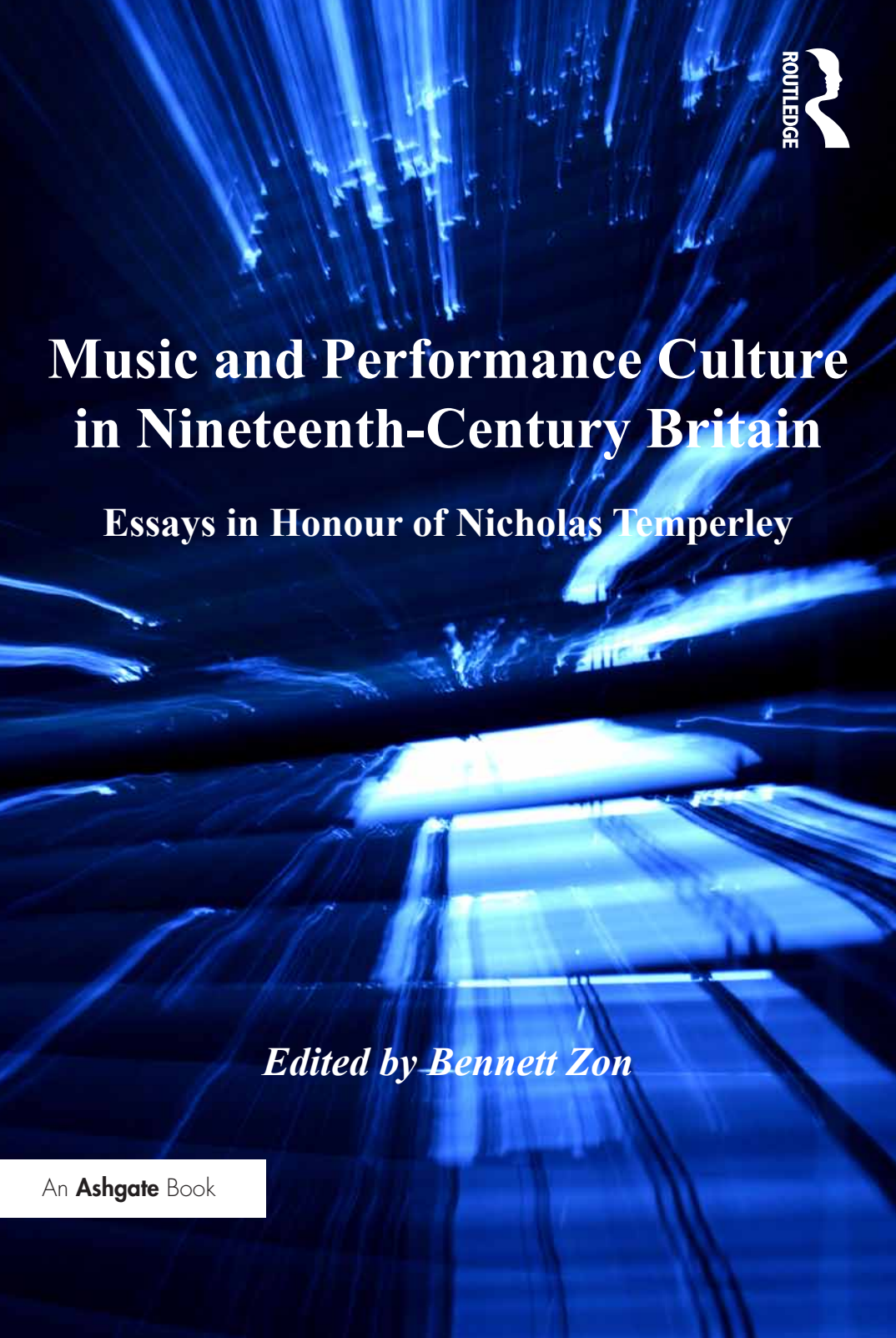
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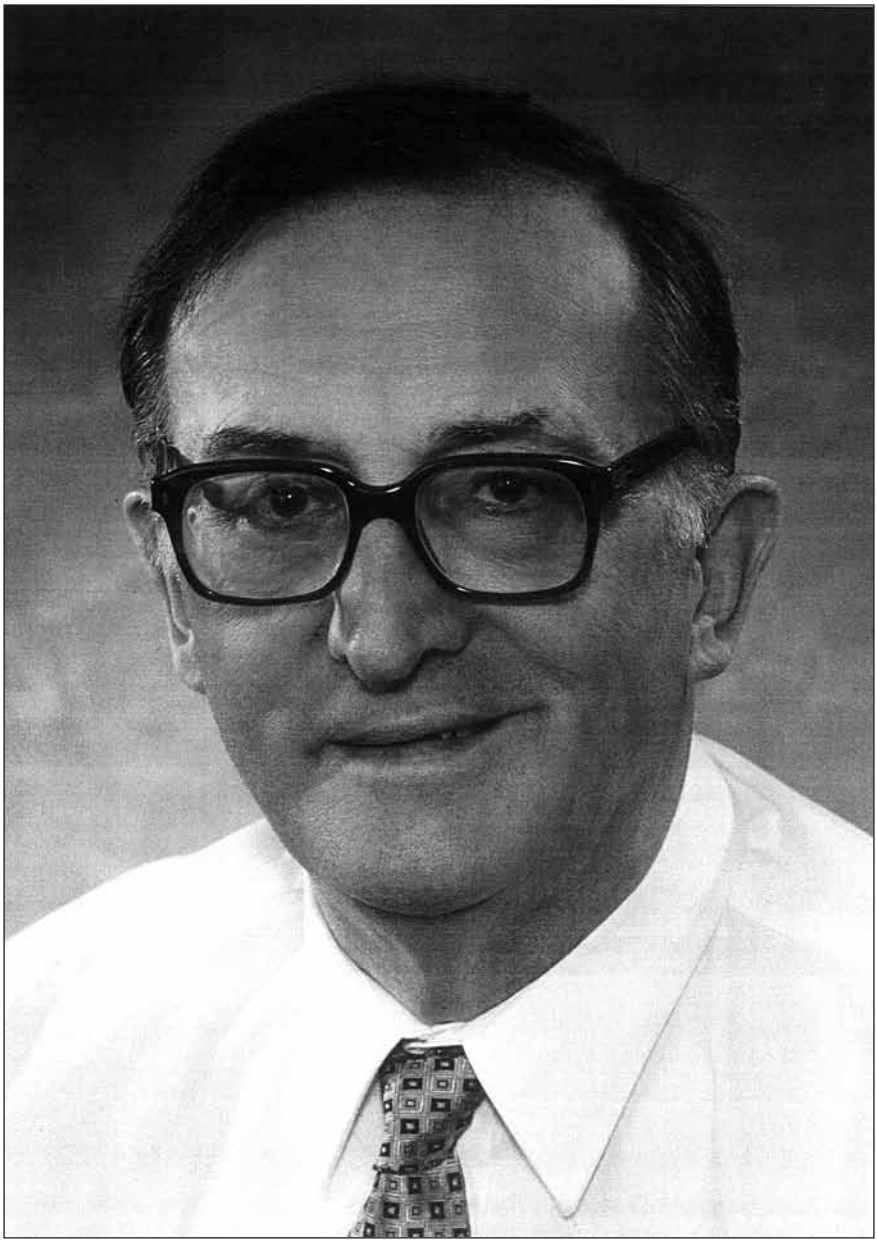
Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain
Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley
Edited by Bennett Zon
An Ashgate Book

MUSIC AND PERFORMANCE CULTURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN



Nicholas Temperley

Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain

Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley

Edited by

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List of Abbreviations

Chapter 3

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BL	British Library
LSO	London Symphony Orchestra
MT	*Musical Times*
QH	Queen's Hall
QHO	Queen's Hall Orchestra
RCM	Royal College of Music
SO	Symphony Orchestra

Chapter 6

AR	*Argus*
DI	*Diary, or Woodfall's Register*
DUR	*Daily Universal Register* [= *The Times*]
GA	(Parker's) *General Advertiser*
GEP	*General Evening Post*
GZ	*Gazetteer*
LC	*London Chronicle*
MC	*Morning Chronicle*
MH	*Morning Herald*
MP	*Morning Post*
OR	*Oracle*
PA	*Public Advertiser*
SS	*Stuart's Star*
ST	*Star*
StJC	*St. James's Chronicle*
TB	*True Briton*
TI	*The Times*
WO	*World*

Eisen Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents* (London: Macmillan, 1991)

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Notes on Contributors

Michael Allis is Senior Lecturer in the School of Music, University of Leeds. In addition to the monograph *Parry's Creative Process* (Ashgate, 2003), his publications include book chapters on Walter Bache and Liszt reception and musical settings of Tennyson, plus articles on narrative in the music of Elgar (*Music and Letters*; *Journal of Musicological Research*), tempo in Wagner (*Cambridge Opera Journal*), and quotation in Bax's chamber music (*Journal of the Royal Musical Association*). He is currently working on a second monograph entitled *British Music and Literary Context*, to be published by Boydell & Brewer in 2012.

Christina Bashford moved from the UK to the Midwest of America in 2005 to take up an appointment in the School of Music at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, working in the Musicology Division where Nicholas Temperley made his career. She is now Associate Professor of Musicology there. Much of her published writing has emerged from research on chamber music, concert life and music appreciation in nineteenth-century Britain. She is the author of *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Boydell Press, 2007), and co-editor with Leanne Langley of *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford University Press, 2000). She is currently working on a social-economic history of the violin in Britain, 1880–1930.

Sally Drage is a freelance musicologist, choral director and organist. She trained as a flautist and pianist and has worked as a peripatetic instrumental teacher. She now researches and edits English provincial church music whenever financial constraints permit. In 2009 she was awarded a PhD from the University of Leeds for her thesis on the performance practice of psalmody. She co-edited *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody* (Musica Britannica, 2007) with Nicholas Temperley and has published in *Early Music*, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the revised *New Grove*, and in edited volumes, including the recent *Music and the Wesleys*, edited by Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield (University of Illinois Press, 2010). She is currently working on the development of choral music in the north of England during the long eighteenth century.

Peter Holman is Emeritus Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Leeds. He is the author of books on the violin at the English court, Henry Purcell, John Dowland's *Lachrimae*, and the viola da gamba in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and has published widely on the history of stringed instruments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on performance

practice and on English music between about 1550 and 1850. He is an active performer as director of The Parley of Instruments, the Suffolk Villages Festival (with its resident groups Essex Baroque Orchestra and the choir Psalmody) and Leeds Baroque.

Peter Horton is Deputy Librarian at the Royal College of Music (RCM), where he has worked since 1984. He has a particular interest in English music of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, notably the life and music of Samuel Sebastian Wesley and William Sterndale Bennett. At the RCM he organized the 2001 Conference on Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain, and recent study days on Sterndale Bennett (2008), Hubert Parry (2009) and S.S. Wesley (2010). Among his publications are a three-volume edition of Wesley's complete anthems for *Musica Britannica* (Stainer & Bell, 1990–2010), an edition of Wesley's Morning Service in E (Church Music Society, 2010), *Samuel Sebastian Wesley: A Life* (Oxford University Press, 2004) and 'William Sterndale Bennett, Composer and Pianist' (in *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, (Ashgate, 2007)). He is currently planning an edition of Bennett's piano concertos for *Musica Britannica*, of whose editorial committee he is a member.

Leanne Langley is a social and cultural historian and Associate Fellow at the Institute of Musical Research, University of London. Her work includes critical studies of English musical journals, histories of the early Royal Academy of Music, Philharmonic Society of London, Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, and surveys of Berlioz and Schubert reception in Britain. Formerly a senior editor for the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (Macmillan Press, 1992), she co-edited, with Christina Bashford, *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914* (Oxford University Press, 2000). Her research with Simon McVeigh and the late Cyril Ehrlich on London concert life, 1880–1914, has led to new findings on the careers of Henry Wood and Thomas Beecham, and women in British orchestras. She is currently writing a monograph, *Unlocking Classical Music: Queen's Hall and the Rise of Public Orchestral Culture in London, 1880–1930*.

Charles Edward McGuire is Associate Professor of Musicology at the Oberlin College Conservatory of Music, USA. His areas of interest include the music of Edward Elgar and Ralph Vaughan Williams, Tonic Sol-fa and other Victorian sight-singing movements, the British music festival, film music, and the intersection of choral singing and moral reform movements. His publications include the books *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), *Elgar's Oratorios: The Creation of an Epic Narrative* (Ashgate, 2002), and the *Historical Dictionary of English Music* (co-authored with Steven Plank; Scarecrow Press, 2011); essays in the collections *Edward Elgar and His World* (Princeton University Press, 2007), *Elgar Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), *The Cambridge Companion to Elgar*

(Cambridge University Press, 2004), *A Special Flame: The Music of Elgar and Vaughan Williams* (Elgar Editions, 2004), *Vaughan Williams Essays* (Ashgate, 2003); and articles in *19th-Century Music* and *The Musical Quarterly*.

Simon McVeigh is Professor of Music and Deputy Warden at Goldsmiths, University of London. His research has concentrated on eighteenth-century instrumental music and on music in Britain from 1700 onwards. Publications include *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, co-edited with Susan Wollenberg (Ashgate, 2004), and *The Italian Solo Concerto 1700−1760: Rhetorical Strategies and Style History*, with Jehoash Hirshberg (Boydell Press, 2004). His current research is focused on aspects of London concert life between 1880 and 1914.

Philip Olleson is Emeritus Professor of Historical Musicology at the University of Nottingham. He has written extensively on the social history of music in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with particular emphasis on the life and music of Samuel Wesley (1766–1837). Among his publications are *The Letters of Samuel Wesley: Professional and Social Correspondence, 1797–1837* (Oxford University Press, 2001), *Samuel Wesley (1766–1837): A Source Book* (Ashgate, 2001) (with Michael Kassler), and *Samuel Wesley: The Man and his Music* (Boydell Press, 2003). His *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, an edition of a selection from the journals and letters of the third daughter of the music historian Dr Charles Burney and the younger sister of the novelist Frances Burney, has recently been published by Ashgate.

Julian Rushton studied at Cambridge and for his doctorate at Oxford, supervised by J.A. Westrup. He taught at the University of East Anglia and at Cambridge, holding a fellowship at King's College (1974–81), before being appointed to the West Riding Chair of Music at the University of Leeds. He was President of the Royal Musical Association (1994–99). He retired in 2005 and lives in the Pennines near Huddersfield. He has published extensively on Gluck, Mozart, Berlioz and Elgar, including Mozart in the series The Master Musicians (Oxford University Press). He is joint editor of (and contributor to) the *Cambridge Companion to Elgar* (with Daniel M. Grimley) and Elgar Studies (with J.P.E. Harper-Scott: also Cambridge University Press); he edited the Elgar Society Journal (2006–10). He has edited three volumes in the New Berlioz Edition and the music for string orchestra in the Elgar Complete Edition, published in 2011. He has been chairman of the Editorial Committee of *Musica Britannica* since 1993.

Derek B. Scott is Professor of Critical Musicology and Head of the School of Music at the University of Leeds. He researches into music, culture and ideology, and is the author of *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing*

Room and Parlour (1989, 2nd edition Ashgate 2001), *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford University Press, 2003), *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford University Press, 2008), and *Musical Style and Social Meaning* (Ashgate, 2010). He is the editor of *Music, Culture, and Society: A Reader* (Oxford University Press, 2000), and *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Musicology* (Ashgate, 2009). He was a founder member of the UK Critical Musicology Group in 1993, and at the forefront in identifying changes of critical perspective in the socio-cultural study of music. He is the General Editor of Ashgate's Popular and Folk Music Series, and Associate Editor of *Popular Musicology Online*. His musical compositions range from music theatre to symphonies for brass band and a concerto for Highland bagpipe. He has also worked professionally as a singer and pianist in radio, TV, concert hall and theatre.

Susan Wollenberg is Professor of Music at the University of Oxford, Faculty of Music, Fellow and Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall, and Lecturer in Music at Brasenose College. Her publications include *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford University Press, 2001), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, co-edited with Simon McVeigh (Ashgate, 2004), and, co-edited with Therese Ellsworth, *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire* (Ashgate, 2007). She edited and contributed to the special issue 'Fanny Hensel (née Mendelssohn Bartholdy) and her Circle': Proceedings of the Bicentenary Conference, Oxford, July 2005 (*Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 4/2 (2007)); and organized the Ethel Smyth study day at the Faculty of Music, Oxford, in conjunction with the international symposium 'Rock blaster, bridge maker, road paver: The English composer Ethel Smyth (1858–1944)' at the Faculty of Music, University of Paderborn and Academy of Music, Detmold, November 2008, and was also a contributor to the conference proceedings, edited by Cornelia Bartsch, Rebecca Grotjahn and Melanie Unseld (Allitera Verlag, 2010). Her monograph *Schubert's Fingerprints: Studies in the Instrumental Works* was published by Ashgate in 2011.

Bennett Zon is Professor of Music at Durham University and Co-Director of the International Network for Music Theology. Zon researches British culture of the long nineteenth-century, with particular interest in the relationship of music to evolutionary and theological thought. He has published *The English Plainchant Revival* (1999), *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology* (2000) and *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2007). Zon is General Editor of *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* and the 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain' book series.

Acknowledgements

Roughly five years ago I received an email from Roger Wilkes, a former student of Nicholas's. Roger had the idea of honouring his much-beloved teacher with a set of essays, and through Ashgate contacted me with his proposal. Immediately I saw the relevance of the project, and pushed ahead with the current volume. It was a great honour to be asked, and a greater honour still to be editing such an important corporate expression of our scholarly gratitude towards Nicholas. Needless to say, this book would not have come to fruition without the great help of all the contributors, and to them individually I am deeply indebted for their time and effort. I would especially like to thank Christina Bashford for her ongoing help with my introduction and Leanne Langley for her help in finalizing it. Nicholas's family have also been immensely supportive, and gracious in responding to communications.

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General Editor's Series Preface

Music in nineteenth-century Britain has been studied as a topic of musicology for over two hundred years. It was explored widely in the nineteenth century itself, and in the twentieth century grew into research with strong methodological and theoretical import. Today, the topic has burgeoned into a broad, yet incisive, cultural study with critical potential for scholars in a wide range of disciplines. Indeed, it is largely because of its interdisciplinary qualities that music in nineteenth-century Britain has become such a prominent part of the modern musicological landscape.

This series aims to explore the wealth of music and musical culture of Britain in the nineteenth century and surrounding years. It does this by covering an extensive array of music-related topics and situating them within the most up-to-date interpretative frameworks. All books provide relevant contextual background and detailed source investigations, as well as considerable bibliographical material of use for further study. Areas included in the series reflect its widely interdisciplinary aims and, although principally designed for musicologists, the series is also intended to be accessible to scholars working outside of music, in areas such as history, literature, science, philosophy, poetry and performing arts. Topics include criticism and aesthetics; musical genres; music and the church; music education; composers and performers; analysis; concert venues, promoters and organizations; the reception of foreign music in Britain; instrumental repertoire, manufacture and pedagogy; music hall and dance; gender studies; and music in literature, poetry and letters.

Although the nineteenth century has often been viewed as a fallow period in British musical culture, it is clear from the vast extent of current scholarship that this view is entirely erroneous. Far from being a 'land without music', nineteenth-century Britain abounded with musical activity. All society was affected by it, and everyone in that society recognized its importance in some way or other. It remains for us today to trace the significance of music and musical culture in that period, and to bring it alive for scholars to study and interpret. This is the principal aim of the Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain series – to advance scholarship in the area and expand our understanding of its importance in the wider cultural context of the time.

Bennett Zon
Durham University, UK

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Bennett Zon

Nineteenth-century Britain has long been affected by the criticism of being a Land Without Music. Dismantling that view has been the work of many musicians from its inception, but it was not until the period after the Second World War that a critically reasoned musicology overtook its more apologetic nineteenth-century counterpart. At the forefront of that post-war movement is one of Britain and America's most profoundly gifted and influential musicologists, Nicholas Temperley, whose work has stimulated more than one generation of scholars to expose the richness and quality of Britain's nineteenth-century musical past. If prejudice remains strong today, the post-war climate for nineteenth-century British music must have seemed especially hostile, not least in Britain's leading universities. Nicholas's choice of doctoral topic at Cambridge would have raised considerable consternation within the Faculty of Music: an Eton alumnus; holder of a diploma in piano from the Royal College of Music (1952); a double first in music from King's College, Cambridge (1955); a Cambridge MusB (1956); and another diploma from the Royal College of Organists (1958) – yet seemingly determined to throw away his promising academic career on inconsequential music and its inconsequential culture: what could he possibly be thinking? 'Instrumental Music in England, 1800–1850' (1959) was the answer, and its arrival could not have been more significant. Not only did the thesis cover entirely new ground, providing future scholars with an enduring methodological template, but perhaps even more importantly, it broke the prejudicial cycle of the Land Without Music. Nicholas's thesis was a breakthrough, both intellectually and symbolically.

Nicholas left Cambridge in 1959 for a post-doctoral fellowship at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the USA, afterwards returning in 1961 to Cambridge as Assistant Lecturer in Music, and Fellow and Director of Studies in Music at Clare College, where he remained until 1966. His early career in Illinois and Cambridge was a period marked by virtuosic productivity, including a vast array of seminal publications alongside premier performances of nineteenth-century British music. As well as editing and performing Loder's grand opera *Raymond and Agnes*, Nicholas found time to publish ten articles in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*; six reviews of both books and music, largely for the *Musical Times*; critical editions of music published by Stainer & Bell, Novello and Oxford University Press; and a host of articles in periodicals including *English Church Music*, the *Journal of General Psychology*, the *Journal of Music Theory*, *Music and Letters*, *Music Review*, the *Musical Times*,

Opera, the *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* and *Victorian Studies*. What characterizes the work of this and all later periods is his determination to change musicological boundaries. He does this by expanding and deepening our knowledge of nineteenth-century British music, and then setting that knowledge within larger cultural contexts. Early topics are indicative, including four articles outlining the influence on English music of great (foreign) composers, notably Beethoven, Handel, Mozart and Mendelssohn.

If some at Cambridge felt perplexity at Nicholas's choice of doctoral topic, or questioned the location of his post-doctoral fellowship, they must have been curious about his next career move. After six successful years in Cambridge, the quintessentially English Nicholas decided to return to the USA in 1966, first as Associate Professor at Yale and in the following year at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where he remains to this day as Emeritus Professor of Music. Clearly the University of Illinois provided a conducive atmosphere, and it was there that his career soared. Books, editions, chapters, articles, encyclopaedia entries, reviews, critical editions and compositions followed, bringing honours and prizes such as a fellowship and research grant of the National Endowment for the Humanities (respectively, 1975–76 and 1982–86), the Otto Kinkeldey Award of the American Musicological Society for best book published in 1979, a visiting fellowship at Clare Hall, Cambridge and an honorary fellowship of the Guild of Church Musicians since 1990. Awards within the University of Illinois have also been abundant, rewarding a career that has seen him twice Chairman of the Musicology Division of the School of Music (1972–75 and 1992–96), Associate of the Institute of Advanced Studies and University Senior Scholar (1986–89), and from 1996, Emeritus Professor.

Nicholas's books remain pillars of musicological knowledge precisely because of his ability to discover and map musical *terra incognita*. *The Music of the English Parish Church* (1979), deservedly the recipient of the Kinkeldey award and now in its third edition (2006), transformed the way we conceptualize our understanding of Britain's religious musical history, covering a vast chronology from the late middle ages to current times, and traversing profound cultural, theological and aesthetic changes. *The Music of the English Parish Church* not only illustrates vast breadth and depth, but defines Nicholas as a scholar for whom the music must undeniably come first. Another example is one of our most inestimably valuable resources on hymnody, *The Hymn Tune Index: A Census of English-Language Hymn Tunes in Printed Sources from 1535 to 1820* (1998). *The Hymn Tune Index* is testimony not only to an encyclopaedic knowledge, but to incisive musicological vision as well. Edited volumes emphasize these same characteristics, often concentrating on the long nineteenth century in now key texts on the period, including *The Romantic Age, 1800-1914* (1981), *The Lost Chord* (1989), *William Sterndale Bennett: Lectures on Musical Life* (with Yunchung Yang, 2006) and *Music and the Wesleys* (with Stephen Banfield, 2011). A recent monograph, *Bound for America: Three British Composers* (2003), reflects this concentration, mirroring Nicholas's own career path by telling the story of three eighteenth- and nineteenth-century

composers and their successful migration to America. While focusing on British music and English-language texts, Nicholas has also published widely on Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Berlioz, Schumann, Chopin and many American topics. Like *Bound for America*, these often highlight revealing intersections with British music and musical culture. An overview of some 25 chapters, 55 articles and hundreds of encyclopaedia entries confirms this trend, covering composers, performers, conductors, dance, dancing, education, publishing, song, singers, singing, opera, choral music, church music, liturgical music, oratorio, institutions, hymns, forms, tuning, temperament, genres, styles and instruments, to name but a fraction of the subjects they encompass.

Nicholas's interests range well beyond those of academic research alone. He is unquestionably a practical musician as well, a pianist, harpsichordist and organist, editing and reviving the music of many historical genres and periods. Among his editions are compositions of Pinto, Samuel Wesley, Loder, Berlioz, Pierson, Croft, Sterndale Bennett, Crotch, Clementi, Cramer, Field, Giordani and Haydn, as well as many sets of collected works. Among substantial volumes are Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* (1972); *English Songs 1800-1860* (with Geoffrey Bush, *Musica Britannica* 43, 1977); *The London Pianoforte School, 1766-1860* (20 vols, 1984–87); Tommaso Giordani, *Three Quintets for Piano and Strings* (1987); Haydn's *Creation* (1988); and *Eighteenth-Century Psalmody* (with Sally Drage, *Musica Britannica* 85, 2007). These occupy only one part of an influential editorial vocation. Nicholas has also served as Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1978–80) and General Editor of the book series Oxford Studies in British Church Music (1986–2005), and has held positions on the boards of many publications, including *19th-Century Music*, *American Music*, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, *Victorian Studies* and musical editions such as the New Berlioz Edition and the Garland Symphony Project. These positions complement initiatives in helping found and musically steer new organizations, including the Midwest Victorian Studies Association (MVSA), the biennial conference on Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (MNCB) and the North American British Music Studies Association (NABMSA). Nicholas played a key part in the formation of the MVSA in 1977, later becoming its president from 1982 to 1984. He was the first keynote speaker for MNCB, held at the University of Hull in 1997, and was first president of NABMSA (2005–08). NABMSA's recently created Temperley Prize for student work is testimony not only to Nicholas's centrality within the field, but to his encouragement and cultivation of upcoming talent.

Amid this sea of productivity there are certain focal points, and without a doubt nineteenth-century British music is one of the most significant. From his doctoral thesis to *Music and the Wesleys*, Nicholas has been prosecuting a campaign against ignorance and prejudice, subtly reconfiguring the way we think about nineteenth-century British musical history by unsettling certitudes with compellingly argued ideas. *The Music of the English Parish Church*, *The Romantic Age*, *The Lost Chord*, *The Hymn Tune Index*, *William Sterndale Bennett*, *Music and the Wesleys*:

these and many of Nicholas's articles are unassumingly subversive. As such, this monumental corpus of research in this area, collectively and individually, in both form and content, systematically dismantles the notion of a Land Without Music. By exposing the musical treasure trove of nineteenth-century British culture, and locating it within the context of canonic works and ideas, Nicholas redefines the parameters of the field, pushing the boundaries of musicology through far-reaching, transformative thought. In one of his most influential articles, 'Xenophilia in British Musical History' (1999), he calls the Land Without Music not only an old chestnut, but '*the* [Nicholas's italics] topic for any introduction to the area of nineteenth-century music'.[1] Taking the Land Without Music head on, Nicholas goes one step further, dismantling previous models and substituting something entirely new and astonishingly convincing.

In his foreword to the first volume of *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* (1999) Nicholas suggests that the prejudice is not yet dead. But there can be few people who have tried so hard to kill it. Generally speaking, he credits its demise to broad changes in musicology, opening up the nineteenth century and playing down the importance of individual composers in cultural history. In fact, it is due in a large part to his work that the Land Without Music has begun to loosen its fearsome grip. Viewing the prejudice more positively – as a kind of musicological preservative – Nicholas admits that the Land Without Music 'long guarded the musical life of nineteenth-century Britain against aggressive snooping, and kept it intact for the present generation.'[2] That heartening optimism characterizes the generosity of the man and his musicology. Some 50 years or so after he submitted his doctoral thesis that same generosity still comes through. Nicholas has been and remains a centrepiece of nineteenth-century British music studies, intensely active in all its interests. He has created and developed the field, and it is for that reason that we honour him with this volume. We who have benefited from his work all owe him an immense debt of gratitude.

The current set of chapters represents one aspect of Nicholas's love of nineteenth-century British music. As Leanne Langley suggests in her chapter, changes in attitude towards the study of performance culture have from the 1980s helped scholars contextualize Georgian, Victorian and Edwardian music. Yet until the current volume there has been no one source bringing together scholarship about these periods. This volume aims to redress this problem at the same time as honouring Nicholas Temperley. It is divided into four parts, covering musical cultures, societies, national music and methods.

The first part, 'Musical Cultures' examines the performance culture surrounding certain key aspects of musical life and experience, including the violin, orchestra, synagogue and home. Christina Bashford's chapter explores the 'perfect craze for playing the fiddle', involving middle-class women, state-school children and

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[1] Nicholas Temperley, 'Xenophilia in British Musical History', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. Bennett Zon, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), i.3.

[2] Nicholas Temperley, 'Foreword', in ibid., xviii.

working men, as well as new institutions to certify and categorize their attainment and specialist magazines to serve them. Through micro-histories of *The Strad*, the *Violin Times* and their editors Bashford demonstrates symbiotic relationships between magazines and the nascent exam boards, showing that the violin press did far more than simply reflect a newly developing string culture: it actually animated and shaped it, creating communities of amateur and professional string players, underpinning the infrastructure of the late Victorian violin world. Leanne Langley's chapter covers the marked explosion in turn-of-the-century London orchestral culture, offering a constructive view of how the struggle to create viable audiences for serious orchestral music went hand in hand with building professional ensembles – without state or civic subsidy – and how, in turn, more and better listening opportunities stimulated young English composers, including Gustav Holst and Ralph Vaughan Williams. Langley shows how, in particular, London orchestras associated with Henry Wood and Thomas Beecham drew on continental practices and models, from 'French pitch' and the entire Lamoureux and Colonne orchestras of Paris to Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes.

Susan Wollenberg's chapter traces the career paths pursued by musicians in the Jewish community, with particular reference to Charles Garland Verrinder (1839–1904). A church musician, pupil of George Elvey and Oxford graduate in music, he was appointed organist of a London synagogue – an option unavailable, and unimaginable, to earlier generations of British musicians. Given that the introduction of the organ into synagogue worship generated considerable controversy at this time, Verrinder played a key role during a turning-point in Anglo-Jewish history. His post at the West London Synagogue (established 1840) was interwoven with the history and development of that institution over a 40-year period. Like music of the synagogue, music for the nineteenth-century middle-class home aligns itself with one of the fundamental Victorian values – the pleasure of 'improvement'. Derek Scott's chapter explains how the possession of this improving or edifying quality allowed music to be described, in a favourite Victorian phrase, as 'rational amusement'. He examines a range of relevant issues, from the songs and piano pieces that were found suitable, to their role in lessons that improved both mind and spirit. American and British ballad writers and composers often placed sentimentality in the service of social, moral, religious and political, rather than aesthetic, aims: the moral tone is what makes the Victorian ballad differ from later songs.

In Part II, 'Societies', we turn to the role of private and public organizations in British musical culture. Simon McVeigh investigates the Anacreontic Society, at which new instrumentalists and new repertoire faced a semi-public trial in front of influential amateurs and the musical establishment before transferring to the prestigious Hanover Square concerts. Exploring the ambiguities and transgressive nature of the society through a series of dualities – private and public, bourgeoisie and aristocracy, amateurs and professionals, men and women – this chapter raises important issues about modes of taste formation, not least the approval given to music of Haydn and Pleyel in the 1780s, and the contrasting

reception accorded to Clementi as symphonist, to English instrumental music and above all to that of Mozart. Depicting a much later period, Michael Allis's chapter focuses on the activities of the Working Men's Society, a private group promoting progressive repertory in London in the second half of the nineteenth century. Membership was confined to four pianists with 'progressive' credentials, Walter Bache, Edward Dannreuther, Frits Hartvigson and Karl Klindworth, and two lay members, Wilhelm Kümpel and Alfred Hipkins. Allis considers the nature of their meetings, members' motivation and the complex relationship between private and public music-making, whether as a reaction to negative experiences of public performance, useful preparation for public performance, experience that could inform certain 'texts', or as a way to explore specific works. In a different realm, Charles Edward McGuire examines the English temperance cantata, cultivated in the late nineteenth century by volunteer temperance choral societies. Used to promote abstention from drink, these works might comprise a service of anti-alcoholic readings, hymns and messages, but often included a plot on the destruction drink could bring to everyday English people. Using American temperance songs as a model, composers and arrangers exploited pastoral imagery to forge a national, alcohol-free utopia. Urban blight was seen as a uniformly corrupting influence, while village and countryside life attracted moral rectitude: only pastoral values could 'save' the drunkard and stop his cycle of destruction.

Opening the third part, entitled 'National Music', Peter Horton examines a series of British songs published in London in the 1840s by Wessel & Stapleton, under the editorship of James William Davison and entitled *The British Vocal Album*. Although it ran to only 32 numbers, it provides an excellent illustration of the aspirations and difficulties facing contemporary British composers of 'serious' music: their desire to develop a national school of composition, the need to look overseas for models, the failure of British audiences and performers to support native composers, and the often uneasy co-existence of those musicians who supported 'native talent' (exemplified by the newly formed Society of British Musicians) and those who objected to such 'special pleading'. Julian Rushton's chapter takes an altogether different angle on forging national identity, this time through Elgar's cantata *Caractacus* and its relationship to empire and rural England. Commissioned by the Leeds Festival of 1898, the work has a mixed reputation, partly because its closing chorus directs attention to the eventual fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the British, spreading peace, civilization and freedom to its subject peoples. Rushton views the work's production through the unpublished diaries and letters of the *Yorkshire Post* music critic, Herbert Thompson, who wrote programme notes for the premiere in consultation with Elgar, as well as articles on the rehearsals and a review of the performance.

Peter Holman opens the last part of the volume, 'Methods', with a practical consideration of how choral and orchestral music was directed in Georgian England. Using evidence of close collaboration between leader and keyboard player, Holman argues that Handel devised a particular method for his oratorios in the 1730s: a 'long movement' of trackers connected a harpsichord in the

middle of the orchestra with a large organ at the back of the performing area, enabling the organist–conductor to keep the choir (apparently placed at the front of the performing area, behind his back) in time by playing a reduction of their lines on the organ. This method of direction was used in London and provincial festivals for large-scale choral and orchestral music until the 1830s. Sally Drage's chapter on William Cole's *View of Modern Psalmody* (1819) opens a window onto performance problems of provincial psalmody in both nonconformist and Anglican churches. As a surveyor, Cole could give precise directions on the best placing of singers; as a teacher he observed that lining out was no longer necessary because most people could read. For him everyone should be able to join in the singing; music should not take precedence over text; and correct pronunciation meant words could be heard clearly. Collectively his instructions were designed to make congregational participation easier, thus enhancing spiritual experience.

Using Samuel Wesley as a case study, Philip Olleson investigates the problems associated with composing performable music to take account of developments in organ pedals. In Wesley's lifetime (1766–1837) English organ builders were beginning to develop pedal boards, composers were learning to write for them, and performers were learning how to play them. In his own playing Wesley made full use of the pedals, and actively sought out organs with pedals and pedal pipes to play in a series of visits to London churches that can best be described as instances of 'organ tourism'. His writing for pedals was generally conservative, although it increased in its technical demands over time. To conclude this section, Bennett Zon traces the intellectual and pedagogical influences behind one of the most important Victorian method books for teaching the piano, H. Keatley Moore's *The Child's Pianoforte Book* (1882). Exploring the ideas of the educators Friedrich Froebel and J. H. Pestalozzi against a contextual background of developmental biology, Zon highlights the extent and depth to which evolutionary science permeated Victorian musical education.

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PART I
Musical Cultures

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Chapter 2
Hidden Agendas and the Creation of Community: The Violin Press in the Late Nineteenth Century

Christina Bashford

With these words, the solicitor, polymath and violin enthusiast Edward Heron-Allen (1861–1943) set forth his views on the state of violin-magazine publishing in the early 1890s:

> It is not a little strange that there should have been so few magazines devoted to the violin. It may be presumed, however, that until the 'renaissance,' so to speak, of the instrument during the last ten or fifteen years, there was not a large enough public to render such an enterprise remunerative. It may be remarked that there is still an excellent opening for a first-class fiddler's magazine.

The statement comes from his *De Fidiculis Bibliographia: Being an Attempt Towards A Bibliography of the Violin* (issued in parts, 1890–94)[1] and makes much of the fact that the last quarter of the nineteenth century had seen a dramatic increase in the number of people playing the violin: what was later described as a 'perfect craze for learning the fiddle'.[2] He comments wistfully on the meagre number of magazines targeting this new culture, also impugning the quality on offer, with some thinly veiled proselytizing for a new, high-calibre title.

If Heron-Allen's ruminations stand to surprise us today, it is less because we are unfamiliar with the idea that violin-playing took off at the century's end, than that in 1890–94 four violin magazines were on the market, a remarkably different situation from the 2010s when only the *Strad* is published in Britain; and because that very title, which early on established a reputation for superior quality, was

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[1] Published in London by Griffith, Farren & Co.; quotation on 394. The research for this chapter was made possible through generous funding and release from teaching duties awarded by the University of Illinois (Center for Advanced Study fellowship; and awards from the College of Fine and Applied Arts, and the Research Board), as well as a travel grant from *Music & Letters*. I am grateful to Leanne Langley and David Wright for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of the essay.

[2] Frederick Corder, *A History of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922* (London: F. Corder, 1922): 84 (speaking of the 1890s).

one of the four. It had existed since 1890, and yet Heron-Allen minimized its importance, suggesting there was still room for a 'first-class fiddler's magazine'.[3]

As is well known, periodical publishing in nineteenth-century Britain was an enormous enterprise, reflecting a demand for reading matter, and a desire to supply it, that appeared almost insatiable. Scholars of publishing think it likely that 'the circulation of periodicals and newspapers was larger and more influential in the nineteenth century than printed books, and served a more varied constituency in all walks of life',[4] statistics telling much of the story. More than 200 music titles were started during the century; there were at least 400 in agriculture; and in science, 1000 have been identified up to c. 1850.[5] Moreover, specialization increased as the market grew: magazines for choral singing, bell-ringing and brass bands, for instance, went hand in hand with an upsurge in participative music-making. So in this respect, given the spectacular increase in amateur violin-playing from the 1870s, Heron-Allen's perceived shortage of specialist violin magazines must have indeed seemed 'not a little strange'.

Besides, in the early 1890s there were reasons to doubt that the *Strad* would endure.[6] For a start, the dominant pattern in Victorian journal publishing was one of short-lived magazines, as publishers repeatedly attempted, and usually failed, to find a formula that worked economically; the earliest violin magazine (founded 1884), had lasted only four years. Also, in-house problems at the *Strad* seem to have led to a change of editor in summer 1893 and to the establishment of a new market competitor, the *Violin Times*, later that year – circumstances that had made the *Strad*'s future questionable. But that is not all. Closer scrutiny of the situation reveals three telling facts: first, that the section of *De Fidiculis* in which the discussion appeared was penned in July 1893, at which moment the market was temporarily limited to two titles: the *Strad* and the *Violin Monthly Magazine*; second, that at this juncture the *Strad* had not developed the serious market identity it subsequently acquired; and third, that Heron-Allen would shortly become editor of the new *Violin Times*, sharing the position with Eugene Polonaski, who had recently ceased editing the *Strad*.[7] Whether Heron-Allen's collaboration with

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[3] Despite commenting (*De Fidiculis*, 396) that the *Strad* was 'far in advance of any Violin magazine that has hitherto been attempted […] especially valuable as a record of current events relating to the violin'.

[4] 'Introduction', in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Toronto and Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1994): 3–8 (at 3), paraphrasing the periodicals scholar John S. North.

[5] Ibid.: 4.

[6] The economics could be complex; see James B. Coover, 'William Reeves, Booksellers/Publishers, 1825-', in *Music Publishing and Collecting: Essays in Honor of Donald W. Krummel,* ed. David Hunter ([Urbana]: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994): 39–67 (at 47).

[7] On Heron-Allen and the *Violin Times*, see Brian W. Harvey, 'Heron-Allen's Fidiculana', *Strad* 104/1237 (May 1993): 484–6.

Polonaski was in place when he composed his remarks is unclear, but it seems likely that the project was on the drawing board and Heron-Allen was preparing the ground for the launch of the *Violin Times* as that elusive 'first-class fiddler's magazine'. The timing of events is suggestive: Polonaski's final issue of the *Strad* was published in July 1893; the *Violin Times* was inaugurated in November 1893.

How and why the *Strad* became the long-term survivor in this marketplace, and after such a shaky beginning, is one of the questions addressed in this chapter, which begins by delineating the cultural context for this distinctive strand of publishing, and proceeds to a survey of violin magazines, 1884–1914.The focus, however, is a micro-history of the *Strad*, the *Violin Times* and their editors that emphasizes the major personalities and politics behind the scenes, in order to tease out operating practices and hidden agendas that were sustaining the violin press in the 1890s. Although at first sight this topic may appear a dry, self-serving investigation of newsprint, closer examination shows the material to be a conduit to understanding a much broader and significant cultural phenomenon.

The subject is in any case *tabula rasa*, the magazines in question having been written about in scarcely any depth.[8] This state of affairs is unsurprising, given the paucity of scholarship on Victorian music periodicals, particularly from the second half of the century. There are a few exceptions – notably the research undertaken by Leanne Langley;[9] but on the whole, the need to investigate periodicals systematically or contextually has been resisted by scholars of nineteenth-century British music, despite the importance – easily demonstrated in other disciplines – of the value of periodicals research for grown-up history.[10]

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[8] Most of the literature is short, informational articles. See Leanne Langley's bibliographic description of the *Strad* in 'Music', in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, 125; my 'Strad, The' in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Ghent: Academia Press; London: British Library, c. 2009); and Herbert K. Goodkind, 'A History of Violin Periodicals from 1884 to 1981', *Journal of the Violin Society of America* 6/1 (1980): 105–36. Also: Jane Dorner, 'In the Beginning …', *Strad* 94/1125 (Jan. 1984): 645; Harvey, 'Heron-Allen's Fidiculana'; and Christina Bashford, 'Class of 1890' and Catherine Hennessy 'Inside the Early Issues', *Strad* 121/1441 (May 2010): 26–9.

[9] *Inter alia*, her 'The English Musical Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century' (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1983); 'The Life and Death of *The Harmonicon*: An Analysis', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 22 (1989): 137–63; 'Music', in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, 99–126; and 'Novello's "Neue Zeitschrift": 1883, Francis Hueffer and *The Musical Review*', *Brio* 45/1 (spring/summer 2008): 15–27. Other contributions include John Wagstaff, 'A Risky Business: Robert Cocks, his *Almanac*, and *Cocks' Musical Miscellany*', *Brio* 36/1 (spring/summer 1999): 6–18, and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press, 1850–1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot**:** Ashgate, 2002) (includes discussion of the *Athenaeum* and *Musical Times*).

[10] For example, Edward Royle, 'Newspapers and Periodicals in Historical Research' and Joel Wiener, 'Sources for the Study of Newspapers' in *Investigating Victorian*

Many musicologists still perceive the work too 'positivistic' and time-consuming, while they are nevertheless eager to raid the sources for other research ends, an impasse that the arrival of electronic resource-searching will surely do nothing to alter. And yet, the usefulness of music periodicals research was established by Nicholas Temperley as early as 1969 in an essay on the origins of the *Musical Times* that demonstrated some of the historical insights to be gained. For him, the spur was the (overlooked) questions of how and why the *Musical Times*, a journal founded in Victorian times, had survived into the late-twentieth century, and his desire to explain something of the social and cultural environment that had spawned it. Similar motivations arose when I was writing a short note on the *Strad* for the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (c. 2009), and began to see the potential for a larger, contextual exploration of the violin press.

Context: The Craze for Fiddling

The dramatic growth in string-instrument playing occurred in both professional and amateur domains – a product of the wider proliferation of musical activity for which nineteenth-century Britain is celebrated.[11] A writer in the 1890s described the situation tellingly, and emphasized that amateur violinists accounted for a large part of the increased string-playing population:

> During the last dozen years London has changed its appearance in many ways; not only in the fashion of its streets but also in the aspect of those who throng them. It is not merely that the clothes of 1894 differ considerably from the clothes of 1880 – there is also a difference in the foot-passengers' articles of portable property. Especially notable is the enormous increase in the number of

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Journalism, ed. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1990): 48–59 and 155–65. Literary scholars have been particularly active in periodicals scholarship, as evinced by the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, ed. Walter Houghton et al. (5 vols., Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Routledge, 1966–89), and the foundation of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (1968) and the *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* (later *Review*) (1968).

[11] The number of professional musicians swelled not only in real terms (6600 in England and Wales in 1841, 39,300 in 1901, according to census returns), but as a proportion of the population. See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985): 51–2, 100 and tables I and II. Whereas the population of England and Wales doubled between 1841 and 1901, the number of people making their principal living from music increased sixfold. How many were professional violinists is not quantifiable, since census returns do not specify instrument(s) played. However, trade directories show that large numbers of London musicians, for example, specialized in strings (Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, 52). The increase in the number of amateur players is even more difficult to determine; yet to judge by anecdotal and circumstantial evidence, the expansion was enormous.