching could have induced me to publish this little work...I have sought to follow no other “method” than what appears to *me* to be that of common sense, using what I believe to be the best means to gain the desired end.⁹²⁴

The teaching methods contained in these books were constructed from the experience of his own class teaching. Starting in Willard, he taught the choir “by voice” in 1873. Less than ten years later in Salt Lake City, he demonstrated the dictation skills of

⁹²² Evan Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* (1883.), *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music* (1884).

⁹²³ Evan Stephens, *The School and Primary Songster* (1889).

⁹²⁴ Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, Preface. Italics in original.

a 500-voice children's choir in front of an audience in 1882. Stephens included detailed commentary in his textbooks. This provides insight into his teaching style and pedagogical philosophy. His philosophy closely followed the tenets expressed in Lowell Mason's *Manual of the Boston Academy of Music for Instruction in the Elements of Vocal Music on the System of Pestalozzi* published in Boston in 1843, and summarized by Mark and Gary in 2007:

1. Teach sounds before signs. Stephens instructed the music teacher to teach the first twenty-two exercises in his book and simple rounds by rote. He did not recommend that the students even have a copy of the reader until after the students had practice placing pitches on their own sheets of staff paper in the fifth or sixth lesson.
2. Lead the child to observe, by hearing and imitating sounds, their resemblances and differences, rather than explaining things. The child is to be an active learner. When first matching pitches, Stephens suggested that the students be encouraged to raise their hand when they heard a new pitch being added to what they already knew. When teaching meter, the teacher purposely guided the students to sense accents as they naturally occurred and unnaturally occurred in a lyric. The students discovered that meters were a natural assistance in music rather than a "puzzle."⁹²⁵
3. Teach one thing at a time. For example, when first using the staff, the class

⁹²⁵ Ibid., 8.

placed sol-fa syllables on the staff before actually using any notation.⁹²⁶

Stephens' recommended steps for learning a concept were incremental. This will be borne out in descriptions further on in this chapter. Stephens cautioned the teacher, "Do not introduce new sound lessons till [the current lesson] is learned, as the pupil cannot learn many things at once; one thing at a time should be our motto."⁹²⁷

4. Make children practice each item until it is mastered before moving to the next. This directive is repeatedly mentioned in Stephens' scripted lessons.

5. Give the principles of theory after the practice, and as an induction from it.

This seemed to naturally flow from Stephens' belief, "Never use or mention anything till you need to *use* it. Talk plain; use no strange terms and music will cease to be the never-to-be-learned mysterious art that is it supposed to be."⁹²⁸ As an example, before the terms "bar line" or "measure" were introduced, Stephens suggested that students simply write a short vertical line in front of each stressed syllable in a given lyric. The class then renamed the vertical line "bar" and the space between them "measure".⁹²⁹

6. Analyze and practice the elements of articulate sound in order to apply them to music. Stephens suggested that students practice an interval by rote, practice it in an exercise, and sing it in a round before singing a song that included the interval.

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

⁹²⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁹²⁸ Ibid., Preface, "To Teachers." Italics in original.

⁹²⁹ Ibid., 5.

7. Have the names of the notes correspond to those used in instrumental music.

Stephens delayed this step. Throughout the first reader, the only mention of letter names for pitches was a brief reference to the “G clef” and “F clef” in a list of definitions on page one.⁹³⁰

Stephens repeatedly stated that the teacher should speak plainly; using no strange terms.⁹³¹ After the first lesson opens with students matching pitches using the syllable “ah”, Stephens used the following light-hearted, “plain terms” regarding pitch-naming:

Soon after my entrance into this old word my parents gave me a name, for convenience sake, I suppose, and to assist others in future to recognize me; just so, if you agree, we will name the sound we have just produced. I propose to christen it *Do*.⁹³²

The students repeated the pitch using “do” instead of “ah”. Other pitches were named in this fashion. Stephens believed that scale-singing using the syllables could become habitual and the students would not really be “thinking of the sounds they produce[d].”⁹³³ In order to combat this tendency, his initial singing exercises moved in step-wise motion yet did not settle into complete scale patterns (see figure 11).

⁹³⁰ Michael L. Mark and Charles L. Gary, *A History of American Music Education* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education, 2007), 127.

⁹³¹ Stephens, *A Primer*, Preface, “To Teachers.” Italics in original.

⁹³² Ibid. 2. Italics in original.

⁹³³ Ibid.

- No. 1. do re mi re do re mi fa sol fa mi fa mi re do.**
2. do re mi fa sol fa mi re do re mi re mi re do.
3. do re mi fa sol la sol fa me fa sol fa mi re do.
4 do re mi fa sol la ti do' ti la sol sol la ti do'.
- 5. do' ti la sol sol la sol fa mi fa mi re mi re do.**
6. do do re re mi fa mi re mi mi fa fa mi re do.
7. do' do' ti ti la la sol sol fa fa mi fa mi re do.

Fig. 11. Evan Stephens. *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 2–3. Exercises 1–7.


As students drilled these exercises by ear, the tonic pitch was often changed and there was no mention of rhythm or meter. Students were simply instructed to stay in a steady pulse. Stephens suggested using the pitches of exercise number three or six and replacing the sol-fa syllables with the following text of fifteen syllables:

“O my Father thou that dwellest
 In thy high and glorious place.”⁹³⁴

The lyric would fit the pitches of any of the first seven exercises, but exercise three or six are suggested perhaps because they have a relatively narrow range or because the contour of exercise three and six fit the lyric most aesthetically; the word “high” in both instances occurs on a high note in the surrounding contour. Below is a staff realization of exercises three and six with the text in the key of C major (see figure 12.)


⁹³⁴ Ibid., 3. This text is nearly identical to the beginning lines of a well-known LDS hymn text written by Eliza R. Snow in 1845. It is likely that students encountering this line in a Utah music class in the 1880s would be familiar with it.

No. 3.



O my Fa - ther thou that dwel - lest In thy high and glor - iuos place.

No. 6.



O my Fa - ther thou that dwel - lest In thy high and glor - iuos place.

Fig. 12. Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 3. Exercise 3 and 6 with staff realization in the key of C major. Staff realization by Rhonda Rhodes, December 29, 2015.

Though students were not yet dealing with staff notation, Stephens believed that melodic dictation should commence. Pestalozzian teaching principles advocate dividing skills into manageable steps.⁹³⁵ Stephens' steps are very small. The first exercise in dictation involved the teacher speaking the syllables of an exercise and the students writing down the first letter of the syllable.⁹³⁶ This got the students used to responding in writing to what they heard and it gave students a reference sheet of written exercises for future work without the need for a personal copy of the textbook. Next, class and teacher read the exercise syllables in order and at a steady pace. Then they sang the exercise at a steady pace. The students were oriented to the tonic pitch as *do* and students called out the corresponding syllables as they heard them while the exercise was sung with the lyric. On ensuing repetitions the students wrote the letters indicating which syllables are being sung.

⁹³⁵ Mark and Gary, *A History of American Music Education*, 127.

⁹³⁶ Stephens, *A Primer*, 3.

Stephens described the major scale in “plain terms.”

It reminds me of climbing a ladder, if you like, we will call these eight sounds the *Ladder*; or to be fashionable we will give it a foreign name, which will be the *Scale*; it means the same thing in another language. Now we climb up and down the ladder (at least our voices may) almost as we please, only we can't skip or miss any steps and light safely on any other step we please.⁹³⁷

The incremental steps involved in learning to sing intervals were enveloped in the structure of the exercises at this point in the book. 1) Sing up the scale to *sol* and make a descending skip back to *do*; 2) Isolate the interval and sing it both descending and ascending; 3) Repeat this process with *mi* to *do*; 4) Sing through the ascending and descending major triad. Stephens advises the teacher to sing the exercises “very slowly and carefully, stopping and repeating the skip, if they make mistakes.”⁹³⁸ This type of formative assessment is recommended throughout the textbook. Learning rounds or songs located near the end of the textbook “by ear” not only provide another opportunity to practice the intervals but break up the monotony of vocal drills.⁹³⁹

If the teacher followed Stephens' suggestions for dictation, the students would have many exercises written out in their own notebooks. Stephens encouraged the teachers to use these dictated exercises to introduce new concepts. For example, exercise fifteen (see figure 13) was taught by ear, was used for dictation practice, and then was used to introduce the concept of “meter” and “measure.”

⁹³⁷ Ibid., 4. Italics in original.

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

⁹³⁹ Ibid.

15. do re mi do mi fa sol mi do re mi fa mi re do.
Let us sing and thus be mer-ry, Sing-ing drives dull care a-way.

Fig. 13. Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 4. Exercise 15.

The teacher and students recited the lyric using emphasized syllables as follows:

*Let us sing and thus be merry,
 Singing drives dull care away.*⁹⁴⁰

From this, the students inserted a vertical line before each stressed syllable (see figure 14). This was reinforced with the students making a downward hand movement at each vertical line.

**| Let us | sing and | thus be | merry,
 | Singing | drives dull | care a | way ||**

Fig. 14. Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 5. “Time and Accent” example.

Students divided all previously dictated exercises into measures of two syllables each using newly learned “bar lines.” Exercise number one became:

2 counts, d r | m r | d r | m f | s f | m f | m r | d – ||.

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid.

More active learning is demonstrated in the way Stephens introduced triple meter.

Using the following lyric:

*Merrily, merrily, singing so cheerily,
never no never give up in despair*⁹⁴¹

The teacher asked the students how they would divide the verse – into the previously learned two or four count measures? Soon the class arrived at the realization that it must be divided into measures of three counts. After some drill in songs in triple meter, the teacher sang sample songs in both meters to the students asking them to determine the correct meter: two or three. This showed the students that changes in meters are a necessity “used to assist us to read and sing a piece correctly, and not to *puzzle* the reader or student.”⁹⁴²

In 1890, Stephens was reported to have said that using staff notation in his teaching rather than Tonic Sol-fa notation depended on the “inspiration of the moment.” He usually blended the two systems to his advantage.⁹⁴³ In his first reader, guiding the students to staff notation is a process rife with incremental steps. Stephens first showed the students that even though they have become used to letters representing pitches, anything could be used to represent pitches – even an object such as a hat or a book.⁹⁴⁴

With this in mind, Stephens offered the use of a staff for representing pitches:

Get your music paper and let us see what we have there printed; here we find five lines printed close together. These five lines and the spaces between we shall call “The staff.” Each one of these lines and the spaces between we shall use to represent these sounds, and if we choose we may

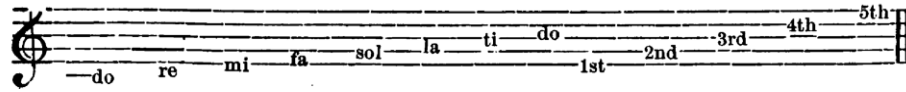
⁹⁴¹ Ibid., 7. Italics in original.

⁹⁴² Ibid., 8. Italics in original.

⁹⁴³ Cannon, *Diaries*, October 31, 1890.

⁹⁴⁴ Stephens, *A Primer*, 8.

make more lines above or below these. When we make anything ourselves we are less apt to forget it, so let us make a little short line close to the beginning of left hand side of the upper group of lines. Make it about as far below the lower line as the others are from each other, thus:



Now let us agree that this shall represent *do* for the *present* while the space between it and the lower long line shall represent *re*, lower long line *mi*, next space between *fa*, next line *sol* and so on till we have *do* on the third long space counting from the bottom up as we always must.⁹⁴⁵

Students then replaced the syllables on the staff into “dots,” hereafter called “*notes*.”⁹⁴⁶

The teacher did not use the term ‘quarter notes’ at this time. The class was now ready to convert the previously dictated exercises into staff notation, or as Stephens called it “into the new objects.”⁹⁴⁷ At this stage, all exercises were written in C major with *do* as the first ledger line below the treble clef staff. From this point forward, any new exercises the teacher wished to introduce were to be dictated onto the staff.

In rhythm teaching, Stephens suggested calling the different length notes by the names “whole time” sounds (four beats), “half time” sounds (two beat) and “quarter time” sounds (one beat).⁹⁴⁸ When introducing rests, students were to whisper the counts. Luther Whiting Mason was also known to use “his own time names, with the rests whispered.”⁹⁴⁹ The following exercises were written down on the staff by the students (see figure 15). As the figure shows, the students saw the option of using quarter rests or half and dotted half rests as needed.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., 9.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁹⁴⁹ Mark and Gary, *A History*, 195.

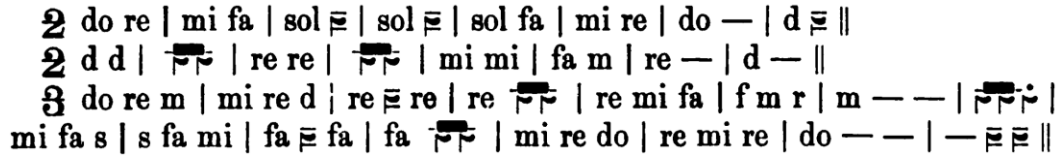


Fig. 15. Stephens, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 10. “Exercises with Rests.”

Rather than use the term “time signature,” Stephens used “figures at the commencement” of a piece.⁹⁵⁰ He explained the meaning of the “figures” if the lower number is four, two or eight. Steven insisted that the teacher stress the importance of the use of “*accent*” and not “*note*” when understanding time exercises.

[A]n example of the rhythm and accent of an exercise will throw more light on the subject to a class than a month’s talk and mathematical comparisons.⁹⁵¹

The students showed their understanding of time relationships by writing on the staff the following exercise (see figure 16) in 3/4 and 3/8 time, then doubling the measures and writing it in 6/4 and 6/8.

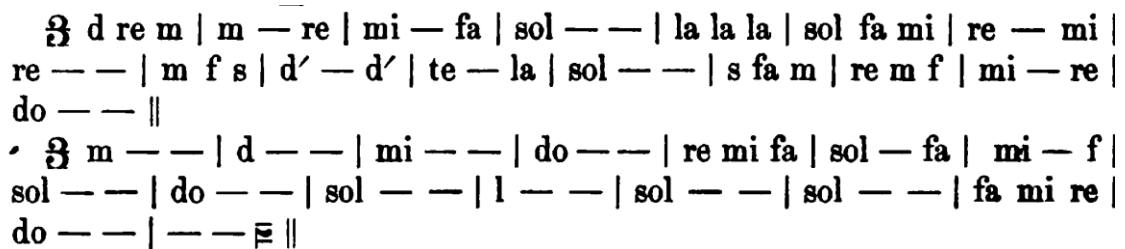


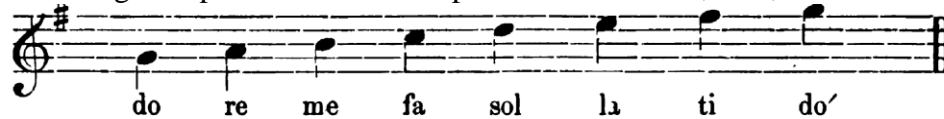
Fig. 16. Stephens. *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 11. “Figures at Commencement” example.

⁹⁵⁰ Stephens, *A Primer*, 10.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Since all previous exercises were placed on the staff in the key of C major with middle C as *do*, Stephens approached the conversation on transposition as follows, again linking new material to previously mastered skills:

Let us now give the short line [ledger line below the treble clef staff] a rest and change the position of our *do* up to the second line, thus,



It will soon become just as handy for us and we will not have to make a short line for *do*; now how shall we know when we have changed position if we do not write the name of the syllables below our notes? and [sic] *that* we shall not always do. I propose to place a sign like this # on the upper line, this we shall call a sharp.⁹⁵²

On page fourteen of the book where there is a “table of positions of the scale with signs.”

The teacher was encouraged to gradually introduce students to the idea of writing in all “positions” or keys (see figure 17).

⁹⁵² Ibid., 11–12. Italics in original.

TABLE OF POSITIONS OF THE SCALE
WITH THE SIGNS.

1st Position. Sign. 2nd Position. Sign. 3rd Position. Sign. 4th Position.

Sign. 5th Position. Sign. 6th Position. Sign. 7th Position. Sign. 8th Position.

The image shows two rows of musical notation on a treble clef staff. The first row shows positions 1 through 4. Each position is represented by a short scale starting on a specific line or space, with a sharp sign above the staff. Below each scale are the notes 'd', 't', and 'd'' (representing do, re, do) written in a smaller font. The second row shows positions 5 through 8, also with sharp signs and corresponding notes below.

Note.—One sharp is added at every new position, and the added, or last, sharp is always on the ti of the new position. It will be seen that the eighth position is like the first.


Sign. 1st Position. Sign. 2nd Position. Sign. 3rd Position.

The positions with other signs:

Sign. 4th Position. Sign. 5th Position. Sign. 6th Position. Sign. 7th Position.

The image shows two rows of musical notation on a treble clef staff. The first row shows positions 1 through 3 with flat signs (b) above the staff. Below each scale are the notes 'd', 'f', and 'd'' (representing do, fa, do) written in a smaller font. The second row shows positions 4 through 7, also with flat signs and corresponding notes below.

These new signs are called flats. Notice the new, or added, one is always on fa of the new position.

The sign  changes the position of everything, sharps, flats, scales and all to one line or space lower.

Example:

The image shows a single line of musical notation on a treble clef staff. It is divided into two sections by a double bar line. The first section is labeled '2nd Position.' and has a sharp sign above the staff. The second section is labeled '1st Position in flats.' and has a flat sign above the staff. Below each section are the notes 'd', 't', and 'd'' written in a smaller font.

Fig. 17. Stephens. *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 14. "Table of Positions of the Scale with the Signs."

At the close of section one of the book, Stephens wrote specifically to the music teacher regarding useful habits and positive teaching disposition.

- Practice difficult intervals using the exercises⁹⁵³ before learning a song that includes that interval.
- Use the same approach for dotted rhythms. Practicing such rhythms until the students feel the “movement” is much more effective than trying to explain “it is a count and a half.”⁹⁵⁴
- Encourage students to be bold in their approach to singing and learning music.
- Do not laugh at students’ mistakes unless the student laughs first.
- “Never introduce anything till you need it and are ready to put into practice.”⁹⁵⁵
- “Never *name* an object before you have introduced it.”⁹⁵⁶
- When any new object is introduced, use it till students are familiar with it and will never forget it or its use.
- Assess students often in recognizing and producing any pitch in the major scale.
- Assess students often in recognizing the meter of a piece.
- Repetition is essential, but remember you are working with humans who demand variety.

⁹⁵³ There are “Time and Skip Exercises” on pages fifteen through seventeen in the book.

⁹⁵⁴ Stephens, *A Primer*, 12.

⁹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Italics in original.

- Approach practice with kindness and cheerfulness yet use honest evaluation – good or bad.
- Make the lessons your own. Try them yourself before presenting them to the students; making sure the examples are to the point and not too difficult.
- Don't crowd your lessons with too much information.
- Encourage students to show their own copywork.


Stephens addressed the parents. He encouraged starting music instruction as early as age six, or “as soon as they are able to write their letters with some ease.”⁹⁵⁷ If music is not taught in the school where their children attend, parents should find a children’s singing school where class is held at least twice a week. They should not make a habit of casual attendance “as such a course is the surest mode of discouraging them.” If the students are not doing any music work at home, “be assured there is something wrong. Find out what it is. Take an interest in their progress.”⁹⁵⁸

Exercises and songs in the second part of the book are written in traditional notation. With few exceptions, Stephens inserted no instruction between any of the songs. Songs number one through nine are in C major. Above the songs in C is an ascending and descending C major scale written out on the treble staff. To aid the singer in finding the correct starting pitch, a portion of the ascending C major scale is printed to the beginning pitch of the song (see figure 18).

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid. Unnumbered page between 13 and 14.


⁹⁵⁸ Ibid.

No. 2.



mi Ev'-ry step to us is proving We shall reach the goal in time.

No. 3.



sol

Fig. 18. Stephens. *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 18. "Exercises in Reading Vocal Music" exercises 2 and 3.

An arpeggio of the tonic triad precedes song five, an exercise featuring intervals derived from the tonic triad (see figure 19).

No. 5.



d m s d' s m d d' d'

Fig. 19. Stephens. *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 18. "Exercises in Reading Vocal Music" exercise 5.

After the first nine songs, 'set up' practices for finding the first pitch are abandoned.

An ascending and descending G major scale and F major scale precede the sections of songs in these corresponding keys. The songs with no lyrics include the

instruction “find words to suit these exercises.”⁹⁵⁹ The section in G major includes an increasing number of duets. The section in F Major includes trios. Song sixteen is a “Time Exercise” with no lyrics introducing for the first time eighth-notes in pairs. Song seventeen, entitled “Long Ago,” includes similar rhythms to the previous exercise. “Long Ago” is not one of Stephens’ compositions. In total, six songs in the book are not Stephens’ original work; they are marked with an asterisk following the title.⁹⁶⁰

Songs gradually increase in time signature and rhythmic complexity and gradually include multiple vocal lines. Song twenty-five is “Exercise in dotted quarters” with no lyrics.⁹⁶¹ There is also no meter indication (see figure 20).

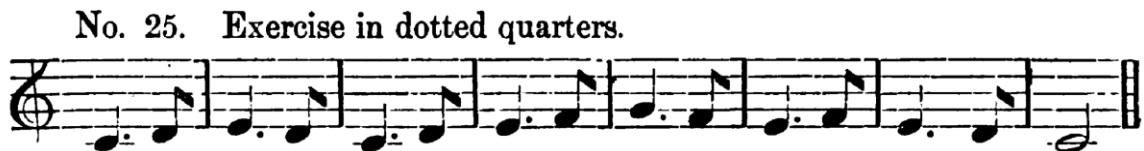


Fig. 20. Stephens. *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, 25. “Exercise in Dotted Quarters.”

Additionally, unison song number twenty six (barred in a two-beat meter) and four-part song number twenty-nine (barred in a three-beat meter) do not include time signatures. It is not clear if this is intentional or a misprint. Stephens stated earlier in the book that

⁹⁵⁹ Ibid., 20.

⁹⁶⁰ Songs 13 “Home,” 17 “Long Ago,” 21 “Once Again We Meet Each Other” and Rounds 1, “Now to All a Kind Good Night,” 5 “Let the Universe be Free” and 6 “Three Blind Mice.”

⁹⁶¹ Stephens, *A Primer*, 25.

feeling three subdivisions in a dotted quarter-note is far better than telling the student the value is “a count and a half.”⁹⁶² Omitting the time signature on the early songs in the book that use this rhythm may be Stephens’ way of reinforcing this premise to the instructor.⁹⁶³

Songs were presented in various staff configurations to provide variety for the learner. Some multi-part songs were printed one part per staff; other songs combined multiple parts on one staff. Some songs showed the tenor written in the treble clef staff and in other songs it was in the bass clef staff.

Stephens labeled some songs to “be taken for test examples.”⁹⁶⁴ Test songs were to be prepared by the students without teacher assistance. These five songs included the keys of F, G, D major and the meters 3/4, 4/4, 3/8 and 6/8. Four of the songs were intended for unison or solo singing. The other was a duet with both parts written in the treble clef and included sections in 3/4, 3/8 and 6/8 time. Stephens seems to have made an effort to include test songs that would appeal to boys. “A Father’s Advice,” included the lyric “my boy” in two places.⁹⁶⁵ Another song was entitled “Those Who Loved Me When A Boy.”⁹⁶⁶ The other test songs are gender neutral.

Following the section of thirty-seven songs, there is a section of six rounds subtitled “for practice in part singing and for recreation.”⁹⁶⁷ They gradually increase in

⁹⁶² Ibid., 12.

⁹⁶³ Song twenty-seven, which is between two songs without time signatures is marked in 4/4 time and includes the dotted quarter-note rhythm.

⁹⁶⁴ Stephens, *A Primer*, 34.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid., 32–33.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid., 33–34.

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid., 34.

rhythmic and intervallic complexity. The rounds are printed in the keys of F, G and C major and in the meters of 3/4, 2/4, 4/4 and 6/8. The simplest rounds indicate three and four entry points. The most difficult round indicates eight entry points. The last two songs in the book are part songs. Both are in the key of E-flat; the first use of this key in the book.

The Song Garland, A Second Reader of Vocal Music

Stephens' second book, *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music*, included the introduction of accidentals or "intermediate tones", minor scales, the use of sixteenth notes in simple meter, a variety of tempo and expression markings⁹⁶⁸ and the continuation of independent part singing and reading. Exercises in key modulation, triplets and syncopation were intended for a third reader.⁹⁶⁹

Stephens insisted that any teacher, musician or not, could be successful in teaching the principles of music. "If you thoroughly understand the contents of the *First Reader*, you are as capable of imparting that knowledge to others desirous of learning as the most profound professor, if you use care and judgment."⁹⁷⁰ Stephens suggested that the less experienced musician may be a better teacher than an "advanced musician," stating that the advanced musician "often forgets the importance of the small steps he had to tread long ago, and plunges the pupil into the depths of the mysteries he loves to revel in..."⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁸ The first reader had tempo markings and a few dynamic markings.

⁹⁶⁹ Evan Stephens, *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music*, Preface.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Stephens suggested that the teachers' admonition be "follow me," and not "come to me."⁹⁷² If a student's skill passes the level of the teacher, the teacher should "cheerfully let them pass."⁹⁷³

The second reader began with a two-page review of material covered in the first reader.⁹⁷⁴ Then Stephens encouraged the teacher to introduce new material in a positive light:

Every step in advance will bring to our views new beauties in our art. Socalled [sic] difficulties in music are not introduced by the composer for the sake of the difficulty itself, but to add to the beauty and thought of the music. So we do not advance merely to become more proficient only, but to be able to grasp more enjoyment, to enhance our pleasure by producing or discovering new agreeable effects.⁹⁷⁵

As was the case in the first reader, Stephens continued to use incremental steps to ease the student into new skills. To introduce accidentals, Stephens suggested first using the chromatic step between *fa* and *sol* on the major scale ladder. Avoiding the name *fi* for the new pitch until the students could hear and difference and duplicate the step vocally, the following exercise was then recommended: s, fi, s, fi, s, fa, m.⁹⁷⁶ Stephens strongly suggested first learning to sing the half-step by approaching it from above. Once the sound and name *fi* was reproduced consistently, the discussion then moved to the correct symbol to use – sharp, natural or double sharp – to indicate the altered pitch on the staff since the note is placed on the same line or space as *fa*. There is a footnote at this point in the text explaining the use of accidental markings in relation to the key signature. The

⁹⁷² Ibid., 12.

⁹⁷³ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., 6–7.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., 9.

teacher is urged to “teach them the one you put into practise [sic] at a time, only.”⁹⁷⁷

A section of exercises titled “musical trapeze”⁹⁷⁸ (see figure 21) were placed on the grand staff in a variety of keys and simple time signatures, including accidentals. Stephens stated that the work on these exercises be “ten minutes of lively practise [sic].” He encouraged the teacher to have students sing them in several keys and sing them backwards and forwards.⁹⁷⁹ The new pitches *ri* and *di* are also introduced in this section. Additional chromatic alterations are taught later on in the book, so not to overwhelm the student with too much new information.



Fig. 21. Stephens. *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music*, 28. “Musical Trapeze.”

When introducing the subdivision of the sixteenth-note, the teacher was to start with familiar material and remind the students of the basic feeling of the two-beat

⁹⁷⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁹⁷⁸ Figure twenty three includes the first of these exercises. There are an additional three.

⁹⁷⁹ Stephens, *The Song Garland*, 10–11.

measure by moving the hand down and up then say “Count four to every hand movement:”

Down. *Up.*
| 1,2,3,4 : 1,2,3,4 |⁹⁸⁰

then using the scale, substitute sound names for the numbers:

Down. *Up, &c.*
|| d,d,d,d : d,d,d,d | r,r,r,r : r,r,r,r | m,m,m,m : s,f,m,r | d : — ||.⁹⁸¹

Stephens encouraged patience and attention to detail. He described a comparison of reading rhythm groups in a song to sounding out unfamiliar words in a sentence; starting slowly, then building the ability to sing sixteenth-note pitch patterns “after taking one glance at it.”

This is the essence of good reading, as it [sic] is that enables us to read intelligently at first sight. Pupils should take a great pride in attaining such a degree of proficiency, although few of our musicians have so trained themselves.⁹⁸²

When learning the dotted eighth-note sixteenth-note pattern, it was Stephens’ opinion, more practical to count “One and Two and – the ‘and’ being spoken quickly, just before the hand moves for the next count,” rather than explaining it as three-fourths of a count and one-fourth of a count. The teacher should also have the students practice the pattern in reverse and in subdivisions in 2/4 and 3/4 time.⁹⁸³ Five exercises emphasizing this progression occupy pages 31 and 32. From pages 33 to 51, five original songs include the rhythm elements in order and further show Stephens’ propensity to

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid., 30.

⁹⁸¹ Ibid.

⁹⁸² Ibid.

⁹⁸³ Ibid., 31.

continually change the arrangement and texture of the songs in his readers to provide multiple teaching points and variety:

- 1) *The Hour of Pleasure*.⁹⁸⁴ Four staves (treble, alto, tenor, bass) emphasize sixteenth-notes in 2/4 time. Texture is highly contrapuntal.
- 2) *Good-By*.⁹⁸⁵ Three staves (tenor, treble/alto, bass) split into four staves on later pages, emphasizing sixteenth-notes in 3/4 time. Texture is primarily homophonic.
- 3) *The Old Schoolhouse*.⁹⁸⁶ Four staves (treble, alto, tenor, bass) emphasize dotted eighth-note, sixteenth-note pattern in 4/4 time.
- 4) *Jennie with the Sweet Brown Eyes*.⁹⁸⁷ The only song in the group with a dedicated piano accompaniment line, it has two solo verses and a four-part (soprano, alto, tenor, bass) chorus section accompanying the solo between each verse. Four-part voicing under the solo verses is optional by singing the staccato notes in the piano accompaniment on the syllable *la*. This song emphasizes sixteenth-note, dotted eighth-note pattern along with the reverse pattern in 2/4 time.
- 5) *The Songs My Mother Sang*.⁹⁸⁸ Three staves (alto, tenor, bass) emphasize dotted eighth-note, sixteenth-note patterns in 3/4 time. Occasionally, the dotted eighth-note, sixteenth-note unit was stems both upward and downward. In these cases, the upward stems are beamed and the downward stems are flagged.

After these songs, Stephens continued with the introduction of chromatic pitches

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid., 33.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid., 39.

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid., 47.

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid., 49.

li, *ta* and *si*. In the case of *li* and *ta*, it was the first time Stephens used two different syllables for the same pitch. He argued that the “sense” of these two pitches is so different in musical context that it demands two names and suggested that the students would, at first, not believe they were the same pitch.

Stephens stressed that the much dreaded “minor scale, or scale of *la*”⁹⁸⁹ could be easily understood if the students realized they already knew the notes needed to form the minor scale. ““*Si*” is consistently [sic] used, however, and “*fi*” sometimes.”⁹⁹⁰ In order to arrive at the minor scale through familiar means, the following exercise in 2/4 time was recommended:

$$\begin{array}{l} d : l \mid si : f \mid m : l \mid si : f \mid m : r \mid d : ti \mid li : ti \mid d : — \parallel \\ li : ti \mid d : r \mid m : f \mid m : l \mid si : f \mid m : r \mid d : ti \mid li \parallel \\ : l \mid s : f \mid m : r \mid d : ti \mid li : l \mid si : f \mid m : r \mid d : t \mid l : — \parallel^{991} \end{array}$$

The third line of the exercise is comprised of two descending forms of the minor scale. Stephens does not use the terms “natural minor” or “harmonic minor” to describe the scales. He calls the harmonic minor “most practical,” and suggests that the harmonic minor get the most attention.⁹⁹² Stephens stated that a rote song in the minor key should be learned before the instructions on the minor scale are introduced; reinforcing the Pestalozzian tenant to give the principles of theory after the practice.⁹⁹³

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid., 55.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid. In the book, the last two letters on the third line (t and l) are missing the subscript to indicate the lower octave. Since Stephens refers immediately to this ending as the descending form of the “most practical” form of the minor scale, it can be assumed the missing subscripts is a misprint.

⁹⁹² Ibid.

⁹⁹³ Ibid., 75.

The School and Primary Songster

In 1889, instead of publishing a third reader as he had intended, Stephens published *The School and Primary Songster*.⁹⁹⁴ It is unclear what roll Stephens' stay in Boston from September 1885 to July 1886 played in this decision. It may have influenced the minor differences in the presentation of similar materials in Stephens' earlier readers and *The School and Primary Songster*.

In *The School and Primary Songster*, Stephens encouraged that the songs be sung while standing, that the teacher encourage energetic singing and facial expressions that reflect the lyric, and young singers incorporate appropriate hand and arm gestures while singing. The end result should "bring everything as near a *reality* and as far *from formality* as possible."⁹⁹⁵ Stephens recommended that adult classes should use all voice parts provided with each song. In classes where children were less than fifteen years of age, the two-part treble and alto line was sufficient. Stephens recommended using only the treble line with students in primary grades. Stephens refers the teacher of primary grades to a text by Flora T. Parsons called "Calisthenic [sic] Songs," recommending it for additional performance ideas.⁹⁹⁶

General instructions for teachers are similar to those in his previous texts but with far less sample dialogue for the instructor to use.

- Use well prepared and clear oral instruction and listening activities as any new principle is introduced.

⁹⁹⁴ Evan Stephens, *The School and Primary Songster*. (Salt Lake City, UT: Coalter and Snelgrove, 1889).

⁹⁹⁵ Stephens, *The School and Primary Songster*, iv. Italics in original.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid.

- After the students can reproduce the sounds accurately, move directly to producing the sounds from the printed materials.
- Do not introduce a new concept until the current principle is thoroughly mastered.
- Avoid singing for extended amounts of time in any one key. Teach students to measure relative distance and not absolute signs. Rather than saying “*this* line for doh, *that* for sol, etc. Better thus: If doh is represented by this line, what will the *next* line represent?”
- Exercises should be used in connection with appropriate songs throughout the book thus reinforcing the current principles being taught.⁹⁹⁷

The beginning exercise sol-fa lines in *The School and Primary Songster* move in steps and interval skips through the major scale at a slower pace and using more drill than in *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*.⁹⁹⁸ Similar to *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, Stephens uses short verses of poetry to introduce natural grouping of pulse into twos or threes. For a two-beat, or “two-part” measure, as Stephens terms it, he uses the following two verses:

*Now the morning wakes with gladness,
Smiling on the dewy earth.*

*The night has spread her mantle
o'er the dry and parched earth.*⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., 5–6. Italics in original.

⁹⁹⁸ Stephens, *Songster*, 7–8. In *Songster*, Stephens spelled the sol-fa syllables in the following manner “doh, ray, me, fah, sol, lah, tee.” In earlier texts, he used the spellings “do, re, me, fa, sol, la, ti.”

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid., 8–9. Italics in original.

It is interesting to note that Stephens did not use a religious text here as he did in the corresponding lesson in his first reader. Perhaps he is conscious of a more diverse audience that may be using his texts. The second of these versus uses the first accent on the second syllable, creating an anacrusis. Explanation of anacrusis was not included in either of Stephens' first two texts, though there were some songs that included anacrusis in each text. The teacher is instructed to have the class practice the first twenty exercises using these lyrics in time and with proper accent. Exercises one through twenty each contain fifteen sol-fa syllables. This makes each exercise usable with either lyric pattern. To this point in the text there is no staff notation. Exercises are presented in sol-fa syllables. Figure twenty-two is a staff realization of exercises one and twenty with the added lyrics in the key of C major.

No. 1. —d. r. m. r. d. r. m. r. d. r. m. r. m. r. d. (As it appears on page 7.)

No. 1.


Now the morn - ing wakes with glad - ness, Smil - ing on the dew - y earth.

No. 1.

The night has spread her man - tle o'er the dry and parch - ed earth - .

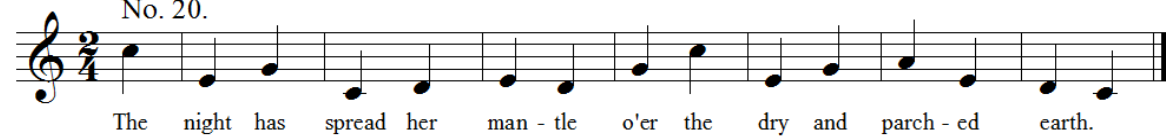
No. 20. — d'. m. s. d. r. m. r. s. d'. m. s. l. m. r. d. (As it appears on page 8.)

No. 20.



Now the morn - ing wakes with glad - ness, Smil - ing on the dew - y earth.

No. 20.



The night has spread her man - tle o'er the dry and parch - ed earth.

Fig. 22. *The School and Primary Songster*, 7–8. Exercises 1 and 20 with staff realization and proposed text. Staff realization by Rhonda Rhodes, December 29, 2015.

The transfer of sol-fa letters to the staff is shown in a slightly different diagram than page eight of *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* (see figure 23).

Lines, and the spaces between, may be used (instead of *letters*) to represent the various tones of the scale. Thus :



Fig. 23. Stephens. *The School and Primary Songster*, 10. “Introduction of the staff.”

No clef sign is provided until further down the page. Up to this point in the text, Stephens has dedicated more exercises to individual pitch and pulse elements than in *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*. Upon introduction of the staff the pacing changes and over

the next four and a half pages, he consolidates the introduction of the following symbols and terms that cover material in both *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music* and *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music*:¹⁰⁰⁰

- A table of rhythm relationships using whole-notes to sixteenth-notes
- Explanation of time signatures with “4,” “8” and “2” on the bottom
- The use of the dot after a note
- Key signature table showing all key signatures and the position of *do*
- Rules for finding the position of *do* when looking at a key signature¹⁰⁰¹
- Terminology: Adagio, Andante, Moderato, Allegro
- The slur
- The tie
- Fermata
- Rest values¹⁰⁰²
- Double pitches on one staff to indicate part singing
- Bracketed single note staves to indicate part singing
- Repeat signs¹⁰⁰³

Compared to the earlier readers, there is a slight alteration in the introduction of “intermediate tones” (accidentals).¹⁰⁰⁴ In *The Song Garland, A Second Reader of Vocal*

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid., 10–14.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Do* in the major key is shown, but is not explained as such.

¹⁰⁰² There is a misprint in the diagram showing rests on page 13. In 4/4 time, five measures are filled with increasingly shorter rest values; one whole-rest in a measure, two half-rests in the next measure, etc. The measure with eighth-rests only contains six.

¹⁰⁰³ There is a dot in each space of the staff, not just on the inside two spaces.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Stephens, *Songster*, 18.

Music, Stephens first introduces the steps *fi, ri and di* on page twenty-eight and does not introduce any other altered pitches (*li, ta and si*) until he introduces the minor scale on page fifty-two. In *School and Primary Songster*, all intermediate tones are introduced on pages eighteen and nineteen in the context of C major. One exercise line is dedicated to the drill of each new pitch in the order of *fi, ri, di, si, le, ta, le* and *me*. The “scale of lah” is introduced on page twenty.

In the early readers Stephens encouraged the teacher to utilize similar material from various sections of the textbooks to reinforce the learning of each musical concept. In *The School and Primary Songster* he provided a numbering system to link the similar material located in various sections of the book. The section covering pages twenty-one through twenty-five is entitled “Index Exercises on all the Past Principles.” Thirty-four exercises, all but two without lyrics, include a number (or numbers) referring to a song in part two of the book (see figure 24). Stephens instructs as follows:

These exercises should be used in connection with the various principles which they put into practice, while the numbers above each will direct to *pieces* that should be read and learnt in conjunction with them. By this process the entire book may be used as *lessons*, as well as for singing purposes.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid., 21. Italics in original.

1. *Adagio.* Nos. 46, 61, 64.

2. *Andante* Nos. 44, 47, 24.

3. *Moderato.* Nos. 62, 65.

4. *Allegretto.* Nos. 22, 52.

5. *Andante moderato.*

6. *The tie. Moderato.* No. 63.
Come..... a - way,..... with me to spend the day.....

Fig. 24. Stephens. *The School and Primary Songster*, 21. “Index Exercises on All the Past Principles” exercises 1 through 6.

There are some misprints in these lines and some incongruent connections with songs marked to be learned in connection with the exercises. Exercise number four (see figure 24) should be in 3/8 time instead of 3/4 time. Not all suggested songs match the exercises in time signature, but most are similar enough to transfer the targeted skill. For example, exercise number nine in 3/4 time has ties from the dotted-half-note to the quarter-note. It is linked to songs forty-eight and forty-nine. Number forty-eight has very similar material in the same meter, but number forty-nine is in 3/8 time and incorporates ties from the dotted-eighth-note to eighth-note. Incongruences occur between exercises eleven through thirteen and their corresponding songs. The exercises review rest values

of quarter-rest and larger, but in two of the four suggested songs, there are no rests and in one of the songs eighth rests are used instead of quarter rests. Incongruence also occurs between exercise twenty-three and the corresponding song. The exercise is in 3/8 and incorporates most of a descending chromatic scale using flats. The corresponding song is in 2/4 and uses only one chromatic alteration, which is a raised fourth degree.

There are twelve songs used in *School and Primary Songster* that were used in one of Stephens' first two texts. The following chart shows the relationships (see table 3).

<i>The School and Primary Songster</i>	<i>A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music</i>	<i>The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music</i>
“Autumn Leaves” duet in CM with bass clef organ accompaniment. Page 84.	“Autumn Leaves” duet in CM with no accompaniment. Page 18.	
“Don’t Make Such Faces” 3-part round in DM, three lines not bracketed. Page 55.		“Don’t Make Such Faces” 3-part round in DM, three lines bracketed. Page 75.
“Evening Shades” 3-part round in FM. Page 79.	Untitled, but identical lyrics. 3-part round in FM. Page 35.	
“Hymn” first line “Hail to the Brightness” SATB in 4/4 in CM. ¹⁰⁰⁶ Two 8-bar phrases, two verses. Page 103	“Hymn” first line “Hail to the Brightness” Duet in 2/4 in CM. Two 16-bar phrases, one verse. Melody altered on last 8 bars. Page 21.	
“Hymn” first line “Happy the Children” SATB in 3/4 time in EbM, two verses. Page 105.	“Hymn” Song “No. 28” SATB in 3/4 time in FM, no text. Melody and harmonies identical. Page 27.	

¹⁰⁰⁶ The first and second phrases are split between pages 103 and 104. On 104 there is a misprint of the key signature. The song should continue in C major, but the key signature shows three flats on page 104.

<i>The School and Primary Songster</i>	<i>A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music</i>	<i>The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music</i>
“Home” SATB in 3/4 time in FM, two verses. Page 82.	“Home” Duet in 3/4 time in GM one verse. Page 20–21.	
“Jennie with the Sweet Brown Eyes” Solo with SATB Choir in 2/4 time in EM. Page 96.		“Jennie with the Sweet Brown Eyes” Solo with SATB Choir in 2/4 time in EM. Page 47.
“Long Ago” SATB in 2/4 time in GM, two verses. Page 83	“Long Ago” Duet in 2/4 time in GM, one verse. One pitch change in the last phrase. Page 21.	
“Now to All a Kind Good-Night” 3-part round in 3/4 time in DbM. Page 58.	Untitled, but identical lyrics. 3-part round in 3/4 time in FM. Completely different melody.	
“Swinging” 3-part round in 6/8 time in CM. Parts not bracketed. Page 55.		“Swinging” 3-part round in 6/8 time in CM. Parts bracketed. Four fermata chord “Introduction and Close” included. Page 74.
“The Songs My Mother Sang” ATB trio in 3/4 time in EbM, three verses. Page 98.		“The Songs My Mother Sang” ATB trio in 3/4 time in EbM, three verses. Page 49.
“With Voices Merry” 3-part round in 3/4 time in FM. Parts not bracketed. Page 55.		“With Voices Merry” 3-part round in 3/4 time in FM. Parts bracketed, part 3 in bass clef. Page 73.

Table 3. Comparison of similar songs in Stephens, *The School and Primary Songster*, *A Primer and First Reader of Vocal Music*, and *The Song Garland, Second Reader of Vocal Music*.

Comparisons of Stephens' Music Readers to the National Music Course

It is unclear how familiar Stephens was with the music textbooks of other authors. The books by Luther Whiting Mason, dating from the 1870s were widely used across the United States by 1900.¹⁰⁰⁷ In 1890, Salt Lake City Schools were using Stephens' music readers and by 1895 they were using Mason's *National Music Course*. A comparison of the two courses may indicate how the music curriculum changed in the last five years of the Utah Territory.

Mason's readers contained visual representations of concepts (see figures 25 and 26). Classroom charts were intended to accompany the readers.¹⁰⁰⁸ Stephens relied on the teacher to explain and demonstrate, thus having the student feel and/or hear the effects of the concepts. Mason did not use sol-fa notation. The exercises that preceded staff notation were printed using scale degree numbers, though in later editions, Mason instructs the teacher to sing them using syllables.¹⁰⁰⁹ Mason specifically states that "the eye" is essential along with the ear and voice in understanding basic musical elements.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁷ Mark and Gary, *A History of American Music Education*, 196.

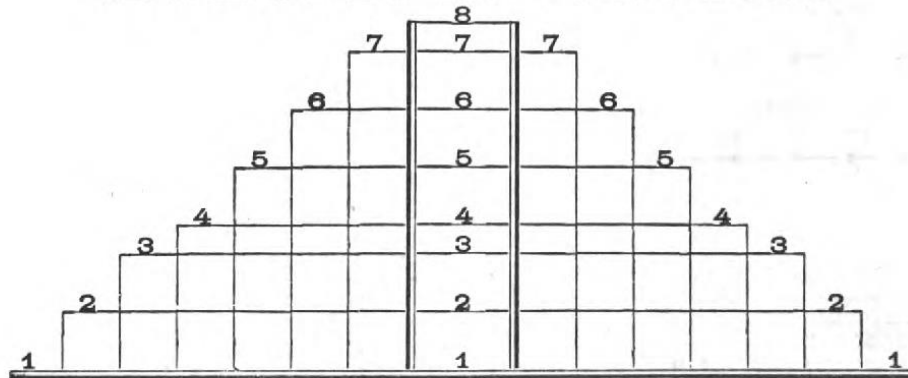
¹⁰⁰⁸ Luther Whiting Mason, *First Music Reader: A Course of Exercises in the Elements of Vocal Music and Sight-Singing* (Boston: Ginn and Heath), 1879, iii.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Luther Whiting Mason, *The New First Reader: Preparatory to Sight-Singing* (Boston: Ginn & Company), 1887. 2.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

FIRST NATIONAL MUSIC READER.

THE EAR, THE VOICE, AND THE EYE.
 THE SCALE OR MUSICAL LADDER.—STEPS OR DEGREES.



EXERCISES ON THE DEGREES OF THE SCALE.

- I. 1, 2- 2, 1- II. 1, 2, 3- 3, 2, 1- III. 1, 2, 3, 4- 4, 3, 2, 1-
 IV. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5- 5, 4, 3, 2, 1- V. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6- 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1-
 VI. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8- 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1-

Fig. 25. Luther Whiting Mason. *First Music Reader: A Course of Exercises in the Elements of Vocal Music and Sight-Singing*. 1879. 1.

MEASURES WITH FOUR PARTS.

Quarter-Notes. **Half-Notes.** **Whole-Note.** **Eighth-Notes.**

Down. Left. Right. Up. D. L. R. U. D. L. R. U. D. L. R. U. D. & L. & R. & U. &

Tä Tā Tē Tě Tā - ā Tē - ě Tā - ā - ē - ě Tä fä Tā fā Tē fē Tě fě

Quarter-Rests. **Half-Rest.** **Whole-Rest.** **Eighth-Rests.**

D. L. R. U. D. L. R. U. D. L. R. U. D. & L. & R. & U. &

Tä Tā Tē Tě Tā - ā Tē - ě Tā - ā - ē ě Tä fä Tā fā Tē fē Tě fě

Fig. 26. Luther Whiting Mason. *The New First Music Reader Preparatory to Sight-Singing*. 1887. 8.

In a comparison of pedagogical order, Mason focused first on rhythmic principles.¹⁰¹¹ Stephens started with pitch discernment. Mason’s path to strong sight-singing skills was through the learning of many rote songs and then gradually learning how these songs were written – similar to the development of language.¹⁰¹² Stephens also

¹⁰¹¹ Luther Whiting Mason, *The National Music Teacher: A Practical Guide in Teaching Vocal Music And Sight-Singing to the Youngest Pupils in Schools and Families*. (Boston: Ginn & Company), 17–19.

¹⁰¹² Mason, *The First New Reader*, iii–v.

used rote songs, but felt that sight-singing skills were developed best through early dictation exercises.

After an examination of the music textbooks by Calder and Stephens, it is assumed that school music curriculum in Utah territory was more heavily steeped in Tonic Sol-fa delivery systems from 1860 through 1890 than the overall national curriculum.¹⁰¹³ Through the 1890s, Utah territory music curriculum came to reflect the national trends exemplified in *The National Music Course*.

¹⁰¹³ Mark and Gary state Tonic Sol-fa gained “limited acceptance in the United States in the 1880s.” *A History of American Music Education*, 190.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Historical research in music education is valued not only because it helps document the past, but because it also establishes a basis for understanding the present and planning for the future.¹⁰¹⁴ By documenting the history of music education in the Utah territory, themes emerge that also relate to music education in the twenty-first century. It is beyond the scope of this study to delve deeply into philosophical principles. However, threads of success and concern for music educators in the nineteenth century are similar to those in the twenty-first.

Themes Drawn from Utah Territory Music Education History

Utahans Value the Musical Arts

Historically, many religious communities have had a contentious relationship with the musical arts. Religious tenets warn against music's pleasures, while at the same time extolling the music that perpetuates their values.¹⁰¹⁵ The LDS people have historically embraced the art of music, both religious and artistic expression. With support from early religious leaders and the influx of European immigrants schooled in music, Utah territory became a thriving musical enclave. In spite of difficult conditions on the western frontier, the settlers in Utah actively included the arts in their daily lives. LDS settlers constructed temporary performance venues for plays and concerts immediately upon their arrival in

¹⁰¹⁴ Heller and Wilson, "Historical Research," 103.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, x.

the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Many of the first permanent structures built in Utah were used for cultural gatherings. When the Salt Lake Theater was completed in 1862, it was the largest building in the territory and home of the Salt Lake Theater Orchestra, the first professional music ensemble in Utah. Grass roots music and dramatic societies were common in communities throughout the territory. The new settlers used such organizations to foster community cohesiveness and provide entertainment as they built new settlements.¹⁰¹⁶ Singing schools in LDS wards were an element in this cohesion.

In LDS congregations, unpaid church members provide the music for weekly and special services. This has fostered a culture of music participation that continues into the twenty-first century in Utah.¹⁰¹⁷ As they were in territory years, the over 350 members of the internationally renowned Mormon Tabernacle Choir are all volunteers.¹⁰¹⁸ Youth private music lessons in are a common occurrence in Utah. Utah has more pianos per capita than any other state in the United States.¹⁰¹⁹

Utahans Advocate for Music Education in Schools

The cultural affinity for music in Utah did not result in the unquestioned inclusion of music in the schools of Utah territory, nor does it in the twenty-first century. Utahans who advocated for music in the territorial public schools argued that music study was necessary for and beneficial to all students. Not only would it serve as both a respite and recreational activity as needed and provide an air of refinement and beauty, but regular

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁷ Steve Chawkins, "Pianos Key to Culture" *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 15, 2002.

¹⁰¹⁸ Mormon Tabernacle Choir, <https://www.mormontabernaclechoir.org/about/faqs.html>. (Accessed March 15, 2017)

¹⁰¹⁹ Chawkins, "Pianos Key to Culture."

scientific study of music prepared the soil in each student's mind for the seeds of other academic subjects.¹⁰²⁰ Utah school music supervisors in the 1890s stated that music in a school is not merely for entertainment, but for serious study, best approached sequentially over a number of years with specific curriculum as stated in their district publications. J. C. Wolfe, Music Supervisor for Salt Lake City Public Schools in the early 1890s affirmed:

So long as our methods of teaching music makes it necessary that the regular teacher in the schools should be an expert singer or player, in order that he may sing for the children to imitate or lead them in their singing, just so long will the teaching of this subject in the public schools be a failure, so far as real education in music is concerned. Knowledge in music is in the *thinking*, not in *memorizing*.¹⁰²¹

Evan Stephens stated the following in his *School and Primary Songster* in 1889:

The Teacher who does not bring *music* to his and his pupils' aid in the schoolroom deprives *himself* of one of the greatest helps towards making a wide-awake, interesting, successful school, and his *pupils* of one of the most healthful, invigorating and pleasant exercises that could be indulged in. As a study, it is most needful, laying a foundation for one of the most elevating and useful accomplishments in life.¹⁰²²

These advocacy statements were congruent with those made throughout the United States as the music education movement picked up momentum in the nineteenth century.¹⁰²³ In the twenty-first century, the Utah Music Educators Association, an affiliate of the National Association for Music Education, believes all students should have access to a comprehensive, sequential music education program taught by a qualified music

¹⁰²⁰ Stephens, "Vocal Music in District Schools," 14.

¹⁰²¹ J. C. Wolfe, "Music in the Public Schools." Italics in original.

¹⁰²² Stephens, *Songster*, iv. Italics in original.

¹⁰²³ Mark and Gary, *A History of American Music Education*, 160.

educator.¹⁰²⁴ The 2016 Utah State Music Core Standards¹⁰²⁵ and 2014 National Music Standards focus on music literacy.¹⁰²⁶ Engaging students in music only through rote classroom singing is not sufficient to meet current national music education standards nor was it considered sufficient by music supervisors in Utah in the late nineteenth century.

Utah territory school music educators illuminated by this study were determined to see that the study of music was respected and supported by their administrators and the public. The Utah Music Educators Association must stay aware of the current conditions of music teaching in Utah's public, charter and private schools and continue the communication with administrators and the public with equal determination. As was suggested in the Ogden Schools in 1887, the twenty-first century music educator in Utah should open their music classrooms to observers. We must continue to show that music instruction in schools is not a luxury, but a necessity.

Utah Values Music Teacher Training

If the quest to include music in the curriculum for schools was to succeed in the Utah territory schools, the classroom teacher needed to be taught music teaching skills. A designated music specialist in a territorial public school district was a luxury most districts did not have. A particularly revealing element in this study was discovery of wide-spread efforts to teach classroom teachers how to teach music. Beginning in 1876 the majority of teacher institutes at the city, regional and territorial level included lectures

¹⁰²⁴ <http://www.nafme.org/my-classroom/professional-development/programs/>

¹⁰²⁵ <http://www.schools.utah.gov/CURR/fineart/Core.aspx>

¹⁰²⁶ <http://www.nafme.org/my-classroom/standards/>

on and demonstration in effective music teaching practices. Though not as highly organized in territorial Utah, this is in line with other training programs around the country at the time. Luther Whiting Mason taught by demonstration with students when training music teachers in Boston.¹⁰²⁷ In Utah territory, some of these music teacher training lectures and demonstrations were given by local private music teachers and career musicians; as was the case with George Careless and Evan Stephens. It is intriguing to see, however, that classroom teachers also taught these training sessions, particularly in Utah County. Charles W. Wright and Ebenezer Hunter knew the daily circumstances in the schools, they taught all subjects, and they had students of varying ages in their classes, yet were committed to carving out time for music study in the school day *and* were committed to share their knowledge with fellow district classroom teachers.

This pattern of successful music teachers teaching other teachers best practices continues in a similar fashion in Utah today. The use of lecture in combination with demonstration remains a common format when instructing music teachers. Many sessions at the annual Professional Development Conference of the Utah Music Educators Association include demonstration using student groups or by forming the attending teachers into demonstration groups.¹⁰²⁸ The Utah Music Educators Association has instituted a Music Teacher Mentoring Program.¹⁰²⁹ This program pairs experienced

¹⁰²⁷ Sondra Wieland Howe, "Music Teaching in the Boston Public Schools, 1864–1879," *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 40 no. 4 (Winter, 1992), 320.

¹⁰²⁸ In the 2016 conference, this was the case in approximately 40% of the conference sessions. For examples see <http://umea.us/pdfs/confdetails2016.pdf> (Accessed December 21, 2016).

¹⁰²⁹ Started in August 2014.

music educators with new teachers in the profession, providing a resource for successful navigation of the first few years of teaching. This program will be evaluated in future years to determine its efficiency and efficacy in improving the retention rate of new music teachers.

For training the elementary school classroom teacher, the Beverly Taylor Sorenson Arts Learning Program is a current¹⁰³⁰ teaching partnership between highly qualified arts specialists and classroom teachers in Utah elementary schools. The arts specialist works collaboratively with the regular classroom teacher to deliver quality, sequential, and developmental arts instruction in alignment with the Utah Fine Arts Core Curriculum in music, visual arts, dance, and theatre.¹⁰³¹

Music is not available to All Students in Utah

In the 1860s, Calder desired to use the vocal music teaching in the various LDS ward singing schools and the teaching in his own youth singing classes as a model for implementing music teaching in the territorial public schools. His teaching was effective in controlled environments, but may not have been practical for the fledgling public schools of the territory. Music education in early territorial public schools, though encouraged at the highest levels of administration, was very much a “hit or miss” situation. If a local school teacher had musical abilities, the students benefitted with some music instruction. The conditions for music teaching in public schools improved by the 1890s. By 1892, nearly 100 percent of the students in the public schools of Ogden, Provo

¹⁰³⁰ Funded by the Utah State Legislature since 2008.

¹⁰³¹ <http://www.schools.utah.gov/curr/fineart/btsalp.aspx> (Accessed December 21, 2016).

and Salt Lake City studied music during the school hours on a regular basis. Provo and Salt Lake City School districts employed a supervisor of music. Access to music education in rural areas was in stark contrast to these numbers. The county districts that geographically surrounded these city school districts had much lower numbers in music participation than their city counterparts. In Salt Lake County schools approximately fifty percent of the students studied music. Utah County schools (surrounding the city of Provo) averaged twenty-four percent, and Weber County schools (surrounding the city of Ogden) averaged twenty-two percent according to available statistics. From 1892 to 1895, a territorial average of twenty percent of students studied music in schools outside the cities of Ogden, Provo and Salt Lake.

Today, nearly all Utah public schools offer music. To examine the current access rate of music education to students in Utah, the focus turns to topics of economic and cultural divisions rather than geographic proximity to urban areas. Are students in Utah public schools availing themselves of the opportunities to enroll in music courses? Are the music courses in Utah public schools economically accessible to all students? Are they culturally accessible to all students? Meaning, are some music courses perceived as catering to the elite – to students who have the cultural and economic history in their families to have an affinity for western-European-based “art” music? In Utah today, the larger question is perhaps not *whether* music should be included in the curriculum, but rather *how* it should be included so that it truly reaches all students. As public school music education history in Utah shows us, we need not to have all elements in place before we implement the next phase of music education in Utah. We will refine by

‘doing,’ as they did.

In Utah territory public schools, commonly incorporating grades one through eight, music instruction was usually delivered in one of three ways: 1) By classroom teachers who personally had knowledge of music and by their own design included it in their instruction plan;¹⁰³² 2) By musicians hired by school boards as independent contractors to teach music,¹⁰³³ and 3) By music specialists or supervisors who were full-fledged employees of a school district.¹⁰³⁴ The hiring of outside contractors and the employment of music specialists or supervisors was similar to situations in public schools in major cities of the United States at the time.¹⁰³⁵ The typical music specialist or supervisor taught in the classroom once a week and relied on the classroom teacher to daily reinforce the music instruction.¹⁰³⁶ In Salt Lake School District the assistance of the classroom teacher was a matter of policy:

The regular teacher of any room shall not be absent from the room during the music or drawing hour . . . and [shall] strive to become proficient in such special branches of instruction, in order that she may intelligently assist the special teacher in his work.¹⁰³⁷

In Utah public schools today, the term “music specialist” is usually used to describe the music teacher in an elementary school, grades kindergarten through fifth or sixth grade. Like their territorial counterpart, they also commonly see groups of students once or twice each week on a rotating basis. The teaching conditions for music specialists

¹⁰³² Examples are Wright and Hunter in early 1880s Utah County schools.

¹⁰³³ Examples are Lewis in Ogden and Beesley in Tooele.

¹⁰³⁴ Examples are Giles in Provo and Wolfe in Salt Lake City.

¹⁰³⁵ Mark and Gary, *A History of American Music Education*, 207.

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*, 188, 197 and 199.

¹⁰³⁷ “Rules and Regulations for the Government of Officers and Teachers of the Public Schools of Salt Lake City,” in *Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake, 1891–1892*, 13.

vary. Some teach in a designated room where music instruments can be kept and where there is sufficient space for ensemble work. Others teach music in a space that has multiple uses in the school; where the teacher must repeatedly move equipment and materials between storage areas and teaching areas. Still others bring their materials into regular classrooms and give music instruction in the same room that the children are in for the majority or entirety of their school day. Where there is a music specialist, the role of the classroom teacher in music instruction varies. In many current Utah elementary schools, the time students spend with music specialists becomes preparation time for the classroom teacher. This may create a disconnection between the music and classroom teacher and rob the students of valuable cross-curricular advantages that music has to offer.

Suggestions for Further Study

During the course of research for this study, related research topics outside the scope of this project became evident. Early Utah schools included instruction in other arts in addition to music. Researchers have yet to examine the inclusion of subjects such as drawing, painting, dance and dramatic arts in territorial schools, public or parochial. Current advocates for and teachers of visual art, dance and drama instruction in public schools may find inspiration and pedagogical connections in the work of arts teachers in the territorial schools of Utah.

In the mid-1900s, graduate students at Brigham Young University wrote several Masters' Thesis on prominent musicians in Utah history with LDS Church affiliation.

The lives of musicians of other religious affiliations have not been researched in depth. For example, the life and contributions of Thomas Radcliff, a prominent organist and music teacher in Utah schools of both Presbyterian and Episcopalian Churches in the 1880s and 1890s, is not the subject of any existing study. Religious diversity continues to be an important issue in Utah. Historians can contribute to the current dialogue by documenting the lives and activities of early music educators who were not LDS. Researching and documenting a diverse past conveys an investment in promoting the advantages of a diverse present and future.

The development of band and orchestral instruction in the Utah schools is an area for further study. Vocal music was the focus of music instruction in Utah schools from 1850 to 1895. Instruction on wind, percussion and stringed instruments occurred primarily in the private studio or in municipal brass bands, theater orchestras or in small dance bands and orchestras. Utah municipal and LDS brass bands are subjects of studies by Warnock and Smith respectively, but the development of school bands and orchestras in Utah has not been studied in depth. A study of the emergence of school bands and orchestras in Utah would further synchronize the growth of music education in Utah to various historical national music education movements. It would also provide a catalyst for comparing current school instrumental music programs such as guitar, mariachi, and steel drum bands between Utah and the United States as a whole.

In 1963, Garner studied the history of music education in the Granite School District located in Salt Lake City. Similar studies of other Utah school districts are open for further research. With a few exceptions, the boundaries of Utah school districts have

remained relatively unchanged since the early 1900s. Elements of this study on music education in the Utah territory will become a basis for specialized strands of research extending through each school district in Utah to modern times; making even stronger and more influential the connections of past and present efforts in music education.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Vocal Music in District Schools¹⁰³⁸

Edward H. Anderson, Weber County Schools Superintendent, delivered this speech written by Evan Stephens on June 26, 1889 at a joint teachers' institute of Weber, Salt Lake and Utah counties. Stephens was unable to attend due to illness. The institute was held at the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City.

As I read the title of the subject assigned me to lecture upon, there suddenly arose in fancy a number of frowning faces before me, which for a moment quite disheartened me, as I heard each mutter its particular objection to the subject I was about to advocate. The first, and the one who won my deepest sympathy, was that of a school teacher, careworn and haggard. He was carrying a great bundle of textbooks under one arm; a blackboard and a number of charts were strapped upon his back; his hair was just falling out (the roots being injured by over-study); his pockets, I noticed were loaded down with specimens for a cabinet that he was going to get (when his salary should be raised); in his left hand, which, by the way, shook nervously, he carried a lot of well-worn switches, and a bundle of uncollected school bills. With a husky voice, made so by shouting for order in school, he muttered: "What! Music in the public school! Mr. Stephens, look at me; have you still the heart to say so? Can you, thin and worn out as you are yourself, advocate an addition to this load of mine? A music book, another board with the staff upon it, a singing lesson to prepare. My nerves, in this condition, to stand the trial of singing before the school, and to hear the whole school shouting at once, for fifteen minutes at a time?" At this he fainted dead away, and I was about to run and escape before he recovered, but just as I turned to fly the angry form of a trustee loomed up before me, flourishing an empty purse in my face. "Music in the public schools, is it!" he cries, "all right, but don't ask us for an organ, music books and a thousand other things. And if you can afford to teach without pay, all right, as far as I am concerned, but remember, no money to spare, unless you want to take vouchers on church property, money that will be divided between us when Zane and Dyer are through with it." To reply that I would be quite satisfied with

¹⁰³⁸ Evan Stephens, "Vocal Music in District Schools," in *Annual Report of the Superintendent of District Schools of Weber County, Utah 1888–1889. Containing also the proceedings of the joint teachers' institute of Weber, Salt Lake and Utah Counties* (Ogden, UT: Edward H. Anderson, 1889). 13–14.

that, I could advertise myself, do good to the rising generation, etc., when I found myself suddenly surrounded by a mob of angry parents, all shouting in chorus, “No, you don’t! My child goes to school to study, not to fool away time in singing. If he learns his reading and spelling and can get his ‘sums’ all right, that’s what we pay for.” “I’ll tell you what it is,” says one, while the rest are catching their breath; “This sort of nonsense is gone too far. My kid’s been in school three years now, and what does he know? I’ll bet he can’t hardly spell Constantinople. He fools away time with the teacher making sand heaps, and calls it ‘geography,’ and then, like a silly girl, he picks up weeds and flowers and thinks he’s studying ‘botany,’ or summat [sic],¹⁰³⁹ and then he fools away nights making pictures on paper and putting words into sausage so that you can’t get no arthly use to ‘em, and says he’s drawing, or parsing, or something. And now he’s started yelling some gibberish, ‘do, me, do, me, do, tee, me,’ around while he’s doing chores. If he wasn’t the best boy in the world he’d a’been ruined at school. No, siree, no music in school for my young un’; if he wants to teach music let him do it at singing schools. I want my kids to learn something that’s of some good at school, or I’ll take ‘em out. I did my best to oppose grammar, geography, drawing, and all that other nonsense they’ve got into school, and I shall music. Reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic is good enough for me, and don’t you forget it.”

The school teacher was far enough recovered to begin defending his advanced method of teaching. He also showed in glowing terms the advantages derived from the study of grammar, geography, drawing, etc. The trustee also began warming up to the question and reminded the grumbling father that “you must understand that we live in a progressive age, you know. The teacher we hire is the very best that can be found. You must know that these studies are a necessity to the proper development of your child,” and so on. By degrees I gathered courage enough to suggest that something might be said in favor of music even in the public schools.

Your harvest doesn’t depend so much upon the amount of wheat you cast on the ground, as it does on the favorable condition of the ground for its reception and growth. Farmers plant corn that they may have a better wheat crop the following year.

The mind, like the ground, must be kept in favorable condition for study, if you would reap the desired fruits therefrom; music, properly used, can be made the greatest of all mental aids in study. So varied are its effects on the emotional as well as the physical natures of the human race that it becomes in reality almost all that a patent medicine pretends to be – a cure of all evils. In its very nature, refining and ennobling, it has the power to calm or excite at will; to gladden or to sadden, to lull one into a thoughtful mood, or to arouse one into wild enthusiasm. Physically, it expands the breathing power of the singer, strengthens the muscles of the throat, chest or body. Mentally, it brightens

¹⁰³⁹ British slang term meaning “something.”

the intellect, stirs the mind to action, and a suitable song can nearly always be made to put a person into a proper mood for any mental work. Noble sentiments are made far more indelible on the mind when sung than when spoken or read. Then, as an aid alone to other studies, can we afford to do without it in the public schools. Whatever will enable the child to accomplish the most without injury at school, is what we need most in our schools. If the student can be kept in the proper mood for study, it must be a poor teacher, indeed, who can not get good results. I will not say that music can always accomplish this; but I will say that no other one thing can equal it, if properly used. Then as a study of itself, is it not a most useful one? Does not music enter into all the better part of our lives? Is not happiness the chief aim of life, or at least every living being? Did you ever see a singer who sang for his own amusement who was not happy while doing it? Is not our school days the proper time to receive instructions in this as well as all other useful things we need in after life. But why waste time in talking to you of things you realize fully as well as myself.

The school teacher has been a pioneer in a thousand things, and as far as I can observe to-day, the live school teacher in Utah is the most anxious to get this additional force – music – into his schoolroom, though we may be sorely puzzled as to how to get it there, and how to use it when it is there. So a word on this subject. First seek to qualify yourselves. If you understand, you can certainly teach what you understand. If your understanding is limited, if the little you have is correct, it is worth teaching to your pupils. The first simple rudiment of music is a great thing to learn; it is a grand work upon which the musically gifted child may grow to be a genius, a great master of music, almost unaided: like learning to read a language, it opens up all other channels of study to the eager students. If you are not much of a singer, do not pretend to be more than this, and let your pupils understand that you are not attempting to teach them so much how to sing as what to sing, and if their voices are better than yours, that you expect them to sing better accordingly, and if it is possible to get a more gifted teacher than yourself into the school to teach this special study, use all your influence to get him there; then take advantage of his work in aiding to make yours better in every way. It will cease to be an additional burden the moment you turn it to good use. Throw away half of your switches, change your shoutings for order into a pleasant song, and by cultivating order you will soon obtain it without asking.

The trustee whose purse is empty should remember that it is quite possible with a little effort to get the children to supply themselves with song books. They own their other school books, why not their song books or ‘music readers?’ Try them. Let them understand that they are to study songs and music from a book, and that the cost will be only 35c or 40c. Let the teacher have them for sale, and in a month, (with a little tact and energy) you will find the books in the school. It is possible to get on without an organ,

but when you have the means, get it, as a necessary appliance for your school, just as you got the desks, globes and other things. In small settlements it is impracticable, much of the time, to get a special teacher for music, but it is not so in our larger towns.

Indeed, Provo and Ogden, are leading out bravely in this matter, each having a music teacher well qualified for this work, giving two lessons a week in every school in the district within reach. I regret to see Salt Lake is a long way behind them (and the rest of the civilized world) to day [sic] in this matter. We are too poverty-stricken here to afford it. It might cost us two or three cents per lesson to hire a good teacher, and our trustees cannot see their way clear. However, let me say that our leading educational men are not asleep in the matter, but seem to realize the importance of the subject, and doubtless will not rest until we excel in that as our surroundings will justify and the musical talent of our children demand. Let it be soon! The close of next year's session ought to be celebrated with 3,000 children, nicely trained, giving an exhibition in our large tabernacle, showing what they can do as a result of one year's training in music. This would, I believe, forever settle the question in favor of music in our public schools, so far as our community is concerned.

Appendix B

Music in the Public Schools¹⁰⁴⁰

J. C. Wolfe published this article in the first issue of *Utah Musical Journal*.

Published in December, 1892 in Salt Lake City. Wolfe served as supervisor of music in the public schools of Salt Lake City at the time.

It is often remarked by teachers in our public schools, that the time was fully occupied by other studies. How, then can the study of music be aided? If teachers will spend ten or fifteen minutes daily in the reading and singing the music lesson, they will find that it is not so much time lost, because the pupils will do more and better work from the life and enthusiasm awakened in them. There is no more difficulty in learning to read music at sight than there is in learning to read common print at sight. But what is sight singing? It is to sing correctly without the aid of an instrument a piece of vocal music never seen before. The rote singer is one who learns a piece by hearing it sung repeatedly. He must spend much time in learning each piece before he arrives at the commencing place of the sight-singer. The result is, that when home and business cares come upon him, he gives up his music acquirements for want of time to learn new music, for both the singer and his friends soon tire of his old pieces.

So long as our methods of teaching music makes it necessary that the regular teacher in the schools should be an expert singer or player, in order that he may sing for the children to imitate or lead them in their singing, just so long will the teaching of this subject in the public schools be a failure, so far as real education in music is concerned. Knowledge in music is in the *thinking*, not in *memorizing*.

All imitation work in the way of rote singing in teaching music is memory, and not knowledge. It is only necessary to establish the major scale as a whole, by imitation or rote. When this is accomplished, pupils should be so directed in their practice as to enable them to sing all intervals without assistance. The major scale is the unit upon which all music is constructed, and by practice with this series of sounds all difficulties in the study of intervals can be solved by the regular teachers. The most favorable time in the whole school life for acquiring a knowledge of these sounds, and thus laying a solid foundation for intelligent singing by note, is in the lower primary classes. While little children should have a limited number of rote songs for recreation (if tastefully sung), rote singing should not form the basis of instruction in music with young pupils. Children who are always led in their singing by voice or instrument never acquire the ability to sing well, independent of such aids. When teachers learn that sounds can be taught to the youngest pupils much more easily than numbers, and that all difficulties in the study of intervals can be overcome by practice with sounds of the major scale, thousands of

¹⁰⁴⁰ J. C. Wolfe, "Music in the Public Schools," *Utah Musical Journal* Vol. 1, 1 (December 1891), 14–15. Italics in original.

teachers who at present regard the difficulties as insurmountable, will teach music successfully under the instruction of the special teacher.

Channing says: "No man received the true culture of a man, in whom the sensibility to the beautiful is not cherished; and I know of no condition of life from which it should not be excluded." Music is a universal language. Where speech fails, there music begins. It is the natural medium for the expression of our emotions, expression in tones our feelings which are too strong and deep to be expressed in words. The Rev[.] H.R. Haweis, author of "Music and Morals," says: "The future mission of music for the millions, is the discipline of the emotions. What is the ruin of art? Ill-regulated emotion. What is the ruin of life? Again, ill-regulated emotion. What mars happiness? What destroys manliness? What sullies womanhood? What checks enterprise? What spoils success? Certainly the same – ill-regulated emotion. * * * There is one thing more important than knowing self. * * * People get drunk because they have nothing else to do; they beat their wives because their minds are narrow, their tastes brutal, their emotions, in a word, ill-regulated. They spend their wages because they have no self control. There is a continuous stream of the children of poor parents, and of parents who are indifferent to the advantage of an education, that are pouring through our primary and intermediate schools, staying so short a time that it is necessary that the vocal method used shall be rapid, thorough, simple, direct and attractive, having no contradictory terms, and teaching the essence of music rather than its technicalities, otherwise this class of children who most need the influence of music, will be deprived of its advantages, a loss that neither they nor the state can well afford."

When vocal music is taught in the schools it should be placed on the same basis as other studies. Pupils should be required to pass examinations in their music and attain the same proficiency in it as is necessary for promotion from one grade to the next in any other study."

Appendix C

Music in the School¹⁰⁴¹

George Carothers Young delivered this speech as “the chief feature” of a general meeting of the Salt Lake City school teachers held on October 28, 1893. Young was “director of music” in Salt Lake City schools at the time.

The genius of music is as old as creation. In the twilight of history the “music of the spheres” was but the prelude to a science that has commanded the attention of the profoundest thinkers of all times, and the development of an art that appeals to the highest type of culture. And yet the three famous verses on Peter Bell, to whom

“A promise by the river’s brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.”

might be readily paraphrased, and in their new setting be justly applied to the crusty Dr. Johnsons, the self-elected critics, and to a large class of presumably intelligent people to whom music is mere sound and “nothing more.”

If for no other purpose than to serve as a means of defense against the unwarranted assumptions of those who would deny the potency of music as an agent for intellectual and moral growth, it may not be uninteresting for us to pause a moment at the threshold of this discussion to note what some of the master minds of the world have said about it.

Plato wrote, “Music is a moral law. It gives a soul to the universe, flight to the imagination, a charm to sadness, gaiety and life to everything. It is the essence of order, and leads to all that is good, just and beautiful, of which it is the invisible, but nevertheless dazzling, passionate and eternal form.”

“Music,” said Guther, “is one of the best arts. The notes breathe life into the text. Music drives away sadness, quickens and refreshes the heart. It is half the discipline, and makes men more gentle, more modest and sensible. Music I have always loved. A school master must know how to sing else I will have nothing to do with him. It is a beautiful and noble gift of God.”

Beecher esteemed music so highly as to take the ground that “in singing you come to sympathy with the Truth as you perhaps never do under the preaching of a discourse.”

That wonderfully gifted woman, Margaret Fuller, wrote in her journal in regard to the influence of music, “I felt raised above all care, all pain, all fear, and every taint of vulgarity was washed out of the world.”

The Grand Old Man of England says, “They who think music ranks among the

¹⁰⁴¹ George C. Young, “Music in School,” *Deseret Weekly* (November 4, 1893), 19. This speech was “the chief feature” of a general meeting of the Salt Lake City school teachers held on October 28, 1893. Young was “director of music” in Salt Lake City schools at the time.

trifles of existence are in gross error, because from the beginning of the world down to the present time it has been one of the most forcible instruments for both training, for arousing and for governing the spirit of man.”

Even the trenchant Carlyle found it possible to rise above the mutterings of his discontent into the serene atmosphere of music, when he said, “All inmost things are melodious; naturally utter themselves in song. The meaning of song goes deep. Who is there that, in logical words, can express the effect music has on us? A kind of inarticulate, unfathomable speech, which leads us to the edge of the infinite, and lets us for moment’s gaze into that!”

If these estimates are true, and they might be almost indefinitely multiplied, we may at once claim a place for music as a regular branch of instruction in public school education; and if it possesses sufficient merit to justify such a claim, its value, from whatever point of view it may be regarded, is worth some consideration.

The one great value that music possesses consists in the relation that it bears to other studies, aiding them both directly and indirectly by means of this contact. While it stimulates the faculties in general, it renders us little assistance in the cultivation of the will, it strengthens the memory, inspires the imagination, leads to habits of exact thought, and promotes the graceful expression in reading and speaking. In every song a child attempts to interpret, he is straining the eye, the ear, the memory, the voice, each performing a distinct service, yet blending in one the thought the song is intended to convey; nor must we forget that beneath these outward forms [sic] lies the silent influence of that inward grace, the training of the emotional nature, and the cultivation of that peculiar sympathy which human nature always demands, but which is so desirable in child-life.

Perhaps the more immediate effect [sic] of music as a related study is apparent in the work of reading. It is very evident that the cultivation of the soft, pure tone of the voice in every singing exercise, whether that exercise be a practical drill or a song for recreation simply, cannot pass without, in a large measure, reacting on the vocal drills incident to the reading lesson. It does not necessarily follow that a good singing school must be a good reading school, but, other things being equal, the child that uses his voice correctly in singing will know how to use it correctly in reading. Speech may be made melodious, and the testimony of those who have taken the pains to look into the results in this regard is unanimous in support of the belief [sic] that the rapidly fading sing-song and drawl of the reading class of our earlier years is largely due to the influence of music in the school room. It [sic] reading is thus made better, all oral work may be improved; and if proper articulation, clear pronunciation, and correct intonation be made an essential part of every musical exercise, it will surely bear fruit in promoting flexibility, facility, correctness in everything in which are pupils are expected to express themselves in any way whatsoever.

Again, were music for disciplinary purposes merely as a means of control, it would be found to fully meet all that could reasonably be demanded of it. How often does it act as a safety valve through which an overflow of boyish fun or girlish mischief may expend itself, and thus, in the pleasantest way possible, harmonize the discordant elements that so frequently arise between muscular and intellectual activity? Periods of

unrest, moments of fear, and occasions of nervous excitement may all be controlled by some simple song.

Another source of more than ordinary value in the study of vocal music, and one which is of vital interest to every person, is the service it renders in the promotion of health. It accomplishes this directly by the exercise which it gives the lungs and other vital organs; and indirectly, by the cheerfulness and general flow of spirits which it is the prerogative of music to bestow. Vocal music cannot be performed without an increased action of the lungs; and an increased action of the lungs necessarily causes an increased action of the heart and of all the organs of digestion and nutrition. The singer brings a greater quantity of air in contact with the blood. Hence the blood is better purified and vitalized. Good blood gives more active and vigorous play to all the organs of absorption, assimilation and execution. The better these functions are performed, the purer will be the influences which ascend to the brain. The scientific physiologist can trace the effects of singing from the lungs into the blood, from the blood into the processes of nutrition, and back again into the blood, unto the nerves, and, finally from the whole vital tissue into the brain, to be there developed into the flower and fruit of cheerfulness, increased health, increased strength, and "prolonged life."

In support of the foregoing, and especially of the preceding statement, which is given from a musical point of view, I beg to quote the opinion of Dr. Charles Warren, of the United States bureau of education. He says: "It is well to remember that singing, when well and gradually done during the whole school life, affects favorably distinctness of hearing, the health of the throat and the lungs, the station and carriage of the body, and the development and shape of the thorax; that by judicious alternation with other studies it preserves the beautiful childish capacity of quick perception and retentive memory, while it does not interfere with the acquirement of that tenacity and continuity in an effort which will be found useful in later life; and that of all arts it is among the most social, natural, humanistic and permanent in all the occupations and responsibilities of mature life and culture."

Before so intelligent an audience it is needless for me to enlarge upon the influence of music in relation to the development of the moral nature. Not a small part of the earnest teacher's work is to illustrate both by precept and example the moral value of refined pleasures, and I assume that you appreciate the advantage that music affords in this particular.

For the same reason I shall refer but briefly to music as a means of culture, awakening and refreshing as it does the intellectual activities, cultivating the phantasy [sic], and touching the life of the soul far beneath the analytic processes of thought, thus abiding with us as an agency for good in our strivings for the ideal life. This power which reaches out into the infinite for its inspiration, this force which permeates all nature, is not an emotional fancy, it is not the caprice of some turbulent soul, it is not the whim of some day-dreamer's vagaries. Take the best of Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Chopin or Schuman, let it enter into one's inner life become an essential part of his being, "what culture can he lack that would seem rich enough to covet to exchange for this. And all the more by virtue of this one unspeakable possession will he be sensitively open, heart and mind, to every hint of truth and beauty in nature, in poetry and art, in history,

philosophy or science.”

Music enters into all the conditions of life. It is at the cradle as the mother with some familiar melody, or perhaps an improvised melody, hushes her child to sleep; it is at the marriage to mellow the stern “wilt thou?” and strengthen the confident “I will;” it is in the sanctuary to sanctify the holy office and hallow the sacred service; it is in the home circle as a wall of protection around the dear ones who are soon to go out from the anxious eye of father and mother; it gives an unceasing charm to social life; while it lends character to public life; and it is at the grave to comfort the grief stricken heart, and to waft the soul, released from earth, beyond the spangled court of God into sunlight of glorified peace.

With an agency of this character meeting us under so many different circumstances, and affecting us in so many different experiences at our command, if we may regard ourselves of centers of influence for the development of the mind, the heart, the soul, we shall as we radiate from our various centers touch first the magnificent army of school children which whom we come into daily contact; these children, perhaps, feebly in their earlier years, but more and more strongly as they struggle upwards, will touch the home circle; the influence of the home circle will reach out in many different ways and affect the social circle; the social circle with its numberless charms will tone the more practical life of the public circle; and thus as these circles widen and become more far reaching the influence of this sweet persuasive power shall grow and continue to grow until it has received due recognition in its unlimited resources to refine, elevate, and expand all the lasting associations of life.

Accepting music then as an essential in all processes of education; placing it justly belongs on the same plane with other branches of study, and regarding it as such from the highest point of view, let us as co-workers in the field of education endeavor to read more intelligently the underlying thought if the text we are seeking to interpret; and, seeing thus more clearly for ourselves, we shall be the means of helping others to see that divine light, which, beaming in rich effulgence through the pages of prophetic genius, shines for all who are willing to behold its rays as they fall from an altar that stands as the symbol of unselfish devotion to one’s self-purpose, and before which no one need hesitate to bow.

Appendix D

“Outlines of Course in Music” for the Salt Lake City School District 1890–91¹⁰⁴²

FIRST AND SECOND GRADES – FIRST TERM.

Study of Intervals. Relative Pitch. Major scale as unit or whole. Take pitch C, sing scale ascending and descending, lightly and softly with rapid movement.

Use scale syllables. Use numerals in calling for sounds.

Use rote songs.

FIRST AND SECOND GRADES – SECOND TERM.

Call numerals, pupils respond by note or syllables. Ex, 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1, 1 2 1, 1 2 3 1, 1 2 3 4 1, 1 2 3 4 5 1, 1 2 2 1, 1 2 3 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 5 5 1, 5 4 3 2 1, 1 2 3 4 5 5 4 3 5 4 3 2 1, and so on, using all the numerals to 8, as shown above.

FIRST AND SECOND GRADES – THIRD TERM.

Review carefully work of last term. Sing scale slowly. Give pupils time to think the tones. Use interchangeably lower and upper tetrachord. Rote singing at discretion of teacher. Time, names with metronome.

FIRST AND SECOND GRADES – FOURTH TERM.

Time by the use of time names and metronome, continued. Pupils watch movement of metronome until they can feel the strong and weak pulse. Pupils repeat time names; first use undivided pulse, two part measure, divide and sub-divide in three and four part measures.¹⁰⁴³

Sing easy songs and exercises through intelligent sight singing. Review.

THIRD AND FOURTH GRADES – FIRST TERM.

Teach upper, lower and middle scale. Name and sing as far as the voice will allow the fifteen different pitches. Tell readily different position of each pitch of staff. Sing easy songs and exercises at sight. Give tones from words of one syllable ending in a vowel – ex, la, la, loo, koo, etc. Syllable names must not be given up.

THIRD AND FOURTH GRADES – SECOND TERM.

Pupils learn to sing by intelligent singing. This will be the basis of their instruction. Establish knowledge of scale. Use properly graded exercises and songs. Teach rhythm within measure and rhythm of measure. Length and strength of sounds. Time most essential. Do something in time. Name what has been done. Show the representation. Practice from representation. Apply knowledge gained in reading

¹⁰⁴² George M. Scott, *First Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Salt Lake for the Year Ending June 30, 1891* (Salt Lake City, UT: Tribune Job Printing, 1891), part II, 65–67, https://archive.org/details/annualreportofp1189salt_3

¹⁰⁴³ “two part,” “three part” and “four part” measures refers to 2/4, 3/4 and 4/4 time signatures.

exercises.

THIRD AND FOURTH GRADES – THIRD TERM.

Review work in preceding term. Study relative value of notes. Study chromatic scale. Introduce exercises with chromatic sounds. Practice faithfully.

THIRD AND FOURTH GRADES – FOURTH TERM.

Review chromatic scale. Proceed as far as practicable in the minor scale. As whole. By intervals, as in major scale. Supply rote singing.

FIFTH AND SIXTH GRADES – FIRST TERM.

Review work done by grades three and four. Major scales as whole. Sounds of scale in every possible relation to each other. Have pupils read and sing as sight easy songs from music reader.

FIFTH AND SIXTH GRADES – SECOND TERM.

Review briefly work of last term. Relative value of notes considered[.] Practice chromatic scale carefully. Have pupils give all the tones and semi-tones.

FIFTH AND SIXTH GRADES – THIRD TERM.

Review carefully work of last term. Practice groups of accent by use of metronome. Practice exercises from reader and blackboard. Some rote songs.

FIFTH AND SIXTH GRADES – FOURTH TERM.

Teach minor scales in connection with major. Sustain sounds longer than one pulse. Sing from reader by intelligent sight reading.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES – FIRST TERM.

First scales as whole, as parts, and in relation to each other. Secure pure tone, proper articulation through intelligent singing, by exercises that will naturally place the vocal organs. Prevent harsh and rasping tones.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES – SECOND TERM.

Introduce difficulties in rhythm in proper order. New difficulties in time by use of melodic intervals. Practice carefully the rhythmic, melodic and dynamic.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES – THIRD TERM.

Teach syncopation, relative length of sounds, proper accentation [sic], by singing exercises on staff.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES – FOURTH TERM.

Review previous work. Practice carefully tones and semi-tones. Sing two, three and four part songs. Introduce as far as possible the bass or F clef in four part singing.

Appendix E

Studies in the “Conservatory of Music” at Academy of the Sacred Heart in Ogden, Utah
1895–96.¹⁰⁴⁴

Instrumental Music [Piano]

First Grade.

Rudimental Technicalities, including Formation of the Hand and Muscular Development. Mertz’s Instructor. Major Scales and Chords, Each Hand Separately. Duvernoy’s Primary Studies in Mechanism. Easy Pieces.

Second Grade.

Herz and Ma[s]on’s Techniques. Major Scale Studies in Unison, with Accents, Similar and Contrary Motion, in Thirds, Sixths and Tenths. Staccato and Legato. Chords and Arpeggios. Easy Sonatas and Pieces.

Third Grade.

Czerny’s School of Velocity. Herz and Mason’s Studies Continued. Mozart’s, Clementi’s or Schubert’s Sonatas. Playing from Memory.

Fourth Grade.

Minor Scales, Harmonic and Melodic, in Different Movements. Studies—Czerny, Opus 740, Three Books. Czerny’s Octave Studies. Heller’s Art of Phrasing. Mendelssohn’s Songs Without Words. Playing from Memory.

Fifth Grade.

Czerny, Opus 740 Completed. Czerny’s Octave Studies. Cramer’s Etudes, Bulow Edition, First and Second Books. Beethoven’s Sonatas. Chopin’s Waltzes and Mazurkas.

Sixth Grade.

Kullak’s Octave Studies, Book Second. Cramer’s Etudes, Books Second and Third. Bach’s Inventions for Two Voices. Concertos and Selections from Modern Composers.

Seventh Grade.

Moschele’s Studies, Opus 70. Clementi’s Gradus ad Parnassum, Tausig Edition. Bach’s Fugues, Preludes and Inventions. Chopin’s Etudes and Impromptus. Concert Selections.

Vocal Music

First Grade.

Physiological Study of the Vocal Organs. Art of Respiration. Studies for Production of

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Annual Catalogue. Sacred Heart Academy for the Academic Year of 1895–6.* (Ogden, UT: Acme Printing Company, 1894), 19–20. Special Collections, Stewart Library, Weber State University.

Free Tone. Placing the Voice and Blending the Registers. Study of Low Trill, Part Singing and Balads.

Second Grade.

Studies of First Grade Continued. Diatonic Scales on Vowel Sounds. Exercises in Flexibility and Embellishments. Etudes of Concone and Lutgen.

Third Grade.

Second Grade Continued, with Vocalizings by Panofka. Ballad Singing, the Aria, and Italian, German and French Melodies. Pronunciation, Expression and Phrasing. Chorus Singing and Part Songs.

Fourth Grade.

Marchesi, Opus 2, 5 and 6 (for Sopranos). Continued Study of Trill Practice. Method de Chant, par Cinti Damoreau. Concert Songs.

Fifth Grade.

Method de Chant, per Cinti Damoreau, Continued. Study of Oratorio and Operatic Music. English, German, Italian and French Songs.

Appendix F

“Welcome to School.” Page 8 from *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* by David Orson Calder, followed by staff realization. Staff realization by Rhonda Rhodes, August 30, 2016. An example of a mid-level exercise from the book.

8

THE TONIC SOL-FA SINGING EXERCISES.

WELCOME TO SCHOOL.

No. 33.

KEY B FLAT. M. 104.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ Come, where} \\ 2. \text{ Thus our days} \end{array} \right.$	<i>f</i>	$s_1 : -f_1 \mid m_1 : r_1 \mid d_1 : - \mid r_1 : -$	$m_1 : r_1 : m_1 . f_1 \mid s_1 : f_1 . m_1$
	$m_1 : -r_1 \mid d_1 : s_1 \mid m_1 : s_1 \mid s_1 : -$	$d_1 . t_1 : d_1 . r_1 \mid m_1 : r_1 . d_1$	$d_1 : - \mid s_1 : -$
		joy and glad - - ness, em play - - ing,	make each tran - ser - n al - - ways learn - ing some
		1. Come, and 2. Learning	be a still some

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wel-come guest, and} \\ \text{use - ful thing, And} \\ \text{wel-come guest,} \\ \text{use - ful thing,} \end{array} \right.$	$r_1 : r_1 \mid r_1 : m_1 . f_1$	$s_1 : -f_1 \mid m_1 : r_1 \mid d_1 : - \mid r_1 : -$	$m_1 . r_1 : m_1 . f_1$
	$t_1 : t_1 \mid t_1 : d_1$	$m_1 : -r_1 \mid d_1 : s_1 \mid m_1 : - \mid s_1 : -$	$s_1 . t_1 : d_1 . r_1$
	$s_1 : s_1 \mid s_1 :$	$d_1 : -r_1 \mid m_1 : s_1 \mid l_1 : - \mid s_1 : -$	$d_1 : d_1$
		come, where grief and these pur - suits en - joy will sing, Tho'	sad - - ness will not find a Mer - ri - ly to - Will not Thus to

Fine.

p.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dwell - ing} \\ \text{ge - ther} \\ \text{dwell with} \\ \text{ge - ther} \end{array} \right.$	$m_1 : r_1$	$d_1 : d_1 \mid d_1 : m_1$	$r_1 : d_1 \mid t_1 : d_1$	$r_1 : r_1 \mid r_1 : m_1$
	$d_1 : s_1 . f_1$	$m_1 : s_1 \mid m_1 : d_1$	$t_1 : l_1 \mid s_1 : l_1$	$t_1 : s_1 \mid t_1 : d_1$
	$s_1 : s_1$	$d_1 : m_1 \mid d_1 :$	in our sports we	pass a - way, With take de - light, We
		in your breast. Your we will sing, Tho'	time with us will	: :

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{books, or} \\ \text{al - so} \end{array} \right.$	$f_1 : s_1 \mid l_1 . s_1$	$f_1 . m_1 \mid r_1 : r_1$	$r_1 : m_1$	$r_1 : d_1$	$t_1 : d_1$
	$r_1 : m_1 \mid f_1 . m_1$	$r_1 . d_1 \mid t_1 : s_1$	$t_1 : d_1$	$t_1 : l_1$	$s_1 : l_1$
	love	to read and write,	And those who teach us	-ome - times with a those who teach us	: :

D.C.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{cheer - ful} \\ \text{too,} \end{array} \right.$	$r_1 : r_1$	$r_1 : m_1$	$r_1 : m_1$	$r_1 : d_1$	$t_1 : l_1$	$s_1 : -$
	$t_1 : t_1$	$t_1 : d_1$	$t_1 : d_1$	$t_1 : l_1$	$s_1 : r_1$	$s_1 : -$
	we prize, Who	hap - py hours strive to make us	will us	shoe a good and	a - long. who.	: :

$\text{♩} = 104$ *f*

Come, where joy and glad - ness, make each stran - ger a wel - come guest, and
 Thus our days em - ploy - ing, al - ways learn - ing some use - ful thing, And

Come, where joy and glad - ness, make each stran - ger a wel - come guest, and
 Thus our days em - ploy - ing, al - ways learn - ing some use - ful thing, And

Come, where joy and glad - ness, Come, and be a wel - come guest,
 Thus our days em - ploy - ing, Learn - ing all some use - ful thing,

Fine *p*

come, where grief and sad - ness will not find a dwell - ling in your breast. Your
 these pur - suits en - joy - ing, Mer - ri - ly to - ge - ther we will sing, Tho'

come, where grief and sad - ness will not find a dwell - ling in your breast. Your
 these pur - suits en - joy - ing, Mer - ri - ly to - ge - ther we will sing, Tho'

Will not dwell with in your breast.
 Thus to - ge - ther we will sing.

time with us will pass a - way, With books, or work, or health - ful play, And
 in our sports we take de - light, We al - so love to read and write, And

time with us will pass a - way, With books, or work, or health - ful play, And
 in our sports we take de - light, We al - so love to read and write, And

D.C. al Fine

some - times with a cheer - ful song, The hap - py hours will glide a - long.
 those who teach us too, we prize, Who strive to make us good and wise.

some - times with a cheer - ful song, The hap - py hours will glide a - long.
 those who teach us too, we prize, Who strive to make us good and wise.

Appendix G

“Fairyland” (first thirty measures). Page 20 from *Singing Lessons on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* by David Orson Calder, followed by staff realization. Staff realization by Rhonda Rhodes, August 30, 2016. An example of an advanced level exercise from the book.

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THE TONIC SOL-FA SINGING EXERCISES.

FAIRYLAND.

No. 49.

KEY F. M. 96.

S.	<i>f.</i>	m . r : m . f	s : d ¹	s : m	f : —	r . d : r . m	f : r
A.		d . t ₁ : d . r	m : s	m : d	r : —	t ₁ . l ₁ : t ₁ . d	r : f
T.		s . s : s . s	s : m	s : d ¹	t : —	s . s : s . d ¹	t : s
B.		d . d : d . d	d : d	d : d	s ₁ : —	s ₁ . s ₁ : s ₁ . s ₁	s ₁ : s ₁

Mark the mer-ry elves of fair-ry land, Mark the mer-ry elves of

t	f	m	—	d	—	d	d	t ₁ . r	d . r _a	r	—
r	t ₁	d	—	l _a	—	the	cold	moon's	gleam	—	glance,
s	s	s	—	s	—	l	s	f . m	r . d	s ₁	s ₁
s ₁	s ₁	d	—	m . s	l . s	f . m	r . d	s ₁	s ₁	s ₁	—

p. dolce.
In the cold moon's gleam - y glance,

KEY C. 1.

m	—	m	m	r . f	m . s	f	—	m ¹ . d ¹	r ¹ . d ¹	t	d ¹
d	—	d	d	t ₁ . r	d . m	r	—	d ¹	f	f	m
d	—	s	f . m	r . d	s ₁	s ₁	s ₁	d ¹	f ¹ . m ¹	r ¹	d ¹

In the cold moon's gleam - my glance, In the cold moon's

1. KEY F. *Dolce.*

m ¹ . r ¹	d ¹ . t	d ¹	—	m	—	t ₁ . t ₁ . r	d	l ₁	t ₁	—
s . f	m . r	m	—	m	—	d	l ₁	t ₁	—	—
s	s	s	—	s	—	r . r	f	m	d	s ₁
s	s ₁	d	—	s	—	r . r	f	m	d	s ₁

gleam - my glance, They with shadow-y mor - ris dance,

KEY C. 1.

d ¹ s	—	m	r . r	f	m	d	r	s	—	—
m	—	d	t ₁ . t ₁ . r	d	l ₁	t ₁	t ₁ . r	m	—	p.
They	with	shadow-y	mor - ris	dance,	—	—	—	—	—	Soft
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

p. Dolce.
Soft mu - sic dies - a

f $\text{♩} = 96$

Soprano
 Mark the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land, Mark the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land.

Alto
 Mark the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land, March the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land.

Tenor
 Mark the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land, Mark the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land.

Bass
 Mark the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land, Mark the mer-ry elves of fai-ry land.

p dolce

S
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance, In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance,

A
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance,

T
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance,

B
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance, In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance,

f

S
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance, They with

A
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance, *dolce* They with sha-dow - y mor - ris dance, They with

T
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance,

B
 In the cold moon's gleam - y — glance, They with sha-dow - y mor - ris dance,

S
sha - dow - y mor - ris dance,

A
sha - dow - y mor - ris dance, Soft

T

B
p
Soft mu - sic dies a

Appendix H

A Compiled List of School Music Teachers in the Utah Territory 1850–95

This compilation of school music teachers was derived from school records, city/county/territory histories, personal journals and correspondence, newspapers, music periodicals and city/county/regional directories and gazetteers. Public, private, parochial school and college/university music teachers are listed alphabetically by last name. Where there is question regarding the correct spelling of the name, alternate versions are listed. An asterisk after a name indicates that the person was also documented to be a private music instructor though the year and location of the private teaching may be different than that listed here. The “location” is where the music instruction took place, though the teacher may have lived in another location. “Year” designation is approximate in most cases. If only one or two years are listed it is because that was the only time the person was listed in a particular source. It is likely the person taught for a longer period of time. “Instruction” refers to the type of music instruction the person taught according to sources. Often only the word “music” appeared in the source with no further description given.

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR	INSTRUCTION
Adams, “Miss” Francilla*	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93	Voice Culture, Piano, Assistant to Director
Allen, “Mrs. F. M.”	Park Academy (Park City)	1891	Music
Almy, “Miss” Lizzie	Salt Lake New West Academy	1883–85	Music
Andre, A.*	University of Deseret	1888–92	Guitar, Mandolin, Banjo
Ashley, Katherine (Catherine)	Salt Lake Academy (Hammond Hall)	1884–85	Piano, Vocal Music, Music Reading (sol- fa)
Atkin, Della	Tooele School District	1891	Music
Baird, Robert Bell*	Willard Common School	1876–?	Music
Baken, “Miss” Annie M.	St. Mary’s Academy	1878–81	Piano, Organ
Ballard, Melvin Joseph	Brigham Young College	1895	Vocal Music
Beck, Edith	Brigham Young Academy	1892–94	Piano, Organ, Music Dept. Assistant
Beesley, Ebenezer*	LDS College Tooele School District	1889–90 1893–97	Music Music
Black, Louisa	Millard Stake Academy	1888–?	Vocal Music

Blanchard, "Miss"	Ogden New West School	1890	Choir
Bowen, John	Tooele School District	1887	Music
Brimhall, Hyrum	Snow Academy	1895–97	Instrumental and Vocal Music
Brown, "Miss" Sarah	Ogden Methodist School	1871	Instrumental Music
Browning, "Miss" Abba	Ogden Central School	1887	Music Assistant
Buckley, Samuel	Brigham Young Academy	1882–85	Instrumental Music Assistant, Organ
Careless, George*	University of Deseret	1869–71	Vocal and Instrumental Music
Chatterley, John	Cedar City Common School	1856–68	Music
Clinton, Zina (Cina)	Brigham Young Academy	1882–83	Piano
Coop, Squire	Weber Stake Academy	1894–96	Instrumental and Vocal Music
Copland, "Mrs."	Ogden New West School	1890	Music
Cort, "Miss" M. J.	Iron County Presbyterian Academy	1881–?	Instrumental and Vocal Music
Cosslett, Joseph*	Parowan Stake Academy	1890–91	Instrumental and Vocal Music, Music Theory
Crosby, Florence	Cornish New West School	1880s	School Choir
Danforth, "Miss" Lucia E.	Salt Lake Collegiate Institute	1888–90	Piano
Daniels, James E.	Brigham Young Academy	1877–79	Music, Choir
Daynes, Joseph J.*	LDS College Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93 1892–93	Vocal Music Pipe Organ
Dixon, Riley G.	Harrisville Common School	1886–89	Music
Done, Willard	Brigham Young Academy LDS University	1883–85 1886–89	Choir Singing

Edwards, Lewis. D.*	Willard Common School Ogden Common Schools University of Utah	1878-? 1884-90 1890-91	Vocal and Instrumental Music Music Music
Ellerbeck, Sarah	Brigham Young Academy	1881-82	Instrumental and Vocal Music
Epperson, Emery	Provo Common Schools	?	Music
Evans, Lizzie	Provo Common Schools	?	Music
Flanders, Gratia "Miss"*	Rowland Hall	1894-95	Piano, Music Literature
Fogelberg (Folgenberg), Wilhelm	Brigham Young Academy Brigham Young College	1885-86 1891-97	Choir, Vocal and Instrumental Music Voice, Violin
Foote, George W.	St. Mark's School	1868	Piano
Foote, John	Brigham Young Academy	1881-82	Choir
Ford, Enoch*	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892-93	Guitar, Mandolin, Banjo, Flute, Clarinet
Frampton, William	Draper Common School	1854-55	Music
Francis, Ester Charolette Emily Wiesbrodt	Morgan Common School	1863?	Music
Gabriel, F. William	St. Mark's School	1872-73	Music
Gates, Susa Young	Brigham Young Academy	1879	Piano, Voice, Choir
Gibb, John L.*	Lehi Central School	1894	Singing
Giles, Henry E.*	Brigham Young Academy Provo City Public Schools	1886-96 1890-96	Music Dept. Head, Conservatory Director Music Supervisor, Vocal Music, Music Theory
Gorlinski, "Miss" Helena	St. Mark's School	1877-78	Vocal Music
Hacking, "Mrs. Joseph F."	Uintah Stake Academy	1891-92	Choir
Hamilton, Fidelia B.	Rowland Hall	1882-85 1894-95	Vocal Music Voice Culture

Harris, Jennie	Brigham Young Academy	1882	Choir
Harris, N. J.	Harrisville Common School	1886–89	Music
Harvey, Ann	St. George 1 st Ward Common School	1874	Vocal Music
Hasbrouck, “Dr.” R. A.	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93	Physiology of the Vocal Organs
Haydon, “Miss” Ella B.	St. Mark’s School	1874–75	Instrumental Music
Haydon, “Mrs.” Ellen G.	St. Mark’s School	1874–77	Vocal Music
Hervey, “Miss” Sarah C.	Morgan New West School	1884	Music, Organ
Herzog, “Miss” Hannah (Minnie) (Minna)	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93	Voice Culture
Hessel, “Dr.” Gottfried L.*	Brigham Young College	1884–85	Instrumental Music
Hill, Karl*	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93	Voice Culture, Piano, Conservatory Director
Hodson, B. F. (G.)*	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93	Piano, Assistant to Director
Holt, “Miss” Minnie (Minna)*	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93	Piano, Assistant to Director
Horne, “Mrs.” Flora Bean	Manti Stake Academy	1890–92	Vocal Music
Houchen, Nellie	Cedar City Common Schools	1856–86	Singing
Hoving, Lucy	Hoving’s Private School (Logan)	1895	Vocal Music
Huff, “Dr.”	Brigham Young Academy	1892–93	Instrumental Music
Hunt, Carrie	Trenton New West School	1880s	Music
Hunter, Ebenezer*	American Fork and Alpine Common Schools	1880–?	Music
Huse, Isaac	Salt Lake New West Schools	1880s	Music

Hyde, "Mr."	Logan Agricultural College	1895	Vocal Music
Issacson, H. W.	St. Mark's School	1868	Vocal Music
Jeffs, "Miss" Mary	Wasatch Stake Academy	1890-91	Choir Assistant
Jewkes, Samuel	Orangeville Common School	1880s	Music
Jorgenson, Enoch	Wasatch Stake Academy	1890-91	Choir
Kelly (Kelley), Emma J.	Salt Lake Collegiate Institute	1880-85	Music
	St. Mark's School	1884-85	Piano, Organ, Guitar
Kent, "Professor" Charles	Ogden New West School	1891	Vocal Music, Orchestra
Kenyon, "Miss"	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1893-94	Music
King, Lillian	Millard Stake Academy	1885-86	Vocal Music
King, William H.	Brigham Young Academy	1879-80	Choir
Knowles, William	Brigham Young College	1884-88	Vocal Music
Lewis, Alexander	Brigham Young College	1888-89	Vocal Music
Lewis, "Miss" Gwendolyn*	LDS College	1893-94	Instrumental Music
Lincoln, "Miss"	Salt Lake Seminary	1891-92	Music Conservatory Director
Linn, Carl (Karl)*	Ogden City Schools	1860s	Music
	Ogden Central School	1882-83	Instrumental and Vocal Music
Lionberger, "Miss" Louise	Rowland Hall	1891-92	Piano
Lucas, "Miss" Belle	Rowland Hall	1893-94	Piano, Voice, Harmony
Ludden, J. W. "Miss"	Ogden New West Academy	1889-91	Music
Lund, Anthony (Anthon) C.*	Snow Academy	1891-92	Choir
	Brigham Young Academy	1894-96	Music
Macfarlane, John Menzies*	Cedar City Common Schools	1856-69	Music
Maeser, Karl G.*	Brigham Young Academy	1876-92	Instrumental Music, Choir

Maeser, "Miss" Otille	Brigham Young Academy	1885–97	Instrumental Music, Piano
Marsh, "Miss" Abby S.	Rowland Hall	1882–85	Piano
Martin, "Mrs. Herman"	Brigham Young Academy	1894–96	Music
Martin, Ann	Round Valley Common School (Scipio)	1870–1900	Singing
McAllister, "Mrs." Mabel	Brigham Young Academy	1885	Music
McIntyre, Thomas*	Salt Lake City 18 th Ward Seminary	1880s	Music, Tonic Sol-fa
	Salt Lake City 21 st School District	1890–91	Music
	LDS College	1893–95	Vocal Music
McKean, Annie	Fillmore Presbyterian School	1881–83	Vocal Music
	Salt Lake Collegiate Institute	1883–84	Music
McLaren, "Sister"	St. Mary's Academy	1875–?	Music
Nelson, "Mrs." Mattie E.	Juab Stake Academy	1880s–90s	Music
Nielson, "Miss" Tillie	Ogden Central School	1888–89	Piano
Noyes, Abbie Parrish	Ogden New West School	1890	Vocal Music
Olson (Olsen), Mangus*	Rowland Hall	1891–92	Violin, Guitar
Park, John R.	Draper	Early 1860s	Music
Parks, "Miss" Margaret A.	Cache Valley Seminary	1879–80	Music
Pearce (Pierce), Rosa	Ogden Common Schools	1883–84	Music
Pedersen (Pederson) (Peterson), Anton*	Weber Stake Academy	1889–90	Vocal Music
	University of Deseret	1890–92	Piano, Organ, Violin
Peebles, Arthur	Salt Lake New West Schools	1880s	Music
Peterson, Sarah	Snow Academy	1895–96	Choir
Pickett, Horatio*	St. George Stake Academy	1889–90	Vocal Music
Powell, "Miss" Maria L.*	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–93	Elocution, Delsarte Physical Culture
Pratt, Harmell*	University of Deseret	1868–69	Instrumental Music
Pratt, Orson Jr.*	University of Deseret	1888–90	Piano, Organ

Pratt, Viola*	Salt Lake City School District	1890–93	Music
Radcliffe, Thomas*	Rowland Hall Salt Lake Collegiate Institute Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1882–90 1881–82, 1886–90 1893–94	Piano Piano Music
Richardson, “Mrs. Charles A.”	Salt Lake Collegiate Institute	1891–92	Piano
Riggs, “Mrs. O. H.”	Salt Lake Fourteenth Ward Seminary	1873–74	Instrumental Music
Roberts, Lillie	Provo City Schools Brigham Young Academy	1886–87 1885–93	Music Instrumental Music
Robinson, “Miss” E. S.	Bingham New West School	1884	Music, Organ
Robinson, J. L.	Brigham Young Academy	1877	Music
Robinson, “Mrs. N. K.”	St. Mark’s School	1880	Vocal Music
Rowe, Owen	Spanish Fork Common School	1886–87	Singing, Music Reading
Royale, “Miss” Mattie	Salt Lake Collegiate Institute	1886–87	Piano
Roylance, Aaron	Brigham Young Academy	1885–87	Vocal and Instrumental Music
Salmon, “Miss”	Davis County Public Schools	1893	Music
Salmon, Gertrude	Trenton New West School	1880s	Music
Sanborn, “Professor”	Utah State Agricultural College	1890?–93	Vocal Music
Sanford, “Miss” Margarette	St. Mark’s School	1885	Music
Snyder, Lily*	Salt Lake City School District	1892	Music Assistant
Southworth, Nettie	Brigham Young Academy Ogden Central School	1878–84 1881–83	Vocal, Piano, Organ Music
Standart, “Mrs. A. C.”	Rowland Hall	1894–95	Piano

Stayner, C. F.	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1893–94	Music
Stephens, Evan*	University of Deseret	1883–92	Vocal Music, Normal School Music Instruction
	Salt Lake City Public Schools	1890–91	Music Supervisor
	LDS College	1890–92	Vocal Music
	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–94	Chorus, Harmony, Composition
Taylor, Emily F.	Rowland Hall	1892–93	Piano
Thatcher, “Miss” Nettie	Brigham Young College	1885–86	Instrumental Music
Throop, “Miss”	Utah State Agricultural College	1890s	Music
Tollestrup, Albert N.	Morgan Stake Academy	1888–89	Music
	Weber Stake Academy	1891–94	Music
Thurston, Allison	Stoddard Public School (Morgan Co.)	1894–?	Music
Tuckett, “Mrs. Henry A.”	University of Deseret	1885–88	Music
Wahlstrom, Hyrum*	Brigham Young College	1888–91	Vocal, Piano, Organ, Violin
Watson, Lyda E.	Rowland Hall	1890–93	Piano, Vocal Music
Weihe (Weihi), Willard Erastus*	University of Deseret	1888–92	Violin
	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–94	Violin
Wilson, “Mrs. J. B.”	Salt Lake Seminary	1884–85	Music
Winston, “Miss” Jennie	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1893–94	Vocal Music
Wolfe, J. C.	Salt Lake City School District	1890–91	Music Assistant
		1891–92	Music Supervisor
	Utah Normal School and Conservatory of Music	1892–94	Notation, Sight Reading
Wright, Charles W.	Payson Common School	Early 1880s	Music
Young, George Carothers	Salt Lake City School District	1892– 1900	Music Supervisor

Appendix I

A Compiled List of Private Music Teachers in the Utah Territory 1850–95

This compilation of private music teachers is derived from city/county/territory histories, personal journals and correspondence, newspapers, music periodicals and city/county/regional directories and gazetteers. Teachers are listed alphabetically by last name. Where there is question regarding the correct spelling of the name, alternate versions are listed. An asterisk after a name indicates that the person was also a music instructor in a public, private school or university though the year and location of the school teaching may be different than that listed here. The “location” is where the music instruction took place, though the teacher may have lived in another location. “Year” designation is approximate in most cases. If only one or two years are listed it is because that was the only time the person was listed in a particular source. It is likely the person taught for a longer period of time. “Instruction” refers to the type of music instruction the person taught according to sources. Often only the word “music” appeared in the source with no further description given.

NAME	LOCATION	YEAR	INSTRUCTION
Adams, “Miss” Francilla*	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Piano, Voice Culture
Adams, James	Heber City	1892	Music
Aird, H. M.	Heber City	1890	Vocal Music
Akhert, John	Salt Lake City	1885–86	Music
Almy, “Miss” L. E.	Salt Lake City	1884	Music
Alvoy, William	Escalante	1884	Music
Anderson, “Mrs. C. R.”	Grantsville	1884	Music
Andre, A.*	Salt Lake City	1883–85	Music
Bacon, Everett	Logan	1895	Military Band Instruction
Baird, Robert Bell*	Willard Plain City Brigham City	1876–? 1893 1893–94	Piano, Organ Vocal Music Vocal Music, Organ
Baken, “Miss” Annie M.	Park City	1881–82	Piano, Organ, Guitar
Ballo, Dominico	Salt Lake City	1851–61	Band, Band Instruments
Baron, “Mrs.”	Centerville	1895	Music
Barrell, Charles H.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Juvenile Band Instructor
Barrett, “Mrs.” Anna	Salt Lake City	1889	Piano, Organ
Barron, “Mrs.” Lucretia W.	Salt Lake City Davis County	1892–93 1892–95	Music Instrumental Music, Music Theory
Beaston, Harry	Beaver	?	Music

Beesley, Ebenezer*	Salt Lake City	1861 1867–84	Band Instruction Flute, Violin, Singing School
	Tooele	1893+	Piano, Organ, Flute, Violin, Singing, Music Reading
Beesley, R.	Salt Lake City	1884	Music
Beuhner, Hans	Midway, Mt. Pleasant	?	Music
Bickley, “Miss” May	Beaver	1891	Organ
Bickley, W. G.	Beaver	1884	Music
Bixler, “Professor”	Ogden	1888	Singing School
Boyle, Chas. F.	Ephraim	1891	Band Instruction
Braithwaite, “Miss” Zennie	Manti	1893	Music
Broadbent, Thomas	Goshen	?	Music
Brundage, M.	Heber City	1895	Piano, Organ
Buchmiller, E.	Providence	1893–94	Band Instruction
Bunnell-Penrose, Dr. Romania	Salt Lake City	1860s?	Music
Burbage, Sarah Ann	Salt Lake City	1854–56	Music
Burrows, “Miss” Eleanor	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Calder, David Orson	Salt Lake City	1853–80s	Vocal Music, Tonic Sol- fa
Call, Elihu	Willard	?	Vocal Music
Careless, George*	Salt Lake City	1864– 1929	Music
Carpenter, Richard J.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Guitar, Mandolin, Banjo
Carrington, Calvin S.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Chamberlain, “Miss” Carrie E.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Chamberlain, John Marvin	Salt Lake City	1874–89	Piano, Organ
Christiansen, J. N.	Hyde Park	1882	Band Instruction
Clawson, James	Ephraim	1892–93	Band Instruction
Clayson, William	Payson	1875–84	Vocal and Instrumental Music, Juvenile Band Instructor
Clive, William C.	Salt Lake City	1876–93	Violin, Piano, Organ
Cobb, Charlotte	Salt Lake City	1860s	Music
Comstock, “Mr.”	Ogden	1850–51	Singing

Cook, Charles W.	Ogden	1884	Piano, Organ, Vocal Music
Cook, "Mrs. M. A."	Salt Lake City	1885–86	Music
Cook, "Miss" Minnie A.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Cooke, "Mrs." Sarah A.	Salt Lake City	1854–74	Vocal Music, Piano, Organ
Cosslett, Joseph*	Cedar City	1870–90	Organ, Orchestra, Band
Cragun, Thomas	Northern Utah	1850s–80s	Snare and Bass Drum
Crook, John	Heber City	1859–76	Choir Instruction
Crouner, Robert	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Cushing, "Mrs." Laura	Salt Lake City	1889	Music
Daniels, James E.	Provo	1854	Singing
Daynes, Joseph J.*	Salt Lake City Bountiful	1891–93 1891–92	Organ, Piano, Harmony Singing School, Tonic Sol-fa
Dayton, "Miss" Jennie	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Decker, J. B.	Bluff	1884	Music
De L'Orme (del'Orme), Andre	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Done, John	Payson	1880s?	Violin, Organ
Donelson, J. M.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Dowdell, "Miss" Lida	Ogden	1884	Piano, Organ
Druce, "Miss"	Salt Lake City	1877	Piano, Organ
Druce, "Miss" Julia	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Duel, Emily	Centerville	1884	Music
Durham, Thomas	Parowan	1856–95	Vocal Music, Band Instruction
Duzette (Duyett), Edward	Salt Lake City Rockville (Washington County)	1850s 1861–75	Martial Band, Fife and Drum Instruction
Edward, Kent W.	Salt Lake City	1889	Music
Edwards, Lewis D.*	Willard	1884	Music
Epperson, "Mrs." Bertha	Heber City	1890	Piano, Organ
Eulenstein, Alexander	Ogden	1884	Piano, Organ
Farini, A.	Salt Lake City Corrine	1871 1871–?	Voice Piano and Voice
Fellows, "Miss" Anna	Ogden	1884	Piano, Organ
Ferguson, Dr. Ellen B.	Salt Lake City	1878–81	Piano, Organ, Violin, Guitar, Singing, Elocution, Music Theory, Harmony

Flanders, "Miss" Gracia*	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Piano, Music Theory
Fobes, Charlotte B.	Salt Lake City	1877-89	Piano, Singing
Fones, Joseph G.	Lavan	1884	Music
Fogelberg, W.	Logan	1891-93	Violin, Piano, Organ, Vocal Music
Ford, Edwin	Kanab	1873	Singing School
Ford, Enoch*	Ogden Salt Lake City	1884 1891-92	Flute, Guitar, Banjo Flute, Clarinet, Guitar, Mandolin, Banjo
Fowler, Annie	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Fowler, John	Ogden	1879-94	Music
Frost, Allen	Kanab	1878	Singing
Gates, Jacob	Southern Utah	1858	Juvenile Band Instructor
Gibb, John L.*	Lehi	1894	Music Theory, Vocal Culture
Gibbs, William	Providence	1892-93	Music
Giles, Henry. E.*	Provo Midway	1887-91 1889	Music Music
Gillogly, "Mrs. L. L."	Ogden	1884	Piano, Organ, Vocal Music
Graehl, Emily	Brigham City	1884	Music
Grandhand (Grundand), "Miss" R.	Salt Lake City	1885	Music
Grant, William	American Fork	1869-80s	Music, Band Instructor
Gray, Fannie Stenhouse	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Voice Culture
Green, Charles	Hyrum	1893	Band Instruction
Hall, "Reverend" C. W.	Park City	1883	Singing
Hanish, Richard E.	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Hansen, "Professor"	Lake Town	?	Brass Band Instruction
Hardy, Alma	Davis County	1894	Music
Harrison, George	Springville	?	Music
Harrison, Paul	Salt Lake City	1874	Music
Harthan, "Miss" Petia	Payson	1884	Music
Hasler, John	Mt. Pleasant Spring City Central Utah	1869-95 1876 1890s	Piano, Organ, Band Instruments Boys Band Instrumental Music
Hassler, James	Cedar City	?	Music
Hawkins, "Miss" S. A.	Salt Lake City	1885	Music
Hedger, George	Salt Lake City	1877-85	Music, Flute
Heppler, "Professor"	Richfield	1892	Brass Band Instruction

Hessel, "Dr." Gottfried L.*	Logan	1885	Instrumental Music
Hill, Edward	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Hill, "Mrs." ("Miss") Flora S.	Salt Lake City	1982-93	Piano, Organ
Hill, H. J.	Salt Lake City	1885-86	Music
Hill, Karl*	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Piano, Voice Culture
Hodson, B. F. (G.)*	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Piano
Holt, "Miss" Minnie (Minna)*	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Piano
Horne, Richard S.	Salt Lake City	1880s	Piano
Horrocks, Roger	Heber City	1884	Music
Houtz, "Miss" Kate	Springville	1884	Music
Hughes, Maggie	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Huish, Edward	Payson	1875	Juvenile Band Instructor
Hunter, Ebenezer*	American Fork and Alpine	1880s	Singing School, Tonic Sol-fa
Huntington, Dimick B.	Salt Lake City	1866	Martial Band Instructor
Huntington, William D.	Springville	1853-55?	Music, Band Instructor
Jackman, Miss Lillian	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Jespersen, Chris	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Johnson, Emil H.	Salt Lake City	1885-93	Banjo
Johnson, Peter	Huntington	1880s	Music
Jones, John M.	Salt Lake City	1852-67	Violin
Jones, Miss Nellie	Logan	1885	Music
Kent, Charles	Ogden	1895	Voice
Kennedy, Robert J.	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Keys, "Mrs."	Salt Lake City	1877	Piano
Kimball, Miss H.	Salt Lake City	1877	Piano, Singing
Kirkman, Henry	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Kline, "Miss."	Corinne	1870	Singing
Krouse, H. S.	Salt Lake City	1881-93	Piano, Harmony, Theory
Larson, O. M.	Ephraim	1884	Music
Lawson, "Miss" Chrissie (Crisse)	Salt Lake City	1889-93	Music
Lechtenberg, Karl	Hyrum	1893	Band Instruction
Levi, Simon L.	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Lewis, "Miss" Gwendoline*	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Lewis, John Sanders	Salt Lake City	1870s-early 1890s	Music
Lincoln, "Miss" Fannie	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Piano, Voice Culture

Linn, Carl (Karl)*	Salt Lake City	1883–84	Music
Little, Elizabeth (Lizzie)	Kanab	?	Vocal and Instrumental Music
Ludden, V. W. “Miss”	Ogden	1885	Singing School
Lund, Anthony (Anthon) C.*	Ephraim and Gunnison	1892	Singing
Lunt, Mary Ann Wilson	Cedar City	1851–?	Music
Macfarlane, John Menzies*	St. George	1868–85	Vocal Music, Choir Instructor
Maeser, Karl G.*	Salt Lake City	1862	Piano
Manor, Mary (“Mrs. O. V.”)	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Marshall, “Mrs.” Kate	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
McAllister, “Miss” A.	Salt Lake City	1877	Piano, Organ
McAllister, Joseph Warrington	St. George	1885	Vocal Music, Music Reading
McIntyre, Alice	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Piano, Organ
McIntyre, Thomas*	Salt Lake City	1888–93	Singing, Tonic Sol-fa
McLatchie, E.	Kanosh	1879–80	Music
Merrill, Frank W.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Messenger, “Mr.”	Payson	1854–55 (Winter)	Singing Class
Miles, “Mrs.” Louise	Payson	1884	Music
Mineer, Andrew	Salt Lake City	1874	Music
Monson, H.	Salt Lake City	1877	Cello, Cornet
Montgomery, D. J.	Ogden	1876–80	Music
Montgomery, “Mrs.” Esther	Ogden	1881–94	Music
Moore, Fred	Midway	1893	Vocal Music
Mortensen, Andrew	Fairview	1884	Music
Nebeker, Vilate K.	Salt Lake City	1889–93	Music
Needham, A. S.	Salt Lake City	1869	Music
Neilson, “Mrs.” Tillie	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Nielsen, Lars	Chester	1879–81	Music
Nuger, Charles W. Jr.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Oliphant, Sabina	Kanab	1871–88	Singing
Olsen, A.	Salt Lake City	1874	Music
Olson (Olsen), Mangus*	Salt Lake City	1877–93	Violin, Guitar, Mandolin, Banjo
Olson, “Miss” S.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Orton, Caleb	Summit (Iron County)	1880–81	Music
Owens, Edward	Panguitch	1884	Music

Parkman, George	Kaysville Ogden Salt Lake City	1865 1866 1868–70	Band Instruction Band Instruction Band Instruction
Paxton, James	Kanosh	1879–80	Music
Pedersen (Pederson) (Peterson), Anton*	Salt Lake City	1884–93	Piano, Organ
Peebles, Carrie M.	Centerville	1884	Music
Peters, Peter	Mantua	1892–93	Tonic Sol-fa
Peterson, Henry H.	Hyrum	1884	Music
Phillips, “Miss” Nettie	Salt Lake City	1889	Music
Pickett, Horatio*	St. George	1880s	Singing, Music Reading
Piercey, Annie	Bountiful	1893	Piano, Organ, Guitar, Vocal Music
Pitchforth, Mary	Salt Lake City	? (early)	Piano
Poulton, Louisa	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Powell, “Miss” Maria L.*	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Elocution, Delsarte Physical Culture
Powell, W.	Beaver River City	1884	Music
Pratt, Harmell*	Salt Lake City	1874–77	Piano
Pratt, “Miss” Maud E.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Pratt, Orson Jr.*	Salt Lake City	1869–93	Piano, Organ, Harmony
Pratt, Valton	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Pratt, Viola*	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Vocal Music
Pugh, “Captain”	Ogden	?	Music
Pugh, Henry	Farmington	1856–?	Band Instruction
Pugh (Pew), William J.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Pugsley, Nellie Druce	Salt Lake City	1880s– 90s	Voice
Radcliffe, James	Grantsville	1884	Music
Radcliffe, Thomas*	Salt Lake City	1884–93– ?	Piano, Organ, Theory
Raymond, H. L.	Salt Lake City	1862–64	Piano, Organ, Melodeon
Reese, Kate C.	Salt Lake City	1884–86	Music
Reid, C. W.	Manti	1892	Piano, Organ
Richards, Louisa Lula Green	Logan	1867	Singing
Richardson, Jerry M. Jr.	Salt Lake City Heber City	1885–86 1894	Music Piano, Organ
Riggs, “Mrs.” Emma	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Roberts, “Miss” Lillie	Provo	1887	Music
Robinson, Edith R.	Salt Lake City	1889	Music
Rogers, William	Spanish Fork	?	Music
Rosenbaum, “Mrs.”	Brigham City	1893	Piano, Organ

Rowe, Owen	Spanish Fork	1886	Singing, Music Reading
Ryan, "Madam"	Ogden	1880s?	Vocal Music
Savage, Albert	Hyrum	1884	Music
Schofield, L.	Centerville	1884	Music
Schofield, Lorenzo	Beaver	1870s-?	Brass Band Instruction
Showell, "Miss" Mary J.	Salt Lake City	1885-86	Music
Shugren (Shugreen), "Mrs. Olof I."	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Sidwell, Susie	Manti	1884	Music
Simister, John W.	Coalville	1884	Music
Smith, "Mrs." Augusta	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Smith, Charles	Salt Lake City (Deseret Philharmonic Society)	1871-?	Music
Smith, J. H.	Brighton	1892-93	Music
Smith, John Hoyle	Salt Lake City	1884-89	Music, Flute
Smythe, Adam Craik	Logan Mendon Salt Lake City Manti	1864 1869 1873-84 1887	Music Music Vocal Music, Juvenile Opera, Harmony Vocal Music
Snyder, Miss Lily*	Salt Lake City	1891-92	Vocal and Instrumental Music
Socville, Ett	Bingham Canyon	1884	Music
Southam, "Miss" Mary	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Sprague, "Captain"	Ogden	1850s?	Music
Stagner, "Miss" Emily	Bountiful	1884	Music
Staheli, George	Santa Clara (Washington County)	1864-96- ?	Choir and Band Instruction
Stayner, C. Fred	Salt Lake City	1892-93	Music
Stephens, Evan*	Willard Logan Salt Lake City	1870s 1879-82 1882-94	Note School, Choir Instruction Organ, Vocal Music Vocal Music, Children's Choir, Tonic Sol-fa
Stevens, J. E.	Salt Lake City	1883-84	Music
Stoddard, Effie	Milford	1884	Music
Taylor, John	Provo Springville	1853 1854-?	Music and Band Instruction
Thatcher, George W. Jr.	Logan	1890-93	Band Instruction

Thomas, Charles John	Salt Lake City	1862–64	String and Brass Instruments
	St. George	1865–67	Vocal Music, Band Instruction, Harmony
	Beaver	1868–71	Vocal Music, Band Instruction
	Salt Lake City	1871–85	Orchestra, Vocal Music
Thomas, Mary Holroyd	Ogden	1862–?	Piano, Organ
Thompson, William H.	St. George	1877–?	Juvenile Band Instruction
Tullidge, John Elliot	Salt Lake City, Central and Southern Utah (Traveling Teacher)	1868–89	Vocal Music
Uvedale, Arthur	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Piano, Voice Culture
Van Boona, Alfonzo	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Victor, “Brothers.”	Davis County and Cache County	1894	Vocal Music
Victor, Otto	Fielding (Box Elder County)	1894	Music
Waddill, “Mrs.” Mary A.	Salt Lake City	1885	Music
Walhstrom, Hyrum*	Logan	1883–87	Violin, Piano, Organ, Cornet
Walsh, Heber C.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Washburn, “Miss” Meta (Mila)	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Webb, “Miss” Mabel S.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Weight, Frederick	Springville	1856–90s	Singing, Piano, Organ, Instrument Maker
Weihe (Weihi), Willard Erastus*	Salt Lake City	1877–1900s	Violin
Westenscaw, Hans	Manti	1884	Music
Wheatley, “Miss” Dora	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Whitehead, Frank	Richmond	1884	Music
Whittier, Eli	Littleton (Morgan County)	1865–?	Band Instruction
Williams, “Mrs.” Grace L.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Piano
Winters, “Mr.”	Garfield County	1887–?	Singing
Winters, R. D.	Salt Lake City	1892	Singing School
Wolfe, “Professor”	Salt Lake City	1892	Vocal Music

Wood, John	Willard	1851–55	Singing
Woodmansee, “Miss” Gladys	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music
Wright, Charles	Huntsville	1880–81	Music
Wyckoff, Frank	Ogden	1884	Band Instruction
Yates, Thomas	Scipio	1860s–?	Singing
Young, “Madam” Mazzucato	Salt Lake City	1885	Voice
Young, B. B.	Salt Lake City Park City	1885–86 1885	Singing Singing School
Young, P. H.	Salt Lake City	1889	Music
Youngdale, W.	Salt Lake City	1892–93	Music

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