

The Royal Albert Hall: A Case Study of an Evolving Cultural Venue

Fiona Joy Gibbs

Awarding Institution:
Royal College of Music

PhD

January 2018

Abstract

Scholarship concerning the importance of understanding audiences and venues for music has developed a great deal over the last two decades. This thesis examines one element of this research: the importance of the venue as a space for culture. The Royal Albert Hall, a world-famous but little-understood venue, acts as case study for this text. Through a mixed-methods approach, this thesis seeks to answer four questions concerning the relationship between a public space and the events it hosts in the case of the RAH explicitly: What factors have affected the identity of the RAH as a public venue? How have these changed during the Hall's existence? How do these factors affect the events which the Hall hosts? Does a space affect what happens inside it? These questions will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of how a fixed cultural space can be repeatedly reshaped by multiple, often overlooked, factors as well as the extent to which these factors can affect the identity of a venue.

Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	v
List of Illustrations, Tables and Graphs	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Visions	25
1.1: Background and context	30
1.2 Protagonists of vision	40
1.3 Science and Art, Albertopolis and London	61
1.4 Evolution of vision	75
Chapter 2: Practicalities	84
2.1 The Construction of the Hall	85
2.2 The Governance and Legislation of the Hall	99
2.3 The Uses of the Hall	109
2.4 Finances	137
Chapter 3: Perceptions	151
3.1 1871–1880	153
3.2 1939–1945	172
3.3 2005–2015	187
Conclusion	236
Bibliography	240
Appendices	
Appendix 1.1 Archive research: List of items explored in the 1851 Commission Archive	286
Appendix 1.2 List of items examined in the Royal Albert Hall archive	292
Appendix 1.3 Table 1: Original Allotment of Seats–1871 from RAH archive	293
Appendix 2.1 Charity Statements	339
Appendix 2.2 Legal Documents	340
Appendix 2.3 Illustration of the Installation of the Prince of Wales as Grand Master of the Freemasons at the Royal Albert Hall, 1875	350

Appendix 2.4 Queen’s Hall: Sectional Plan of Ground Floor and photographs	351
Appendix 2.5 Financial Documents	354
Appendix 2.6 Tables of Events	359
Appendix 3.1 Preliminary interview research	367
Appendix 3.2 Venue Comparison Documents	375
Appendix 3.3 Memo of Understanding	407
Appendix 3.4 Questionnaires for RAH patrons and staff	409
Appendix 3.5 In–depth interviews for RAH patrons and staff	413
Appendix 3.6 Other interviews: Ex–BBC Proms Directors	420
Appendix 3.7 Forms for Participants	425
Appendix 3.8 Collection of Lionel Bradley’s Bulletins	429
Appendix 3.9 Participant Observer Journal entries	432

Acknowledgements

This thesis was made possible by the Royal College of Music's provision of a scholarship.

My sincere thanks go to my supervisory team: Professor Colin Lawson, Professor Paul Banks and Dr. Natasha Loges.

I must express my gratitude to Chris Cotton, who was instrumental in negotiating the memorandum so that I could undertake this thesis, James Ainscough and the staff of the Royal Albert Hall.

My heartfelt thanks to friends and family who have provided moral support and endless cups of tea! Special thanks go to Mum, Dad (who I know will be proud that I have completed this thesis), my brothers, Mark and Iain, my partner Mark, and Professor Paul Farnsworth.

For my Dad, John Gibbs

List of Illustrations, Tables and Graphs

Figure 1: A photograph of a section of the Royal Albert Hall's frieze, from the Hall's website	25
Figure 2: Portrait of Prince Albert, oil on canvas, by Franz Winterhalter, 1842, Royal Collection	41
Figure 3: Portrait photograph of Henry Cole by Melliush c. 1870, Victoria and Albert Museum	50
Figure 4: Portrait of Queen Victoria, oil on canvas, Franz Winterhalter, 1842, Royal Collection	56
Figure 5: Photograph of the Auditorium of the Royal Albert Hall, from the Hall's website c. 2016	87
Figure 6: Photograph of the Last Night of the Proms, from the Hall's website c. 2013	126
Figure 7: Photograph of the Hall's auditorium configured for <i>Cirque du Soleil</i> , from tripadvisor.co.uk	132
Table 1: Southbank Centre Financial History	96
Table 2: Royal Opera House Financial History	98
Table 3: Royal Albert Hall Financial History	98
Table 4: Amount Invested in charitable objects 2010–2015	105
Table 5: Annual International Exhibitions 1871–1874: Receipts and Admissions	113
Table 6: Questions from patron questionnaire	210
Table 7: Questions and responses from patron questionnaire continued	211
Table 8: Questions and responses from patron questionnaire continued	212
Table 9: Questions and responses from staff questionnaire	215

Table 10: Questions and responses from staff questionnaire continued	216
Table 11: Questions and responses from staff questionnaire continued	217
Table 12: Responses to staff interviews	223
Graph 1: Number of Scientific Events Held at the Royal Albert Hall: 1871–2015	66
Graph 2: Classical Music at the Royal Albert Hall	115
Graph 3: Classical music at the Royal Albert Hall, including the Proms	116
Graphs 4 and 5: Total Value of Ticket Sales in January and February, 1992–2008 and Total Net Marginal Gain in January and February, 2002–2008	135
Graph 6: Historic Inflation Graph 1860–2015	139
Graph 7: Total Event Count, 1926–2013	139
Graph 8: Event Count History, Ordinaries and Exclusives 1926–2013	139
Graph 9: Total Event Count: 1871–1890; 1930–1955 and 2005–2015	141
Graph 10: Seat Rate History 1980–2012	143
Graph 11: RAH Operating Surplus 1988–2011	144
Graph 12: Inflation–adjusted Operating Surplus/ Deficit 1876–1976	145
Graph 13: Inflation–adjusted Seat Rate Income, 1876–1976	146
Graph 14: Inflation–adjusted Total Salary Expenditure, 1876–1926	146
Graph 15: Real Salary Expenditure, 1963–1991	147

List of Abbreviations

Royal Albert Hall [RAH]

Royal College of Music [RCM]

Royal Academy of Music [RAM]

Royal Opera House [ROH]

Royal Festival Hall [RFH]

London Symphony Orchestra [LSO]

London Philharmonic [LPO]

Abbreviated references for frequently cited sources

1. Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*

J.R. Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall* (Suffolk: Terence Dalton Limited, 1983).
2. Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century*

Jonathan Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century* (London: Fitzhardinge Press, 2003).
3. Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry*

Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (New York: Continuum, 2002).
4. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*

Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830 – 1885* (London: Methuen, 1978).

5. Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*

Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon, eds., *The Proms: A New History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

6. Creswell, *Research Design*

John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (California: Sage Publications, 2009).

7. Robson, *Real World Research*

Colin Robson, *Real World Research Third Edition* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2011).

8. Notes from the Lionel Bradley Concert Bulletins

GB–Lcm MS12345, [S] Lionel Bradley – Notes on Concerts etc.

9. Pitts, ‘On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences’

Stephanie Pitts, ‘On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences’, *Psychology of Music* 44 (2016).

10. Pitts, Dobson, Gee and Spencer, ‘Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experiences from Player and Listener Perspectives’

Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, Kate Gee and Christopher Spencer, ‘Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experiences from Player and

Listener Perspectives', *Participations: Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* 10 (2013).

11. Hayes, 'Festival Fieldwork and the Participant–Observer'

Ian Hayes, 2012, 'Festival Fieldwork and the Participant Observer: Celtic Colours, Calendar Custom, and the Carnavalesque', Memorial University, Newfoundland, Canada, 28 – 33.

12. Geale, *First Edition of a History of the Royal Albert Hall*, 1944. Royal

Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 22

John Geale, *First Edition of a History of the Royal Albert Hall*, 1944. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 22.

Introduction

This doctoral thesis grew out of an interest in the effects of classical music on society and culture. At an elementary level it addresses the question of whether transient events affect the venues and the audiences who experience them. Subsequently, this question will be examined in terms of how they affect the ‘identity’ of a venue. The Royal Albert Hall provides an exceptional case study and is also referred to as ‘the Hall’ and the ‘RAH’. The thesis addresses five questions: What is the relationship between a public space and the events it hosts? What factors have affected the identity of the RAH as a public venue? How have these changed during the Hall’s existence? How do these factors affect the events which the Hall hosts? And does a space affect what happens inside it?

Rationale

Through the ‘lens’ of the Royal Albert Hall, this thesis examines the multiple factors that affect a fixed cultural space, including the extent to which they have led to it being repeatedly reshaped and re–inscribed. Monitoring the effects of these factors on the Hall’s identity over the course of its existence, as well as their effects on the events which the Hall hosts, will allow us to gain a greater understanding of whether a space can affect what happens inside it. Therefore, this thesis is an exploration of change over the course of the Hall’s existence. In particular, it argues that the Second World War acted as a turning point.

Literature Review

Although the Royal Albert Hall often features within scholarship regarding the Victorians, Prince Albert or the Great Exhibition, there is surprisingly little which addresses the Hall as an organisation in its own right.¹ There are three histories of the Hall, which were published in 1958,² 1983³ and 2003⁴ respectively. Aside from this, the Hall features in Hermione Hobhouse's work on South Kensington as a whole,⁵ and John Physick's examination of the history of the Albert Memorial.⁶ Furthermore, literature concerning the RAH generally follows a similar narrative: an account of the Hall prior to its construction, followed by an exploration of the events held there since. John Thackrah's work on the Hall is a case in point,⁷ as is that of the other authors mentioned above; each interpretation follows a pattern.⁸ In this thesis, providing a linear chronology of the construction and events held at the Hall will form one aspect of the narrative, but it is the effects of these and the changes which have occurred over time which form the deeper inquiry.

Although literature concerning the Hall is rather limited, this is not the case in terms of the Victorian era as a whole. There is a wealth of scholarship that considers the social and technological changes which took place during the Victorian era, and also features the roles of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. The work of Susie L. Steinbach, J.F.C.

¹ The research undertaken for this thesis established five books which discussed the Hall in detail. These are cited below.

² Ronald Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958).

³ J.R. Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall* (Suffolk: Terence Dalton Limited, 1983).

⁴ Jonathan Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century* (London: Fitzhardinge Press, 2003).

⁵ Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (New York: Continuum, 2002).

⁶ John Physick, 'Albertopolis: The Estate of the 1851 Commissioners', in Chris Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial: its History, Contexts, and Conservation* (London: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁷ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*.

⁸ Physick, 'Albertopolis: The Estate of the 1851 Commissioners', and Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry*.

Harrison, Edward Royle, F.M.L. Thompson and Martin Hewitt are particularly thorough in providing a broad insight into Victorian life.⁹ Bennett Zon's volume specifically examines music during the Victorian era,¹⁰ and the work of Edward Green,¹¹ Juliet John and Alice Jenkins is useful for evaluating the context of music and culture during the Victorian era more generally.¹² Of particular interest to chapter one of this thesis, especially for placing the Hall's early years in the context in which it was conceived, is Buzard, Childers and Gillooly's work, *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*.¹³ This edited book draws parallels between culture during the Victorian era and the modern day, concluding with an explanation of how the Millennium Dome reflected aspirations similar to those of the Great Exhibition. It also stresses the importance of making historical connections between eras, and suggests that it is an area that needs more attention in scholarship. That this 'is crucial to the next stage of research on contemporary culture'¹⁴ is especially relevant, for connections are made here between several eras: one could thus suggest that it will help to close this gap. Peter Bailey's 1978 study, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885*,¹⁵ and Simon Heffer's more recent account from 2013, *High Minds:*

⁹ Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2012); J.F.C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain: 1875–1901* (London and New York: Routledge, London and New York, 1991); Edward Royle, *Modern Britain. A Social History 1750–2011. Third Edition* (London, Bloomsbury, 2012); Martin Hewitt, ed., *The Victorian World* (London: Routledge, 2012); F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950. Volume 1. Regions and Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁰ Bennett Zon, ed., *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Volume 1* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1999).

¹¹ Edward Green, 'Music and the Victorian Mind: The Musical Aesthetics of the Rev. H.R. Haweis', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 39 (2008), 239–256.

¹² Juliet John and Alice Jenkins, eds., *Rethinking Victorian Culture* (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 2000).

¹³ James Buzard, Joseph W. Childers, and Eileen Gillooly, eds., *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007).

¹⁴ Buzard, Childers, and Gillooly, eds., *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*, 148–151.

¹⁵ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885* (London: Methuen, 1978).

The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain,¹⁶ while commenting on the cultural aspects of the Victorian period, also suggest that this is necessary. The work of Hermione Hobhouse¹⁷ and Jeffrey A. Auerbach¹⁸ is intrinsic to gaining a detailed understanding of the Great Exhibition. Furthermore, biographical information of both the Queen and her consort is plentiful.¹⁹

This thesis also draws on five studies, all of which are histories of cultural institutions. These studies inform the methods and framework adopted here. Michael Musgrave's, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*,²⁰ has a strong connection to the material of chapter one in terms of the Victorians and the Great Exhibition of 1851. Furthermore, his book gives an in-depth account of the history of the music held at the Crystal Palace over the course of its lifetime. Musgrave's account is similar to those of the Hall mentioned above; it describes how the Crystal Palace came into being, and then focusses on the musical events which took place there. *The Proms: A New History*, edited by Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon, is also a source of evidence regarding the Hall's relationship with the BBC Proms.²¹ However, as well as presenting the history of the institution, it is also structurally beneficial, for each chapter discusses the Proms in

¹⁶ Simon Heffer, *High Minds: The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain* (London: Random House Books, 2013).

¹⁷ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, Arts Science and Productive Industry*.

¹⁸ Jeffrey A. Auerbach., *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹⁹ Biographers of Queen Victoria include K.D. Reynolds and H.C.G. Matthew and Walter L. Arnstein: K.D. Reynolds and H.C.G. Matthew, *Queen Victoria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Walter Arnstein, *Queen Victoria* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2003). Prince Albert's biographers include Hermione Hobhouse, Sir Theodore Martin and Stanley Weintraub: Stanley Weintraub, *Albert: Uncrowned King* (London: John Murray, 1997); Theodore Martin, *The Life of The Prince Consort: Prince Albert and his Times Vol. 1* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2012); Hermione Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1983). All of the books referenced above are informative and provide insight into the lives of Victoria and Albert.

²⁰ Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²¹ Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon, eds., *The Proms: A New History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

relation to contemporary developments and events, such as the advent of television and the two world wars. Additionally, the book ends with a brief analysis of the overall trajectory of the Proms, and proposes suggestions as to its future direction. These studies both provide direct models for the first chapter of this thesis, although they differ methodologically from the second and third chapters which discuss financial issues, legal situations and perceptions in detail. The third, David Wright's *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural History*,²² examines the activities of the Associated Board from 1889 to 2009. In this evolutionary account, Wright traces the social developments which have shaped the organisation's history, while analysing the aspects of the organisation which he suggests have led to its success. That this work suggests that an organisation's development, and potential success, is dependent on a number of factors supported the current study's suggestion that this has been the case for the RAH. However, of interest is the fact that each of the five institutions had been shaped by particular characters and events throughout their history. In terms of the Hall, after Prince Albert and Henry Cole there does not seem to have been anyone of similar stature who took the reins perhaps until Henry Wood and the Proms arrived in 1941. Hence, at times during its existence the Hall has, arguably, been devoid of clear purpose and artistic direction. The fourth and fifth studies relevant here both concern orchestras. Richard Morrison's account of the London Symphony Orchestra,²³ and Thomas Russell's history of a decade of the London Philharmonic Orchestra,²⁴ comprise chronologically descriptive narratives. Although their scope is dissimilar (a century versus a decade), both portray their organisations in terms of the effects of national and political issues. Indeed,

²² David Wright, *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013).

²³ Richard Morrison, *Orchestra The LSO: A Century of Triumph and Turbulence* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2004).

²⁴ Thomas Russell, *Philharmonic Decade* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1945).

Richard Morrison's account also contains quotes from Clive Gillinson, the Managing Director from 1984 to 2005 and Michael Tilson Thomas, the Musical Director,²⁵ and thus there is a methodological similarity between Morrison's study and this thesis as they both include interviews with those in management positions. Furthermore, both texts provide suggestions as to how the orchestras might survive in the future, as well as their social and cultural aims. This is useful because direct comparisons can be drawn with the social and cultural aims of the RAH, as well as whether any similar measures have been implemented there.

Aside from the influence of its longevity and the different types of events which have taken place in the auditorium, the Hall inspires discussion of a number of other factors, many hitherto overlooked. These include the architecture and acoustics of concert halls, and the attribution of space and the effects of live performance on audiences, including the emotional effects of communal experience.

The architecture and acoustics of concert halls have been discussed at length, and over a number of years. M.R. Schroeder's work *Music Perception in Concert Halls* (1978) discussed the difficulties associated with creating a satisfactory acoustic in concert halls, the scientific calculations behind these difficulties and suggested why a good acoustic was important.²⁶ Two studies from 1988—*Energy Relations in Concert Auditoriums. I*,²⁷ and the *Subjective Study of British Symphony Halls*²⁸—examine the calculations behind acoustics but also discuss the acoustics of specific concert halls (including the RAH). Both articles discuss other factors, such as the shape of the auditorium and how acoustics

²⁵ Morrison, *Orchestra The LSO*, 244–246.

²⁶ M.R. Schroeder, 'Music Perception in Concert Halls', *Committee for the Acoustics of Music* (1978), 1–32.

²⁷ M. Barron and L.J. Lee, 'Energy Relations in Concert Auditoriums. I', *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* (1988), 616–628.

²⁸ M. Barron, 'Subjective Study of British Symphony Concert Halls', *Acta Acustica United with Acustica* (1988), 1 – 14.

are perceived by audiences. Papers from 2003 and 2015 provide further research into the effects of a hall's acoustical properties on audiences. Leo Beranek's work *Subjective Rank-Orderings and Acoustical Measurements for Fifty-Eight Concert Halls*²⁹ (in which the RAH ranked last) is of particular interest for he includes data gathered from interviews and surveys, as well as the scientific data he collected regarding wave frequencies. Anne Minors and Carlo Harvey discuss acoustics alongside the visual element of concert halls in their paper,³⁰ which discovers a reduction in the visual field during listening while looking at images of concert halls: a number of people do not actually look at the performers while listening. Each of the texts above assist in placing the discussion of acoustics in concert halls in historical context, while the later studies also inform the exploration of the effects of acoustics on audiences.

The acoustical properties of venues, the flexible nature of performance space and the effects of live performance on audiences are discussed in David Cashman's study on performance venues on cruise ships.³¹ This paper describes the six factors important to an audience during a live music performance: 'musician appearance, stage, musical ability, audience interaction, facilities and sound'.³² The venue is described as part of the 'facilities'. This article also discusses the visual impact of venues on the audience. For example, Cashman states that '...the décor in dark reds and gold create an ambiance of opulence and luxury'.³³ These are also the colours of the RAH and therefore one could suggest that this opinion could be directly transferred to the Hall.

²⁹ Leo Beranek, 'Subjective Rank-Orderings and Acoustical Measurements for Fifty-Eight Concert Halls', *Acta Acustica United with Acustica* (2003), 494–508.

³⁰ Anne Minors and Carlo Harvey, 'Influence of Active Listening on Eye Movements while Viewing Images of Concert Halls', *Psychomusicology: Music, Mind, and Brain* (2015), 345–354.

³¹ David Cashman, 'Fabricating Space: Postmodern Popular Music Performance Venues on Cruise Ships', *Popular Entertainment Studies* (2013), 92–110.

³² *Ibid*, 94.

³³ *Ibid*, 100.

A paper from 2011, by Erik Hitters and Miriam van de Kamp makes a number of statements concerning scholarship on live performance. They suggest that ‘...the vivid live scene is often not seriously investigated as part of the music industries’, and that ‘what happens in the *live scene* is hardly researched. Especially little is known about the organisational and economic aspects’. They continue:

If activities in the live sector are researched the focus is mainly on three aspects: the consumer side; how can the audiences of live music events be characterised and what are their preferences...the economic impact that music festivals have on the local or regional economy and the role of government support for festivals.³⁴

Finally, the paper suggests that ‘for music-makers and listeners alike the live music experience defines the value and pleasure of music, and yet it is a neglected area of academic research’.³⁵ The conclusion is of great interest. It suggests that in order to add insight into the live music industry, organisations must be treated as part of the environments with which they interact.³⁶ While a single paper should be treated with caution and it should be remembered that the Hall is a multi-purpose venue, these comments encourage a broader approach to the subject. This line of enquiry, taken further, could lead to a fuller discussion of the importance of venues.

Research in live performance has increased in the 21st century, and substantially since 2012. Stephanie Pitts is central to this increase in scholarship. She has published numerous articles concerning the effects of musical performance on audiences, and the factors which lead to further engagement.³⁷ With respect to venues, none of the papers

³⁴ E. Hitters, and M. van de Kamp, 2011, ‘The Music Industries: Changing Practices and New Research Directions’, paper presented to Proceedings of the IASPM Benelux conference, Haarlem, the Netherlands, April 14 and 15, 2011. Accessed March 11, 2014.

³⁵ Hitters, and van de Kamp., ‘The Music Industries: Changing Practices and New Research Directions’.

³⁶ Hitters, and van de Kamp., ‘The Music Industries: Changing Practices and New Research Directions’.

³⁷ These articles include the following: Alexandra Lamont, ‘Valuing Musical Participation by Stephanie Pitts, Book Review’ *Psychology of Music*, 2005, 593-595; Stephanie Pitts, ‘What Makes an Audience? Investigating the Roles and Experiences of Listeners at a Chamber Music Festival’, *Music & Letters* 85 (2005) 257-269; Stephanie Pitts and Christopher Spencer, ‘Loyalty and Longevity in Audience Listening: Investigating Experiences of Attendance at a Chamber Music Festival’, *Music & Letters* 89 (2007) 227–

focusses on a specific venue. However, the conclusions do implicate the effect of venues, and their effect on live performance. For example, in *Valuing Musical Participation: Case Studies of Music Identity and Belonging*, the predominant finding is that musical engagement is context specific.³⁸ Indeed, in her review of this book, Alexandra Lamont writes that this ‘opens up avenues of explorations...in requiring researchers to address the nature of the context alongside the context of the musical experiences.’³⁹

The venue is discussed more explicitly in Stephanie Pitts’ paper ‘What Makes an Audience? Investigating the Roles and Experiences of Listeners at a Chamber Music Festival’. Here she writes of one experience that the ‘in the round’ setting affected the audience, and many recognised that the event felt intimate and informal due to the fact that they were closer to the performers and ‘that the spaces occupied by performers and audience were less clearly delineated than in other concert halls’.⁴⁰ Additionally, the shape of the auditorium also meant that the audience not only had a clear view of the performers, but also of one another, contributing to the intimate atmosphere. Although this was seen to be a distraction by some, the participants in this thesis found the advantages to outweigh the limitations of this venue. Stephanie Pitts concludes that these comments have illustrated three aspects of concert attendance rarely discussed: the visual impact of performers and other listeners, the collective experience of being part of an audience and the architecture of auditoriums in relation to this. Indeed, she notes that, in

238; Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, Kate Gee and Christopher Spencer, ‘Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experiences from Player and Listener Perspectives’, *Participations: Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* 10 (2013) 65–95; Stephanie Pitts, ‘On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences’, *Psychology of Music* 44 (2016) 1–18.

³⁸ Alexandra Lamont, ‘*Valuing Musical Participation by Stephanie Pitts*, Book Review’ *Psychology of Music*, 2005, 593.

³⁹ Lamont, ‘*Valuing Musical Participation by Stephanie Pitts*, Book Review’, 593.

⁴⁰ The value of an intimate venue with the performers in close proximity is also supported by Jennifer Radbourne, Katya Johanson and Hilary Glow, ‘The Value of ‘Being There’: How the Live Experience Measures Quality for the Audience’, in *Coughing and Clapping: Investigating Audience Experience*, ed. Karen Burland and Stephanie Pitts (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 10.

general, those venues designed for music are generally discussed only in terms of acoustics.⁴¹

These comments provide support, and a connection, to the following discourses on collective engagement, 'place attachment' and space. In their 2009 article 'The Audience Experience: Measuring Quality in the Performing Arts', Jennifer Radbourne, Katya Johanson, Hilary Glow and Tabitha White investigate collective engagement. This is defined as 'the audience members' sense of being engaged with the performer(s) and the other audience members...It can be both verbal and non-verbal, both intra-and interpersonal. The discussion goes on to suggest that this 'collective phenomenon...may enhance the spectator's insight in a performance through communication with other audience members'.⁴² This thesis also echoes Stephanie Pitts assertion that more investigations into how feelings of social compatibility and comfort affect the enjoyment of live performance.⁴³ The effect of the venue on the audience is also discussed in the 2013 paper, 'Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experience from Player and Listener Perspectives' by Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, Kate Gee and Christopher Spencer; they also consider the influence of 'place attachment' on audiences. They write that:

A live musical event builds upon layers of past musical experience, with loyalty to the organisation highest amongst those who come most frequently to play or listen, and most vulnerable amongst those whose decision to attend is more considered and less habitual. These attitudes support the theory of 'place attachment' in environmental psychology whereby users of a particular space become increasingly loyal as their positive experiences of events there are reinforced.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Stephanie Pitts, 'What Makes an Audience? Investigating the Roles and Experiences of Listeners at a Chamber Music Festival', *Music & Letters* 85 (2005), 259–262.

⁴² Jennifer Radbourne, Katya Johanson, Hilary Glow and Tabitha White, 'The Audience Experience: Measuring Quality in the Performing Arts', *International Journal of Arts Management* 11 (2009), 21.

⁴³ Ibid, 21.

⁴⁴ Pitts, Dobson, Gee and Spencer, 'Views of an audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experiences from Player and Listener Perspectives', 83–84; Place attachment is also examined in the following articles: Gerard Kyle and Garry Chick, 'The Social Construction of a Sense of Place', *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 29 (2007), 209–225; M.V. Giuliani, 'Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment', in *Psychological Theories for Environmental Issues*, edited by M. Bonnes, T. Lee and M. Bonaiuto (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003); and Gerard Kyle, Alan Graefe, Robert Manning and

Following on from the effects of ‘place attachment’ on audiences, Georgina Born discusses the impact of events on space in the introduction to *Music, Sound and Space*: a performance space can be ‘configured by the physical, technological and/or social dimensions of the performance event or sound work’; if space can be both ‘produced and transformed’; and it can be thought that ‘...the spatial is historically and socially configured’. Furthermore, Born suggests that there can be a ‘multiaccentuality of space’.⁴⁵

The three concepts discussed above propose that the architecture of venues can affect how audiences interact as well as their enjoyment of a live performance at the time and latterly. Furthermore, Born suggests that perception of space can be affected by the events, both artistic and social/historical, to the extent that they become affected by them after the event has finished. Performances at the Royal Albert Hall often take place in ‘the round’, and even during the standard set-up the elliptical auditorium makes it possible for members of the audience to be clearly visible to one another. Therefore, one could assert that collective engagement and place attachment are likely to occur to an exceptional extent inside the Hall. Furthermore, one could suggest that the multi-purpose Hall could be affected by its longevity and diverse calendar. These three concepts will be addressed in chapter three, Perceptions.

It is clear that venues are an important factor in an audience’s experience of a live performance. Their place in regard to the performance itself is illustrated in Pitts’ study from 2016, ‘On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular

James Bacon, ‘Effects of Place Attachment on Users’ Perceptions of Social and Environmental Conditions in a Natural Setting’, *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 24 (2004), 213–225.

⁴⁵ Georgina Born, ed., *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1–69.

Attendance in Arts Audiences’. She records that ‘Critical comments about venues were very detailed, expressing frustrations about seat comfort, leg room, acoustics and booking policies...however several respondents offered the view that while the venue is important...nothing can make up for a poor performance’.⁴⁶ This thesis seeks to understand if there is a point (assuming the performance is of good quality) where the venue experience is outstanding to the extent that the performance is improved, or substandard to the degree that the performance is ruined.

The Hall also provides a second dimension, for it embodies tension between the individual and the corporation. Like many Victorian public interest projects, the RAH was funded by subscription: individuals and companies invested in the building project in return for seats. This will be explained in chapter 2. However, the legacy of these investments is The Corporation of Arts and Sciences: the individuals have been subsumed into the organisation where their interests may or may not be adequately represented. Moreover, in the Victorian era, public funding was given by the general public in private donations, whereas today public funding is administered by the government and paid for by the tax payer. The RAH has remained independent of government-administered arts funding, thereby operating in the private/commercial sector (the ‘public’ sector in the Victorian era). The Hall was awarded charitable status in 1967 and currently the Charity Commission is the only public body holding the Hall to account. This will also be discussed at length in chapter 2 in order to establish whether the Hall’s unique governance has had an effect on its longevity, and growth in recent years.

Stephanie Pitts and other scholars, including Christopher Spencer, Jennifer Radbourne, Katya Johanson and Hilary Glow, have inferred that the role of the venue in

⁴⁶ Stephanie Pitts, ‘On the Edge of Their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences’, *Psychology of Music* 44 (2016), 1182.

live performance is subjective, and can be affected by the relationship between the audience member and the venue.⁴⁷ Therefore, this thesis will argue that the Royal Albert Hall, through a myriad of factors, does contribute to each live performance it hosts and consequently could be part of the decision-making process for an audience member trying to decide whether to attend an event.

Structure

In terms of the time-frame, this is a wide-ranging study. The narrative begins with the Great Exhibition of 1851 and ends in 2015. Three time periods are investigated, and as such this is a slice history. There was not space to write a full cultural history of the RAH, as this would have spanned over 141 years. Instead three periods were examined, 1871–1890; 1939–1945 and 2005–2015, through three chapters—Visions, Practicalities and Perceptions. The outer periods frame the study, for they provide the largest contrast, and the middle period is used as a bridge between them.

The 1871–90 and 2005–15 periods allow a clear comparison to be drawn between the conception and early years of the Hall and its place in London during the 21st century. These periods are discussed in the greatest detail. The period of the Second World War is also selected, because, aside from the broader cultural and sociological impact of the War on society, it was also a turning point for the RAH in terms of the number of events which it held. However, because this period should be considered a bridge between the two framing periods it is discussed in slightly less detail than the other two. Therefore, two

⁴⁷ Pitts and Spencer, 'Loyalty and Longevity in Audience Listening: Investigating Experiences of Attendance at a Chamber Music Festival', 231; Radbourne, Johanson and Glow, 'The Value of 'Being There': How the Live Experience Measures Quality for the Audience', in *Coughing and Clapping: Investigating Audience Experience*, 9–11; Pitts, 'What Makes an Audience? Investigating the Roles and Experiences of Listeners at a Chamber Music Festival', 4, and Pitts, Dobson, Gee and Spencer, 'Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experiences from Player and Listener Perspectives', 83–84.

historical periods are discussed, the Victorian era and World War Two, and a portrayal of the Hall in the 21st century is given.

This thesis consists of three main chapters: Visions, Practicalities and Perceptions. In Chapter 1, Visions, the two framing periods feature: 1871–90 and 2005–2015. The Hall's identity is examined in relation to those people and organisations integral to its evolution and the factors which affected its inception and development. It also provides historical context, explaining the position of the arts and sciences during the Victorian era, as well as by placing the Hall within the context of the London concert–scene and the cultural quarter of South Kensington. Finally, it discusses how the vision which shaped the early period of the Hall's history has evolved. Therefore, by ascertaining which factors have, or have not, led to change this chapter will suggest factors which have contributed to the Hall's identity, and potentially to the Hall's influence on its live performances.

Chapter 2, Practicalities, discusses the extent to which the vision constructed in chapter 1 became reality, and the circumstances which shaped the evolution of the Hall over the course of its existence. It draws on information from all three time periods as well as on quantitative data from the Hall's accounts and literature from the minute books of various committees and the Hall's Council. This evidence will be used to ascertain further contributing factors to the Hall's identity as a multi–purpose space, and the effects of these on live performances held in the Hall.

The third chapter, Perceptions, seeks to assess the impact of the circumstances discussed in Chapter 2. It employs the mixed–methods approach to the greatest extent. It examines perceptions of the Hall across the three time periods: in the two historical periods, the diaries and records of those who attended concerts, as well as other sources

such as newspapers.⁴⁸ In the modern period it uses an ethnographical study, and draws upon the approaches to, and definitions of, ethnography provided by John Creswell and Colin Robson. Creswell defines ethnography as:

a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primarily, observational and interview data. The research process is flexible and typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting.⁴⁹

Robson, on the other hand, defines ethnography as providing ‘a description and interpretation of the culture and social structure of a social group...involving immersion in the particular culture of the society being studied so that life in that community could be described in detail’.⁵⁰

The chapter includes interviews with patrons and staff of the RAH, as well as general surveys. Furthermore, during the third historical period the author acts as a participant–observer, having been employed by the Hall in the Front of House department. No other study of the Hall has been undertaken from this position, and allows recent first–hand experience of the Hall to be used. However, this is not a unique method of gathering data. Aside from the work of Georgina Born, Stephanie Pitts has also used this methodology in her studies concerning amateur musicians,⁵¹ and audiences for contemporary music.⁵² This chapter will also illustrate how the evolution of the Hall has

⁴⁸ The historical newspaper sources for the first two periods of this thesis were drawn from the British Newspaper Archive. The search was narrowed by location, firstly by country to ‘England’ and then regionally to ‘London’. Only newspapers from London were chosen to be analysed. The search was then further defined by the dates of the periods, 1871–1880 and 1939–1945. The type of newspaper source chosen was either ‘article’ or ‘advertisement’. This allowed the number of sources to reach a manageable amount (approximately 2,000 a month). The newspaper sources between 2005 and 2015 were drawn from a range of national newspapers such as *The Times*, *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* as well online articles on *The Third Sector* website.

⁴⁹ John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (California: Sage Publications, 2009), 13.

⁵⁰ Colin Robson, *Real World Research: A Resource for Users of Social Research Methods in Applied Settings. Third Edition* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 142.

⁵¹ S.E. Pitts, K. Robinson and K. Goh, ‘Not Playing Anymore: A Qualitative Investigation of Why Amateur Musicians Cease or Continue Membership of Performing Ensembles’, *International Journal of Community Music*, 8 (2) (2015): 129–147.

⁵² Jonathan Gross and Stephanie Pitts, ‘Understanding Audiences for the Contemporary Arts’, *Sheffield Performer and Audience Research Centre* (2015), 1–26.

affected its identity, and whether this has also caused any variation in its relationship with its live performances and entertainment.

Methodology

This thesis will apply both qualitative and quantitative data and, as such, is one of ‘mixed–methods’ or, as Colin Robson and Alan Bryman suggest, of ‘multi–strategy’.⁵³ It draws together historical and ethnographic aspects, including the recent experiences of the author as a participant–observer. Although the debate as to whether quantitative and qualitative data can be employed successfully in the same study was still being discussed in the early 21st century,⁵⁴ over the last ten years the number of mixed–methods studies has increased considerably.⁵⁵

Due to the fact that this thesis draws on several research methods: interpretations of historical sources, qualitative and quantitative data, and the perspective of the participant–observer, a number of previous methodologies provided inspiration. Stephen Cottrell⁵⁶ and Bruno Nettl’s⁵⁷ work on ethnomusicology suggested models for the overall structure of this thesis. Stephen Cottrell’s examination into a common feature of a freelance musician’s life, deputising, provided a model for the analysis of interviews, while Bruno Nettl suggested how to analyse one’s own culture as if one were a foreigner to it. In the current study, it was necessary to analyse large swathes of interview extracts

⁵³ Colin Robson, *Real World Research Third Edition* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2011), 161–162.

⁵⁴ Robson, *Real World Research Third Edition*, 161–162; John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (California: Sage Publications, 2003), 215.

⁵⁵ These include: Elisa Kupers, Marijn van Dijk, Paul van Geert and Gary E. McPherson, ‘A Mixed-Methods Approach to Studying Co-Regulation of Student Autonomy through Teacher-Student Interactions in Music Lessons’, *Psychology of Music*, Vol. 43 (2015), 333–358 and Leo Beranek, ‘Subjective Rank-Orderings and Acoustical Measurements for Fifty-Eight Concert Halls, *Acta Acustica United with Acustica*, 89 (2003), 494–508.

⁵⁶ Stephen Cottrell, ‘Music as Capital: Deputizing among London’s Freelance Musicians’, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol.11, No. 2 (2002), 61–80.

⁵⁷ Bruno Nettl, *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 1–42.

and, as a participant–observer, to be able to stand back from that which was highly familiar. Furthermore, the work of Stephanie Pitts on audience interaction, examined above, provided a key foundation for this thesis’ exploration of the effects of the venue on audiences.⁵⁸ The treatment of both qualitative and quantitative data was influenced by the work of Rosie Perkins,⁵⁹ Nicholas Cook and Eric Clarke.⁶⁰ In their book *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects* Cook and Clarke discuss the concept and methods for analysing empirical musicology,⁶¹ and state that there is no useful distinction to be drawn between empirical and non–empirical musicology, because there can be no such thing as truly non–empirical musicology. Rather, what needs to be considered is the extent to which the narrative focuses on the evidence and also how the evidence is framed by the narrative.⁶² Furthermore, they warn against only observing the data through the lens of the investigation. Therefore, this thesis has aimed to remain mindful of other influences.⁶³

Rosie Perkins’ treatment of qualitative data, including interviews and self–documentation, suggested how one might analyse data in a ‘holistic approach’ which ‘synthesised data into a constructed story’.⁶⁴ This approach is adopted in chapter 3 of this thesis. Nicholas Cook and Eric Clarke suggested how to draw different strands of data

⁵⁸ A number of papers given by Pitts have previously been described at length. Please see pages 5–7.

⁵⁹ Rosie Perkins, ‘Hierarchies and Learning in the Conservatoire: Exploring What Students Learn Through the Lens of Bourdieu’, *Society for Education, Music and Psychology Research* (2013).

⁶⁰ Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook, Introduction to *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁶¹ Nicholas Cook and Eric Clarke, *What is Empirical Musicology*, in Nicholas Cook and Eric Clarke, eds., *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3–34.

⁶² Cook and Clarke, *What is Empirical Musicology*, in Cook and Clarke, eds., *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*, 3.

⁶³ The work of Martin Clayton and Henkjan Honing has also been drawn upon: Martin Clayton, ‘Crossing Boundaries and Bridging Gaps: Thoughts on Relationships Between Ethnomusicology And Music Psychology’ *Empirical Musicology Review*, 2009, 4, 2, 75–77 and Henkjan Honing, ‘On the Growing Role of Observation, Formalization and Experimental Method in Musicology’, *Empirical Musicology Review*, 2006, 1, 1, 2–6.

⁶⁴ Perkins, ‘Hierarchies and Learning in the Conservatoire: Exploring What Students Learn Through the Lens of Bourdieu’, 201.

together, invaluable when considering the evidence of chapter 3, which included interview data, audience questionnaires and newspaper articles. Georgina Born's work most heavily influenced the participant–observer element. Her 1995 investigation of the *Institut de Recherche et de Coordination Acoustique/Musique* (IRCAM) in Paris and 2005 examination of the BBC provided models as to how a participant–observer can engage with their subject,⁶⁵ including the importance of including information which may initially be considered trivial. Finally, the concept of the field–note drew on the work of Jonathan Stock,⁶⁶ Gregory Barz⁶⁷ and Michelle Kisliuk,⁶⁸ all of whom provided direct examples for the field–note tone adopted in the participant–observer journal undertaken for this thesis and suggested how to maintain objectivity while in the participant–observer role (including reflective journaling), which is particularly advocated by Gregory Barz.⁶⁹ A journal of experiences of the Hall while the author was at work, which could then be regularly reflected upon, provided a process of perceiving situations with detachment.⁷⁰ In his work Barz presents ‘...my voice while still in the field; second, a voice of reflection after the note was written; and third, a voice more distanced from experience’.⁷¹ This hindsight allows one to analyse the situations and emotions felt initially and to draw conclusions having stepped out of the moment.

⁶⁵ Georgina Born, *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Georgina Born, *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC* (London: Vintage, 2005).

⁶⁶ Jonathan Stock, ‘Documenting the Musical Event: Observation, Participation, Presentation’ in Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cooke, *Empirical Musicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 15–34.

⁶⁷ Gregory Barz, ‘Confronting the Field(note) In and Out of the Field: Music, Voices, Texts and Experiences in Dialogue’ in Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 206–23.

⁶⁸ Michelle Kisliuk, ‘(Un)doing Fieldwork: Sharing Songs, Sharing Lives’ in Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 183–205.

⁶⁹ Barz, ‘Confronting the Field (note) In and Out of the Field: Music, Voices, Texts, and Experiences in Dialogue’.

⁷⁰ The reflective notes were written at regular junctures (every two to three months) through the participant observational process.

⁷¹ Barz, ‘Confronting the Field (note) In and Out of the Field: Music, Voices, Texts, and Experiences in Dialogue’.

Anthony Seeger,⁷² Jonathan Stock⁷³ and Gregory Barz⁷⁴ have also previously addressed other issues faced by participant–observers, including the need for research to have significance for the communities studied.⁷⁵ For example, this thesis may well be of particular use to those involved in the marketing and promotion of venues.

Historical source material was evaluated in terms of its capacity to provide context, as well as evidence of change. Having undertaken a survey of press reports from each era, documents examined included reviews of concerts and events, news articles and advertisements. These assist in determining what was happening at the Hall at different points in its history. Archival material was also explored, including Prince Albert’s correspondence with the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 and with his contemporaries, architectural plans of the Hall and South Kensington and minutes from the Hall’s Council meetings and other committees. Programmes and other memorabilia have also been useful in highlighting the huge number and variety of events which have taken place at the Hall during its existence. Recently published, the Bradley concert bulletins from 1939–1945 provided contemporary thought and opinion of a prolific concert–goer.⁷⁶ Archival documents from the BBC, concerning the Proms and the acoustics of the Hall, and from Freemasons’ Hall, including documents in relation to a Lodge held in connection with the Hall, were investigated in order to ascertain the extent of the relationship between the Hall and these organisations. While the BBC documents

⁷² Anthony Seeger, ‘Theories Forged in the Crucible of Action: The Joys, Dangers, and Potentials of Advocacy and Fieldwork in Gregory Barz, and Timothy J. Cooley, (eds.), *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 271–288.

⁷³ Jonathan Stock, ‘Documenting the Musical Event: Observation, Participation, Representation’ in Eric Clarke & Nicholas Cook (eds.), *Empirical Musicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁷⁴ Gregory F. Barz, ‘Confronting the Field (note) In and Out of the Field: Music, Voices, Texts, and Experiences in Dialogue’ in Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁷⁵ Seeger, ‘Theories Forged in the Crucible of Action: The Joys, Dangers, and Potentials of Advocacy and Fieldwork in Barz and Cooley (eds.), *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, 271–288.

⁷⁶ The writings of Lionel Bradley were recently published by Paul Banks: http://pwb101.me.uk/?page_id=580 and http://pwb101.me.uk/?page_id=499.

have fed into previous studies on the BBC Proms, the Freemason information has never been published and thus contributed to this thesis' original contribution. Finally, historical accounts provided data on the Hall's operating surplus, its spending on staff, the contribution by investors and the number of events which took place in any given year. Information from other London venues was provided for comparison. The data gleaned from the accounts, and the comparison of London venues is also previously unpublished.

Ethnographic elements are evaluated in the third chapter. Interviews with staff and patrons; questionnaires and surveys regarding how the Hall is perceived by its employees and patrons; formal and informal conversations with members of the Hall's executive and with promoters who have hired the Hall contribute to this thesis as a whole. Furthermore, fieldnotes from the author's journal of work-shifts assist in presenting the participant-observer account. Examined together, the data gathered provides an insight, not previously available, into perceptions of the Hall held by those who engage most closely with it and is an original contribution.

As the author's role within this thesis is of some importance, defining the term 'participant-observer' is imperative. A participant-observer has a unique outlook on their subject, for they are part of the organisational or social event which they observe. Colin Robson states that a key element of participant observation is '...that the observer seeks to become some kind of member of the observed group...' and that '...The observer also has to establish some role within the group'.⁷⁷ Robson continues by addressing the issue of objectivity, asserting that, '...it can be argued persuasively that, when working with people, scientific aims can be followed by explaining the meaning of the experiences of the observed through the experiences of the observer... similarly, objectivity can be approached through a heightened sensitivity to the problem of subjectivity and the need

⁷⁷ Robson, *Real World Research*, 319.

for justification of one's claims'.⁷⁸ Perhaps the first challenge for the participant–observer is deciding whether or not to make it clear that they are carrying out research.⁷⁹ This is illustrated by a situation which materialised in Georgina Born's investigation of the IRCAM in Paris. In Born's study she recorded that an '...informant and friend said, "I never known when we're talking if we're simply talking or whether you're going back home to write it up as notes", to which I could only reply, "both"'.⁸⁰

Born's study of the *Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique* or Institute for Research and Coordination in Acoustics/Music is perhaps the most famous participant–observer study to date in this field. However, Born's investigation is by no means the only example. Similar studies have been carried out by ethnomusicologists including Stephanie Pitts⁸¹ and Melissa Dobson.⁸² In 2012, the musician Ian Hayes wrote an article depicting some of the challenges he faced as a participant–observer, while both taking part in and observing the Celtic Colours International Festival, a nine–day Celtic music festival.⁸³ Hayes described his role and how he decided to deal with the issue of objectivity:

As a Cape Bretoner myself, I have been part of the Cape Breton traditional music scene since my late teens and have attended Celtic Colours numerous times... I have chosen to embrace my biases, and have included here some narrative and reflective vignettes which were constructed from my field notes. These allow me to explore my dual roles as musician and ethnographer, participant and observer.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Robson, *Real World Research*, 319.

⁷⁹ Robson, *Real World Research*, 323.

⁸⁰ Georgina Born, *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde* (London: University of California Press, 1995), 9.

⁸¹ Stephanie E. Pitts, 'What makes an Audience? Investigating the Roles and Experiences of Listeners at a Chamber Music Festival', *Music and Letters*, Vol.86, No.2 (2005).

⁸² Melissa Dobson, 'New audiences for classical music: The experiences of non-attendees at live orchestra concerts', *Journal of New Music Research*, Special Issue, 32 (2), (2010), 111–124.

⁸³ Ian Hayes, 2012, 'Festival Fieldwork and the Participant Observer: Celtic Colours, Calendar Custom, and the Carnavalesque', Memorial University, Newfoundland, Canada, 28–33.

⁸⁴ Hayes, 'Festival Fieldwork and the Participant-Observer', 28.

Hayes refers to the challenge of feeling as though he is ‘...simultaneously an insider and outsider, I frequently found myself trying to balance between my roles as local musician and researcher...’⁸⁵ and that he realises that ‘...Just as the “field” may lie merely outside our door, fieldwork may be constituted of experiences that are equally familiar’.⁸⁶

The fact that the Hall is discussed in terms of its architecture, the nature of its use, and the effects of its performances on audiences, provides a framework for this thesis which is different from the linear chronology and examination of events which have typically been undertaken with regard to the Hall. Moreover, the fact that the Hall has never been discussed in relation to these concepts, nor been examined ethnographically, also contributes to the originality of this thesis.

Definitions

To begin, it is necessary to define certain terms in relation to the Hall. The first term to consider is ‘iconic’, as this is frequently how the Hall is described. A definition of iconic is ‘any thing, or any one, or any group, or any idea that is uncritically admired; any building, person or idea perceived as representing the very best has the title iconic bestowed; nowadays, the word is frequently used to give status that is over-stated’.⁸⁷ This definition is relevant to the Hall, for it is admired, although not uncritically, and the grandeur of the building and beauty of the auditorium is also often remarked upon.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Hayes, ‘Festival Fieldwork and the Participant-Observer’, 32.

⁸⁶ Hayes, ‘Festival Fieldwork and the Participant-Observer’, 32.

⁸⁷ E.M. Kirkpatrick, ed., ‘Iconic’, *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1983), 622.

⁸⁸ The Hall has been described as ‘London’s grandest music hall’ (Alice Vincent, “Kacey Musgraves, Royal Albert Hall, review: ‘as sweet as the ring of a Liberty Bell’”, *The Telegraph*, November 19, 2015, accessed June 6, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/what-to-listen-to/kacey-musgraves-royal-albert-hall-review-as-sweet-as-the-ring-of/>), ‘glamorous’ (Jeffrey Taylor, ‘Classical Review: Proms 6 at the Royal Albert Hall’, *Sunday Express*, July 26, 2015, accessed May 17, 2016, <https://www.express.co.uk/entertainment/theatre/593764/classical-review-Proms-2015-BBC-Royal-Albert-Hall>), with ‘enchanted opulence’ (Tom Yates, ‘Scouting for Girls at the Royal Albert Hall’, *The Up*

However, that this status could be overstated is also worth considering, for there is no concrete reason as to why the Hall has come to be seen as iconic. Rather, this appears to have been the result of a number of factors, which have contributed to the Hall's status today.

Secondly, 'cultural practices' has a number of meanings in the context of this thesis. Firstly, this can be described as literally the culture that has taken place and is still happening at the Hall: the concerts, exhibitions and events which have taken place since 1871. Secondly, cultural practice refers to the ways in which these events have transpired: how and why some were previously seen as acceptable to take place at the Hall and no longer are, and vice versa.

In their book, *Cultural Practices as Contexts for Development*,⁸⁹ Jacqueline J. Goodnow, Peggy J. Miller and Frank Kessel state that 'there is no single definition of cultural practices', but suggest that a description could be 'actions that are repeated, shared with others in a social group, and invested with normative expectations and with meanings or significances that go beyond the immediate goals of the action'.⁹⁰ It is this definition which will be used within the context of this thesis.

Finally, a definition of each chapter's title is necessary in order to establish the purpose behind each chapter. 'Vision' is defined as 'the ability to perceive what is likely, and plan wisely for it; foresight';⁹¹ practicalities as 'concerned with or involving action rather than theory,'⁹² and perception as 'the process whereby information about one's

Coming, November 18, 2013, accessed February 8, 2017, <https://www.theupcoming.co.uk/2013/11/18/scouting-for-girls-at-the-royal-albert-hall-live-review/>) and as a '...magnificent Victorian monument' (Sarah Crampton, *The Telegraph*, June 12, 2014).

⁸⁹ Jacqueline J. Goodnow, Peggy J. Miller and Frank Kessel, eds., *Cultural Practices as Contexts for Development: New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995), 5–7.

⁹⁰ Goodnow, Miller and Kessel, eds., *Cultural Practices as Contexts for Development*, 7.

⁹¹ E.M. Kirkpatrick, ed., 'Vision', *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1983), 1452.

⁹² E.M. Kirkpatrick, ed., 'Practical', *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1983), 1008.

environment, received by the senses, is organised and interpreted so that it becomes meaningful; one's powers of observation; one's view or interpretation of something'.⁹³

Preliminary conclusions

The Royal Albert Hall is a multi-purpose venue and therefore people choose to visit in order to attend a variety of events. It would seem that the many unique elements of the Hall, such as the shape of the auditorium and its longevity, have combined to make the Hall itself a factor in this decision-making process. Additionally, it appears that the various concerts and events have affected the Hall's identity, and continue to do so. This could be said to be the case especially where the Hall has had a lengthy relationship with the organisation or event, for example with the Festival of Remembrance, or the BBC Proms.

Furthermore, an initial survey of the Hall would appear to suggest that its original *raison d'être*—the promotion of the arts and sciences—has evolved substantially over the Hall's lifetime. Today, the RAH acts as a ballroom, a cinema and a tennis court, as well as a concert hall and an exhibition centre. Therefore, it appears that the connection between the Hall and the arts and sciences remains tenuous at best, and in relation specifically to science this has always been the case. The Hall is now host to occasions where seemingly the only purpose for the performance appears to be commercial.

The Royal Albert Hall is unique in London: there is no other venue in the capital of a similar age and capacity which is architecturally and organisationally comparable. It has also, in recent times, become financially stable. The effects of this position will be ascertained throughout the text.

⁹³ E.M. Kirkpatrick, ed., 'Perception', *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1983), 947.

Chapter 1: Visions

Introduction

Above the 800-foot-long terracotta frieze that encircles the Royal Albert Hall [RAH], 65 feet from the ground, an inscription reads:

THIS HALL WAS ERECTED FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE ARTS AND
SCIENCE AND WORKS OF INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS IN FULFILLMENT OF
THE INTENTION OF ALBERT PRINCE CONSORT.



Figure 1: A photograph of a section of the Royal Albert Hall's frieze, from the Hall's website

This chapter will examine the extent to which this statement is true. Although the inscription articulates a clear purpose for the Hall, this was not initially integral to the vision for the surplus of the Great Exhibition of 1851, which financed the purchase of the land on which the Hall stood. Indeed, one could even suggest that the Hall was a

secondary initiative, for the land on which it now stands was originally reserved for the National Gallery.⁹⁴ Additionally, for much of its history the Hall has not directly cultivated a vision, but has merely existed as an entertainment space. The RAH does not have an artistic director and until very recently was a ‘receiving house’ only,⁹⁵ hosting the events of others on a commercial basis, rather than creating its own. Despite this, the Hall has a distinctive identity. It is not simply a vacant space, devoid of individuality; rather, it is more a sponge which has soaked up the different elements of its existence. Indeed, this thesis is part of the movement which, since the 1980s, has discussed how awareness of space has reshaped the interpretation of human interactions. Before that, history had been about time rather than space, and space was simply the place where history happened. Now it is understood that human interaction is often structured by the space in which it takes place. For example, a hip hop concert would not take place in a church. Furthermore, one space can have different meaning for its various occupants, which this chapter asserts is the case with the RAH.⁹⁶

Although the Royal Albert Hall often features within scholarship regarding Prince Albert or the Great Exhibition, there is surprisingly little which considers the Hall’s vision as an artistic venue. ‘Vision’ is defined as the ability to perceive what is likely, and plan wisely for it, foresight.⁹⁷ However, while the ability to anticipate future challenges is important for any organisation, the concept of ‘vision’ discussed here is closer to that of a ‘mission statement’ which is defined as ‘a formal summary of the aims and values of a

⁹⁴ Hermionie Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London: Continuum, 2002), 103–107.

⁹⁵ The RAH began promoting its own events during its business plan of 2012–2016.

⁹⁶ Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2012), 11.

⁹⁷ E.M. Kirkpatrick, ed., ‘Vision’, *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1983), 1452.

company, organisation, or individual’.⁹⁸ In *The Power of Tomorrow’s Management* by Marc Van Der Erve vision is defined as ‘straightforward overall achievements, like: we will supply the best quality product’.⁹⁹ Additionally, he states that ‘a successful vision embodies plurality... One of the major challenges for management is to translate vision into controlled action and its supporting activities’.¹⁰⁰ Van Der Erve also explains that the identity of a company is ‘related to the uniqueness of the marketed products and to the added value that a company provides in comparison to its competitors’¹⁰¹ and that the ‘total vision’ or purpose of a company is an amalgamation of its ‘product, the added value and [fulfilling] the product criteria’.¹⁰² Furthermore, in their book *Leading with Vision: The Leader’s Blueprint for Creating a Compelling Vision and Engaging the Workforce* Bonnie Hagemann, John Maketa and Simon Vetter explain the importance of having a vision, and explain that a ‘vision has to be visual, that is to say, it needs to be something people can see in their minds eye’.¹⁰³ Vision as described in this context can be related to arts organisations, with the product as live performance which, in the majority of cases, has a visual element.

However, despite the apparent importance of developing a vision, the scholarship regarding the Hall does little to convey what this might be. Moreover, having also examined other, similar venues, this appears to be an issue beyond the RAH. For example, in Frances Donaldson’s book *The Royal Opera House in the Twentieth Century*

⁹⁸ Augustus Stevenson, ed., ‘Mission statement’, *Oxford Dictionary of English Third Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). I used the Oxford Dictionary for this definition as an exact definition for ‘Mission Statement’ did not feature in the Chambers Dictionary.

⁹⁹ Marc Van Der Erve, *The Power of Tomorrow’s Management: Using the Vision-culture Balance in Organizations* (Oxford: Heinemann Professional Publishing, 1989), 121.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 121.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰² Ibid., 137.

¹⁰³ Bonnie Hagemann, John Maketa and Simon Vetter, *Leading with Vision: The Leader’s Blueprint for Creating a Compelling Vision and Engaging the Workforce* (London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing, 2017), 10.

he provides the reader with a linear history, including some financial information, but he does not discuss what the ROH's vision is. Perhaps this is because he feels that it is self-evident since an opera house produces opera, but nevertheless there is no mention of the type of opera the ROH wishes to produce, or why. While a history of the Barbican Centre specifically has yet to be written, the Barbican Estate in its entirety has been discussed in some detail by David Heathcote in *Barbican: Penthouse Over the City*.¹⁰⁴ However, although he explores the planning process in detail, and the architectural challenges a little, Heathcote does not provide any detail on the performances held in the centre, or whether it was hoped that these would follow a particular concept. This apparent gap can perhaps be explained somewhat by Tim Burrows in *From CBGB to the Roundhouse: Music Venues Through the Years*.¹⁰⁵ He explains that to many people 'a space is just a space... what is important is what happens inside it'.¹⁰⁶ One can determine from this that the vision of a venue has not always been considered of great importance. Rather, it is the vision of the performance which is central. Therefore, this thesis will go some way towards filling that gap and exploring the significance of the vision of a venue, as well as the performances which it produces or hosts.

Perhaps this also explains why the narrative of the creation of the Hall, and those integral to it, is not completely assured. As will be seen in parts 1 and 2 of this chapter, the role of those involved with the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the cultural quarter which grew out of it, vary in their importance, depending on the narrator. In summary, the evolution of the Hall has largely been based on a number of previously over looked factors, and the various elements affecting it have never been fully considered.

¹⁰⁴ David Heathcote, *Barbican: Penthouse Over the City* (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2004).

¹⁰⁵ Tim Burrows, *From CBGB to the Roundhouse: Music Venues Through the Years* (London: Marion Boyars, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 242.

This chapter is divided into four parts. In the first, Victorian London circa 1851 is broadly considered, including an exploration of the Great Exhibition. In part 2 the narrative turns to those agents of influence, Prince Albert (1819 – 1861), Queen Victoria (1819 – 1901) and Henry Cole. Henry Cole (1808 – 1882) was a British civil servant who was responsible for many innovations in the 1800s. Between them they cultivated and realised the vision of a ‘Central Hall’ in South Kensington. That the cultural quarter of South Kensington, which is home to a number of museums, educational institutions and societies including the Hall, has come to be known as ‘Albertopolis’ perhaps (unjustifiably) suggests that it was Prince Albert who was mainly responsible for the area’s development. The declaration which surrounds the exterior of the Hall is indicative of this. However, an initial exploration of the evidence suggests that although Prince Albert played a crucial role in the development of the Great Exhibition, after his death in 1861 Henry Cole was also crucial to the development of Albertopolis, and of the RAH specifically. The Queen’s support of Cole played a significant part in this.¹⁰⁷ This chapter will also describe the role of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 in the creation of the Hall. Part 3 of this chapter will provide further context, exploring other London halls during the 19th century, and assessing the extent to which Albertopolis had grown by the early twentieth century, particularly with regard to the institutions devoted to science promoted in the area. Part 4 will encompass an exploration of how the identity of the Hall has evolved. Although the RAH remains without an articulated cultural vision, it is clear that the Hall’s identity has been affected by the visions of others, both

¹⁰⁷ The following studies have contributed to the narrative of the Hall’s genesis, including the importance of the roles played by Prince Albert and Henry Cole: Elizabeth Bonython and Anthony Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London: V&A Publications, 2003); Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*; Stanley Weintraub, *Albert: Uncrowned King* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1997); A.N. Wilson, *Victoria: A Life* (London: Atlantic Books, 2014); Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria R.I.* (London: World Books, 1967).

individuals and organisations, and to a certain extent their visions have been realised. Furthermore, although to some extent all institutions present a vision which represents a compromise of collected views, the Hall is unique because of the particular factors which have affected its inception and development.

1.1 Background and context

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a detailed summary of socio-cultural developments in the Victorian era but a summary will be given here. In these years there were a great number of developments in society. Education became compulsory, the Industrial Revolution led to the expansion of the railways and travel in general, and the 1880s and 1890s in particular were decades which saw significant growth in leisure time, especially for the working and lower-middle classes.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the Victorian period should be seen as crucially important to British cultural history, for it was at this time that the idea of culture as a category began to take shape.¹⁰⁹ Prior to this, the public sphere had first emerged through organisations such as Masonic lodges, reading clubs and literary societies, but during the nineteenth century, associations for almost every type of cultural activities were formed.¹¹⁰

Arguably the greatest evidence of technological progress during this period, and a catalyst for several of the other advances, was the massive expansion of the railways

¹⁰⁸ Martin Daunt, ed., *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 211; Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Religion*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 114; Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885* (London: Methuen, 1978), 71; 'Rational Recreation and the Victorian City: 1830–1900' in Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600* (Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing, Inc., 1990), 95–99.

¹⁰⁹ Juliet John and Alice Jenkins, ed., *Rethinking Victorian Culture* (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 2000), 4.

¹¹⁰ Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600*, 95.

during the 1840s.¹¹¹ By 1850, although cumulative railway mileage was still only 6,200, the main lines were already laid and the second half of the century saw a great multiplication of local and feeder services which approximately tripled railway mileage in Britain by 1900.¹¹² The development of the railway had a huge impact on British life. As well as changing the way that goods were transported, the railways also created a new method of passenger travel and thereafter, the normal means of long-distance travel was by train.¹¹³ The railway also transformed the notion of what could be considered commuting distance. Prior to 1844, the trains were too expensive to be used by the working classes for the daily commute, but after that year, in exchange for lifting a tax on third-class carriages, the government compelled all train companies to run at least one train daily which cost no more than 1d (penny) per mile. Although average weekly fares still amounted to £1 (the entire weekly income of many skilled workers), gradually workers were able to move out of the city centre. In London, the trains appeared to expand the city. Areas which had previously appeared rural were now suburban, while the suburbs became part of the city.¹¹⁴ By 1862 the railways were entrenched at the heart of cities, providing their livelihoods, both for the importation of coal and iron, and the delivery of finished goods to British and foreign markets.¹¹⁵

The railways influenced how and where the population could spend their free time, for in the years around the mid-century the Victorians entered a new leisure world. In particular, the mid-Victorian middle classes were not housebound in their recreations,

¹¹¹ Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 88.

¹¹² F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950. Volume 1. Regions and Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 115–117.

¹¹³ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 72.

¹¹⁴ The majority of this narrative has been drawn from Judith Flanders, *The Victorian City: Everyday Life in Dickens' London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2012), 102–103.

¹¹⁵ Barringer, *Men at Work*, 193.

and the railway gave them a new mobility.¹¹⁶ Indeed many of the stations which would later allow audiences to visit the RAH opened between 1844 and 1871. London Waterloo opened in 1848,¹¹⁷ Paddington station in 1838¹¹⁸ and Victoria station in 1860.¹¹⁹ South Kensington station opened in 1868, which was connected by the circle line to Paddington station, providing a route for those coming to the Hall from outside London.¹²⁰

Furthermore, the Ten Hours Act of 1847, which restricted the working hours of women and young people from age thirteen to eighteen in textile mills to ten hours daily, and the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1851 were symbolic of this change. Leisure in its modern form became progressively more visible, sought after and controversial,¹²¹ for although the economic impetus for leisure was strong, there were large numbers of industrialists who feared any tampering with the ‘natural price of labour’, and thus opposed reductions in working hours.¹²²

Despite this, recreation gradually became more plentiful, albeit bound up with the concepts of rational recreation and self-help, both of which were ingrained within the Victorian mindset. Rational recreation was the belief that leisure activities should be controlled, ordered and improving.¹²³ The fusion of recreation with instruction had been exemplified in the Great Exhibition and afterwards the improving mixture was dispensed in public lectures and readings across the country.¹²⁴ Furthermore, to some extent the Exhibition signalled a new era of progress, confidence and social union.¹²⁵

¹¹⁶ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 72.

¹¹⁷ Alan Jackson, *London's Termini* (London: David & Charles, 1984), 215.

¹¹⁸ Steven Brindle, *Paddington Station: Its history and architecture* (London: Historic England, 2013) 14.

¹¹⁹ Alan Jackson, *London's Termini* (London: David & Charles, 1984), 272.

¹²⁰ John Robert Day and John Reed, *The Story of London's Underground* (London, 2010), 12.

¹²¹ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 68.

¹²² Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Religion* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 114.

¹²³ Royle, *Modern Britain. A Social History 1750–2011*, 290.

¹²⁴ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* 83.

¹²⁵ Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Religion*, 79.

After the Crystal Palace was relocated to Sydenham, it reopened to the public in 1854. Such was the number of day trippers to the Palace that a new railway station was built which was linked to the Crystal Palace itself. By the 1860s special trains were bringing audiences from over twelve miles away.¹²⁶ The Crystal Palace, with its pleasure gardens, concerts, exhibitions, tropical trees and full-scale bronze dinosaurs was perceived as respectable, and indeed in the Victorian era it was possible to gain social status by consuming particular types of leisure.¹²⁷ Before long the Crystal Palace had set the fashion, and mass cultural centres became the hallmark of the rational recreation movement.¹²⁸ Alexandra Palace in north London was built in 1875 and the People's Palace followed in east London in 1886.¹²⁹

Despite the growth in the number of people who could enjoy their free time, the focus remained on work. During the Victorian era 'work' was described in almost quasi-religious terms which encompassed the economic, the moral and the aesthetic. However, for the majority of the Victorian workforce, conditions in 1851 were still harsh, and the arrival of machinery was a cause for misery rather than celebration as workers grew concerned that they would be replaced.¹³⁰ Although machines were synonymous with economic growth, they threatened the livelihoods of many of the poorest by replacing the labour of the body – and this, in turn, threatened to destabilise society.¹³¹ In 1848 there had been a number of European revolutions,¹³² and the British labour force was beginning

¹²⁶ Judith Flanders, *The Victorian City: Everyday life in Dickens' London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2012), 102.

¹²⁷ Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600* (Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing, Inc, 1990), 101.

¹²⁸ Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600*, 98.

¹²⁹ Royle, *Modern Britain. A Social History 1750–2011*, 290.

¹³⁰ Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 2.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹³² Revolutions had taken place in Sicily, France, Germany, Italy and the Austrian Empire.

to demand political representation.¹³³ Thus leisure and recreation also had a political undercurrent.

Along with the railways, the development of education in Victorian Britain was also significant, which first became of concern in the 1850s. At this time Britain was perceived as the most powerful nation on earth, and the public view was that the rather ad hoc education system was not befitting of such a country.¹³⁴ In 1870, the Elementary Education Act was introduced,¹³⁵ after which all children between the ages of five and twelve had to attend school, and the practical means to achieve this was provided. Local education boards were created and sanctioned to raise funds through rates to run ‘board schools’. The Act also made possible the construction of new school buildings, through loans from central government.¹³⁶ In a similar way to the rational recreation movement, the elementary schools of 1870 were intended to produce an orderly, civil, obedient population, with sufficient education to understand and command.¹³⁷ To most social reformers in the early Victorian period, formal education appeared as the single greatest lever with which the working classes could be enlightened. Education, in the words of Sir James Kay–Shuttleworth (1804–77), chief government policy maker in the 1840s, was meant not only to teach occupational skills, but also ‘the nature of his [the artisan’s] domestic and social relations...his political position in society, and the moral and religious duties appropriate to it’.¹³⁸

The summary of socio–cultural developments which occurred during the Victorian era provided above is relevant to this thesis because it provides us with context. The fact

¹³³ Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, 1.

¹³⁴ Nick Barratt, *Greater London: The Story of the Suburbs* (London: Random House, 2014), 260–261.

¹³⁵ J.F.C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain: 1875–1901* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 68.

¹³⁶ This is discussed in more detail in Barratt, *Greater London: The Story of the Suburbs*, 260–269; Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain: 1875–1901*, 199–203.

¹³⁷ This is discussed in more detail in Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain: 1875–1901*, 199–203.

¹³⁸ Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, 49.

that a greater portion of the population could enjoy leisure time and that the railway made it possible for people to travel further is directly relevant to the Hall. The concept of building a hall for musical entertainment and exhibitions on the outskirts of London would have been considered ludicrous before the advent of the railway. However, it is likely that these advancements would have contributed towards the environment into which the idea of the Hall was conceived.

The Great Exhibition

The ‘Exhibition of the Works and Industry of all Nations’ in 1851 was the prequel to the story of the Royal Albert Hall and the catalyst for Albertopolis—out of it grew the cultural region of today. It showcased much that was happening in Britain at the time, including many British inventions. The Exhibition’s motto is also indicative of the time: ‘The workers, of all types, stand forth as the really great men’. Labour was enshrined at the heart of Victorian public discourse.¹³⁹ Prince Albert’s aim for the Exhibition was the unity of mankind, although for many British people the notion that the event was a way of asserting British excellence above that of other nations without seeking to make war with them was also attractive.¹⁴⁰ During a speech at Mansion House in March 1850, the Prince Consort proposed a unity of his three great interests: science, industry and art:

Science discovers these laws of power, motion and transformation; industry applies them to the raw matter which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge; art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our production forms in accordance with them... The exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Barringer, *Men at Work*, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Simon Heffer, *High Minds: The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain* (London: Random House Books, 2013), 303.

¹⁴¹ Heffer, *High Minds*, 298.

Prince Albert believed that the distances between the nations were ‘gradually vanishing’, and that a unity of humankind based upon ‘national varieties’ would be the result.¹⁴² This was the case physically, for improved travel made it possible to visit other countries, but the Prince may also have meant that nations were becoming culturally similar.

The Prince Consort was integral to the realisation of the Great Exhibition and thus features heavily in the narrative. In 1843, Prince Albert joined the Society for the ‘Encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures’ which had been founded in 1754. At Henry Cole’s invitation, he subsequently became its president in 1843. The idea for a national exhibition of manufacturers had previously been floated but, although similar exhibitions had been held successfully in Paris, London was yet to host one. It was the revolutionary government in France which had instigated exhibitions in 1798, in order to promote French manufacturers during the Napoleonic struggle with England. They had proved to be so successful in their benefits to French industry that they had continued post–Restoration.¹⁴³

It was during the summer of 1849 that steps towards a British Exhibition began, when the Prince Consort was petitioned for his support.¹⁴⁴ Prince Albert agreed and stated that the Exhibition was to be an international one. Hyde Park was chosen as the venue and the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures backed the Prince’s suggestion that central government would need to be involved. This led to the creation of the Royal Commission, of which Prince Albert was appointed president in 1850 and whose first task was to create a structure to house the Exhibition. Despite numerous suggestions, most designs were impractical and highly expensive. Finally, just as the

¹⁴² Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg, eds., *Britain, The Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 9.

¹⁴³ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*, 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

closing date for proposals arrived, Joseph Paxton submitted his idea for a huge glass house, seen now as the symbol of the Great Exhibition. The Commission, relieved to have a viable concept at last, happily accepted his design in July 1850.¹⁴⁵

However, the Great Exhibition was not universally supported.¹⁴⁶ Some worried that it would incite riots or a revolution and that thieves from all over Europe would descend on London.¹⁴⁷ However, those who criticised the Great Exhibition, such as the Tory Charles Sibthorp, tended also to criticise free trade. *The Times* was at first in support, then claimed that the Exhibition would ruin Hyde Park, before it was finally obliged to acknowledge that it had been a success.¹⁴⁸

The railway allowed people from all over England to visit the Great Exhibition and they visited in great numbers. Many visitors came into London via Paddington station. The travel agent Thomas Cook even arranged a special service that allowed third-class passengers to visit the Exhibition on 'shilling days' and go home the same day for a reasonable price. A third-class return ticket from York was five shillings, the same price as the Exhibition on certain days.¹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, with inflation it is worth noting that the equivalent of five shillings is approximately £32 today.¹⁵⁰ However, the historic standard of living value of five shillings in 1851 is equivalent to approximately £25. Furthermore, the labour value of five shillings in 1851 is closer to £195. Further still, the income value (measured using the relative average income that would be used to buy a commodity) is closer to £294.¹⁵¹ Although the press petitioned for lower prices, this did not occur.

¹⁴⁵ Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial: Its History, Contexts, and Conservation*, 31–33.

¹⁴⁶ 'The Peddling Policy of Governments', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, September 14, 1851.

¹⁴⁷ Heffer, *High Minds*, 303.

¹⁴⁸ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Arrow Books, 2003), 136–137.

¹⁴⁹ Barringer, *Men at Work*, 1, 4.

¹⁵⁰ See: <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>. There were 20 shillings to a pound and £1 in 1851 is now equivalent to £128.11.

¹⁵¹ These figures were gathered from measuringworth.com. See: <http://measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php?use%5B%5D=CPI&use%5B%5D=N>

Therefore, those that attended the Exhibition were mainly of the middle and upper classes.¹⁵²

Nonetheless, on shilling days, labourers did visit the Exhibition and by the time the Exhibition closed on 11th October 1851, over six million people had visited, many of whom were not from London.¹⁵³ The fact that such a considerable number of people visited despite the high prices suggests that the Exhibition was perceived as being of great importance by the general public.

As well as the large number of people who visited it, the Exhibition was a huge success financially, generating a surplus of approximately £200,000.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, it was a huge organisational feat; nearly 14,000 exhibitors were involved, 7,300 of whom were from the United Kingdom and her dependencies. The Exhibition was opened, as planned and in budget, by the Queen on 1st May 1851, there were no riots or civil unrest (as had been the worry of the British press in the weeks leading up the Exhibition), and despite the Exhibition being housed in what was essentially the largest greenhouse that the world had ever seen, the temperature was maintained at an adequate level throughout the summer months.

Prince Albert played a key role in the successful management of the Exhibition,¹⁵⁵ and also in the dedication of the profits of the Exhibition to a nationally significant investment, as we shall see.¹⁵⁶ Prior to the Exhibition, he chaired most of the meetings

OMINALEARN&year_early=1851£71=0&shilling71=5&pence71=0&amount=0.25&year_source=1851&year_result=2014. Accessed on 03/07/17.

¹⁵² Barringer, *Men at Work*, 4.

¹⁵³ In 1851 the population of London was 2,286,609:

http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data_cube_page.jsp?data_theme=T_POP&data_cube=N_TOT_POP&uid=10097836&c_id=10001043&add=N – Accessed on 11/11/16.

¹⁵⁴ Martin Dauntton, ed., *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 18.

¹⁵⁵ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry*, xx.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

himself, and he took on the responsibility for ensuring international participation on the juries and working committees.¹⁵⁷ This led to an incredible amount of organisation: exhibits had to be found and classified (the scheme for which Prince Albert devised himself), local committees had to assemble products from all over Britain; exhibitors and jurors from abroad had to be organised; the exhibits had to be transported to London from all over the world, and there had to be adequate display space for them when they reached the capital. Finally, the distribution of prize medals had to be seen to be non-contentious—perhaps the most important consideration, given the Exhibition’s international nature.¹⁵⁸ Afterwards Victoria wrote with pride, ‘my beloved husband... the creator of this great “Peace Festival”,¹⁵⁹ uniting the industry and art of all nations of the earth... Dearest Albert’s name is for ever immortalised’.¹⁶⁰ It must have brought the Queen similar joy to read the following letter from John Russell (the Prime Minister), a week after the Great Exhibition had closed:

The grandeur of the conception, the zeal, invention, and talent displayed in the execution, and the perfect order maintained from the first day to the last, have contributed together to give imperishable fame to Prince Albert. If to others much praise is due... it is to his energy and judgement that the world owes both the original design and the harmonious and rapid execution... no one can deprive the Prince of the glory of being the first to conceive... this beneficent design, nor will the Monarchy fail to participate in the advantage... No Republic of the Old or New World has done anything so splendid or so useful.¹⁶¹

There is no doubt that the success of the Great Exhibition contributed towards the positive perception of Prince Albert held by the general public immediately afterwards.

Furthermore, it became symbolic of the Victorian attitude that anything was possible.

¹⁵⁷ Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial: its History, Contexts, and Conservation*, 36.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Prince Albert believed that peace was a necessary pre-condition of long-term prosperity and indeed the only conflict of Victoria’s reign was the Crimean War of 1854–1856.

¹⁶⁰ Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial*, 9.

¹⁶¹ Lord John Russell to Queen Victoria, 17 October 1851, quoted in Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort*, vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882), 404.

Indeed, historian Simon Heffer has described the Great Exhibition as a ‘microcosm of two prime Victorian traits: ambition and the ability to do great things relatively quickly’,¹⁶² both of which it would appear Prince Albert embodied.

1.2 Protagonists of vision

Given that the RAH bears his name, one might expect Prince Albert to have had a similar role in the building of the Hall as with the Great Exhibition of 1851. While the association of Prince Albert and his name has had (and continues to have) an impact on the Hall, there were several agents of influence who contributed towards its creation. For example, Prince Albert’s colleague, Henry Cole, was also instrumental. It was Cole’s perpetual drive coupled with support from the Royal family, namely Queen Victoria, which led to the building of the Hall. Each of these protagonists had their own vision for the Hall because they had different reasons for wanting it to succeed. However together these reasons shaped the organisation the Hall would become and the vision it would follow during its early years.

As shown, there is little doubt that Prince Albert’s enduring significance in British history rests in his determination to create the Great Exhibition. It has become synonymous with his memory: as has the estate of museums and other cultural and educational institutions in South Kensington, which became known as Albertopolis, and which was partly funded by the £213,000 profit made from the Exhibition. However, Prince Albert never intended his legacy to be limited to a small section of west London. Rather, the Exhibition was designed to stimulate a nationwide interest in science and the

¹⁶² Heffer, *High Minds*, 285.

arts, the former reflecting Prince Albert's idea of the importance of technological advancement.¹⁶³



Figure 2: Portrait of Prince Albert, oil on canvas, by Franz Winterhalter, 1842, Royal Collection

Prince Albert's vision for the application of the Exhibition's surplus was broader than that of building a great hall. Instead, his objectives encompassed South Kensington as a whole. In August of 1851 he wrote a memorandum entitled 'Observations on the Application of the Surplus of the Exhibition of MDCCCLI by his Royal Highness The Prince Consort'. In it he stated:

In order to arrive at a sound opinion on what is to be done, we must ask ourselves: What are the objects the Exhibition had in view? How far have these objects been realized? And how far can they be further promoted?... I take the objects [of the Exhibition] to have been the promotion of every branch of human industry... and the promotion of kindly feelings of the Nations towards each other... which may be derived by each from the labours and achievements of the others. In answer to the question, If *I* am asked what *I* would do with the surplus? I would propose the following scheme. I am assured that from 25 to 30 acres of ground, nearly opposite the Crystal Palace on the other side of the Kensington Road, called Kensington Gore... are to be purchased at this moment for about £50,000. I would buy this

¹⁶³ Heffer, *High Minds*, 285.

ground and place on it four Institutions corresponding to the four great sections of the Exhibition. Raw Material. Machinery. Manufactures. Plastic Art. Hence I would provide each of these Institutions with the means of forming:

1. A Library, and Rooms for Study.
2. Lecture Rooms.
3. An acre of glass covering for the purposes of Exhibition; and
4. Rooms for Conversation, Discussions and Commercial Meetings.

The surplus space might be laid out as gardens for public enjoyment, and so as to admit of the future erection of Public Monuments there, according to an arranged plan. The centre might be applicable for a Public Conservatory if wished for.¹⁶⁴

It seems clear that Prince Albert wished for the objects of the Exhibition also to be fulfilled in the application of the surplus.

Furthermore, there is little doubt Prince Albert had a large effect on the British Isles as a whole. Indeed, the historian Chris Brooks labelled 1840–61 the ‘Albertine’ period and it has been suggested that those two decades were a time of greater interest in the arts, of innovation in technology and science and of reform in education and government than the ‘Victorian’ period that followed.¹⁶⁵ A workaholic, Prince Albert had been instilled with a sense of purpose by his mentor, Baron Stockmar, who wrote to him in 1836 that alongside ‘energy and inclination’ he would also need ‘that earnest frame of mind which is ready of its own accord to sacrifice mere pleasure to real usefulness’.¹⁶⁶ During his working life he was responsible for encouraging the arts, both publicly and privately; for promoting the cause of art manufactures; he supported progress in science and technology; and he urged those in power to rectify social injustices. He helped to initiate the modernisation of university education—especially at Oxford and Cambridge; designed and helped to promote adequate housing for the working classes; attempted to

¹⁶⁴ ‘Memorandum by the Prince Consort on the appropriation of the surplus of the Exhibition of 1851’ in *Observations on the application of the surplus of Exhibition of MDCCCLI by his Royal Highness The Prince Consort* (Osborne) August 1851, 1–3. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, H/1 (Prince Albert’s correspondence) Folder 19, document 69.

¹⁶⁵ Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial*, 15.

¹⁶⁶ Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial*, 9.

reform the army; laid innumerable foundation stones for public building projects and sat on countless committees. Alongside these public duties, he wrote an infinite number of memoranda and reports, answered countless letters to those asking for his counsel, and had a key to Victoria's despatches boxes—much of which he handled, especially when Victoria was pregnant.¹⁶⁷ Prince Albert was a hugely capable individual, and his vision for the surplus money of the Great Exhibition was just one element of his working life which was carefully considered.

Prince Albert wished to improve living conditions for all his adopted countrymen. In 1844 this became evident when he became president of the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Classes. This society commissioned and built hostels and family houses designed by Henry Roberts, the Society's architect. Prince Albert used his role as an employer and landlord at Windsor to provide adequate housing for his labourers, and during the Great Exhibition of 1851 he erected a pair of model cottages. After the Exhibition was over they were moved to Kennington Park in London, where they remain.

Despite the enormous amount of work he did on behalf of his adopted country, Prince Albert was not a popular figure with the British public for much of his lifetime. One difficulty in achieving Prince Albert's vision was that his standing with the public rose and fell. In January 1854, Gladstone wrote in a private memorandum: 'Twelve months ago, nothing could be more brilliant than the popularity of the Prince Consort. At the present moment it seems, so far as the public journals afford a criticism, to be overcast. Was the view right then, and is it wrong now? Or right both then and now?' The new unpopularity was based on misconceptions passed on by rumour of Prince Albert's

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.; Erickson, *Her Little Majesty: The Life of Queen Victoria*, 99.

interference with the Queen's affairs, alongside the fact that he was a foreigner, and that he corresponded with foreigners.¹⁶⁸

There was much animosity towards him, especially from the press, in earlier years. There were a number of factors behind this. Firstly, it would appear that Prince Albert was not readily accepted by the British political establishment. The Whig aristocracy, who largely controlled the government, regarded him with at best amusement, and at worst, humorous contempt. The road he walked, excluded formally from the work of the sovereign, his wife, while nonetheless having considerable personal influence, was filled with potholes.¹⁶⁹ A letter from Prince Albert to his confidante, Baron Stockmar, is suggestive of this:

A very considerable section of the nation had never given itself the trouble to consider what really is the position of the husband of a Queen Regnant. When I first came over here, I was met by this want of knowledge... Peel cut down my income, Wellington refused me my rank, the Royal Family cried out against the Foreign interloper, the Whigs in office were only inclined to concede to me just as much space as I could stand upon. The Constitution is silent as to the Consort of the Queen.¹⁷⁰

In the 1840s Prince Albert was simultaneously glamorised as Victoria's handsome young husband, patronised as an exotic novelty and satirised as an interloper. One might have thought that he would have become more accepted as his and Victoria's family grew—which led to an image of the Prince that was very British and bourgeois, but the British press could never resist reminding their readership that he was a foreigner. His accent, attitude to hunting, even the way he rode his horse, were all seen as foreign. One author from the time wrote '...he is a foreigner, and from the earliest cusp of English history, gullibility regarding the deceit and danger of foreigners has been a national

¹⁶⁸ Heffer, *High Minds*, 319.

¹⁶⁹ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 2.

¹⁷⁰ Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial*, 20.

disease'.¹⁷¹ The attitude towards the Prince appears strange for, in general, London's Germans were the most assimilated of all the metropolitan minorities in the 19th century.¹⁷² Perhaps the amount of power that Prince Albert was perceived to have, with a spouse who, although the Queen of England, had many maternal responsibilities, may have contributed to the general lack of trust that the general public had in him.

We can pinpoint the beginnings of such politically motivated Germanophobia in attitudes towards Prince Albert, who faced attacks on three occasions in particular. The first of these was immediately after his marriage to Queen Victoria in 1840, when propagandists described him as a 'German pauper' who would be a burden to Britain. Prince Albert also faced hostility at the end of 1851 when Lord Palmerston was dismissed as Foreign Secretary with the backing of Queen Victoria, who some commentators believed was under the influence of Baron Stockmar, Prince Albert's adviser. In December 1853, when Palmerston, who had re-joined the cabinet, offered to resign in the middle of the Crimean War, Albert was again blamed by sections of the press.¹⁷³ Prince Albert had been regularly taken to task after his arrival as Prince Consort in 1840 for filling the Royal household with German servants, artists, and librarians.¹⁷⁴

Prince Albert's education may also have contributed to his difficulties in being accepted by the English aristocracy. He had a thorough and liberal education from a young age. His timetable from the age of fourteen included many arts subjects: he studied ancient and modern history, geography, reading, writing, German grammar and composition, Latin, French and English, religious instruction, music, drawing, and also

¹⁷¹ F. Airplay, (pseud.), *Prince Albert: Why is he Unpopular?* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1857), 22.

¹⁷² Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain During the Nineteenth Century*, 1995 in Jeremy White, *London in the 19th Century* (London: Vintage Books, 2007), 146.

¹⁷³ Panikos Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain Since 1500* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), 90.

¹⁷⁴ Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain Since 1500*, 96.

chemistry and mathematics.¹⁷⁵ In contrast, the typical English aristocrat received a university education, the experience of which was less of learning than of licence, emerging as a gentleman rather than as a learned man. Scholarship was the means, not the aim.¹⁷⁶ In practice, this meant that the liberal subjects—music and art specifically—played no part in the education of a gentleman.¹⁷⁷ It is likely that Prince Albert's education was fundamental in shaping his ideas and beliefs regarding the provision of education for all—and therefore his ideas for the Great Exhibition and South Kensington. This was also perceived as negative by some of his contemporaries and labelled the 'Coburg Policy':¹⁷⁸ they found his 'plan for the improvement of the masses threatening and suggested that it was to extend his own influence and presence.'¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the pseudonymous author F. Airplay wrote in 1857 that '... half the existing clamour against the Prince is the work of those who ... fear that ... the horde may take a fancy to some of their own nice little pickings'. The fact that the author was not confident publishing such opinions under his or her own name perhaps suggests a little of the politics surrounding Prince Albert at this time.¹⁸⁰ Prince Albert's plans to educate the masses did not sit well with those who wanted to preserve their power over the lower classes and their wealth.¹⁸¹

The height of Prince Albert's unpopularity was during the 1850s, at the time of the Crimean War. Distrust and suspicion as to his position and influence over Britain's foreign policy morphed into outright accusations of disloyalty, which led to a ridiculous rumour that both he and Victoria had been arrested on charges of treason and placed in

¹⁷⁵ Hobhouse, *Prince Albert: His Life and Work* (London: H. Hamilton, 1983), 8.

¹⁷⁶ Weintraub, *Albert: Uncrowned King*, 6–7.

¹⁷⁷ Bernarr Rainbow, *The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800–1860 and its Continental Antecedents* (London: Novello and Company Ltd., 1967), 13.

¹⁷⁸ F. Airplay, (pseud.), *Prince Albert: Why is he Unpopular?*, 67.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁸⁰ I suspect that the author was Lyon Playfair—a colleague of Prince Albert's on the executive committee of the Great Exhibition.

¹⁸¹ F. Airplay, (pseud.), *Prince Albert: Why is he Unpopular?*, 33–34.

the Tower of London. Absurd as these accusations were, it was felt necessary by the parliamentary leaders to exonerate the Prince publicly and formally, and attest that his conduct and service to the nation was exemplary.¹⁸²

On the evening of Saturday 14 December 1861, in the Blue Room of Windsor Castle, Prince Albert died of what was diagnosed at the time as typhoid fever. He was 42 years old. Benjamin Disraeli, writing after the funeral stated ‘With Prince Albert we have buried our sovereign... This German Prince has governed England for twenty-one years with a wisdom and energy such as none of our kings has ever shown’.¹⁸³ The politician Lord Granville wrote to his friend Lord Canning, the governor-general of India that ‘The most valuable life in this country has been taken, and the public are awakening to the value of the good and wise man who has gone. The loss to the country is great: to the Queen it is irreparable’.¹⁸⁴ Queen Victoria went into a deep depression and permanent mourning that lasted the rest of her life. Writing in her journal nearly 40 years later, on 26th August 1900, she still recorded the date as Albert’s birthday, ‘How I remember the happy day it used to be, and preparing presents for him, which he would like’.¹⁸⁵ Prince Albert’s early death and the Queen’s sudden bereavement shocked and moved the public throughout the country. ‘Every shop in London’, wrote the diarist Sir William Hardman, ‘has kept up mourning shutters, and nothing is seen in all drapers’, milliners’, tailors’ and haberdashers’ shops but black. Everybody is in mourning’.¹⁸⁶ There is no doubt that this outpouring of sorrow was sincere, but perhaps it was tinged with an element of self-reproach, for the sympathy that seemed to unite the country at Prince Albert’s death had

¹⁸² Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial*, 8.

¹⁸³ Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial*, 13.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 8; Judith Flanders, *The Victorian City: Everyday life in Dickens’ London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2012), 314.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

often been withheld in his lifetime. ‘For the truth is, and I think all true Britons feel it this day,’ said Charles Kingsley in one of the many memorial sermons preached on the Sunday before the funeral, ‘that we were not altogether fair to the Prince’.¹⁸⁷ In the weeks and months that followed, civic authorities, town councils, learned institutions and charitable bodies throughout the country determined to give material expression to their sense of his worth and their loss—and perhaps to make posthumous amends for previous ingratiitudes.¹⁸⁸

By the middle of 1862, the commemoration of Prince Albert had taken on the character of a national movement. Some would suggest that the greatest product of this movement was the Prince Consort National Memorial, erected in Hyde Park’s Kensington Gardens. Proposed and designed in 1862 by George Gilbert Scott, it was completed in 1876, when the gilded statue of the Prince Consort was finally revealed. However, it seems from his own words that Albert would have been horrified by such a monument:

I can say, with perfect absence of humbug, that I would rather not be made the prominent feature of such a monument, as it would both disturb my quiet rides in Rotten Row to see my own face staring at me, and if (as is very likely) it became an artistic monstrosity, like most of our monuments, it would upset my equanimity to be permanently ridiculed and laughed at in effigy.¹⁸⁹

It is possibly more accurate to consider the wider cultural quarter of South Kensington the true monument to Prince Albert, and to suggest that it is the whole area which has been shaped by his vision. Indeed, although Prince Albert did not have a precise vision for the building of a great hall in South Kensington, he did have a compelling argument as to how he believed the surplus of the Great Exhibition should be spent. Furthermore, this was shaped by his upbringing and education in Germany, his

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 8.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹⁸⁹ Prince Albert to Lord Granville, 3 November 1853, quoted in Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort*, vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882), 537.

unique position in the Royal family and his apparent endeavour to shape the artistic and scientific life of his adopted country. As these endeavours included the objectives of the Exhibition, which were the advancement and promotion of the arts and sciences, one could perhaps assert that the RAH, when used for those purposes, does contribute to Prince Albert's vision for Albertopolis. Thus, one could assert that the inscription on the outside of the Hall contains an element of legitimacy.

It was not only influences on Prince Albert which affected the vision for building the Hall. Born in 1808, Henry Cole became one of the most important public servants of the era. After leaving Christ's Hospital School at fifteen to work in a lowly capacity at the Record Commission, a body whose job was to attempt to assemble and catalogue the nation's public records, he went on to work in several government departments. Cole was a prime example of the aspirational middle class (his father was an army officer), the lives of whom would benefit so much from the range of projects to which he would apply himself during his long and varied career.¹⁹⁰ Aside from his work for the government, he designed china for the Minton Pottery in Stoke, founded the *Journal of Design and Manufacture*, published books, and is credited with designing the first Christmas card.¹⁹¹ Although today the term 'Albertopolis' is used for the area of west London that grew out of Prince Albert's vision for the surplus of the 1851 Exhibition, in Cole's lifetime his West-London project was so well known that the French novelist Prosper Mérimée once joked that a letter addressed to 'Mr South Kensington, England' would reach him; others referred to the area as 'Coleville'.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Heffer, *High Minds*, 289; Elizabeth Bonython and Henry Cole's life is discussed in more detail in Anthony Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London: V&A Publications, 2003).

¹⁹¹ Anthony Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 91–92.

¹⁹² Brooks, ed., *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial*, 338.



Figure 3: Portrait photograph of Henry Cole by Melliush c. 1870, Victoria and Albert Museum

Before Prince Albert's death in 1861, Cole was known to have his confidence and he answered directly to him in his role as chairman of the Society for the 'Encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures'.¹⁹³ Prince Albert and Cole held similar ideas on how the developing industrial sector could be linked to the arts. They worked together on the Great Exhibition of the Works and Industry of All Nations, to which the society was integral. Cole's speech to the City of London in 1850 to galvanise support for the Great Exhibition was hugely successful. He stated that, 'In short, London will act the part of host to all the world at an intellectual festival of peaceful industry suggested by the consort of our beloved Queen, and seconded by yourselves—a festival such as the world never before has seen.'¹⁹⁴

After the success of the Exhibition, and with Albertopolis becoming a reality, it was in fact Cole who first suggested the idea of a Central Hall for the Arts and Sciences

¹⁹³ Heffer, *High Minds*, 291.

¹⁹⁴ Heffer, *High Minds*, 294.

to Prince Albert. Cole had first suggested building a concert hall, paid for by subscription, in the late 1850s, and when the opportunity arose again in June 1861 he did not miss the opportunity. Prince Albert approved the notion in August.¹⁹⁵ Cole had originally hoped that the Hall could be built as part of the infrastructure for a Great Exhibition of 1861. However, the Exhibition had to be postponed to 1862 because of Prince Albert's death and the Franco–Austrian War of 1859.¹⁹⁶ The following, from the document entitled 'Appropriation of Estate and Idea of Hall' illustrates the initial discussions regarding the Hall.

After the appropriation in 1856 of the South East corner of the Estate to the purposes of the newly created Department of Science and Art and the South Kensington Museum (where subsequently arose the Royal School of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering, Royal School of Mines, Royal College of Science and Royal College of Art) no permanent allocation of the Commissioners' property for Science and Art purposes was made until the Royal Horticultural Society took a lease in 1861 of the central portion of the Commissioners' estate for a term of 30 years, although many schemes had been discussed, including the transfer of the National Gallery (the bill for its removal was finally defeated after two committees had reported on it), the Royal Academy of Music and the learned societies (which afterwards found accommodation in Burlington House which the Government bought for £140,000 about 1854).

The Albert Hall was, therefore, the second scheme to be promoted on the main square of the estate and was intended to form part of the Prince Consort's original conception of a great metropolitan institution devoted to the furtherance of scientific, artistic and industrial education, it being the central Hall or common meeting ground of all the independent institutions constituting this vast organisation and concentration of forces engaged in promoting the knowledge of Science and Art and their application in productive industry.¹⁹⁷

Thus, the Royal Albert Hall was not the first institution to be considered for the site on which it now resides. Prince Albert had hoped to convince the National Gallery to move to South Kensington; even after it was certain that the gallery was not going to leave its home in Trafalgar Square, it was not until the mid-1860s that the construction of the Hall

¹⁹⁵ Heffer, *High Minds*, 325; Elizabeth Bonython and Anthony Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London: V & A Publications, 2003), 225–227.

¹⁹⁶ Heffer, *High Minds*, 330.

¹⁹⁷ Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, 75 (1851 Commission correspondence), Box 22.

began. When it did commence, it was due to Cole. He wrote to General Grey (1804–1870), Queen Victoria’s private secretary: ‘I have come to the conclusion that the only way to get the Memorial Hall done is to do it... I don’t intend to be beaten in this matter’.¹⁹⁸ Through Grey, Cole manoeuvred two coups. At the height of the Queen’s grief and of her determination to have Albert commemorated as spectacularly as possible, Cole secured an interview with her at Windsor where she gave her approval to a hall, provided that it was built in conjunction with, and not instead of, a separate memorial. Cole said that the Hall would be ‘the finest in Europe for hearing, seeing and convenience’ and it would accommodate 12,000 people.¹⁹⁹ Cole’s second triumph was to persuade the Prince of Wales (1841–1910), the heir to the throne, to become the Hall’s president. He knew that this would encourage society to invest. At Grey’s suggestion the Queen asked the Prince to take on the role, an offer he could not refuse.²⁰⁰

A later document, entitled, ‘The Central Hall of Arts and Sciences’, records a meeting on 6 July 1865, at Marlborough House, hosted by the Prince of Wales. It states that the purpose of the meeting was ‘with a view of promoting the erection of a Great Hall, the want of which for various purposes connected with Science and Art has long been felt’.²⁰¹ The document incorporates the following paragraph:

A site for a Central Institution having been found, numerous plans for effecting the desired object were suggested... and in all those plans such a Hall as that which it is now proposed to erect formed a prominent and essential feature. The death of the Prince Consort in December, 1861, arrested the steps which were in contemplation, but it is now proposed to revive a portion of his project, and to seek the means of erecting a Hall on a scale commensurate with the wants of the Country.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Bonython and Burton, *The Great Exhibitor*, 226.

¹⁹⁹ Heffer, *High Minds*, 331.

²⁰⁰ Heffer, *High Minds*, 331.

²⁰¹ Bonython and Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole*, 226.

²⁰² Report entitled ‘Central Hall of Arts and Sciences’. 75 (1851 Commission correspondence), Box 1.

This report indicates that the Hall would be available for the following:

- a. Congresses, both National and International, for purposes of Science and Art.
- b. Performances of Music, both choral and instrumental, including performances on the Organ similar to those now given in various large provincial towns, such as Liverpool and Birmingham.
- c. The Distribution of Prizes by Public Bodies and Societies.
- d. Conversazioni of Societies established for the promotion of Science and Art.
- e. Agricultural and Horticultural Exhibitions.
- f. National and International Exhibitions of Works of Art and Industry, including Industrial Exhibitions by the working classes similar to those recently held successfully in various parts of London.
- g. Exhibitions of Pictures, Sculpture, and other objects of Artistic or Scientific interest.
- h. Any other purposes connected with Science and Art.²⁰³

This is the closest we come to an articulation of the vision for the Hall, at this time.

Although the report does not make it clear to what extent the above list can be attributed to Cole, as he was present at the meeting it seems fair to assume it likely that he had some input. Furthermore, it is clear that it was originally the intention that both artistic and scientific events would be integral to its output, as per the vision which Prince Albert had set out for the surplus in general. Additionally, a similar report suggested the physical vision for the Hall:

The Hall will be a spacious amphitheatre of nearly the same proportions as that at Nîmes but somewhat smaller...The arrangements for hearing, seeing, warming, ventilation, etc. have been fully studied and will be of the most perfect description known.²⁰⁴

While the physical aspects of the Hall will be examined in chapter 2, this statement is relevant here for it portrays the importance of the structural elements of the Hall to its vision. The above makes plain that those in charge of building the Hall wished to provide the greatest sensory experience possible. Indeed, although not all of these turned out to be ‘of the most perfect description’ (namely the acoustics) others (particular the visual aspects) have contributed to the sensory experience of the Hall, and remain hugely

²⁰³ Report entitled ‘Central Hall of Arts and Sciences’. 75 (1851 Commission correspondence), Box 1.

²⁰⁴ From the 1871 Commission Archive, Albert Hall Prospectus – H/1 (Prince Albert’s Correspondence) Folder 21, document 2.

important to the Hall's vision.

Although Cole had a clear vision for how to build the Hall, his vision for what might take place there once it was built was not as clear. However, he symbolised the can-do attitude that made construction of Albertopolis possible. Continuing the work of Prince Albert, Cole exemplified ambition, a determination to create institutions of a grandeur and permanence that would project not just the names of their creators, but the advances made by Victorian civilisation, forever.²⁰⁵ The Albert Hall, the Natural History Museum and what would become the Victoria and Albert Museum were Cole's direct legacy; the rest of the estate, including the Science Museum, the Royal College of Music and Imperial College, is also indebted to his energy and motivation.²⁰⁶

Queen Victoria did not articulate a specific vision for the Royal Albert Hall, though she was integral to its successful creation. Prince Albert had been Victoria's confidant, adviser, collaborator, spouse, even substitute sovereign,²⁰⁷ and Victoria is quoted as saying, 'But how I, who leant on him for all and everything—without whom I did nothing, moved not a finger, arranged not a print or photograph, didn't move to put on a gown or bonnet if he didn't approve it [,] shall go on, to live to move, to help myself in difficult moments?'²⁰⁸ However, as we have seen, it was not until Cole gained her support that plans for the Hall progressed after Prince Albert's death. Even granted that Victorians were a society who exhibited their grief, the reverence, hyperbole, excess and histrionics experienced by Victoria was unusual. It has been suggested that her desire to see her late husband commemorated helped to drive the creation of Albertopolis, for it evoked, once

²⁰⁵ Heffer, *High Minds*, 339.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 338.

²⁰⁷ Weintraub, *Albert: Uncrowned King*, 432.

²⁰⁸ Regina Schulte, ed., *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500-2000* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 179.

more, the can-do attitude of the Victorians.²⁰⁹ Although it appears that Cole may have used the Queen's grief to his advantage,²¹⁰ it seems unlikely that she would have given her support to a project of which she did not think Prince Albert would have approved. A letter from Victoria to her Uncle Leopold (1790–1865), the King of Belgium, illustrates her desire to continue Prince Albert's work:

I am... anxious to repeat one thing, and that one is my firm resolve, my irrevocable decision... that his wishes – his plans – about everything, his views about everything are to be my law! And no human power will make me swerve from what he decided and wished... I am also determined that no one person, may he be ever so good, ever so devoted among my servants – is to lead or guide or dictate to me. I know how he would disapprove of it. And I live on with him, for him; in fact I am only outwardly separated from him, and only for a time.²¹¹

Queen Victoria's vision was to commemorate her husband in any way possible.

Therefore, through her support, both financial and verbal, Victoria made certain that Albert was never forgotten, and that his project in South Kensington was able to flourish. Her contribution to the vision of the Hall was to provide influence. She contributed financially and because of this, so did others.

²⁰⁹ Heffer, *High Minds*, 342.

²¹⁰ Heffer, *High Minds*, 331.

²¹¹ Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, eds., *Remaking Queen Victoria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 221; Rappaport, *Magnificent Obsession*, 41.



Figure 4: Portrait of Queen Victoria, oil on canvas, Franz Winterhalter, 1842, Royal Collection

The Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 also contributed to the vision of the Royal Albert Hall and the surrounding area of Albertopolis. Appointed by royal charter in 1850 to plan and promote the Exhibition of the Works and Industry of all Nations, after the Exhibition had concluded the Commissioners were appointed, under a supplemental charter, as a permanent body to administer the surplus funds at their disposal. These were to be applied, in the words of the supplemental charter, in order ‘to increase the means of industrial education and extend the influence of science and art upon productive industry’.²¹² Through the application of the surplus, the Commissioners purchased, and then created, an educational centre of world renown. Still operating today, the commissioners also established schemes of fellowships and scholarships for advanced study and research into science, engineering, and the built environment. They also promoted other educational ventures of national value under the terms of their charter.²¹³

²¹² Booklet, *Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851: An Outline of its Activities Past and Present* (2006), 1.

²¹³ Booklet, *Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851: An Outline of its Activities Past and Present*, (2006), 1.

On 6 November 1851, the Commission put forward a scheme for the surplus from the Great Exhibition. The report suggested that the best use of the surplus was ‘in furtherance of the general objects for which the Exhibition was designed, and in such manner that the advantages... may be shared, as far as may be possible, by other countries’. ‘The general objects’ they considered to have been ‘the furtherance of every branch of human industry, by the comparison of the processes employed, and of the results obtained by all the nations of the earth—and the promotion of kindly international feelings, by the practical illustration of the advantages which may be derived... from what has been done by others’. Therefore the Commissioners’ objective was ‘measures... which may increase the means of industrial education, and extend the influence of science and art upon productive industry’.²¹⁴ In their Second Report to the Crown, dated 11 November 1852, the Commissioners further pointed out that their plan required the converging of societies and institutions. Enquiries had been made as to how far learned societies would find gathering with others agreeable. The answers showed that the plan was a popular one, especially as:

[...]much of the pecuniary resources now expended in rent etc. would be used for the direct promotion of scientific research, the Libraries being rendered available for mutual and even general reference, the great inconvenience would be avoided of having to refer to specimens and books in the collections of Societies widely apart from each other, the concentration of these Societies would direct a greater amount of public attention to their endeavours to promote Science and Art; and they again would be able to exert a greater influence on intellectual progress than they can in their present dissevered state.²¹⁵

It was made clear that the union was to be one of locality only and that their collaboration must not be allowed to interfere with the Societies’ independent existence and self-government. The Commission declared that in order to fulfil the requirements of this

²¹⁴ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 93–94.

²¹⁵ Report: ‘The Prince Consort’s Own Views Upon the Disposal of Exhibition Surplus’, 75 (1851 Commission correspondence), Box 22.

scheme, the possession of land was essential and it was for that purpose that the Kensington Gore estate was subsequently purchased. Finally, within this Second Report to the Crown, the Commissioners provided a summary of the conclusions which they had reached. It stated the injustice of the reproach that England made no effort to promote science and art, but admitted that although more money had been spent on these disciplines in England than in any other country, still no practical system existed for instruction in either.

The Commissioners proposed to initiate a system by means of which the institution they had in mind could be run, and the locality for the scheme could be properly developed. They concluded that:

We intend to pursue these objects, by the same means, namely, by affording instruction and recreation to the greatest number of human beings, and by acting on the conviction that all sciences and arts have only one end – the promotion of the happiness of mankind, and that they cannot perfectly obtain that end without combination and unity.²¹⁶

While we know that many of London's institutions concerned with the promotion of science and art did indeed concentrate in South Kensington, this was not a simple undertaking. Of all the institutions the Royal Commission wished to see in South Kensington, it was the National Gallery which caused the most controversy.²¹⁷ Its relocation was also of huge importance to Prince Albert and he envisaged it being given a dominant position on the site. It was not, however, the Prince who initiated the idea of moving the National Gallery to South Kensington. The Commission had acquired its estate in partnership with the government, and a joint objective was to incorporate a new site for the National Gallery into the scheme.

²¹⁶ Second Report to the Crown, 11th November 1852.

²¹⁷ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 103–107.

Concern about the national collections had been growing for some time. Both the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square and the British Museum in Bloomsbury had outgrown their quarters and there was concern that the centre of London, filled with smoke and dust, was not the ideal location for a prize collection of paintings.²¹⁸ In March 1851, also due to the inadequacy and unpopularity of Wilkins' very recent building in Trafalgar Square (where the gallery remains today), the Liberal government had appointed a commission to report on possible new sites for the National Gallery, and in July it had recommended part of the site subsequently bought by the 1851 Exhibition Commissioners, on the south façade of Kensington Gore. Through the latter part of the year the government moved towards the necessary purchase but in January 1852, in its last days in office, dropped the project. The Commissioners then stepped in as purchasers; the Conservatives under Lord Derby were persuaded to take the project up again, and the provision of a site for the gallery was nominally the main object of the large vote in aid of the Commissioners' purchase—fund obtained from parliament by the coalition government in December 1852. In March 1853, the House appointed a select committee which reiterated the recommendation of the Commissioners' site in August and the Prince had further elaborate layout plans prepared by several architects. In November 1853, the cabinet decided to act on the recommendation. However, in December, Edgar Bowring, Secretary of the 1851 Commission, anticipated governmental delay in the face of 'the high price of food, the strikes, the hard winter, and above all the awkward look of matters Eastward'.²¹⁹

It was only after the Crimean War had ended that Palmerston's government resumed the project. But in June 1856, the House of Commons rejected their bill, and

²¹⁸ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 104.

²¹⁹ Bowring was alluding to the Crimean War of 1853–1856. Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 103–107.

referred the question to yet another commission. In June 1857, this commission recommended by a majority vote against a South Kensington location for the gallery. The Prince was sufficiently annoyed to call the report ‘hardly honest’.²²⁰ In effect, this was the end of the scheme, although he had the ground on Kensington Gore kept vacant during his lifetime. Within the Royal family hopes were still alive that the National Gallery might yet move to South Kensington in 1866.²²¹ As this did not occur, perhaps it was hoped that the RAH, which was built where the National Gallery would have stood, could nonetheless influence the progression of art in Britain.

The narrative above illustrates how Prince Albert, Henry Cole, Queen Victoria and the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 each contributed to the conception of a vision for the Royal Albert Hall. Prince Albert and the Royal Commission each proposed ideas for the application of the surplus from the Great Exhibition, and also suggested that the surplus should be used to further the same designs as the Great Exhibition. This meant that the surplus should be used to promote art and science. Henry Cole’s vision for the surplus was clearly manifested in the idea of a memorial hall, and he also had a strong vision for how to get the Hall built. However, he does not appear to have provided equally compelling arguments for how the Hall was to be used once it was built. Finally, Queen Victoria’s contribution was to assist Cole. Her vision centred around her wish to commemorate her late husband, and her status, influence and wealth made this possible. Together, these four protagonists created a vision for the conception and construction of the Royal Albert Hall.

²²⁰ 1851 Comm., W.A. XIV, 18 in ‘The Estate of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851’, in ‘Survey of London’: Volume 38, South Kensington Museums Area, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard (London, 1975), 49–73 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol38/pp49-73> [accessed 8 April 2015].

²²¹ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 103–104.

1.3 Science and Art, Albertopolis and London

The inscription on the outside of the Hall states that the Hall was built for the ‘advancement of the arts and science’. Why was it felt necessary that art and science needed to both progress and be integrated in Britain at this time? That this was an intrinsic part of the vision orchestrated by Prince Albert and the Commissioners for the 1851 Exhibition shows the reasons for the union.

We can best understand the RAH in relation to the function of comparable settings. With relation to the arts, the output of other London venues at this time will be examined in order to give a broad perspective of what other halls were promoting. Concerning science, the Hall will be explored in relation to its sister institutions of Albertopolis. Although there is not space here to give a complete account of every other music venue in London, and every other institution in South Kensington at this time, a general survey will provide some understanding of whether the Hall was unique in its proclamation of unity for the arts and sciences, and how this affected its identity as an institution.

To understand why the Royal Albert Hall was proposed as an institution that would advocate both art and science, one needs to return to Prince Albert and the Great Exhibition of 1851. As we know, in Albert’s speech at Mansion House in 1850 he proposed the unification of science, industry and art, and explained how the three were intertwined:

Science discovers these laws of power, motion and transformation; industry applies them to the raw matter which the earth yields us in abundance, but which becomes valuable only by knowledge; art teaches us the immutable laws of beauty and symmetry, and gives to our production forms in accordance with them.²²²

²²² Davis, *The Victorians and Germany*, 298.

Furthermore, in his Memorandum suggesting how the surplus from the 1851 Exhibition should be applied, Prince Albert states that:

we should ensure that the Great Exhibition of 1851 should not be a transitory event of mere temporary interest, but that its objects would be perpetuated, that the different industrial pursuits of mankind, Arts and Sciences should not again relapse into a state of comparative isolation from each other, in which their progress is necessarily retarded, and that the different nations would remain in that immediate relation of mutual assistance by which these pursuits are incalculably advanced and their good will towards each other permanently fortified.²²³

This indicates why science and art were so entwined in the vision for the RAH. Since the Hall was built on land purchased with the proceeds of the Exhibition, and in memorial to Prince Albert, one could see that the Hall might represent some of the same principles as the Exhibition.

The Exhibition itself did integrate art and science with some success. Jeffrey Auerbach, in his study of the Exhibition, suggests that the category which best illustrated the educational purposes of the Exhibition and the interrelatedness of commerce and culture, was that of finished manufactures. It was in this category that producers were educated about new materials as well as taste. The Exhibition attempted to turn Britain into a society that produced and consumed in a tasteful way.²²⁴ Furthermore, although Prince Albert's initial suggestion for the surplus, quoted earlier, was not supported by the Exhibition's executive committee (it was agreed that the endeavour was too complex), all involved concurred that a single college of arts and manufacturers would be created.²²⁵ Alongside his vision for the objectives of the Great Exhibition, it could be suggested that

²²³ 'Memorandum by the Prince Consort on the appropriation of the surplus of the Exhibition of 1851' in *Observations on the application of the surplus of Exhibition of MDCCCLI by his Royal Highness The Prince Consort* (Osborne) August 1851, 4. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, H/1 (Prince Albert's correspondence) Folder 19, document 69.

²²⁴ Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 108.

²²⁵ Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 197; Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*, 87.

Prince Albert would have been supportive of any institution which aimed to unite art and science.

Additionally, it is likely that there was a political element behind the unification of art and science. During the early nineteenth century, science and the clergy were vying for cultural authority, and while this was the case, government grants to cultural institutions were not feasible. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, so the relationship between science, the arts and culture and the state started to change. The Social Science Association (founded in 1857) was successful in providing a venue for discussion outside the formal structures of the state. In the final quarter of the nineteenth century more knowledge was generated within the state, and there was thus greater confidence in the abilities of officials to understand social processes. Thus, state and parliament became more involved in social undertakings, part of which was advancing science, technology and art.²²⁶

‘Science’ within the Victorian context was different from how it is understood today. Science in 1851 was considered within technology and industry. At this point the Victorians were in the throes of the Industrial Revolution and science was synonymous with machinery, industry and invention. Furthermore, during the Victorian era there was also great interest in the philosophy of science. However, this encompassed several issues. For example, it was commonly believed that there were constraints on human knowledge, since knowledge was shaped by the capabilities of the human mind. Science was also considered subjective, and necessitating interpretation. Indeed, some Victorian theorists of science understood their project as essentially interpretative. Science was also absorbed within the moral arguments of the age: the historians Lorraine Daston and Peter

²²⁶ This is discussed in more detail in Martin Daunt, ed., *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 211.

Galison have presented research which suggests that during the late 19th century a moralised form of objectivity became the ideal in science image-making,²²⁷ while the philosopher George Henry Lewes described scientific laws as mental creations or ‘ideal constructions’. He stated that, ‘Facts are mere letters which have their meaning, not in themselves alone, but in their positions in the sentence’.²²⁸

Additionally, there were political undertones regarding the concept of science during the Victorian era, especially concerning the relationship between Britain and Germany. Although historians dispute the extent to which it was actually the case, Britain felt itself to be culturally and scientifically inferior to Germany during much of the Victorian era.²²⁹ Indeed, despite the fact that the Great Exhibition showcased the strength of Britain’s industry, the historian John Davis has argued that the concept of German superiority ran as a continuum throughout Victorian reform, that it was strongly connected with cultural and intellectual discussion and that there was a scientific decline in Britain during this period.²³⁰ Nationally, the emergence of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1849,²³¹ created a pressure group for the further promotion and expansion of science.²³²

However, anyone wishing to pursue a career in science was forced to look to Germany for training, and after 1830 it became ‘practically obligatory for them to do so’.²³³ The main difference between the two countries was in the education they provided:

²²⁷ Suzy Anger, *Victorian Interpretation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 85–95.

²²⁸ Anger, *Victorian Interpretation*, 94.

²²⁹ This is discussed in more detail in W.B. Stephens and Jeremy Black, eds., *Education in Britain: 1750–1914* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 125; Bennett Zon, ed., *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Volume 1* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1999), 3; Davis, *The Victorians and Germany*, 256; Richard Scully, *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860–1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 88.

²³⁰ Davis, *The Victorians and Germany*, 256; Stephens and Black, eds., *Education in Britain: 1750–1914* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 125.

²³¹ Stephens and Black, eds., *Education in Britain: 1750–1914*, 129.

²³² *Ibid.*, 285.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 297.

the main emphasis of British education in the early 19th century was upon classics and theology. Classical texts were used to teach languages, ancient history, philosophy, ethics and politics.²³⁴ In Germany, however, there was a focus on technical education. In Britain there was very little expansion in technical education in the third quarter of the 19th century. For example, in 1901 there were 3,370 science and technology students in British universities, technical schools and colleges. In Germany there were 10,740 students in technical schools alone.²³⁵ Furthermore, at a series of lectures on the Great Exhibition's results, Lyon Playfair (who had been a special commissioner for the Exhibition) stated:

...a rapid transition is taking place in Industry; that the raw materials, formerly our capital advantage over other nations, are gradually being equalised in price, and made available to all by the improvements in locomotion; and that Industry must in future be supported, not by a competition of local advantages, but by a competition of intellect. All European nations, except England, have recognised this fact, their thinking men have proclaimed it; their governments have adopted it as a principle of state; and every town has now its schools, in which are taught the scientific principles involved in manufactures, while each metropolis rejoices in an Industrial University, teaching how to use the alphabet of Science in reading Manufacturers aright.²³⁶

It was support for this argument which led to the foundation of the Department of Science and Art, which Playfair jointly directed with Cole.

With the above in mind, the likelihood is that when the RAH was built it was considered part of the movement for Britain to become a world leader in science as well as art, and as such it was necessary for the Hall to be an active promoter of both. Graph 1, below, shows the number of days each year on which there was a scientific event over the three time periods explored within this thesis: 1871–1890; 1930–1955 and 1995–2015:

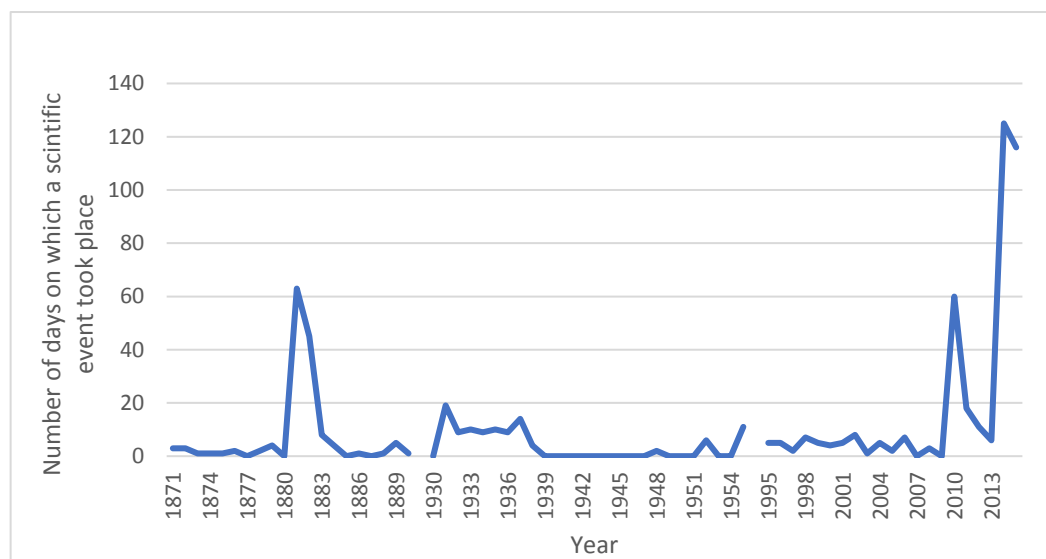
²³⁴ Ibid., 163.

²³⁵ Royle, *Modern Britain. A Social History 1750 – 2011. Third Edition*, 458.

²³⁶ Davis, *The Victorians and Germany*, 285–286.

Graph

1:



Number of Scientific Events Held at the Royal Albert Hall: 1871–2015

Aside from the peaks in the 1800s when lengthy exhibitions took place over a large number of days, the number of events related to science at the RAH remained minimal until very recently. It is worth noting that the Hall was only one of several institutions dedicated to science within the cultural quarter of South Kensington. The Royal Geographical Society (1830), the Science Museum (1852, as part of the South Kensington Museum), the Natural History Museum (1881), and the Imperial College (1887, as the Imperial Institute) and its subsidiaries were instrumental in promoting science in Albertopolis, and within Britain. It is worth remembering that the RAH was one of the earliest institutions built in South Kensington. If one suggests that the concept of the advancement of science at the Hall was due to Prince Albert's objectives for the Great Exhibition, rather than a singular vision for the Hall, it is possible to see that these objectives have been increasingly realised as Albertopolis has grown.

The Science Museum was at first part of the South Kensington Museum, which was founded in 1852. The science collections included Animal Products, Food, Educational Apparatus and Building Materials. Within the building there was also a separate exhibition of machinery. The general expansion of these science collections was such that during the 1860s they were gradually moved across Exhibition Road into buildings originally constructed for the International Exhibition of 1862.²³⁷ These collections continued to grow, but by haphazard additions rather than by consistent planning. A major step forward came in 1876, when an exhibition, the ‘Special Loan Collection of Scientific Instruments’ was held. At its end, many of the exhibits were retained to form the basis of what are now scientific collections of international importance.

From 1893, the science collections had their own director but were still administered as part of the South Kensington Museum. The accommodation was by now inadequate and the scientific community argued strongly for a museum in its own right. The science and engineering collections were finally separated administratively and the name ‘Science Museum’, in informal use since 1885, was officially adopted in 1909. A departmental committee was appointed in 1910 to plan the building of the Science Museum with Sir Hugh Bell as chairman and made recommendations as to the design and content of the buildings which have influenced the development of the Science Museum ever since. It envisaged a range of buildings all the way from Exhibition Road to Queensgate. Work began on the East Block in 1913 but owing to the First World War it was not completed and fully opened until 1928.²³⁸ In terms of the vision for the surplus of

²³⁷ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 269–274.

²³⁸ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 269–274.

the Great Exhibition put forward by both Prince Albert and the 1851 Commission, one could argue that after 1928 it became less imperative for the Hall to take on the concept of the promotion of science, given that the clear function of the Science Museum was to do exactly that.

Indeed, science became very well represented within Albertopolis as a whole. The natural sciences are advocated within the Natural History Museum, which was conceived in 1864 through a competition to design a new museum. The winning entry was submitted by the civil engineer Captain Francis Fowke, who died shortly afterwards. The scheme was taken over by Alfred Waterhouse who substantially revised the agreed plans, and designed the façades in his own idiosyncratic Romanesque style inspired by his frequent visits to the continent. Work began in 1873 and was completed in 1880. The new museum opened in 1881, although it was not completed until 1883.²³⁹

Science education also began in South Kensington with the creation of Imperial College. This first came into existence as the Imperial Institute, which was created in 1887 to celebrate Queen Victoria's Jubilee. Funded by subscription, the intention behind it was that it would be a scientific research institution dedicated to exploring and developing the raw materials of countries of the Empire.²⁴⁰ It was administered by a governing body with the then-Prince of Wales as president. Queen Victoria laid the foundation stone in 1888 and opened the building in 1893. However, in educational and government circles, the debate about the need for a British higher technical education institution with applications to industry continued. In 1906, the Board of the Education Committee reported that a high-level scientific and technological educational institution should be established, combining the Royal College of Science, the Royal School of

²³⁹ Ibid., 154.

²⁴⁰ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Arrow Books, 2003), 144.

Mines and the City & Guilds College. The charter forming Imperial College, was granted on 8 July 1907.²⁴¹

The Royal Geographical Society was also intended to promote the advancement of science, geographical science. Founded in 1830, like many learned societies it started as a dining club in London where select members held informal dinner debates on current scientific issues and ideas. It later became known as the Royal Geographical Society and was granted its Royal charter by Queen Victoria in 1859. In 1912 the Society purchased, and in 1913 moved into, its current location on Kensington Gore. The history of the society was closely allied for many of its earliest years with colonial exploration in Africa, the Indian subcontinent, the polar regions and especially central Asia. The Society also devoted much attention to education and was responsible for both the incorporation of the study of geography in schools and for the first university places in the field.²⁴²

The oldest of Albertopolis' institutions is the Victoria and Albert Museum.²⁴³ The collection was established in 1852 as the Museum of Manufacturers, with the aims of making works of art available to all, educating working people and inspiring British designers and manufacturers. Profits from the Exhibition were used to establish the museum, and exhibits were purchased to form the basis of its collections. The museum moved to its present site in 1857 and was renamed the South Kensington Museum. In 1899, Queen Victoria laid the foundation stone of a new building designed to give the museum a grand façade and main entrance. To mark the occasion, it was renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum, in memory of the enthusiastic support Prince Albert had

²⁴¹ This narrative has been drawn from Richard G. Williams and Anne Barrett, *Imperial College, a Pictorial History* (London: Imperial College Archives, 1988) and Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 258–266.

²⁴² The Royal Geographical Society: History, accessed April 24, 2017: <http://www.rgs.org/AboutUs/History.htm>

²⁴³ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 256–7.

given to its foundation.²⁴⁴ Although this museum did not contribute to the area's promotion of science, it is integral to the promotion of the arts. Indeed, as we shall see in chapter 2, during the Hall's early years the most frequent type of event held at the Hall was the classical concert. Therefore, the fact that the other arts and sciences were still being promoted (albeit not at the Hall itself) suggests that the vision for the Hall was being fulfilled throughout the area as a whole.

However, because it was concerts of classical music which were most prevalent during the early years of the Hall it is necessary to examine other venues which specialised in this type of performance. The *Musical Times* provides a snapshot into some of the 'London Concert Halls During the Century'²⁴⁵ ('the century' being from 1844–1944). The vision, and subsequent fate, of venues such as Exeter Hall, St. James' Hall, Queen's Hall, the Crystal Palace and the Alexandra Palace suggests why some venues prospered, while others did not. This in turn can assist in our understanding of why the RAH survived, and which elements of its vision facilitated this.

Exeter Hall opened in 1831 on the Strand and was, arguably, the centre of London's choral activities and also a place of religious activity. It was initially built with the purpose to 'contain a room large enough to hold any meeting, however numerous, with a smaller hall for lesser audiences, and a variety of committee rooms and offices, to be occupied by several societies'.²⁴⁶ Indeed, it seems to have fulfilled this vision at least during the early years, because it was in Exeter Hall, in June 1840, that Prince Albert made his first public appearance in England, when he presided at a meeting for the abolition of the slave trade. Exeter Hall was also the home of the concerts of the Sacred

²⁴⁴ This narrative has been drawn from Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*.

²⁴⁵ Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944. A Century of Musical Life as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, volume 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 204–213.

²⁴⁶ Random Recollections of Exeter Hall, in 1834–1837; by One of The Protestant Party (1838), 5–13.

Harmonic Society, Mendelssohn conducted his works *St. Paul* and *Elijah* there, and other musical evenings and rehearsals for the Handel Festival took place there. However, in the 1879–80 season new management curtailed the performance of oratorios there, as they felt that the performance of ‘oratorios for amusement’ was improper and that the lives of the singers might not always reflect the sentiments they uttered, so making their singing insincere.²⁴⁷ Oratorios were therefore transferred to the RAH. One could imagine that oratorios were well suited to the RAH, due to its Royal and therefore religious, connections. Although organ recitals continued, this was the start of Exeter Hall’s decline, and it closed in 1907.²⁴⁸ By moving away from its original vision as a space in which to hold meetings, and having a somewhat narrow remit as a venue in which oratorios took place, Exeter Hall was left vulnerable to competition, in this case the RAH.

Opened in 1858, St. James’ Hall was designed by the architect Owen Jones, who had decorated the inside of the Crystal Palace. The main hall was built by two music publishing firms, Chappell & Co. and Cramer & Co. Their vision for St. James’ was to attract the growing audiences for musical performances that attended the Crystal Palace.²⁴⁹ This appeared successful initially: with 2000 seats it was therefore arguably London’s principal concert hall at this time and it became famous for its ‘Monday Pops’ and Ballad concerts.²⁵⁰ Furthermore, the Philharmonic Society of London moved to St. James’ in 1869 in a bid to obtain a wider audience and compete with the Crystal Palace and other larger venues. However, in 1894 the Society moved to the newly built Queen’s

²⁴⁷ Percy Howard, ‘Exeter Hall, The Strand London, 1831–1907: The Passing of Exeter Hall’, *The Civil Service Observer*, May 1907, accessed February 12, 2013.

²⁴⁸ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944*, volume 1, 205.

²⁴⁹ Hermione Hobhouse, *A History of Regent Street* (Macdonald and Jane’s, London, 1975), 84.

²⁵⁰ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944*, volume 1, 206–208.

Hall.²⁵¹ St. James' continued in use until it was demolished in 1905.²⁵² Thus, it would seem that the vision for how St. James' was to be used was also too narrow for it to achieve longevity.

The Queen's Hall, designed by the architect Thomas Knightley, was opened in 1893. Its vision was to become London's foremost concert venue, overtaking St. James' on account of its superb acoustics, despite being considered visually rather dull and shabby.²⁵³ Queen's Hall is arguably most famous as the first home of the Promenade concerts ('the Proms') founded by Robert Newman and Henry Wood in 1895. In the 1930s, Queen's Hall became the main London base of two new orchestras, the BBC Symphony Orchestra and the London Philharmonic Orchestra. Both ensembles were highly successful, and were considered to have raised the standard of orchestral playing in London.²⁵⁴ However, in 1941 the building was destroyed by an incendiary bomb in the Blitz. The Proms were subsequently moved to the Royal Albert Hall. Unlike the other concert halls described above Queen's Hall did not fail due to a narrow vision, which did not allow it to be financially viable. However, it is included here because of its connection to the Hall through the Proms. The fact that the Proms moved to the RAH was extremely significant to its success at that time, and they remain integral to its vision on account of the fact that they contribute hugely to the Hall's classical music output, which has been part of its vision since 1871.

²⁵¹ There is a wealth of literature available regarding St. James' and the Philharmonic Society. The following titles provide further reading: Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); William Weber, 'Miscellany vs. Homogeneity: Concert Programmes at the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music in the 1880s' in *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 299–320.

²⁵² Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944*, volume 1, 206–208.

²⁵³ Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall: 1893–1941* (London: Rider and Co, 1944), 18.

²⁵⁴ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944*, volume 1, 211–212.

The other location which was integral to the musical landscape of London during the Victorian era was the Crystal Palace. After the Great Exhibition, it was decided to relocate the Palace to an area of south London, next to Sydenham Hill. The Crystal Palace was the home of the Handel Triennial Festivals (1857–1926) which originated from the Great Handel Festival in 1857 and the centenary celebrations of Handel’s death in 1859. The festivals were organised by Robert Bowley, librarian of the Sacred Harmonic Society who, in 1858, became general manager of the Palace. Musical forces of 2,000 singers and an orchestra of 400 were amassed for the Great Handel Festival. Thousands descended regularly on London’s Crystal Palace for mammoth choral contests.²⁵⁵ The *Musical Times*, in its report from July 1857 stated, ‘but never yet in the world’s history has choral music been sung to greater perfection, or its vast powers in affecting the human mind more strongly felt’.²⁵⁶

Huge musical forces were swamped by the audience, which, over the course of the festival, in 1857 amounted to over 81,000 patrons. By the 1890s, the Palace’s popularity and state of repair had deteriorated, and in 1911 bankruptcy was declared. In 1914 the Earl of Plymouth purchased it to save it from developers. A public subscription subsequently acquired it for the nation and in the 1920s a board of trustees was set up under the guidance of manager Sir Henry Buckland. This restoration brought visitors back, enabling the Palace to make a small profit once more. However, 30 November 1936 brought the final catastrophe—fire. Within hours the Palace was destroyed: the glow was visible across eight counties. As many as 100,000 people came to Sydenham Hill to watch the blaze, among them Winston Churchill, who said, ‘This is the end of an age’.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Cross, *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600*, 96.

²⁵⁶ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944*, volume 1, 197–199.

²⁵⁷ Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3. Musgrave’s book gives a detailed account of the history of the Crystal Palace.

Built in 1873, Alexandra Palace was north London's answer to the Crystal Palace: a place for recreation, leisure and culture. Set in 200 acres of landscaped gardens, concert series were planned for the concert room which could seat 3,000, and an organ was installed by the same maker who had made the Albert Hall's organ, Henry Willis.²⁵⁸ The Palace offered a huge variety of entertainments: orchestral and brass band concerts took place alongside circuses and snake charmers. However, the Palace struggled financially: an arrogant approach to its finances, coupled with declining patronage, led to extended closures and the Palace stood on the brink of disaster on several occasions.²⁵⁹ Despite argument that the Palace was intended 'for the people',²⁶⁰ the management could not sustain popular interest. Nevertheless, the local authorities came to the rescue and bought the Palace in 1900, after which changes were made to the building, although entertainments still took place. Restoration work took place in 1988 and a large redevelopment began in 2011: therefore it appears that the Palace will continue to provide amusement in the years to come.

One point to make regarding the halls and venues discussed above is that the Royal Albert Hall has been fortunate to survive physically. It also managed to remain financially viable, as will be explained in chapter 2. However, the fact that this fate did befall other spaces benefitted the RAH. Oratorios moved from Exeter Hall, 'pops' concerts from St. James', the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, 'the Proms', from Queen's Hall and large-scale choral concerts from the Crystal Palace. On a rudimentary level this helped the Hall to continue financially.

²⁵⁸ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944*, volume 1, 199–200.

²⁵⁹ Paul Watt and Alison Rabinovici, 'Alexandra Palace: Music, Leisure, and the cultivation of 'higher civilization' in the late nineteenth century', *Music & Letters* 95 (2014), 183–212.

²⁶⁰ Watt and Rabinovici, 'Alexandra Palace: Music, Leisure, and the cultivation of 'higher civilization' in the late nineteenth century', 212.

However, there is an argument that these events have also shaped the Hall's identity. For example, the performance of Handel's *Messiah* which takes place every year on Good Friday is now inextricably bound up with the RAH. If the concert moved to a different venue, it would simply be a different event. Additionally, vis-à-vis the Victorian penchant for rational recreation and self-improvement, it would appear that many of the halls discussed above were part of this movement. Indeed, in 1886, a writer in the *Christian Commonwealth* mocked Exeter Hall for providing no more than 'a Bible reading' as an alternative to London's 'brightly lit theatres' on a Saturday night; a furious exchange ensued.²⁶¹ Furthermore, 'educational'²⁶² concerts were part of the musical scene at this time. Queen's Hall, the first home of the Proms, and the Crystal Palace were known for their cultivating concerts, as well as simply for entertainment. Thus, by taking over concerts which had previously been held at these venues, the Hall may have become more popular. Finally, there is little doubt that the movement of classical music concerts to the RAH during its early years has influenced the output of the Hall. As this tended towards music and entertainment, the RAH became established as a venue for those kinds of performance, rather than for science and other cultural activities. It was therefore primarily for music that the Hall became known.

1.4 Evolution of vision

Events of national or state importance which are attended by the Royal family, such as the annual Festival of Remembrance, have taken place at the Hall for many decades. These events lend the Hall an air of prestige, which has strengthened the perception of the Hall

²⁶¹ Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Religion*, 239.

²⁶² David Deutsch, *British Literature and Classical Music (Historicizing Modernism)* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 95–138.

as a place of national importance. This has led to the Hall being described as ‘a microcosm of British social history’.²⁶³ Occasions of national and international importance are often reflected in events held at the Hall. There are too many to list here, but a sample across the Hall’s history include:

- Between 1908 and 1918 the Royal Albert Hall hosted more than 20 women’s suffrage meetings.
- 1912—Titanic Band Memorial Concert.
- 1929—The ‘lying-in-state’ of Salvation Army General Bramwell Booth. This is the only ‘lying-in-state’ to have taken place at the Hall.
- 1933—Meeting to Raise Funds for the Refugee Assistance Committee hosted by Albert Einstein, who had escaped Nazi Germany.
- 1940—1945 Second World War Concerts. On 23 November 1944 ‘To You, America, A Thanksgiving Day Celebration’ saw Prime Minister Winston Churchill rally the audience
- 1963—The Great Pop Prom. This was the first time that The Beatles and The Rolling Stones performed on the same bill.
- 1996—Nelson Mandela State Visit.
- 2011—Mikhail Gorbachev Eightieth Birthday Celebration.

As the above illustrates, hosting events of national importance has been an ever-present part of the Hall’s calendar, despite otherwise fluctuating commercial activities. This has affected the Hall, contributing to raising its profile, and increasing the likelihood that other high-profile events will be held there. Additionally, each event contributes cumulatively to its identity. Historians have recognised that similar venues such as the Crystal Palace and Alexandra Palace held various meanings for different people, and the concept that these different meanings form part of the Hall’s vision is the next stage in this development.²⁶⁴

In the Annual Report and Consolidated Accounts for 2015, the vision for the Royal Albert Hall is stated as:

Our vision for the current Business Plan is to achieve maximum public benefit by continuing to enhance the Hall’s unrivalled history of performance on the world’s most famous stage, offering all our stakeholders the very best possible experiences

²⁶³ Personal communication: Jacky Cowdrey, RAH Archivist 1982–2012.

²⁶⁴ James Buzard, Joseph W. Childers and Eileen Gillooly, eds., *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 151 and 270–291.

and making the most of all commercial opportunities.²⁶⁵

However, this is not an artistic vision, rather a statement of intent regarding the Hall's status as a charity and its commercial endeavours. This chapter has thus far considered those individuals and organisations who were responsible for inspiring and cultivating a vision for it. Although the Hall did not promote one specific vision during its early years, there were factors which did affect and shape its identity.

The early vision of the RAH, described above, can now be compared with the period 2005–2015. Whether the Hall developed an artistic vision, alongside that of its commercial and public work, and with whom the responsibility for fulfilling this vision lies, is investigated. The section below draws on several sources: documents from the Charity Commission, the Hall's accounts and business plan, and interviews with members of staff. By drawing these sources together, it is possible to explore the Royal Albert Hall's vision in the 21st century.

As noted on its website, the Royal Albert Hall is a registered charity, held in trust for the nation's benefit.²⁶⁶ A Grade I listed building, it receives no public funding for its running costs, instead it relies on private and charitable donations alongside its operating surplus.²⁶⁷ The Charity Commission records the activities of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences as the need 'To maintain the Royal Albert Hall, a Grade 1 Listed Building of Historical and Cultural Significance and, through its use, to promote the

²⁶⁵ http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/SIR/ENDS43/0000254543_SIR_20131231_E.PDF – Accessed 06/06/16.

²⁶⁶ 'The Royal Albert Hall: About the Charity', accessed April 23, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/about-the-charity/>.

²⁶⁷ 'The Royal Albert Hall: Governance', accessed April 23, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/about-the-charity/governance/>

understanding, appreciate and enjoyment of the arts and sciences’.²⁶⁸ Although more than 140 years have passed, the RAH still adheres to the statement inscribed on its exterior—it remains committed to promoting the arts and sciences in vision, if not always in fact. The success of this declaration will be discussed in chapter 2, but nonetheless, the fact that it is still a declared objective of the Hall suggests that it remains relevant to the Hall today.

More in-depth material concerning the Hall’s objectives is given in the ‘Summary Information Return from 2013’ provided for the Charity Commission by the Hall. In answer to the key elements of the Hall’s strategy it is stated:

Our Business Plan to 2016 funds essential major building development to enhance the experience of audiences and artists by improving existing spaces, creating new back stage accommodation and replacing building services infrastructure and plant. The budget cost is £37 million. The plan covers: Growth: continued enhancement of the performance programme; further development of commercial opportunities; building enhancements; and customer service improvements. Access: if the Hall itself is to be seen as a relevant, contemporary and exciting destination, as well as an historical one, access must be improved. Profile: every year we work with tens of thousands of people spending hundreds of thousands of our own funds helping them and other charities to raise many millions of pounds. Our public benefit role needs to be better explained and promoted, together with the digitising of the Hall’s archives; our ticket subsidy scheme; our education partnerships; and our brand.²⁶⁹

Furthermore, in response to the Charity Commission’s question ‘How do you respond to their needs [those who benefit from the charity] and how do they influence the charity’s development?’ the Hall provided the following response:

Programming reflects attendance levels at the Hall and for broadcast events; The Hall’s calendar must always include community based events; Discount on rentals to registered charities hiring the Hall. Annual ‘Free Charity Let’; Building on the feedback on our education projects – including those undertaken in partnership with other (academic and cultural) institutions, by young participants, schools and others involved in the events and projects; Making the Hall available at reduced rentals to encourage the further development and success of young artists; Promoting events featuring young artists,

²⁶⁸ ‘The Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences’, accessed November 29, 2016.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityWithPartB.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=254543&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

²⁶⁹ ‘Summary Information Return 2013: THE CORPORATION OF THE HALL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES’, accessed November 29, 2016,
http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/SIR/ENDS43/0000254543_SIR_20131231_E.PDF

workshops and groups in the Elgar Room; and Expanding the programme of day–time tours of the Hall and increasing access.²⁷⁰

As was the case in the RAH’s ‘Report and Consolidated Accounts’ this statement does not include an artistic vision. For example, nowhere does the RAH include statements of intent such as ‘15% of the Hall’s output will be classical music’, or that it intends ‘to commission an opera, exhibition or a piece of art’. The Hall does seek to fulfil its charitable objectives; but this is mainly through widening its audience demographic, and creating a unique experience when they are there, rather than through what is being provided artistically.

In 2012, two members of the Hall’s staff were interviewed by this author: James Ainscough, who was then director of Finance and Administration, and Lucy Noble, who was then head of Programming and Education. In this interview, James Ainscough explained that, alongside the Hall’s governing documents, it is the Charity’s trustees who have a vision for the Hall and the executive (management) who realise it.²⁷¹ This assertion is supported by the answers provided by members of the Hall’s management team in interviews undertaken between 2013 and 2015.

Having ascertained that the trustees are ultimately responsible for the vision of the Royal Albert Hall, it seemed necessary to determine to what extent the Hall’s output was controlled by them and their vision. Therefore, it was important to assess how much autonomy the executive felt that they had in determining the Hall’s output and what they felt was the level of the trustee’s involvement.

²⁷⁰ ‘Summary Information Return 2013: THE CORPORATION OF THE HALL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES’, accessed November 29, 2016, http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/SIR/ENDS43/0000254543_SIR_20131231_E.PDF

²⁷¹ J. Ainscough, (June 8, 2012). Personal communication.

Three members of the Hall's executive referred to the challenges of working for the trustees. For example, the chief executive at the time stated that, 'Sometimes the trustees feel like they own the Hall. However, I would ask if this comes out of a place of positivity?',²⁷² while the director of Finance and Administration said that, 'It is hard when the trustees have different objectives from the Hall's staff, but it is rare for this to happen. As a member of the executive you have a leadership role, but you can't do exactly as you want'.²⁷³

It would appear that occasionally there is conflict between the aspirations of the Hall's staff and those who are running the charity. This is supported by the comment from the chief operating officer at the time, who claimed that the trustees, 'can and do put pressure on the Hall's staff...'²⁷⁴ There was a near consensus of opinion that members of the Hall's staff can feel pressured to achieve the objectives set by the trustees. The next logical step was to discover to what extent this perceived pressure affected how the executive viewed their roles. Therefore, I asked if they each held a personal vision for the Hall. The chief executive's (Chris Cotton) answer concerned the performance of classical music. He stated that he wished 'to inspire both professionals and amateurs in their music making and for people to appreciate it—either in the main auditorium or in the smaller spaces. Help to assist and promote charities and help them to get across their own goals and objectives. I believe that the Hall is now fulfilling its original objectives more than ever'.²⁷⁵ The director of Finance and Administration (James Ainscough) aspired 'to engage more with the patrons pre- and post-event and to create a range of experiences for them. I would like for there to be more education and outreach work, perhaps on site, but

²⁷² C. Cotton, (September 29, 2014). Personal communication.

²⁷³ J. Ainscough, (October 10, 2014). Personal communication.

²⁷⁴ J. Hope, (October 27, 2014). Personal communication.

²⁷⁵ C. Cotton (September 29, 2014). Personal communication.

also off site'. He also discussed music in particular, saying that, 'I would also like the Hall to have a greater impact on music at a national level (outside of the Proms) as well as an impact on music in London.'²⁷⁶ The chief operating officer (Jasper Hope) commented that he wanted 'to change current perceptions of the Hall and make certain that the live entertainment at the Hall is great'.²⁷⁷ This suggests that he was not satisfied with how the Hall was perceived at the time.

Perceptions will be explored later in the present study, but the chief operating officer's comments, and those of the director of Finance, both focussed on music as relevant to their aspirations for the Hall. The director of External Affairs (Sarah Woods) commented that the Hall needed 'to remain attractive and relevant. In today's world remaining relevant is particularly important.'²⁷⁸ Finally, the head of Front of House (Julia Robinson) remarked, 'I would say that the Hall does not have a vision as such. Rather, it has objectives to meet—the Hall is a charity, it has a history which needs to be celebrated and it is an entertainment venue of the highest level where service must be exceptional. These factors influence the Hall's objectives.'²⁷⁹ Whereas some of the other members of staff suggested quite extensive proposals for their visions for the Hall, hers was perhaps the most pragmatic, and perhaps also the most accurate.

Furthermore, the fact that each member of staff interviewed had their own aims and objectives for the RAH implies that although their roles may be to implement the vision of the trustees, they feel that they have enough independence to aspire to shape these visions. However, it seems likely that their success (both individually and collectively) would be dependent on their relationship with the trustees.

²⁷⁶ J. Ainscough (October 10, 2014). Personal communication.

²⁷⁷ J. Hope (October 27, 2014). Personal communication.

²⁷⁸ S. Woods (September 30, 2014). Personal communication.

²⁷⁹ J. Robinson (March 10, 2014). Personal communication.

Who promotes events at the Royal Albert Hall?

As discussed previously, until the mid–2000s the RAH was primarily a receiving house.

In general, it did not promote its own events, but hosted those of other promoters.

However, there was a change in the 2000s: the Hall began to programme many more events which it co-promoted, and events which were promoted only by the Hall. This has been significant, for it gives the RAH much greater control over its output and therefore could allow it the possibility of shaping an artistic vision. Whereas previously the Hall needed to accept most events it was offered for financial reasons, with greater financial security has come greater autonomy. Nonetheless, the Hall still has no published artistic vision.

Conclusion

Over the course of the Royal Albert Hall's existence there does not appear to have been much change in terms of its aims and objectives. It remains committed to promoting science and art. Furthermore, the Hall has been influenced by the visions of both individuals and organisations. From the designs of Prince Albert and Henry Cole in the Victorian era, to the trustees and management of the Hall in the 20th and 21st centuries, it has been shaped by numerous ideas and opinions. To what extent these visions have been realised, we shall see in chapters 2 and 3.

Additionally, one could argue that the Hall is the product of the culture and politics of the Victorian era. Finally, regarding the inscription with which this chapter opened, it would appear certain that the Royal Albert Hall was built as part of the movement to promote science and art. However, although this was stated as an aim of Prince Albert's, it was a general aim of his, rather than a considered approach towards the

‘Central Hall’. The fact that the Hall continues to adhere to this vision suggests that it has had an element of success, as will be seen in greater detail in the following chapters.

Chapter 2: Practicalities

Introduction

Chapter one discussed the vision behind the building of the Royal Albert Hall and the influencing factors and individuals who determined the Hall's objectives; it also discussed how that shifted in the twentieth century. This chapter considers how, and to what extent, that vision was realised, and will discuss the practical circumstances which have shaped the evolution of the Hall over the course of its existence.

A narrative of how the Hall was built will begin this chapter. This is important, because the physical properties of the Hall have been a recurring factor in its identity as a multi-purpose venue. The Hall is briefly compared with two other venues, the Royal Festival Hall and the Royal Opera House in order to exemplify the Hall's finances in a wider context. The second section provides an explanation of the Hall's governance structure, because this has been instrumental in deciding which performances and events have been permitted to take place at the Hall. A description of the events which have taken, and continue to take, place at the Hall form part 3 because this illustrates the effects of the governance structure in real terms. Finally, part 4 explores the type and number of events in relation to the finances of the Hall. This also illustrates how the Hall has evolved over the course of its lifetime.

Investigating these practical features provides a deeper understanding of how the Royal Albert Hall, which is a fixed cultural space, has been repeatedly reshaped and re-inscribed. Furthermore, it shows how the evolution which has taken place has contributed to the Hall's identity.

2.1 The Construction of the Hall

The Royal Albert Hall is an impressive construction and a feat of Victorian engineering. Currently there is no other venue in London which is similar in size and shape. The following narrative explains the process of financing and constructing the Hall.²⁸⁰ It draws on a range of evidence including archival material and financial details, such as the Hall's Charity Commission documentation, which have not been previously examined and are therefore original contributions to our understanding of the Hall.

As explained in chapter 1, it was Henry Cole who initially galvanised support for the construction of a great hall in South Kensington. With his success in gaining the patronage of the Queen, and the subsequent agreement of the Prince of Wales to become the Hall's president, Cole had backing at the highest level. By mid-1865 the rest of the funds had begun to accumulate with some speed: the Commissioners for the Great Exhibition agreed to contribute a quarter of the building cost, up to a maximum of £50,000 provided the remaining finance was raised within eighteen months, and they also agreed to lease the land on which the Hall would be built. Cole had sent out prospectuses offering leases on boxes at £1000 and £500, and single seats for £100. The Queen bought two boxes, the Prince of Wales bought one and other members of the Royal family also donated. Before long £100,200 had been raised in subscriptions and this, together with the amount assured by the commissioners, meant that by April 1866 the finances were less than £50,000 from their target of £200,000. The final amount came from an unexpected source. The construction firm, Lucas Bros, stated that if their application to build the Hall was accepted they would guarantee the outstanding financial balance by taking up the

²⁸⁰ This narrative has mainly been derived from the following accounts: J.R. Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall* (Suffolk, Terence Dalton Limited, 1983), 1–31; Jonathan Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century* (London: Fitzhardinge Press, 2003), 10–11; John Physick, 'Albertopolis: the Estate of the 1851 Commissioners', in *The Albert Memorial: The Prince Consort National Memorial: Its History, Contexts, and Conservation*, Chris Brooks, ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2000), 323–330 and Ronald Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958), 1–59.

amount in the form of seats in the auditorium.²⁸¹ With the building contracts agreed, on 8 April 1867, the Queen granted the Hall a Royal charter, and on May 20 of the same year she laid the Hall's foundation stone, one of only a handful of appearances she had consented to make since Prince Albert's death.²⁸²

On 7 November 1867 Cole's wife laid the first of approximately six million red bricks. What is perhaps surprising, given the Hall's grand appearance, is that once the money was raised it took just four years to build. In 1865, an initial report described how the Hall would look once it had been built:

The Hall will be a spacious amphitheatre of nearly the same proportions as that at Nîmes but somewhat smaller. It will be about 320 feet long by 200 feet wide and 100 feet high. It will consist of an arena and an amphitheatre (like the ancient Maenianum), with two tiers of private boxes (being the ancient Podium) [...] Above the boxes there will be corridor thirty feet wide, lighted from the top, affording space for the exhibition of Pictures and Sculpture, and for a spacious promenade... The arrangements for hearing, seeing, warming, ventilation, etc. have been fully studied and will be of the most perfect description known.²⁸³

²⁸¹ This is discussed further in Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 11 and Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century*, 8.

²⁸² Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 36.

²⁸³ From the 1871 Commission Archive, Albert Hall Prospectus–H/1 (Prince Albert's Correspondence) Folder 21, document 2.



Figure 5: Photograph of the Auditorium of the Royal Albert Hall c. 2016, from the Hall's website

This description was not far from what occurred. At the centre of the Hall lay the arena, which could seat over 800, and surrounding which the amphitheatre rose. The boxes were situated behind and around the amphitheatre: on the ground floor, the loggias which could hold up to eight patrons; on the first floor, those on the Grand Tier originally held ten (now twelve) patrons; and finally the boxes on the second tier, which had five seats. Above the boxes the balcony (now the Circle) was situated; the twenty-foot wide gallery lay beyond. The balcony and gallery could hold another 3,800 patrons in total, meaning that the Hall's original maximum capacity neared 8,000 spectators.²⁸⁴

As well as holding a vast number of patrons, at 219 by 185 feet the Hall's measurements were, and remain, impressive. Two feats of engineering supervised by the architect Henry Scott (1822–1883),²⁸⁵ included the Hall's pioneering ventilation and

²⁸⁴ Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 42.

²⁸⁵ Henry Scott was appointed secretary to the Commission of the Great Exhibition when Henry Cole retired in 1873.

heating system, and the installation of 11,000 gas burners which could be lit in ten seconds. The auditorium was also to be home to what was originally one of the largest instruments in the world: a 150–tonne organ designed by Henry Willis.²⁸⁶ Although it contained nearly 10,000 pipes with a total length of nine miles there was initially some concern that it would be loud enough in the imposing space of the Hall.²⁸⁷

However, it was the roof which was arguably the most adventurous architectural aspect of the Hall. A structure in its own right, it was crafted of iron framework with nearly half an acre of glass fixed into it.²⁸⁸ The roof was one of the most difficult features of the Hall to complete. During the design stage, structural engineers Ordish & Grover and Henry Scott consulted a team of experts including those who had built the roofs of St Pancras and Charing Cross stations in London. In order to make sure the 338–tonne frame could support the weight of 279 tonnes of glazing, a trial erection was carried out on the ground by its manufacturers, the Fairbairn Engineering Company based at Ardwick, near Manchester. With the test a success, the roof was sent to London by road and was in position atop the Hall by May 1869. After evacuating the building, the engineers stood at the top of scaffolding and knocked the props supporting the dome away. Incredibly, it dropped just half an inch before settling into position on the supporting walls of the Hall, where it remains.²⁸⁹ The only force keeping the roof in place is gravity.

At the time of completion, the Hall's roof was the largest and tallest of its kind in the world.²⁹⁰ During the First and Second World Wars, the Hall's roof was used by pilots as a navigation point on the London skyline. In 1914, at the command of the Admiralty,

²⁸⁶ Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century*, 10; Physick, 'Albertopolis: The Estate of the 1851 Commissioners', in *The Albert Memorial: The Prince Consort National Memorial: its History, Contexts, and Conservation*, Brooks, ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2000), 324.

²⁸⁷ Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 48.

²⁸⁸ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 20.

²⁸⁹ Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 10.

²⁹⁰ <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/roof/>—Last accessed 17/12/16.

the glass roof was covered in a huge black cloth used to ‘blackout’ the building when films were shown. In 1917, an unexploded anti-aircraft shell hit the roof, smashing eight panes of glass and damaging twelve terracotta blocks. As part of the Second World War blackout practice, the glazing was painted black and coated with an anti-splintering varnish in March 1940. That October, blasts from three different bombs splintered the majority of the roof’s panes of glass.²⁹¹

The Hall’s elliptical shape was inspired by the Roman arenas at Arles and Nîmes in Provence, which Henry Cole had visited in 1864.²⁹² Although one could suggest that this shape contributes to its stadium-like grandeur, this shape also contributed to the Hall’s acoustics, which are famously problematic.²⁹³ The acoustic challenges have only been solved, though arguably only partially, in recent years. This is a recurring theme in the history of the Hall which dates back to its beginnings.

On 25 February 1871, the first acoustical test was carried out when an audience of 7,000 was invited to attend a free performance by the Wandering Minstrels, an amateur musical society.²⁹⁴ The results were quite perturbing: in some places the acoustics were excellent, in others there were echoes. Furthermore, at the opening ceremony, *The Times* reported of the Prince of Wales’s address, ‘...the reading was somewhat marred by an echo which seemed to be suddenly awoke from the organ or picture gallery...’.²⁹⁵ This is one of the earliest accounts of the Hall’s acoustics. In order to reduce the effects, a

²⁹¹ <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/roof/>—Last accessed 17/12/16.

²⁹² Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 10.

²⁹³ In September 2014, I visited the Roman amphitheatre at Nîmes, one of the structures Cole visited. Although at 16,300 its capacity is three times that of the RAH, its elliptical shape is identical to that of the Hall. Today the arena is used for sporting events and as a bull ring, as well as a music venue. When concerts take place the sides of the arena are draped with velarium in order to dull the echo.

²⁹⁴ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 11.

²⁹⁵ R.A. Metkemeijer, Adviesbureau Peutz & B.V. Zoetermeer, ‘The Acoustics of the Auditorium of the Royal Albert Hall, Before and After Redevelopment’, 2002, 1.

velarium (a large cloth) was hung below the dome.²⁹⁶ It remained in place until July 1949.²⁹⁷

It was in the 1960s, and with assistance from the BBC, that the acoustics were much improved with the installation of the fibreglass cylinders which hang from the roof (otherwise known as the ‘mushrooms’). This thesis returns to how the acoustics have affected perceptions of the Hall in chapter 3.

A noteworthy aspect of the Hall’s exterior is the mosaic frieze that encircles the building. Measuring 800 feet in length, it is 5,200 square feet and took two years to make. It is formed of foot-long slabs of mosaic tesserae depicting the advancement of the Arts and Sciences of all nations. The work of seven artists, including Michelangelo, provided the basis for the designs.²⁹⁸ The terracotta tiles were manufactured by Minton, Hollins & Co. and were then arranged by the women’s mosaic class at the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A Museum).²⁹⁹ The frieze reads:

This Hall was erected for the advancement of the Arts & Sciences and works of industry of all nations in fulfilment of the intention of Albert Prince Consort. The site was purchased with the proceeds of the Great Exhibition of the year MDCCCLI. The first stone of the Hall was laid by Her Majesty Queen Victoria on the twentieth day of May MDCCCLXVII and it was opened by her Majesty on the twenty ninth of March in the year MDCCCLXXI. Thine O Lord is the greatness and the power and the glory and the victory and the majesty for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. The wise and their works are in the hand of God. Glory be to God on high and on Earth peace.

The Royal Albert Hall was opened by Queen Victoria on the 29 March 1871 with much fanfare and a grand concert. An audience of 7000 filled the building, eau de cologne was pumped through the Hall’s ventilation system and an orchestra of 500 and choir of 1,200 became the first of the Hall’s performers. Queen Victoria, dressed in black

²⁹⁶ A *velarium* is traditionally an awning, or large piece of cloth, drawn over a Roman theatre or amphitheatre as a protection from rain or the sun.

²⁹⁷ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 11.

²⁹⁸ Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century*, 10.

²⁹⁹ <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/mosaic-frieze/> Last accessed 16/12/16.

as she had been since Prince Albert's death, Princess Louise and the Prince of Wales attended, the Prince of Wales declaring the Hall open when it seemed that his mother had been overcome by emotion and was unable to do so. The concert was conducted by Sir Michael Costa and included several items including *L'Invocazione all'Armonia* (Invocation to Harmony) by Prince Albert.³⁰⁰ Although the interior still needed some decoration, in all other regards the Hall was considered complete. The famous Victorian resolve had prevailed, and the man who perhaps embodied that spirit more than anyone else in the building, spending two decades battling for that moment, was overcome. That evening the Queen noted in her diary, 'Good Mr Cole was quite crying with enthusiasm and delight'.³⁰¹

Lottery-funded development

There were no major structural changes to the Hall from its opening until 125 years later. Between 1996 and 2004 the Hall underwent a programme of renovation and development supported by a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund. This was in order 'to enable it to meet the demands of the next century of events and performances'.³⁰² In this section the physical processes which modernised the Hall are explored and the impact these had on the output of the RAH are examined. The number and type of events held at the Hall between 1995 and 2015 are summarised and the practical factors which have shaped them are discussed.

As the Hall neared the twenty-first century, the ambitions of performers and promoters increased and the shortcomings of the Hall became increasingly evident. Conditions for artists were cramped, and no proper entrance on the south side had

³⁰⁰ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 11; Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 10–11.

³⁰¹ Quoted in Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 12.

³⁰² Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 120.

replaced the Royal Horticultural Society's conservatory that had been dismantled at the end of the 19th century. The roof needed re-glazing, the organ was in need of refurbishment, there was a crucial lack of storage and new seating was needed. Most importantly for the Hall's success, the process of loading-in and -out, needed a complete overhaul. As it was, entire sets were loaded through door 11 (which was an ordinary access door, but closest to backstage), then down a ramp to the Arena.

Two events emphasised the urgency needed for renovation: in 1987, a piece of terracotta moulding, weakened by the wet sandblasting during the centenary clean-up, slipped off the façade from gallery level and crashed onto the South Porch. The press reported that the Hall was about to collapse, and while this was untrue, it became evident that something needed to be done; scaffolding went up around the Hall. While the best way to proceed was being discussed, a second circumstance hastened plans. The 1985 fire at Bradford football stadium had precipitated new regulations, which by 1987 had to be applied to all public buildings. This meant that fire safety had to be improved urgently.³⁰³

A new chief executive, Patrick Deuchar, arrived in 1989. He believed in the Hall's potential and realised the need to completely rejuvenate it. By 1991 he had conceived a plan to address the Hall's architectural shortcomings. A man who was similarly inspired was David Elliott, who joined the Hall as director of Finance in 1991. He succeeded Deuchar as chief executive in 1998 and it was he who oversaw the implementation of the redevelopment and reconstruction.³⁰⁴

Finally, in 1995 the opportunity to undertake the full renovation of the Hall came with the advent of the National Lottery funding. This organisation was to be intrinsic to the overhaul of many of London's most famous institutions. For example, the Albert

³⁰³ This is discussed further in Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 120–121.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, 120–121.

Memorial, previously threatened with demolition, was saved due to the Lottery's funds and underwent a complete restoration. The RAH received £40.2 million, leaving it with £30 million to find. Contributions were received from patrons, seat-holders and charitable trusts. Unlike Sadler's Wells, the Royal Opera House and the Coliseum, all of which received public funding and closed during their redevelopment, the Hall's events had to go on or it risked financial ruin.³⁰⁵

The entire project took from 1996 until 2004. During this time, the Hall underwent a programme of renovation and development. Thirty individual projects were designed which included improving ventilation to the auditorium, more bars and restaurants, new and improved seating, better technical facilities and the modernisation of backstage areas. The Circle seating was rebuilt in four weeks in June 1996, which provided more leg room, better access and improved sight lines.³⁰⁶

The most ambitious part of the plan was the four-storey excavation beneath the building, extending towards Prince Consort Road with a lorry entrance beside the South Steps. This was a major piece of engineering, which now provides vehicle access to a car park and service yard deep beneath the Hall's original foundations. This area allows equipment to be unloaded and sent up to the auditorium by lift. The excavation meant breaking through the original concrete base of the Royal Horticultural Society conservatory and removing a statue of Prince Albert by Joseph Durham. Two wells and a brick culvert that had supplied water for the RHS ponds and fountains were uncovered. One of the wells had been dug out and bricked to a depth of 140 feet. Only on the two occasions when the seating in the Hall was stripped out and entirely replaced did the doors close. Throughout 1998, workmen laboured beneath the stage and arena floor to dig

³⁰⁵ Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 120–121.

³⁰⁶ 'Projects: Royal Albert Hall'. <http://www.bdp.com/en/projects/p-z/Royal-Albert-Hall/>. Accessed April 29, 2014.

out London shale and clay. Contractors often had to cease work during rehearsals although, to make up time in the Proms season, the work continued through rehearsals in secret in what was described by David Elliott as being like a scene from *The Great Escape*. On one occasion Cliff Richard, a regular performer at the Hall, had to be guided through the building works in a hard hat in order to reach the stage.³⁰⁷

Lobbies and other new spaces were opened up and bars and restaurants were refurbished. A new decorative scheme for the public areas and auditorium was developed. Colours and patterns for the halls and corridors were matched as far as possible to the originals. Sound engineers carried out a three-year study of the Hall's acoustics using a one-twelfth scale model. Notorious for many years, the acoustics had been improved by the suspended mushroom-shaped reflectors in the 1960s. Repositioning them improved the immediacy of the sound in the auditorium and also allowed the reinstated decorative coving that runs around the base of the dome to be revealed.³⁰⁸

The extensive renovations had an impressive impact on the Hall's output. The modernisation of the backstage areas, especially the basement beneath the Hall's foundations completely changed the way in which the building operated. The rejuvenation allowed a greater number of events to be held than was previously possible. For example, the total number of events held at the Hall increased from 259 in 1995 to over 1000 in 2015 and the Hall's income also rose significantly. This is explored in greater depth below.

During the Victorian era, the concept of public and private funding differed from today. It was widely agreed that if a project were destined to be a success, a public subscription would pay for it.³⁰⁹ Public subscription meant capital provided by groups of

³⁰⁷ This is discussed further in Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 120–121.

³⁰⁸ This is discussed further in Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall*, 120–121.

³⁰⁹ Simon Heffer, *High Minds: The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain* (London: Random House Books, 2013), 293.

private individuals, rather than by the government. Thus, if government intervention was required, the project arguably did not have the support of the people. The Royal Albert Hall was one such venture; it was the wealth of private individuals which allowed the Hall to be built, and indeed continues to support the Hall today to an extent. However, the governance structure which has resulted from this initial funding is now unlike other venues in London.

What follows is a brief assessment of two other venues: the Royal Festival Hall (RFH) as part of the Southbank Centre and the Royal Opera House (ROH). Similarly to the RAH, both the Royal Festival Hall and the Royal Opera House are charities. Opened in 1951 as part of the Festival of Britain, the celebrations which took place to mark the centenary of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the RFH became a charity in 1988. Its charitable objectives are:

1. The promotion of the arts for the general benefit of the public and in particular the maintenance and development of the South Bank estate as a centre for the arts for the benefit of the people in Great Britain in general and of London in particular.
2. The development and improvement of the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts at the South Bank estate or any part of it.
3. The provision and support of such cultural activities related to the arts as the trustees consider desirable at the South Bank estate or any part of it.³¹⁰

The RFH is part of the Southbank Centre, which is a national arts organisation and a registered charity. The Southbank Centre's board of governors retain decision-making over certain matters, including the approval of strategic plans and major projects, remuneration matters of the chief executive, and variations to governing documents. Members of the board are not remunerated for their services and delegate management of Southbank Centre's operational affairs to a chief executive and other senior staff, one of

³¹⁰ 'Charity Commission: Charity Framework', accessed January 29, 2017, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=298909&SubsidiaryNumber=0>.

whom is an artistic director.³¹¹ This is unlike the RAH, which does not have an artistic director, and whose trustees (although not remunerated for their work on the Council) can receive income from their seats if they choose to sell back their tickets to the Hall.

Financially, Southbank Centre receives 40% of its income from Arts Council England, which is government-funded. The remainder is generated through ticket sales, commercial partnerships, sponsorships and individual donations. In the 2014–15 financial year, the Arts Council grant amounted to 42% of the Centre’s income, 22% came from artistic activity, 20% from commercial enterprise, 7% from fundraising and sponsorship, 4% from catering, 3% from private hires and 2% from Southbank Centre membership. This self-generated income (everything aside from the Arts Council grant) has increased over the last five years. In 2010 it was 43%, which means that there has been an increase of 15%.³¹² However, as can be seen from the table below, which illustrates the charitable income and expenditure of the Southbank Centre from 2012–16, the Southbank Centre has also made a financial loss every year.³¹³

Table 1: Southbank Centre Financial History

Financial year end (FYE)	Income	Spending	Loss/Profit
31 March 2016	£46,669,000	£49, 090,000	–£2,421,000
31 March 2015	£46,842,000	£50,500,000	–£3,658,000
31 March 2014	£48,381,000	£51, 332,000	–£2,951,000
31 March 2013	£50,118,000	£50, 637,000	–£519,000
31 March 2012	£47,130,000	£51, 011,000	–£3,871,000

³¹¹ Governance narrative drawn from ‘Southbank Centre: Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2016’, *Governors and Management*, accessed January 27, 2017, https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/387f7e7323d3e402/original/0000298909_AC_20160331_E_C.pdf?_ga=1.96708124.2009062762.1493559754.

³¹² Financial narrative drawn from, ‘Southbank Centre: Governance’, accessed, January 27, 2017, <https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/what-we-do/governance>.

³¹³ ‘Charity Commission: Financial History’, *Southbank Centre*, accessed January 27, 2017, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/FinancialHistory.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=298909&SubsidiaryNumber=0>.

Although the financial loss has not gone above 4 million, this deficit is still considerable and must impact on the Southbank Centre because they have to begin each financial year with a financial hole to fill.

The current Royal Opera House is the third theatre to have stood on the Covent Garden site. The first two were destroyed by fire. The current theatre opened in 1858, and was registered as a charity in 1962.³¹⁴ The charitable objects of the Royal Opera House are:

To promote and assist in the advancement of education so far as such promotion and assistance shall be of a charitable nature and in particular, to raise the artistic taste of the country, and to procure and increase the appreciation and understanding of the musical art in all its forms.³¹⁵

The Royal Opera House is run by a board of trustees, who are responsible for its direction and control, for the ROH's strategy, including its artistic strategy, and for its effective management. The Board Members are also responsible for the appointment of the chief executive, and other senior management positions, who manage the everyday operation of the Royal Opera House.³¹⁶

Regarding the ROH's finances, in the 2014–15 financial year the Arts Council provided 22% of the ROH's income, while 33% came from box-office receipts, 23% from fundraising, 21% from commercial and other income and 1% from investment income. The table below summarises the ROH's financial history:³¹⁷

³¹⁴ 'Royal Opera House: History', accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.roh.org.uk/about/history>.

³¹⁵ 'Charity Commission: Charity Framework', accessed April 30, 2017, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=211775&SubsidiaryNumber=0>.

³¹⁶ Governance narrative drawn from 'Royal Opera House: Annual report 2014 – 15', *Governance and Management*, accessed April 30, 2017, https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/static.roh.org.uk/about/annual-review/pdfs/annual_review_1415.pdf.

³¹⁷ 'Charity Commission: Financial History', *Royal Opera House*, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/FinancialHistory.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=211775&SubsidiaryNumber=0>.

Table 2: Royal Opera House Financial History

Financial year end (FYE)	Income	Spending	Loss/ Profit
31 March 2015	£141,586,000	£124,483,000	£17,103,000
31 March 2014	£127,532,000	£123,790,000	£3,742,000
31 March 2013	£113,976,000	£114,347,000	–£371,000
31 March 2012	£110,344,000	£111,329,000	–£985,000
31 March 2011	£112,074,000	£114,552,000	–£2,478,000

Before 2014 the ROH made a loss. However, in both 2014 and 2015 it generated a modest operating surplus.

In comparison to the Southbank Centre and the Royal Opera House the Hall has consistently made a profit (or operating surplus) for the previous five years. This original data has never been considered in this way before. The fact that the Hall is so stable financially is especially remarkable when one considers that it does not receive any government funding from the Arts Council or otherwise.³¹⁸

Table 3: Royal Albert Hall Financial History

Financial year end (FYE)	Income	Spending	Loss/ Profit
31 March 2016	£32,616,000	£24,713,000	£7,903,000
31 March 2015	£31,067,000	£22,248,000	£8,819,000
31 March 2014	£27,583,000	£22,117,000	£5,466,000
31 March 2013	£25,933,000	£20,102,000	£5,831,000
31 March 2012	£22,853,000	£18,418,000	£4,435,000

³¹⁸ ‘Charity Commission: Financial History’, *Royal Albert Hall*, accessed June 30, 2017, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/FinancialHistory.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=254543&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

2.2 The Governance and Legislation of the Hall

The history and development of the Hall's governance structure contributes to the explanation of the Hall's evolution from vacant concert hall to place of cultural significance. The governance of the Royal Albert Hall is different from any other performance venue in London today.³¹⁹ One major difference from most other London venues is that the Hall receives no public (government/Arts Council) funding.³²⁰ This section will discuss how the Hall's governance structure has evolved and explain its effects, both positive and negative. In order to achieve this, documents and legislation passed since the Hall was granted its first charter in 1866 will be examined, as well as the role of the Members of the Corporation and the Hall's trustees.

The conflict between the Hall's governance structure and its perception as a building of national importance, especially since the Hall was registered as a charity in 1967, is also touched upon.

There are fourteen pieces of legislation which have been passed since it was first agreed to build the Hall. They are as follows and are available in full in appendix 2.2

Legal Documents:

- 1866—Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences
- 1872—Lease to the Corporation of the Royal Albert Hall of the site of the Hall
- 1876—The Royal Albert Hall Act
- 1887—Supplemental Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences
- 1927—The Royal Albert Hall Act
- 1928—Supplemental Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences
- 1951—Royal Albert Hall Act
- 1965—The British Museum (Transitional Provisions) Order
- 1966—Royal Albert Hall Act
- 2000—Statutory Instrument: The Charities (Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences)

³¹⁹ Although there is not the space within this thesis to undertake a full comparison of the RAH with a great number of London venues, a comparison of the Hall's governance structure with those of eleven other London performance venues was undertaken. The venues included: Wilton's Music Hall, Wigmore Hall, the London Coliseum, the Barbican Centre, St. John's Smith Square, the Royal Festival Hall, the Royal Opera House, the O2 Arena, King's Place, Hackney Empire and Cadogan Hall. None of these venues were governed in the same way as the Royal Albert Hall.

³²⁰ 'About us: Governance', *Royal Albert Hall*, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/about-the-charity/governance/>

Order

Bye-laws of the Corporation:

February 1967

February 1985

October 1999

October 1999

There is no other concert or event space in London whose governance has been as complex over the course of its history. Explained in brief below, a more detailed explanation of certain parts of the legislation follows.

The 1866 Charter of the Corporation was created five years after Prince Albert's death, and set out the intention to build the RAH, the purposes for doing so and how this was to be achieved. The 1872 Lease was drawn up after the Hall had opened in 1871, between the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 and the Corporation of the RAH, for the lease of the land on which the Hall is built. This was for 999 years, indeed the Hall continues to pay the Commission a nominal sum every year in rent. The lease also detailed the relationship between the Commission and the Corporation in terms of the financial assistance the Commission had contributed to the building of the Hall, in return for seats. As explored in more detail below, the Royal Albert Hall Acts of 1876, 1927, 1951 1966 and the Supplemental Charter of 1886 amended the Hall's Charter regarding the rights and obligations of the Members of the Corporation (the seatholders), extended the purposes for which it could be used and increased the amount the RAH could borrow. This was a direct reaction to monetary need for the upkeep of the Hall and, particularly in 1951 after the Second World War, allowed the RAH to respond to the changing landscape of London's cultural life. The Supplemental Charter of 1928 also amended the governance structure of the Hall. This was the year in which it was agreed that appointed members from the British Museum (Natural History), the Board of Education, the

Imperial College of Science and Technology, the Royal College of Music, and the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 should also sit on the Council. The British Museum (Transitional Provisions) Order described the particular responsibilities of the appointed member from the British Museum. (The other institutions do not appear to have created similar documents). The RAH became a charity in 1967 and in the year 2000 a Statutory Instrument: The Charities (Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences) Order gave effect to a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners. This altered some of the statutory provisions governing the Corporation with the effect that the Corporation had greater power to borrow money and to mortgage or charge its property. Finally, the bye-law from 1967 made the selling of tickets by Members in the RAH ticket-hall an offence, which appears to have been part of the process of the RAH becoming a charity. The 1985 bye-law amended the age at which a person could be eligible for election or re-election to the Council or as President, while the two bye-laws from 1999 stated that the President could not remain in post for longer than six terms. It also allowed the Council to create Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Corporation in recognition of any outstanding contributions made by individuals to the life and work of the RAH.³²¹

These pieces of legislation have shaped the Hall, for they have articulated what it can be used for and why. Since 1872 the RAH has had a tripartite governance structure: the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences (the Corporation), the Council of Trustees (the Council) and the Executive. The Hall's charter from 1866, granted before the Hall was built, defines the Members of the Corporation as '...every person who has subscribed for, engaged to take, or is otherwise entitled to a permanent seat in the Hall, and whose name is entered on the register of Members, shall be a Member of the

³²¹ The information in this paragraph has been taken exclusively from the fourteen pieces of legislation. They can be seen in their entirety in appendix 2.2 Legal Documents.

Corporation’,³²² (the seat-holders) and the purposes of ‘The Corporation’ to be ‘...the building and maintaining of a Hall and buildings connected therewith... and the appropriation of the Hall to the objects hereinafter mentioned’.³²³ In 1866 a ‘Provisional Committee’ was appointed to act as the governing body of the Corporation, whose responsibility was the building and opening of the Hall. It was agreed that a year after the Hall had been open there was to be a general meeting of the Corporation at which a new governing body should be appointed.³²⁴ This occurred, and the Council of the Corporation was created.

Today, ‘the Council of Trustees’ is ultimately responsible for the charity, its assets and activities.³²⁵ There are up to eighteen elected Members of the Council and five appointed Members, in addition to an elected president. The elected Members and the president are elected from the Corporation and are seat-holders. The five appointed Members come from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, the Royal College of Music, Imperial College of Science and Technology, the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 and the Natural History Museum. None of the trustees are remunerated for their services to the Hall.³²⁶ The management of the Hall is the responsibility of the chief executive, with support from the directors. The chief executive is accountable to the Council for all aspects of the Hall’s operations.³²⁷

Over the course of the Hall’s lifetime, changes to the original charter have become necessary. Two elements which have evolved significantly are the rights of the Members, and the uses of the Hall. The development of both these aspects has allowed the Hall to

³²² Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, 1866, 7.

³²³ Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, 1866, 2.

³²⁴ Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958), 35.

³²⁵ ‘About us: Trustees’, *Royal Albert Hall*, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/trustees/>

³²⁶ ‘About us: Trustees’, *Royal Albert Hall*, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/trustees/>

³²⁷ ‘About us: Management’, *Royal Albert Hall*, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/management/>

generate more income. The key changes to Members' rights can be traced through the legislation listed above. For example, in the 1866 Charter it is stated that, 'No dividend shall be payable to any Member of the Corporation, and all profits which the Corporation may make by the use of the Hall... shall be applied in carrying into effect the purposes of the Corporation...'.³²⁸ The charter also includes a 38-point document illustrating the rights and obligations of Members. These include:

7. The right of a Member to his seat shall continue for the whole term for which the site of the Hall is granted.
8. The interest of a Member in the Hall shall be personal estate, and not the nature of real estate.³²⁹
11. Members will, on the completion of the Hall, be furnished with tickets entitling them... to go into any part of the Hall, or take any seat that is not appropriated for some special purpose...
31. Every Member shall have one vote for every seat of which he is registered as holder.

The rights and obligations of Members are worth mentioning here, because they are discussed in detail in terms of whether they are being adhered to, in chapter 3. As can be seen the Hall's Lease of 1872 did not make any changes to the rights of the Members but the Royal Albert Hall Act of 1876 did. This Act, 'to make better provision for the Maintenance of the Royal Albert Hall' stated that '... the funds which the Council have at their disposal for maintaining, repairing and furnishing the Hall... have been found to be wholly insufficient...and the Hall must be closed unless a fund can be provided for the before-mentioned purposes'.³³⁰ Thus the 1876 Act introduced a 'Seat Rate' to be paid by each member. This was £2 in 1876.³³¹ Furthermore, the Supplemental Charter of 1887 allowed '...the Council to exclude the Members of the Corporation from the Hall, not

³²⁸ Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, 1866.

³²⁹ The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines personal estate as all property except land and those interests in land that pass to one's heir. Real estate is defined as consisting of or relating to immovable property such as land or houses. Thus, the Hall's seats were not considered immovable.

³³⁰ The Royal Albert Hall Act, 1876.

³³¹ The Bank of England's inflation calculator suggests that today this would amount to the equivalent of £211.78. <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx#>

exceeding ten [performances] in any one year'.³³² This meant that the potential number of seats a promoter who was renting the Hall could sell increased dramatically, from approximately 3000 to over 5000. Today, it remains the case that the Members are excluded from certain performances. There are what has been termed 'ordinary' and 'exclusive' lettings. The ordinary lettings are where the Members do have access to their seats, and during the exclusive lets they do not. The Members vote on how many performances they will exclude themselves from: from ten a year in 1887, this has now risen to approximately 150.³³³

The rights of the Members did not change substantially in the Royal Albert Hall Act of 1927 or the Supplemental Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, 1928. However, in the Royal Albert Act, 1951 'the occasions on which the council may...exclude the members...' was extended to 'comprise any occasions on which the Hall is let for any purposes for which the Corporation is empowered to let the hall' and a 'capital contribution' of £280 was charged to the Members in addition to the seat rate. The most recent Act to enter the statute books was that of 1966. This Act increased the number of days which the Members could be excluded to 75 in a year on which an event '...other than a concert, a recital, or a boxing or wrestling entertainment...' took place and '...not exceeding twelve in any year on which the hall is let for any purpose for which the Corporation is empowered to let the hall'. The Members could also be excluded '...from one-third of the functions included in any series of six or more functions which are consecutive and substantially identical'.³³⁴ The Act of 1966 also gave the Council the right to forbid Members from selling their tickets inside the Hall, or in the vicinity of the Hall. The bye-law from 1967 goes further:

³³² Supplemental Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, 1887.

³³³ 'About us: Governance', *Royal Albert Hall*, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/about-the-charity/governance/>

³³⁴ Royal Albert Hall Act, 1966.

No person being a member or acting on behalf of a member shall sell or attempt to sell in the hall or in the vicinity thereof any ticket for a seat (or seats).

Breach or non-observance of this Bye-law shall render the member liable to pay to the council a fine of £25.

Any person (not being a member) who sells or attempts to sell or purchases or attempts to purchase in the Royal Albert Hall or in the vicinity thereof any ticket for a seat (or seats) except through a Box Office provided by the Corporation will be required to leave forthwith.³³⁵

This final amendment was particularly necessary for it was also in 1967 that the Hall became a charity.³³⁶ The activities of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences are stated by the Charity Commission as, ‘To maintain the Royal Albert Hall, a Grade 1 listed building of historical and cultural significance and, through its use, to promote the understanding, appreciate and enjoyment of the arts and sciences’.³³⁷ All of the Hall’s operating surplus is re-invested in the Hall. However, only a portion is directly invested in its charitable objectives. The Hall has defined these as ‘Investment to our building and services’ and ‘Education and Outreach Projects’.³³⁸ The table below depicts how much money was spent on the Hall’s charitable objects between 2010 and 2015:³³⁹

Table 4: Amount invested in charitable objects 2010–2015

Year	Amount Invested
2015	£6.20m
2014	£7.90m
2013	£4.40m
2012	£2.10m
2011	£3.00m
2010	£2.20m

In his account of the RAH in 1983, Thackrah states that, ‘...though the granting of charity status in 1967 brought a measure of relief it also brought the Hall’s affairs under the

³³⁵ Bye-law, 1967.

³³⁶ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 41.

³³⁷ ‘Charity Commission: Charity Framework’, *Royal Albert Hall*, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=254543&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

³³⁸ ‘Royal Albert Hall: Annual Review 2015’, *Investing in the Future*, accessed April 30, 2017, <https://indd.adobe.com/view/ba214b62-0ad4-4724-9a2c-bc4efcd93031>.

³³⁹ ‘Royal Albert Hall: Annual Review 2015’, *Investing in the Future*, accessed April 30, 2017, <https://indd.adobe.com/view/ba214b62-0ad4-4724-9a2c-bc4efcd93031>.

scrutiny of the Charity Commissioners... the running of the Hall is strictly controlled and limited and the Council has to operate within those limitations, a task which never seems to have been easy...'.³⁴⁰ This remains the case today, for currently the Commission is conducting a comprehensive review of the Hall's constitution, and the Hall's trustees are in discussion with the Commission about their views on the Hall's governance.³⁴¹

The main reason for the review is the apparent conflict between the Hall's responsibilities as a charity, and the fact that the Members, and therefore the Council (who act as the charity's trustees), can benefit from the Hall by selling their tickets privately. This is a problem because one of the public benefit requirements of a charity is that the charity, 'must not give rise to more than incidental personal benefit – personal benefit is 'incidental' where (having regard both to its nature and to its amount) it is a necessary result or by-product of carrying out the purpose'.³⁴² The fact that it is possible for the Hall's Members to profit financially by selling their tickets has been a source of controversy for years, but it appears to have recently reached a critical level. As the Hall has become particularly prosperous, the concerts and events have also, arguably, become more desirable. It has been reported that the Charity Commission has told the Council of the RAH that it perceives there to be a risk that the Council could reflect the interests of other seat-holders over those of the charity.³⁴³ It is therefore pressing for a change in the constitution to give non-seat-holders a voting majority on the Council; thus far the Hall has refused to agree to this.³⁴⁴ As part of this thesis, an interview was carried out with James Ainscough in 2012, who was the Hall's director of Finance at the time, and is now

³⁴⁰ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 41.

³⁴¹ 'Royal Albert Hall: Governance', accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/about-the-charity/governance/>.

³⁴² 'Public benefit: rules for charities', accessed April 30, 2017, <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/public-benefit-rules-for-charities>

³⁴³ Stephen Cook, 'Royal Albert Hall takes issue with Shawcross interview', *Third Sector*, January 4, 2017, accessed January 5, 2017 <http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/royal-albert-hall-takes-issue-shawcross-interview/governance/article/1419813>

³⁴⁴ Cook, 'Royal Albert Hall takes issue with Shawcross interview'.

the chief operating officer. He explained that because many of the Members choose to re-sell their tickets online on websites such as eBay, Gumtree, Viagogo and GetMeIn, they can now make a lot of money by selling their tickets. However, although the trustees of a charity cannot benefit from the charity, the Members have property rights over their seats, and can therefore do as they wish with them.³⁴⁵

The current website of the RAH refers to the conflict:

The Trustees are in discussion with the Charity Commission about their views on the Hall's governance, and independent of that, are conducting a lengthy and detailed review of the Hall's constitution. The Trustees strongly believe in the value of the charity's unique operating structure, and remain committed to building on the success that the governance arrangements have provided over the past 145 years. As well as a written policy, the Hall also has a Conflicts Committee – details of all of the Hall's Committees and their remits are published annually in the Annual Report and Accounts.

Under the Members' stewardship, (and thanks to their ongoing financial support), the Hall has not only survived the challenges it has faced over the last 145 years but now flourishes, on a stable financial footing, independent of any government/Arts Council funding. This success is achieved against a backdrop of a funding crisis within the arts: many organisations are dependent on public subsidy and 35% of small and medium-sized London music venues have closed down since 2007.³⁴⁶

Historically one should not lose sight of the fact that those same seat-holders (and often their ancestors) rescued the Hall from financial ruin on more than one occasion.

Other than those made by the Charity Commission, suggestions for solving the conflict have included the Hall's executive buying back the Members' seats as they become available, but this is unlikely at the current time because the seats are being sold for hundreds of thousands of pounds.³⁴⁷

However, even before the RAH became a charity, there had been those who had called for change to the Hall's governance structure because of potential conflict of

³⁴⁵ Personal communication, James Ainscough: Director of Finance and Administration, August 6, 2012.

³⁴⁶ 'The Royal Albert Hall: Governance', accessed December 12 2016, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/about-the-charity/governance/>

³⁴⁷ Saphora Smith, 'Royal Albert Hall box on sale for £2.5 million for first time in a decade', *Evening Standard*, January 9, 2017, accessed July 4, 2017, <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/royal-albert-hall-box-on-sale-for-25-million-for-first-time-in-a-decade-a3435911.html>

interest. In 1944 Herbert Smith, who was the British Museum's member of the Royal Albert Hall Council, wrote a memorandum entitled 'The Need for Replacing the Seat-holders by a Public Trust', apparently in response to a crisis in the Corporation's finances because of the closing of the Hall due to the outbreak of the Second World War. Smith's document described the Hall as 'an important National Memorial' and stated that 'it is clearly incongruous that a building of such a high status should be used to benefit not the public generally but a privileged few'. He went on to explain that in his opinion the 'intentions [of the original promoters of the Hall] were never even partially fulfilled, largely because of the absence of an endowment fund', and that:

...the furtherance of the arts and sciences was dropped, and the Hall became almost wholly a place for entertainments. The members became beneficiaries rather than benefactors, and their right of free admission to their seats, except on a few occasions, enabled them to enjoy entertainments without contributing anything towards the expenses incurred by the promoters; moreover, in recent years it has increasingly become usual for certain members to sell their tickets to the public in competition with the promoters.

Smith concluded 'that an increasing number of seats are used commercially' and this 'emphasizes the need for the replacement of the seat-holders by a disinterested Trust'.³⁴⁸ Although Smith's argument was compelling, it was not accepted by Members or the president of the time.³⁴⁹

While it is not the premise of this thesis to agree with or dispute Herbert Smith's claims, the fact that they were made at all demonstrates the fact that the contemporary discourse surrounding the rights of the Hall's Members has been in existence for many years, often with strong opinions voiced on behalf of each faction. The impact of this dispute on the Hall is further discussed in the third chapter of this thesis, 'Perceptions'.

³⁴⁸ 'The need for replacing the Seat-holders by a Public Trust' by Herbert Smith, 1944. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 33.

³⁴⁹ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 38.

2.3 The Uses of the Hall

The RAH's legislation directly affects events taking place at the Hall. These events have been a highly influential factor in its continuous reshaping as a cultural space, and is a little discussed factor in the current scholarship concerning venues. Furthermore, none of the studies of the Hall discussed earlier have explored the reciprocity between the events and the Hall's identity.

In the Hall's original 1886 charter the uses for which the Hall can be let are stated as:

- (a) Congresses, both National and International, for purposes of Science and Art.
- (b) Performances of Music, including performances on the Organ.
- (c) The Distribution of Prizes by Public Bodies and Societies.
- (d) Conversaciones of Societies established for the promotion of Science and Art.
- (e) Agricultural, Horticultural, and the like Exhibitions.
- (f) National and International Exhibitions of Works of Art and Industry, including Industrial Exhibitions by the Artizan Classes.
- (g) Exhibitions of Pictures, Sculpture, and other objects of artistic or scientific interest.
- (h) Generally, any other purposes connected with Science and Art.³⁵⁰

Although this seems like a wide remit, by the 1880s the Hall was suffering financial losses. Therefore, the Council looked to extend the ways in which the Hall could be used in order to make it more attractive to promoters.

The Supplemental Charter of 1887 allowed the Hall to be used for 'Public or private meetings of any body of persons...' and 'Operettas, concerts, balls, or any other than theatrical entertainments for the amusement and recreation of the people....'³⁵¹ This amendment widened the Hall's remit considerably. With this in place it was subsequently possible for the Hall to host boxing and wrestling matches, a circus and private dinners among other events. This was the first example of the Hall adapting to practical circumstances in order to survive.

³⁵⁰ The Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, 1866.

³⁵¹ Supplemental Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, 1887.

As early as 1875 there were indications that the Hall had reached a crisis point in terms of its finances. The minutes from the Council meetings from this time state that the Hall was in an ‘...unsatisfactory financial position’,³⁵² and by 1874, when the Hall had been open just three years, it had a financial deficit of £1,180.³⁵³ A report from the time also supports this assertion.³⁵⁴ On 6 May 1874 Dr. Moulton, a member of the Hall’s Corporation (a seat-holder) proposed ‘That a Committee be appointed to examine and report upon the Executive Management of the Hall with a view to determine if the building can be utilized to a greater extent than it now obtains, and to ascertain what changes (if any) may conduct to that end’.³⁵⁵

A report was subsequently drawn up by him on 29 January 1875 in which Moulton assessed the current state of affairs and suggested additional uses:³⁵⁶

Uses of the Hall (A) as a whole

1. Concerts

Concerts given by the society of arts were very moderately successful. Some operatic concerts and oratorios realized fair, but not large profits, while others resulted in less, that with a few exceptions the ‘people’s concert’s’ were financial failures and that the really successful concerts were those given on the opening of the Hall by her Majesty, in honour of the Emperor of Russia, the Duchess of Edinburgh, and the Shah of Persia when profits were realized. The following outline of a scheme for concerts is proposed, viz. –

Miscellaneous and Popular Concerts on fixed days, such as Bank Holidays, the Queen’s Birthday, etc.

A series of Operatic Concerts during the season.

A series of Oratorios on a grand scale in the season.

An annual grand military Concert.

The occasional production, as opportunity offers, of original works.

Instrumental Concerts of at least two-to-three hundred picked performers in the style of the Paris-de-coups Populaires, and with a choir of not less than 1000.

The invitation of Foreign Musical Societies, celebrated Military and other bands to share the risks and profits of special concerts at the Hall, during August.

A fixed day once a week, perhaps Saturday evening—from July to December, for Choral performances of 2000 voices, accompanied by the organ only. In the afternoons during

³⁵² From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 74.

³⁵³ This is the equivalent to £124,947.55 in 2016. Bank of England Inflation Calculator, <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>, accessed December 18, 2016.

³⁵⁴ From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 90.

³⁵⁵ From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 73.

³⁵⁶ Dr. Moulton, *The uses to which the Hall can consistently within the provision of the charter and Constitution be applied. As a whole or in part with an estimate of the probable financial results of such uses*. From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 76.

June and July here Strauss could be engaged to enable amateurs and musicians to have the best dance music performed in the best manner.³⁵⁷

The performance at fixed dates of the Amateur Orchestral Society.

For International Congresses, great public meetings and similar general purposes, the Hall is not at present well adapted. To make it so could render necessary a temporary surrender or modification of their personal privileges on the part of the Members of the Corporation, which would doubtless be agreed to by the majority on a proper representation.

Alongside his appraisal of events which could take place within the Hall's auditorium,

Moult also suggests those which could take place in other parts of the Hall:

Uses of the Hall (B) – In part.

Gallery—This portion is well suited for a Picture Gallery and to be opened for that purpose would cost £1 a day, if used only in the day-time.

Balcony Floor—The rooms on this floor may be utilised for Reading Rooms, or for permanent occupation, exclusive of the Small Theatres.

The Small Theatres are well adapted for Private Theatricals, Matinees Musicals... for meetings of Literary or Scientific Societies...

The rooms on the 1st Tier Box Floor may be utilized in a similar manner.

Basement—Two proposals have been made for the use of the Basement, for an Aquarium and for a Safe Deposit.

An aquarium alone would not be likely to succeed in such a position, unless it were linked with the Horticultural Gardens and Museums surrounding it, or with some permanent service of attraction in the Hall itself, of which there is no present prospect, and of which none can be expected until it is directly connected with the Metropolitan Railway system.

For a Safe Deposit Institution a detailed scheme has been submitted, showing that for an outlay of £60,000 a permanent revenue of either £23,000 or £39,000 annually can be obtained, according to the scale of the charges fixed.³⁵⁸

However, the response to Dr. Moult's scheme was rather negative. On 5 February 1875, the council minutes state:

That the Council should not ask Her Majesty's Commissioners to grant them power to lease any part of the Hall to any private Limited Liability Company. That while desirous to see every part of the Hall used profitably for objects authorised by the charter they are of the opinion that such action should always remain... under the control of the Council... and fully realize the high objects for which it was built.³⁵⁹

Subsequently, on 31 May 1875 the details of Moult's scheme were removed from the minutes—they are crossed out in red ink—and it is also recorded that Dr. Moult's scheme

³⁵⁷ Johann Strauss.

³⁵⁸ From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 79–88. Scheme by Dr. Moult for uses of the Hall.

³⁵⁹ From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 128–129.

was deferred.³⁶⁰ Although the vision of the Hall did adapt to practical circumstances the fact that Moulton's scheme was thus treated suggests that his suggestions were not accepted by those who wished the Hall to remain faithful to its original charter and 'high objects'.³⁶¹

Science and Exhibitions

Although it is not the purpose of this thesis to give a full account of the events which have taken place at the RAH over the course its existence, there are some which have had more of an effect on the Hall than others. As discussed in chapter 1, those responsible for building the Royal Albert Hall intended the promotion of science within its walls to be of great importance. Indeed, in the Charter of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences from 1866, several of the purposes of the Corporation include the use of the Hall as a venue for exhibitions. Initially this seemed to be successful, for there were international exhibitions, organised and funded by the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, held in London in 1871, 1872, 1873 and 1874 and the Hall played a large role in each. Cole wrote that:

The Royal Albert Hall was treated as the crowning point of the Exhibitions, and used during the whole period. A covered entrance was constructed from the east side of the Hall to the east lower quadrant... In 1872 it was found necessary to construct two additional entrances from the east and west crush rooms to the conservatory. In 1873 the roofs and skylights over the picture gallery were put in... In 1874 the east lift room was plastered and distempered to serve as an office, and the vaults were whitened, and doors were fixed to the various cellars in order to prepare for the exhibition of foreign units.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 290–296.

³⁶¹ From RAH archive: RAH Council Minute Book 3. 1875—6th Jan–27th July, 128–129.

³⁶² A Special Report on The Annual International Exhibitions of The Years 1871, 1872, 1873 and 1874. Drawn up by Sir Henry Cole, K.C.B and presented by The Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 to the Right Honourable Richard Asserton Cross a c&c one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. 6th May 1875. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 2.

The table below illustrates the total admissions and net receipts in each year of 1871–1874.

Table 5: Annual International Exhibitions 1871–1874: Receipts and Admissions

Year	Total Admissions each Year	Total Net Receipts each Year for Season Tickets and Admissions	Profit or Loss
1874	466,745	£14,500 2s 10d	£6000 loss
1873	499,842	£20,362 6s 3d	£6000 loss
1872	647,160	£32,339 2s 1d	£5000 loss
1871	1,142,154	£65,379 15s 9d	£17,671 3s 1d profit

The table depicts the story of the Exhibitions. The first, in 1871, was a success. However, as can be seen, the decline in admissions, and therefore profit, over the following three years was rather dramatic.³⁶³ As well as waning visitor numbers, the Exhibitions required significant investment. The Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 stated that their spend on the construction of the galleries, refreshment rooms, lighting, heating, glass cases and other fittings had amounted to £126,383,³⁶⁴ aside from the cost of medals or for buying some of the exhibits. Although there were plans for a further six Exhibitions after 1874, these did not take place.³⁶⁵ At the first meeting for the 1874 Exhibition, the Commissioners decided that it was to be the last.³⁶⁶ Possibly, an annual exhibition was too much for the general public, and exhibition fatigue set in.

³⁶³ Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 169–170.

³⁶⁴ This is the equivalent to £13,114,763.91 in 2016. Bank of England Inflation Calculator, <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>, accessed December 18, 2016.

³⁶⁵ Arrangements for Exhibiting Manufacturers In Each of the Seven Exhibitions to Follow that of 1873. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 2.

³⁶⁶ Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and The Great Exhibition. Art, Science and Productive Industry*, 170.

Financially, the loss of the International Exhibitions to the Hall was of huge importance; indeed it appears to have contributed to the need for the Royal Albert Hall Act 1876. This stated that:

And whereas the Commissioners hired large portions of the Hall during the International Exhibitions and gave in lieu of rent a sum of three thousand pounds annually for the maintenance of the Hall, which is no longer available now that the Exhibitions are discontinued.³⁶⁷

After the International Exhibitions ended it was nearly eighty years before they returned in force. Considering that exhibitions originally accounted for a large portion of the Hall's uses this is quite extraordinary. It was in 1955 that the idea of the RAH hosting large exhibitions was raised again, when it was aired as a new proposal. *The Scotsman* reported on 12 March:

Shortly there is to be a new use for the hall... There is talk of the possibility of putting on large exhibitions in the building... So cheerful is the prospect this year that the management are not closing the hall for the usual month required for maintenance. Bookings will not permit the closure.³⁶⁸

Similarly, the *Evening News* reported on 19 May that, 'The Royal Albert Hall has a new money-making scheme of letting for exhibition purposes. A "fresh and lucrative source of revenue" was how this was described by Lord Pender, the president, at the annual meeting today of the Royal Albert Hall Corporation'. He said:

We have arranged a series of block bookings for exhibitions which commence in September next totalling in all 86 days... Coupled with this there is an understanding with the promoters of these exhibitions that they will remain with us for a period of at least five years. It was discovered that the Royal Albert Hall was empty on average for 105 days a year... So far as can be seen only one concert has definitely been lost by the booking of exhibitions for the particular 86 days.³⁶⁹

In terms of exhibits, these collections were similar to those given at the Great Exhibition

³⁶⁷ The Royal Albert Hall Act, 1876.

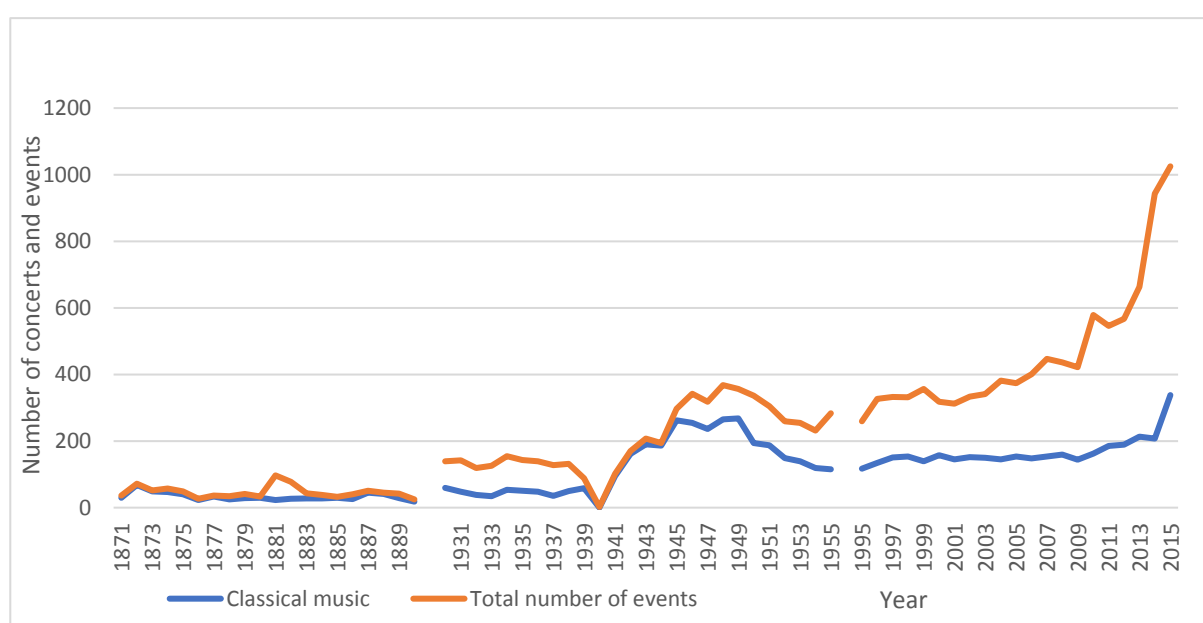
³⁶⁸ 'Exhibition Hall?', *The Scotsman*, March 12, 1955, 12.

³⁶⁹ 'Exhibitions Will Be "Lucrative" For The Albert Hall', *The Evening News*, May 19, 1955.

of 1851 and the International Exhibitions of the 1870s: those in the late 1800s included presentations of leather, bookbinding, artificial illumination and civil engineering, while the exhibitions in the 1950s included the First Industrial Textiles Trade Fair, the National Nylon Trade Fair, the International Fashion Fair, the Third Household Textiles and Soft Furnishing Trade Fair and the Third National Men's Trade Fair.

The BBC Proms

Classical music has always been integral to the Royal Albert Hall. Graph 2, *Classical Music at the Royal Albert Hall*, portrays the number of classical music events which took place at the Hall during three periods: 1871–1890, 1930–1955 and 2005–2015. The total number of events for each year is also included:

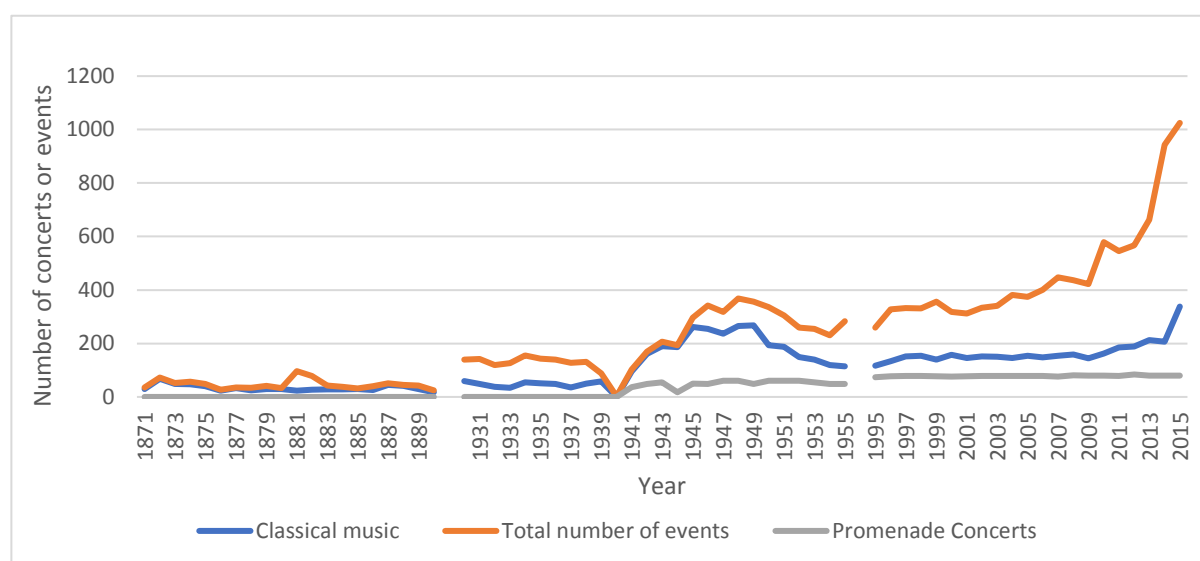


Graph 2: Classical Music at the Royal Albert Hall

As can be seen, the total number of events rises much faster than the proportion of classical events, and additionally, the overall trajectory is an upward curve. Furthermore, the number of classical music concerts was frequently similar to the total number of concerts until around the mid-1940s.

However, in the second framing period of this thesis (1995–2015) this changed: the number of events increased rapidly while the number of classical concerts rose, increasing noticeably only from 2013.

In Graph 3, *Classical music at the Royal Albert Hall, including the Proms*, the number of Promenade concerts is also included:



Graph 3: *Classical music at the Royal Albert Hall, including the Proms*³⁷⁰

As can be seen, the number of Proms remains fairly constant throughout the three periods examined from their inception in 1941. However, there are changes to the number of classical concerts and the total number of events. During the early period the number of events is low in total, and the number of classical concerts and the total number of events is almost identical. During the Second World War there was a steep decline, as the Hall was closed for nearly two years. However, in 1941 the Hall reopened and, with the destruction of Queen’s Hall, the Promenade concerts (the Proms) moved to the RAH. The

³⁷⁰ The data from graphs 1, 2 and 3 was gathered from the RAH archive. Every event which has taken place at the RAH is recorded on a database: <http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/>. The author of this thesis then categorised the events. This meant that comparisons between categories, and with the total number of events could take place.

graph shows that the majority of events during the war were classical concerts. In 1950 the number of events and concerts drop, after which there is a decline in classical concerts and it is likely that the Hall was affected by the opening of the Royal Festival Hall in 1951. Finally, during the modern period, although the number of events and classical concerts both increase, the total number increases at a much greater pace and from 2013 it seems that the rate of increase is comparable.

Although the number of Promenade concerts did not increase over the Hall's history, one could suggest that the fact that the Proms have remained constant since their arrival in 1941 has provided the Hall with some financial stability, and contributed to the identity of the Hall, partially through the sheer longevity of the relationship. What follows is a brief narrative of the history of the Promenade concerts, particularly in relation to the Second World War.

The Promenade concerts were the brainchild of Robert Newman; his idea was to mount an informal festival of music throughout the summer, conducted by Henry Wood and widely accessible, prices were to be kept low. This was partially in order to create a summer audience for Queen's Hall, of which he was the manager, thus there was also a financial incentive. A wide range of music, including many new works, would be performed to the highest possible standard at affordable prices—making them available to all. Queen's Hall, the venue chosen for Newman's 'Proms', had been built in Langham Place and opened in 1893. Designed by the architect T.E. Knightley, it had room for an audience of 2,500 and in a prime location at the top of Regent Street, near the Underground, bus routes, shops, department stores and restaurants, it quickly became London's principal concert venue.³⁷¹ It was in 1895 that the Promenade concerts began.

³⁷¹ Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895–1926', in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 36.

Despite its premiere position and imposing structure,³⁷² Queen's Hall was not known for its interior design. Its décor was described as drab and it had cramped seating,³⁷³ but what it lacked in comfort it made up for with its acoustics, which were considered to be superb.³⁷⁴ Indeed, although Queen's Hall was not the RAH's natural predecessor in terms of its site and acoustics, it was not purely considered a concert hall, but as an 'events space'.³⁷⁵ Boasting carriage parking, a press room for reporters and music critics; refreshment spaces, bars, toilets and a chamber hall which seated 500, Leanne Langley concluded in her 2006 study that 'customers, not merely music-lovers, were expected at this place, and that the very experience of going into it was part of the attraction'.³⁷⁶ Furthermore, originally Queen's Hall struggled for an identity. While wedding breakfasts, City dinners, parties and musical entertainment were all considered appropriate, the question of how these events might take place was not forthcoming.³⁷⁷

However, as its artistic direction solidified under Newman's guidance the leading musicians of the late 19th and early 20th centuries performed there, including Claude Debussy, Edward Elgar, Maurice Ravel and Richard Strauss. In the 1930s, the Hall became the main London base of two new orchestras, the BBC Symphony Orchestra and the London Philharmonic Orchestra. These two ensembles raised the standard of

³⁷² Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895–1926', in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 36.

³⁷³ Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall: 1893–1941* (London: Rider & Co, 1944), 18.

³⁷⁴ Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895–1926', in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 36.

³⁷⁵ Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895–1926', in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 35.

³⁷⁶ Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895–1926', in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 38.

³⁷⁷ Leanne Langley, 'Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and the Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895–1926', in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 38.

orchestral playing in London to new heights.³⁷⁸

With the declaration of war on 3 September 1939, there descended an artistic, as well as physical, blackout on London. After the Promenade concert on 1 September, the season was cancelled. All public music making ceased and the BBC Symphony Orchestra was evacuated to Bristol. For a month there was no music in London. Then, on 7 October the silence was broken with a recital by the veteran pianist Frederick Lamond at Wigmore Hall.³⁷⁹ On the 8th, Charles Hambourg conducted the London Symphony Orchestra in the first of a series of Sunday afternoon ‘Pops’. The first item was the *Meistersinger* Overture by the German composer, Wagner, and this was the first indicator that classical music was to be held above the conflict. The first regular ‘symphony concert’ of the war followed on 14 October, when Sir Henry Wood conducted the London Symphony Orchestra in a programme containing Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, Dohnányi’s Suite in F sharp minor, Elgar’s Symphonic Prelude *Polonia*, and the ‘Emperor’ Concerto. After this, it was not long before the London Symphony and London Philharmonic Orchestras began to be heard regularly at Queen’s Hall on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, with the Royal Philharmonic Society’s concerts on Thursday afternoon. Indeed the Proms, along with the National Gallery concerts organised by the pianist Myra Hess, and the events organised by the government-funded Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) as well as the Entertainment National Service Association (ENSA), were very popular and it soon became evident that they helped to boost the morale of London’s population.³⁸⁰

The Proms brought London audiences out of the blackout into the Queen’s Hall, where they could experience as a community the solid British traditions for which they

³⁷⁸ Elkin, *Queen's Hall*, 18.

³⁷⁹ Elkin, *Queen's Hall*, 126.

³⁸⁰ Jenny Doctor, ‘A New Dimension, The BBC takes on the Proms, 1920–1944’ in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 120.

were undergoing such great disruption and danger in their daily lives. The wartime Proms attracted many who had had no interest in orchestral concerts before; servicemen and women on leave in London found a congenial atmosphere in which to listen to music that caught their interest.³⁸¹ Like the cinema and other popular entertainments, the Proms enabled them to be among people in an informal setting, a temporary escape from the discipline and duties of the war. C.S. Taylor, the Queen's Hall manager of many years, writing in 1941, described the variety of Proms audiences, using language and images of the time:

The Promenade is in everybody – almost: the man in the street, the ordinary person, you, in fact: and from time to time you did things that the Symphony Concert audience would never do... They say that you applaud with considerable enthusiasm but no discrimination. I think that you exercise your discrimination before you come, because if you're not going to like it then you don't come. Your numbers vary with the nature of the programme... On Fridays for Beethoven we never had enough room for you, on Bach Wednesdays you exhibited a strikingly large preponderance of young men (though the last two seasons have been different—the young men were elsewhere). If contemporary music was being played you were not so numerous but were much more highly coloured, with a partiality for frantic ties and frenzied shirts, sandals, and no socks, and a tendency to argue solemnly about rhythmic impulse and whole-tone scales over lager at the bar.³⁸²

From the above, it is perhaps easy to understand why the Proms were popular during the War. They gave the audiences a chance to experience a feeling of community. That on certain nights the Hall was sold out is surely remarkable during a War and they have remained an extremely important part of the Hall's calendar, and vision, as will be seen in chapter 3.

The year 1940 heralded much speculation as to whether a season of Proms would be held but ultimately they were sponsored by the Royal Philharmonic Society (RPS) under Keith Douglas, Honorary Secretary of the RPS and financial backer of the series

³⁸¹ Doctor, 'A New Dimension, The BBC takes on the Proms, 1920–1944' in *The Proms: A New History*, ed. Doctor, Wright and Kenyon, 121.

³⁸² C.S. Taylor, Manager of the Queen's Hall, quoted in Robert Elkin, *Queen's Hall, 1893–1941* (London: Rider & Co. [1944]), 71–2.

(Wood was a guarantor), and Owen Mase, formerly of the BBC Music Department.³⁸³

Wood conducted the LSO in ‘standard’ Proms repertoire, which was received by large audiences with enormous enthusiasm.³⁸⁴ Basil Cameron was associate conductor. The programming was noted ‘in some respects [as] a reversion to former practice... the number and variety of novelties mak[ing] the forthcoming season like those of the pre-BBC era. Wood took the opportunity to programme as he liked, without committee input. There was an initial penchant for works by Allied composers, a visible and aural support of the war effort that increased each year’.³⁸⁵ Air-raid warnings frequently sounded during performances, but were generally ignored by those inside; one long Wagner night in 1940 was simply extended until the small hours of the morning:

The orchestra were prepared to carry on until the ‘all clear’ should sound, and did so under the direction of Mr. Basil Cameron... A five hours concert was given to which members of the London Symphony Orchestra contributed solos; then song-books were handed round, and there was a spell of community singing; then volunteers were called for, and members of the audience came to the platform and gave whatever they could give.³⁸⁶

The 1940 Season was announced as ‘Sir Henry J. Wood’s 46th and Farewell Season’.

While this was not the case, the title was prophetic in other ways. The Blitz began not long into the season and it became evident that it was impossible to continue. After the concert on 7 September 1940, the season ended. The programme of the final Prom held at Queen’s Hall included works by Holbrooke, Delibes, Rachmaninoff, Sibelius, Puccini, Lutyens, Dvořák, Bax and Mendelssohn.³⁸⁷

On Saturday 10 May 1941, the Royal Choral Society gave a performance of Elgar’s *Dream of Gerontius* with the London Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Dr.

³⁸³ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 121.

³⁸⁴ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 121.

³⁸⁵ Fiona Gibbs, ‘German Classical Music in London during the Second World War’ (Unpub. BMus diss.: King’s College London, London, 2009), 35–38; Hughes and Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840–1940: Constructing a National Music*, 144.

³⁸⁶ ‘Promenade Concerts: Wagner, Elgar, and Others’ *The Times* (28 August 1940), accessed in WAC R79/115/16 referenced in Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 121.

³⁸⁷ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms: A New History*, 121; BBC Proms Archive—<http://www.bbc.co.uk/events/eb3p5v>: Accessed 10/11/15.

Malcolm Sargent. This was to be the final concert given in Queen's Hall. In an air raid during the night of 10 May over 300 bombs were dropped on a moonlit London. Over 1,400 people were killed, landmarks such as the House of Commons, Westminster Abbey and the British Museum sustained damage, and the Queen's Hall was completely destroyed. *The Musical Times* described the scene outside the hall the following day:

The time has not come for a list of bombed concert halls and other buildings prominently associated with music, but the destruction of Queen's Hall calls for a note. The material lost included thousands of pounds worth of instruments belonging to the London Philharmonic Orchestra. The spirit and resourcefulness of the players has been recorded in *The Times*: 'Members of the orchestra, confronted with the desolate scene when they arrived to give a concert, nevertheless carried through their programme. A meeting was held in the road, instruments were borrowed, and permission was obtained to play at the Royal Academy of Music. Leaving their manager seated at a table on the pavement to give transfer tickets to the audience as it arrived, the orchestra went on to the Academy, and an hour later were performing the advertised programme.'³⁸⁸

The Royal Philharmonic Society, which had sponsored the Proms in 1940 in the absence of the BBC, decided that the Royal Albert Hall was simply 'the only likely hall'³⁸⁹ in which the Proms season could be held. Indeed, the RAH was now the only available large auditorium in London. With a large arena and gallery, the RAH was eminently suitable for concerts at which the audience could promenade.³⁹⁰ Although less intimate than the 2,500-seat Queen's Hall, it was nevertheless filled for the 1941 Proms, the greater space attracting more people. Although the BBC Symphony Orchestra (BBCSO) was not available, the BBC did return to broadcast the season. The BBCSO's place was taken by the Royal Philharmonic and London Symphony Orchestras. The season of concerts was moved to South Kensington in time for the beginning of the 1941 season.

However, not everyone was enthusiastic about the idea of the Proms moving to the

³⁸⁸ Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music: 1844–1944. A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the MUSICAL TIMES, Volume 1.* (London: Novello & Company Limited, 1947), 212.

³⁸⁹ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 122.

³⁹⁰ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 126.

RAH. The main problem was the Hall's acoustics, and this was a recurrent issue in which artistic vision triumphed over practicalities. The conductor Thomas Beecham famously remarked:

The Royal Albert Hall... is invaluable for those who are slow on the musical uptake – they hear everything three times. And it is the only place in which some composers are likely to hear more than one performance of their works.³⁹¹

The Hall's echo was infamous. Experts from the Government Building Research Station at Hope Bagenal were consulted in order to remedy this before the 1941 season opened. Before the start of the 1941 season publicity was circulated in order to dispel the prejudices and attract the Promenaders to the new venue:

For the Promenade Concerts the velarium [a huge sail cloth permanently suspended in the dome] has been lowered to intercept the echoes and also to reduce the apparent size of the hall. A strip of parquet floor has been placed in front of the platform to increase reflection and brighten tone and the rest of the arena will be used for the promenade. At the same time the platform has been surrounded with screens to reflect sound and localise the source.³⁹²

Later, however, the authorities ruled that the velarium must be raised again, as any splinters of glass from above might gain enough impetus to cut through it if it was at the lower height.³⁹³ Instead, a system of screens situated around the orchestra had a beneficial impact on the quality of the sound. As well as having inferior acoustics, the general appearance of the Royal Albert Hall was decidedly dingy and neglected by this point, and on hot summer nights the ventilation seemed inadequate.³⁹⁴ Douglas had a clause in his agreement which would have enabled him to close the Proms down if the box-office receipts fell too drastically. They did not—but the possibility hung in the air and affected the season's programming, since new works were seen as more of a financial risk. 'I was

³⁹¹ Leslie Ayre, *The Proms: The Story of the Grandest Music Festival in the World* (London: Leslie Frewin Publishers Limited, 1968), 97.

³⁹² 'Albert Hall Acoustics: Some notes', [undated 1941], WAC R79/115/17.

³⁹³ Reginald Pound, *Sir Henry Wood* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd, 1969), 274.

³⁹⁴ David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms* (London: BBC, 1980), 120.

obliged to avoid “novelties”,’ wrote Wood, ‘...for, as everyone knows, to close down meant defeat and disaster, from which even my courage and renown might never recover.’³⁹⁵ The propensity for Allied works continued, with an ‘Anglo–American’ concert on August 5, in which the *Symphony in One Movement* by Samuel Barber and Vaughan Williams’ *Serenade to Music* were performed.³⁹⁶ Yet, despite the difficulties, the 1941 season was a success. London’s public was thirsty for classical music and the continued demand for concerts meant that box–office receipts were at a high despite the larger venue. This aided the Proms’ transition, and the season survived despite the odds.³⁹⁷

The BBC returned to run the Proms from 1942 in a season entitled ‘The BBC presents Sir Henry Wood’s Forty–Eighth Season of Queen’s Hall Promenade Concerts’–running from 27th June to 22nd August. The concerts began at 6:30pm, as they had in 1941, moving to 6pm in the latter weeks of August. This was a very popular and successful season, and was notable for opening its rehearsals to school children: ‘While Sir Henry conducted, Sir Adrian Boult came and spoke to them about each item before it began.’³⁹⁸ Therefore the first schemes to make music accessible to younger listeners began during the war. Although this idea was not conceived by the RAH (at this time the Hall was a receiving house only) these children were the first of many thousands to experience classical music at the Royal Albert Hall.

Although the 1943 season ran in much the same way as in 1942, it was memorable for a number of reasons; the first was that on 7 July 1943 it was ‘required by H.M. Government for a meeting in honour of China’.³⁹⁹ This created the second reason, as the

³⁹⁵ Pound, *Sir Henry Wood*, 278.

³⁹⁶ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 125.

³⁹⁷ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 126.

³⁹⁸ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 126.

³⁹⁹ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 126.

only time the Prom could be rescheduled to was a Sunday and therefore the first Sunday Prom took place. Sadly, this concert was also among the first which Sir Henry was unable to conduct due to ill health. For the first time he watched, rather than conducted, the concert.⁴⁰⁰

The bright design of the 1944 compendium was perhaps indicative of the mood of the moment: looking towards the end of the war and a celebration of Sir Henry's 75th birthday and the Proms' fiftieth season.⁴⁰¹ However, the festivities did not last. The season was to include first performances by the Americans Samuel Barber and Roy Harris, by the Russians Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Stravinsky, and by many British composers, Bantock, Vaughan Williams, Bax and Monatague Phillips to name a few, and the press gave the season much coverage. However, the V-1 flying bombs arrived around the start of the season and after a near miss on 29 June, the Proms were again suspended.

Performances of some works which had already been planned as broadcasts were given from the studios in Bedford by Boult and the BBCSO, but overall it was a huge disappointment. However, the final tragedy of the season was yet to come. Sir Henry Wood's health, on the decline for a long time, finally failed in late July. His final performance was a memorable broadcast of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony on 28 July. His doctors forbade him from listening to the Jubilee concert on 10 August and he died nine days later. Circumstances reduced what should have been the Proms' most celebrated season to a shadow.⁴⁰² In 1944, Herbert Smith, the appointed member of the Natural History Museum on the Hall's Council wrote that:

The destruction of Queen's Hall by enemy action brought exceptional prosperity to the Royal Albert Hall, but it is doubtful whether that prosperity will continue when the competition of other large concert halls is felt. At least two large Halls to accommodate audiences up to 4,000 are planned, the one on or near the site of Queen's Hall and the other on the south bank of the river, and they may be built sooner than many suppose. When it is realized that the Royal Albert Hall does not provide comfortable and

⁴⁰⁰ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 127.

⁴⁰¹ Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms*, 127.

⁴⁰² Doctor, Wright and Kenyon eds., *The Proms: A New History*, 128.

well-placed seats for as many as 4,000 and that the new halls will have far greater accessibility, the prospects of continued prosperity are not good. Apart from the question whether there would be sufficient demand for the use of the Hall for balls or boxing entertainments to replace the concerts that might be lost, these do not come within the purpose for which the Hall was originally designed.⁴⁰³

While Graphs 2 and 3, above, suggest that the building of the Royal Festival Hall did

have an initial effect on the overall number of classical music concerts held at the RAH,

there was never a discussion of the Proms moving to the Southbank.



Figure 6: Photograph of the Last Night of the Proms, from the Hall's website c. 2013

The BBC and the Hall's acoustics

In general, one would state that the relationship between the Hall and the BBC has been professional, and mutually beneficial.⁴⁰⁴ The greatest indicator of this is in relation to the Hall's acoustics. After the Second World War had ended, further acoustical tests took place at the Hall in 1948, and then again in 1968. In 1949, the velarium, which had been in place since 1871,⁴⁰⁵ and the glass dome were replaced by a perforated fluted inner dome. This was able to absorb much of the sound and weaken the focusing of sound by

⁴⁰³ 'The need for replacing the Seat-holders by a Public Trust' by Herbert Smith, 1944. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 33.

⁴⁰⁴ A number of archival documents were studied as part of the research for this thesis. In terms of the Hall's relationship with the BBC, in the main these were contracts between the two organisations in regard to hiring the Hall, contracts between the BBC and the musicians who performed at the Proms and memos regarding the music which was to be performed at the Proms.

⁴⁰⁵ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 13.

the inner dome surface. However, this did not completely solve the situation, and in 1968 the acoustic diffusers (or mushrooms) were installed. The mushrooms reduced the strength of the echo by some magnitude and also reduced the Hall's reverberation time to less than 3 seconds from 3.5 seconds.⁴⁰⁶

In 1968, the BBC initially had some reservations about changes being made to the Hall's acoustics because they feared that this would have a detrimental effect on their broadcasts, with the controller of Programme Organisation stating, 'In fact the Albert Hall acoustic is very good for radio as it stands'.⁴⁰⁷ However, after multiple tests, the BBC was satisfied that the changes would assist the live concerts without affecting the success of the broadcasts and agreed to help fund the acoustical changes. It was agreed that the BBC would contribute £1000 ⁴⁰⁸ to the acoustic diffusers, or mushrooms made of fibreglass.⁴⁰⁹ In 1969 Sir William Glock, Controller of BBC Music, wrote in the Proms Guide that '...the acoustics have been transformed... the famous echo has become past history...'.⁴¹⁰ Although this was not quite the case, there is little doubt that the mushrooms have had a large and positive impact on the acoustics.

Freemasonry

The Hall's connection with Freemasonry appears little known. However, there remains in existence a Royal Albert Hall Lodge, which is a charity and whose objects are:

Income and Capital to or for the benefit of such distressed brother Masons their widows and children or to or for the benefit of such Masonic charities or other charitable institutions, societies and objects as the Lodge shall in duly constituted meeting from time to time direct.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁶ R.A. Metkemeijer, Adviesbureau Peutz, & B.V. Zoetermeer, 'The Acoustics of the Auditorium of the Royal Albert Hall, Before and After Redevelopment', 2002, 2.

⁴⁰⁷ Correspondence between controller, Programme Organisation and Director of Radio, August 22, 1968.

⁴⁰⁸ This is equivalent to £16,000 in 2016.

⁴⁰⁹ 03/ M/WG: Correspondence between William Glock of the BBC and Mr Mundy of the RAH, October 3, 1968.

⁴¹⁰ <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/acoustic-diffusers-mushrooms> – Last accessed January 6, 2017.

⁴¹¹ 'Charity framework', January 8, 2017, <http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?Register>

Historically the connection appears to have been responsible for the first instance of an event during which the members were excluded from their seats, albeit not legitimately. This came about because of the Prince of Wales, Prince Edward, who was the Hall's first president and also a Freemason. In 1875 the Grand Secretary of the United Order of English Freemasons applied for the use of the Hall for the purpose of the installation of the Prince of Wales as Grand Master of the Order. He stated that all the ritual surrounding the Order should be observed, including that the right of admission (to both patrons and staff) being limited to those who were Freemasons. Although at this point the Hall's charter had not yet been amended so the Members could be excluded, this did occur. Lyon Playfair, who was a member of the Hall's Council, approached the Prince and affirmed that, although difficulties could occur if the seat-holders upheld their right to attend, 'if the Prince expressed a wish, the Council would be prepared to meet his wishes'. The Prince did express a wish and thus the Members were excluded from their seats.⁴¹²

At the Hall's opening ceremony a number of stewards assisted, they were chosen from among friends of the Royal Entourage of Queen Victoria. Known afterwards as 'The Corps of Honorary Stewards' it was through this body of staff that the Royal Albert Hall Masonic Lodge was founded in 1903. The original bye-laws of the Lodge restricted membership to those 'connected with the Royal Albert Hall', and at one time it was necessary for members of the Lodge to be registered (sometimes nominally) as honorary stewards. Many members of the Lodge actually carried out the duties of steward of the Hall, and most of the stewards were members of the Lodge. However, the RAH Lodge never met in the Hall itself. Over time the connection between the Lodge and the Hall

dCharityNumber=213373&SubsidiaryNumber=0

⁴¹² Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 28; An illustration of the Installation of the Prince of Wales as Grand Master of the Freemasons at the Royal Albert Hall in 1875 is available in appendix 2.3.

became tenuous, especially after the Corps of Honorary Stewards was disbanded in 1986.⁴¹³ Although the relationship between the Lodge and the Corps of Honorary Stewards seems to have been particularly strong, there have been others who either worked for the Hall or who owned seats who were also members of the Lodge. For example, it was Hilton Carter, a manager of the Hall in 1903, who formed the Lodge. Furthermore, the first master of the Lodge, H.S. Clutton, had a 30-year connection with the Hall: he was a member of the Council, and his father had been one of the first seat-holders and treasurer of the Hall. In his speech at the banquet celebrating the Lodge's consecration, Clutton stated that he was sure that the Lodge would cement friendships among those associated with the Hall and that he hoped that the Lodge would help the Hall become a national institution and rank among the finest institutions of arts and science in the country.⁴¹⁴ Despite this sentiment, there does not appear to be any evidence that this has been the case. Although somewhat infrequent, Masonic events have taken place at the Royal Albert Hall throughout the Hall's existence, but they have been celebrations or meetings, rather than events connected to either the arts or science. The list below portrays what occurred on each occasion:

- 1875 Freemasons of England–Installation of the Prince of Wales as Grand Master
- 1887 Masonic Meeting in Celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee, in aid of Masonic Charities for Children and the Aged
- 1888 Centenary Festival of Masonic Girls' Schools Dinner [PRIVATE]
- 1897 Freemasons Special Meeting
- 1901 'Especial' Grand Lodge of Freemasons Meeting
- 1917 Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England–Grand Lodge Bi-Centenary –Meeting
- 1919 Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons
- 1927 The Masonic Peace Memorial–Ceremony of Laying The Foundation Stone by Field Marshal HRH The Duke of Connaught

⁴¹³ Personal Communication, Harold Gould, November 23, 2015.

⁴¹⁴ Archives of the United Grand Lodge of England, file BE.166 (2986). W00. The Royal Albert Hall Lodge. Unpublished.

- 1948 Installation of His Grace The Duke of Devonshire KG as Grand Master Freemasons Ceremony [PRIVATE]
- 1951 Freemasons Meeting
- 1967 Freemasons Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration–
Installation
of HRH the Duke of Kent, GCVO, ADC as Grand Master
- 1968 Order of Women Freemasons Jubilee Meeting [PRIVATE]
- 2006 The One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of The Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons (1856–2006)
- 2008 Order of Women Freemasons–Centenary Celebration (1908–2008)
[PRIVATE]
- 2017 Tercentenary of the United Grand Lodge of England at the Royal Albert
Hall
in October

Although the connection between the RAH and Freemasonry appears little-known, there is a well-documented relationship between Freemasonry and classical music. Simon McVeigh and Simon Fleming have explored this connection.⁴¹⁵ They suggest that despite being for the most part male only, Freemasonry lodges became an agent for the discussion of science, religion, philosophy, politics and the arts. Furthermore, the lodges were a melting pot of society where all were, in principle, equal, no matter their status in life. Aristocrats, the wealthy and powerful mingled with those from humbler professions. This network was of great importance to musicians, who often travelled for work, for it provided them with a network of contacts wherever they went. Music played an important role in Masonic life, as it embodied and aided the ideal of Freemasonry that all are united no matter their background. For that reason, most songs written for use at lodge meetings were polyphonic, often with three parts uniting into one harmonious whole.⁴¹⁶

Among classical musicians, Mozart and Haydn are among the most famous classical composers who were Freemasons,⁴¹⁷ indeed Mozart wrote several compositions

⁴¹⁵ See: Simon McVeigh, “Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the late Eighteenth Century” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by David Wyn Jones, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 72-100 and Simon Fleming, “Harmony and brotherly love: musicians and Freemasonry in 18th-century Durham,” *The Musical Times* 149 (2008): 69–80.

⁴¹⁶ Simon McVeigh, “Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the late Eighteenth Century” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by David Wyn Jones, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), 75.

⁴¹⁷ Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (New York, HarperCollins Publishers, 1995), 314.

for performance at Masonic gatherings. These include, The Little Masonic Cantata (Kleine Freimaurer-Kantate) entitled *Laut verkünde unsre Freude*, for soloists, male chorus, and orchestra, K. 623 from 1791 and The Masonic Funeral Music (*Maurerische Trauermusik*), K. 477/479a from 1785. Mozart's opera *The Magic Flute* is also considered to have been heavily influenced by Freemasonry.⁴¹⁸

Cirque du Soleil



⁴¹⁸ Maynard Solomon, *Mozart: A Life* (New York, HarperCollins Publishers, 1995), 327.

*Figure 7: Photograph of the Hall's auditorium configured for Cirque du Soleil, from
tripadvisor.co.uk*

One of the most recent regular additions to the Hall's Calendar is the Montreal circus troupe, *Cirque du Soleil*. On Boxing Day 1996, the same year the redevelopment work began, 45 artistes from nine countries and 750 tonnes of equipment arrived at the Hall for their first presentation, 'Saltimbanco'. The link had originally been forged in 1986 when *Cirque*'s English director, Andrew Watson, performed his trapeze act for a private party in the Hall. He later said that, 'I thought then that this [the RAH] is the ultimate circus building from the point of its shape, height and possibilities for rigging'. Although tickets were, and remain, quite expensive, *Cirque* has had a significant impact on the Hall, especially with regard to the Hall's finances.⁴¹⁹

On 15 May 2008, PricewaterhouseCoopers prepared an advisory document for the Hall which was entitled: *Review of proposed amendment to s14(1) of The Royal Albert Hall Act 1966*. This document had been commissioned by the Corporation of the Royal Albert Hall on 1 May 2008 in order to ascertain the effects of departing from this section of the act on the Members of the Corporation. Section 14(1) of the act stated the number of times during a year the Council of the Hall could exclude the Members from the Hall. PricewaterhouseCoopers concluded that the Members had not been disadvantaged. Rather, they indicated that the Council had acted reasonably in deciding that the net financial benefit to Members from programming events in which section 14(1) had to be departed from was likely to exceed the potential value to Members of alternative programming. Additionally, the Hall benefitted financially.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁹ Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century*, 121–122.

⁴²⁰ PricewaterhouseCoopers, 'The Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences: Review of proposed amendment to s14(1) of The Royal Albert Hall Act of 1966. May 15, 2008. Advisory report.'

Furthermore, within this document certain information was detailed, some of which included the financial influence of *Cirque*. The document also suggested that, historically, it seemed that certain months of the year, January and February, had proved difficult for the Hall to fill and that *Cirque* had helped to change this. However, it also stated that the beginning of the year generally proved challenging across the sector.

The need for this to change appears to have become a priority for the Hall in the late 1990s.⁴²¹ In order to secure the lottery funding for the refurbishment of the Hall, it was decided by the Council that the Hall needed to demonstrate that it had a robust business model which could generate a sufficient income to meet its share of the capital expenditure required and the subsequent costs of maintaining and enhancing the building.⁴²² Thus, the low-season periods in the Hall's calendar needed to be filled in order to improve the financial performance of the Hall. At the same time the Council decided to increase the variety and quality of the Hall's programming. Between 1993 and 1996, new programming enterprises were investigated.⁴²³ This resulted in a new relationship with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, which extended the classical music programming. The launch of 'in the round' opera and ballet, in co-production with the promoter Raymond Gubbay, also resulted in sell-out performances. The first production was *La Boheme*. Persuading *Cirque du Soleil* to bring their performances to the RAH, which occurred for the first time in January 1996, was seen as another coup.⁴²⁴ In early 1996 *The Stage* reported this as a triumph of 'sell-out successes', for both *Cirque* and the opera had sold out and the Hall had also been awarded the 'International Venue of the

⁴²¹ PricewaterhouseCoopers, 'The Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences: Review of proposed amendment to s14(1) of The Royal Albert Hall Act of 1966. May 15, 2008. Advisory report.'

⁴²² PricewaterhouseCoopers, 'The Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences: Review of proposed amendment to s14(1) of The Royal Albert Hall Act of 1966. May 15, 2008. Advisory report.'

⁴²³ PricewaterhouseCoopers, 'The Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences: Review of proposed amendment to s14(1) of The Royal Albert Hall Act of 1966. May 15, 2008. Advisory report.'

⁴²⁴ Phil Gibby, 'Birthday refit for Albert Hall', *The Stage*, February 22, 1996.

Year' award for the second year running.⁴²⁵

Although originally the Hall acted as a co-promoter, after 2003 *Cirque* returned to the Hall on a receiving house basis, meaning that the Hall did not act as a promoter. The contracts were initially based on a guarantee to *Cirque* of £1.5 million for 31 performances. However, in 2008 this had increased to 54 and is now closer to 70 performances.

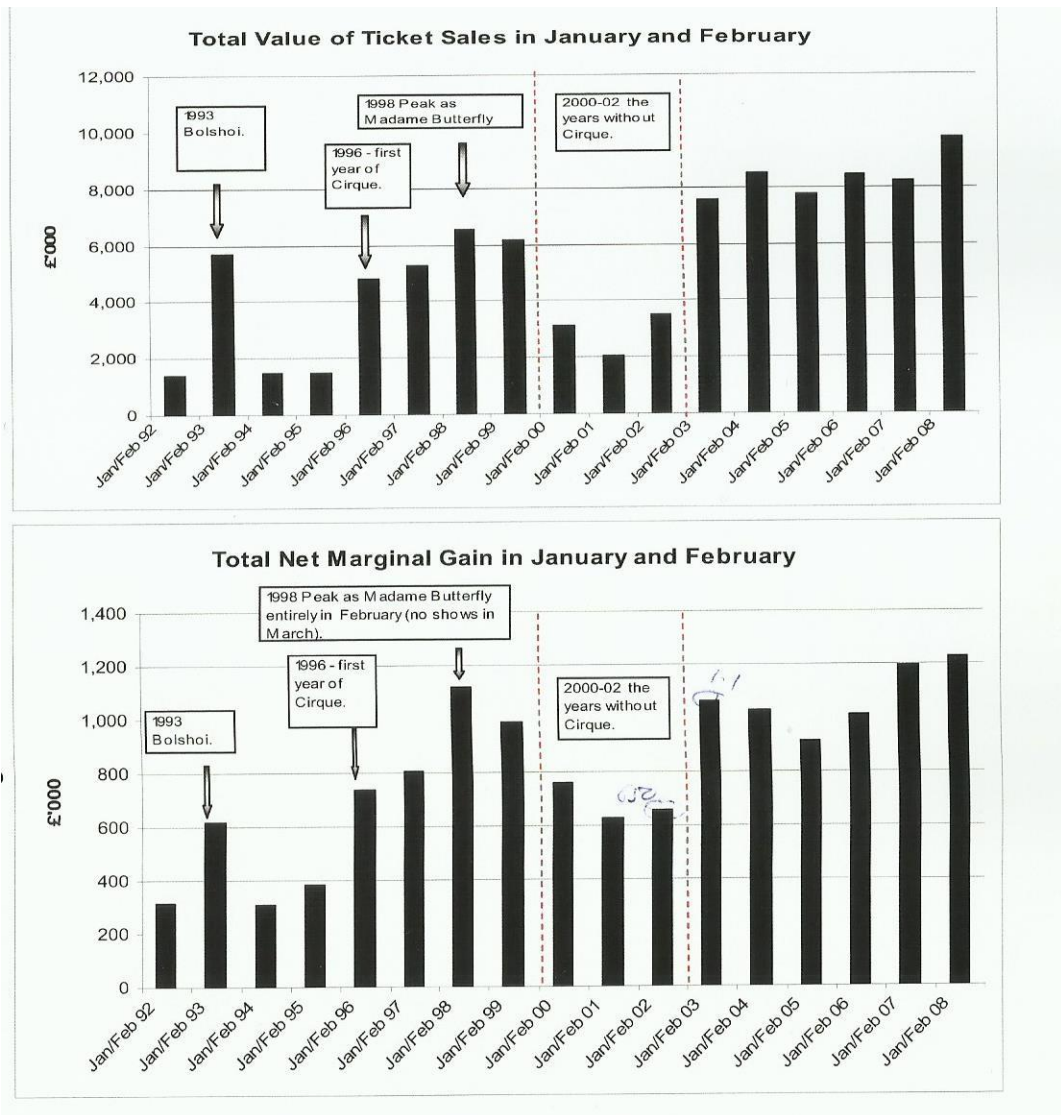
Filling the Hall's low season has had a considerable effect on the Hall. One way of describing what has happened is through the 'halo effect'.⁴²⁶ By filling the calendar in January, February and June, some of the events which might otherwise have taken place in those months have contributed to filling adjacent months. This is known as the 'narrow halo effect'. Also, because the low-season events were perceived to be of quality and appealed to a wide audience, the Hall became a more attractive place to perform for other acts, and therefore demand has increased throughout the year, 'the wider halo effect'.⁴²⁷

Graphs 4 and 5, below, show the significant increase in ticket sales and in net marginal gain which arguably occurred as a result of filling the Hall's January low-season. In January 1996, when *Cirque* first performed at the Hall there was a sizeable increase, which continued across the other years in which *Cirque* has performed at the Hall.

⁴²⁵ Phil Gibby, 'Birthday refit for Albert Hall', *The Stage*, February 22, 1996.

⁴²⁶ The existence of the so-called 'halo effect' has long been recognised. It is the phenomenon whereby we assume that because people are good at doing A they will be good at doing B, C and D (or the reverse—because they are bad at doing A they will be bad at doing B, C and D). The phrase was first coined by Edward Thorndike, a psychologist who used it in a study published in 1920 to describe the way that commanding officers rated their soldiers. He found that officers usually judged their men as being either good right across the board or bad. There was little mixing of traits; few people were said to be good in one respect but bad in another. This has since been transferred into business and company performance.

⁴²⁷ Phil Rosenzweig, *The Halo Effect... and the Eight Other Business Delusions That Deceive Managers* (New York: Free Press, 2007), 50–64.



Graphs 4 and 5: Total Value of Ticket Sales in January and February, 1992–2008 and Total Net Marginal Gain in January and February, 2002–2008.

The effect of *Cirque* can be seen most clearly in 2001 and 2002, when *Cirque* moved their production to Battersea (using their own tent): the Hall struggled to find events to fill the gap – this is evident in the poor ticket sales in those years. In January 2003, *Cirque* returned to the Hall, and the impact of this can be seen by the increases in ticket sales and net marginal gain. Between 1996 and 2008, *Cirque* contributed a total net marginal gain of £7.5 million. To put this in context of the Hall’s finances, the total reserves of the Corporation

in 2008 were £10.7 million.

One could suggest that working with *Cirque du Soleil* proved to be a catalyst for the Hall. The graphs above illustrate its direct influence on the growth of the Hall's operating surplus, annual number of performances and, arguably, its status. Certainly, *Cirque* has been a constant at the Hall since 2003, and during the same period the Hall's calendar of events has continued to expand, and its operating surplus has continued to increase, as will be shown in greater detail in the next section on the Hall's finances.

Festival of Remembrance

Of course, aside from the relationships discussed in detail above, the Hall has had lengthy relationships with many other promoters and events. One event which could be seen as particularly integral to the identity of the Hall is the Royal British Legion Festival of Remembrance. Begun in 1927 by the *Daily Express*, the now-annual festival is famous for its connection with the Royal family, its spectacle and pageantry, and also the highly emotive poppy drop. Furthermore, the event successfully combines military exuberance with religious remembrance and dedication.⁴²⁸ It is this amalgamation which has led to the event's prestige. Indeed, in 1928, the writer who described the Festival penned that 'the Albert Hall on this memorable occasion appeared as a microcosm embodying all these simple, true and honest virtues—Good Will, Good Fellowship, Good Citizenship, loyalty to King and Country, Patriotism, pride in the high traditions of our race and land, and above all, Comradeship',⁴²⁹ and in Ronald Cark's account of the Hall he writes that 'The Festival of Remembrance presented an outstanding example of the Hall's ability to stir the emotions'.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸ Thackrah, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 105.

⁴²⁹ Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 198.

⁴³⁰ Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall*, 199.

This thesis suggests that the reason for the strong connection between the Hall and the Festival of Remembrance is the strong imagery which it generates, which is broadcast on BBC television and radio. Furthermore, as with the BBC Proms, the Festival supports Georgina Born's concept, discussed in the introduction to this thesis, which suggests that a space can be 'configured by the physical, technological and/or social dimensions of the performance event or sound work'.⁴³¹

2.4 Finances

The final section which this chapter will address are the Hall's finances. Data was collected from across the Hall's history, from 1876 to 2016, some gathered independently and some provided by the RAH. The 1851 Commission and the Hall's archives held the historical documents, while the more recent financial data and documents were made available by the Hall. Some of the data-set was also available online through the Charity Commission website but the majority of the information explained below is unpublished.⁴³² The graphs below are an illustration of the tables in appendix 2.5 and appendix 2.6. In terms of the data itself, this thesis focusses on a portion of the statistics. It was not possible to investigate ticket prices or sales,⁴³³ but it was possible to examine the following over the course of the Hall's history: the Hall's operating surplus, income and expenditure; the total number of events held at the Hall and their genres; the number of times the Members had access to their seats (ordinary or exclusive lets); the amount spent on salaries, and the seat rate paid by the Members. It should be noted that although additional data, in terms of the number of years available and featuring ticket prices, would have provided an even greater illustration of the Hall's finances and the way

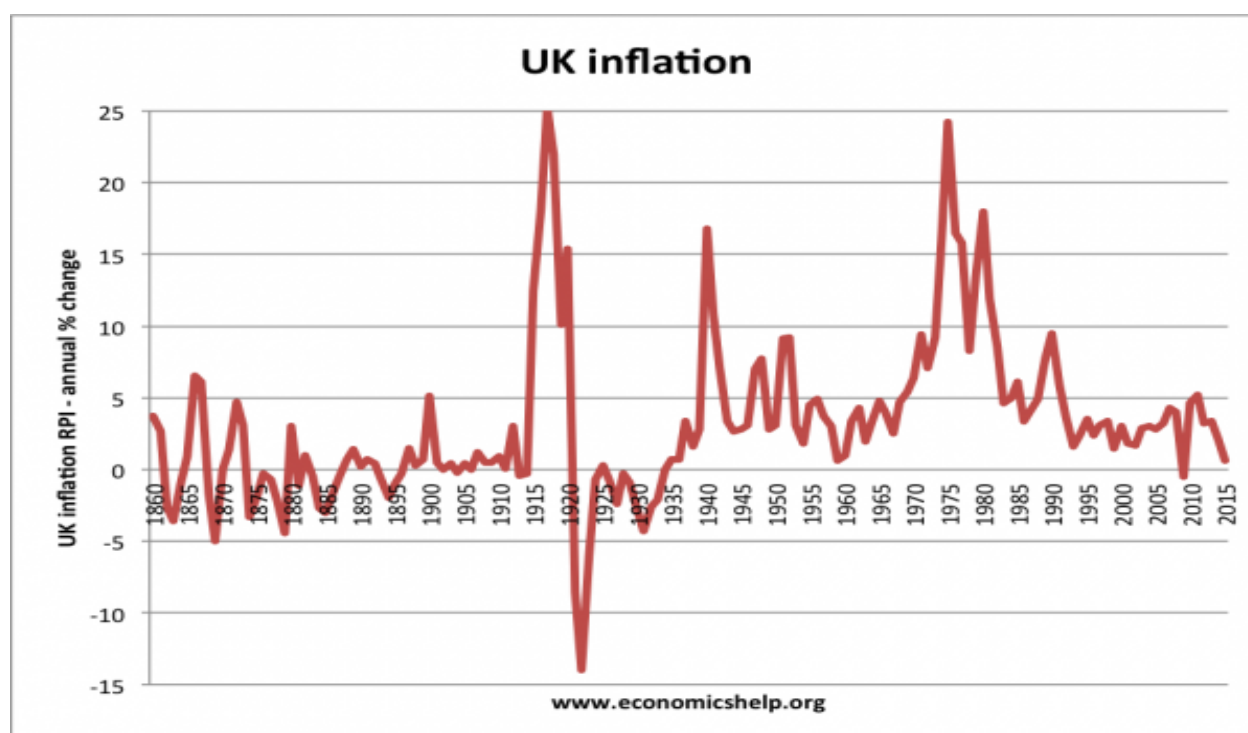
⁴³¹ Georgina Born, 'Introduction—music, sound and space: transformations of public and private experience', in *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, ed. Georgina Born (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 16.

⁴³² I would like to thank the Royal Albert Hall for making this data available to me.

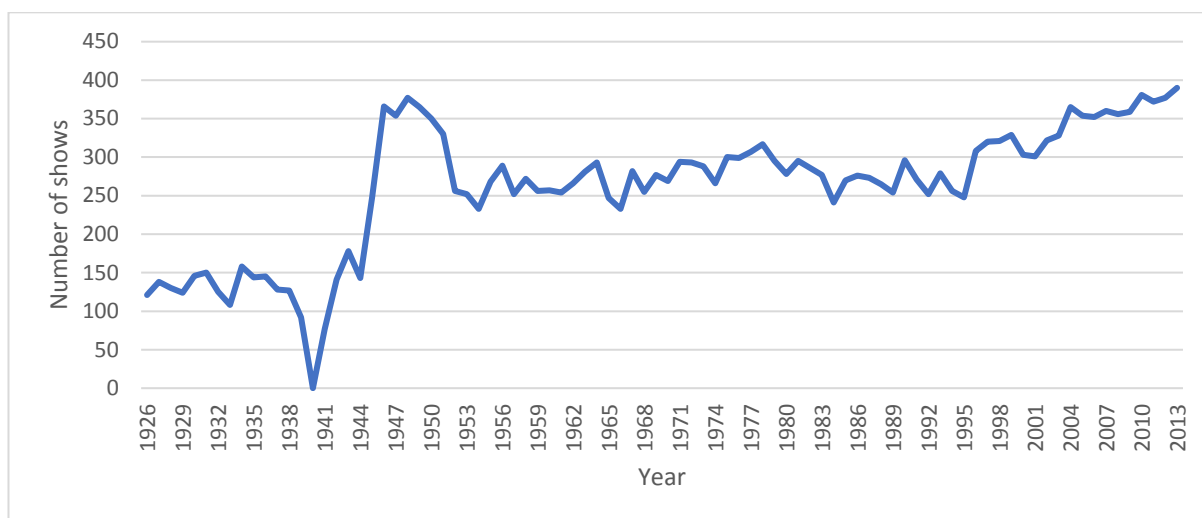
⁴³³ It was not technically possible to obtain this data, as it was the property of a number of different agents.

different events have been priced, that which has been gathered is still of value. The data available had never been examined and it overlapped considerably with the three periods explored in this thesis. Therefore it was crucial in providing new insight into the Hall's financial position over the course of its existence.

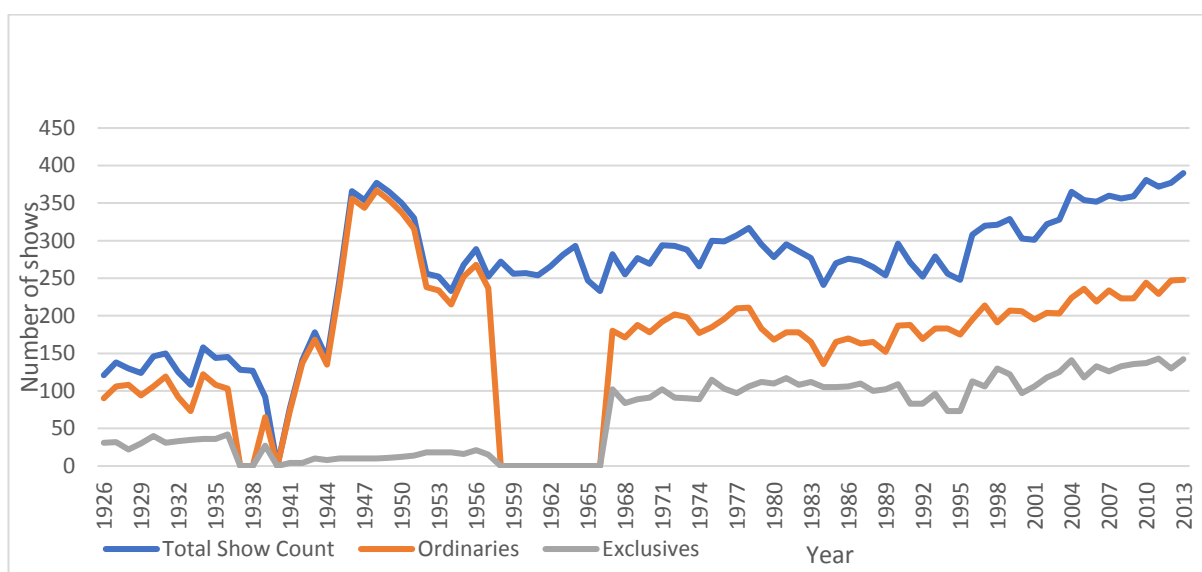
As one might expect over a period of 146 years, simply due to inflation, the figures rise. For example, the Hall makes more money and the seat-holders pay a higher seat rate. Therefore, the first graph included is a historical inflation graph, for comparison. However, the increase in the number of events in recent years has not been affected by inflation and the data suggests that the Hall is financially more stable. Furthermore, the increases and decreases in the data-set correlate with certain historical events, as will be examined. The data-set has been illustrated in the form of graphs. It is also available in table format in Appendix 2.5–Financial Documents and Appendix 2.6–Tables of Events.



Graph 6: Historic Inflation Graph 1860–2015⁴³⁴



Graph 7: Total Event Count, 1926–2013



Graph 8: Event Count History, Ordinaries and Exclusives 1926–2013

These graphs depict the number of events the Hall’s main auditorium hosted between

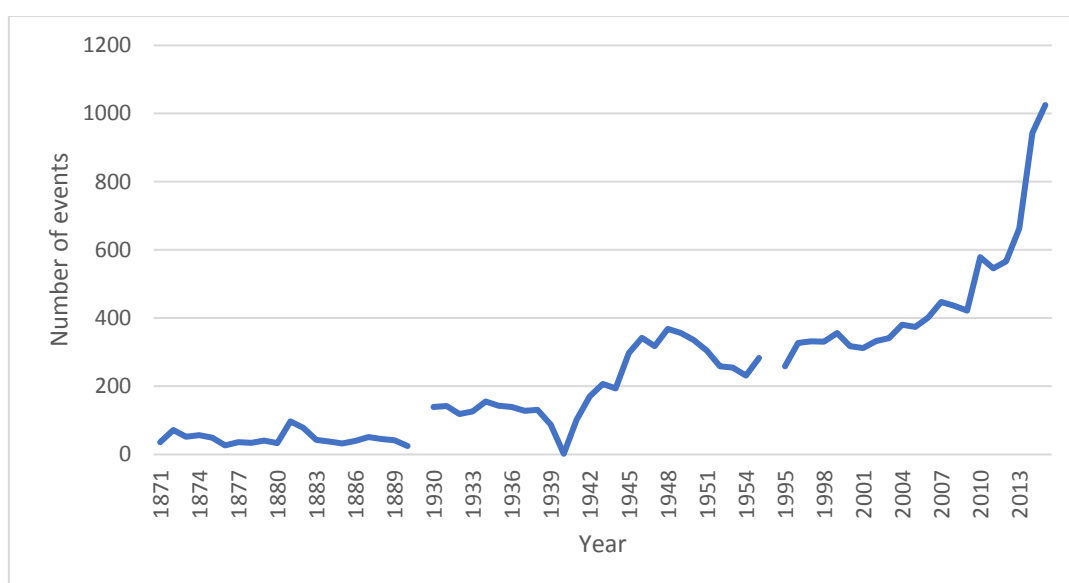
⁴³⁴ Eijvan Pettinger, “History of inflation in the UK”, November 16, 2016, Economics Help, November 16, 2016, accessed December 19, 2017, <https://www.economicshelp.org/blog/2647/economics/history-of-inflation-in-uk/>

1926 and 2013. Although this data set does not exactly correspond to the three time periods, this is what was available at the time the research took place.⁴³⁵ Furthermore, the data set does overlap substantially with the three time periods and therefore can still provide relevant and valuable information. Graph 8 also differentiates between the number of ‘ordinary lets’ (when the members have access to their seats) and the number of ‘exclusive lets’ (when the members do not have access to their seats). There are two gaps in the data-set (1937–38 and 1958–66) because the data had not survived. As can be seen there is an increase in the number of events per annum: in 1926 there were 121 events, and in 2013 there were 390. The graph shows that initially during the Second World War there were fewer events. This is partially due to the fact that the Hall was closed in 1940 and even when it reopened, venues had stringent regulations imposed on them by the government. However, in 1941 the Proms moved to the RAH after Queen’s Hall was bombed. This marked the start of an increase in the number of events held at the Hall. In 1945, there were 248, and, by 1948, 377. However, there was a small drop by 1951, when there were 330 events. This could be due to the opening in 1951 of the Royal Festival Hall, which was expected to be a major competitor to the Hall, especially in terms of the Hall’s classical music output. The event count continued to decline in 1952 when there were 256 events and the event count did not near the 300 mark again until 1971 when the Hall celebrated its centenary. Aside from 317 events in 1978, the count remained firmly in the 200s until 1996 when the lottery-funded renovation began. After 1996, the number of events steadily increased, from 308 in 1996 to 390 in 2013.

In terms of the number of exclusives and ordinaries, as the years passed the number of exclusive lets increased. In 1926, they accounted for 25% of the Hall’s event count, and during and immediately after the Second World War they amounted to less

⁴³⁵ This data was provided by the archive of the Royal Albert Hall.

than 10% of the overall event count. However, from 1967 (after the new Act of Parliament had been introduced) there were many more exclusive lets: 102 in 1967, which was 37% of the total show count. By 1994 and 1995 there were just 73 exclusive lets in each year, each approximately 30% of the overall count. What is interesting is, as with the number of events in general, the number of exclusive lets increased after 1996. In 1998 there were 130, 40% of the event count and the number of exclusive lets remained at around 40% of the total event count up until 2013.



Graph 9: Total Event Count: 1871–1890; 1930–1955 and 1995–2015

Graph 9 illustrates the total event count across the three time periods discussed in this thesis. The events are numbered in terms of how many days they occurred on during the year, and they also include events held outside of the main auditorium, so the figures differ slightly from those in Graph 7. However, as can be seen, there is again a large increase in the number of events.

Between 1871 and 1890 the number of events did not vary much. There was an increase in 1881 and 1882, during which there were 97 and 78 events respectively due to

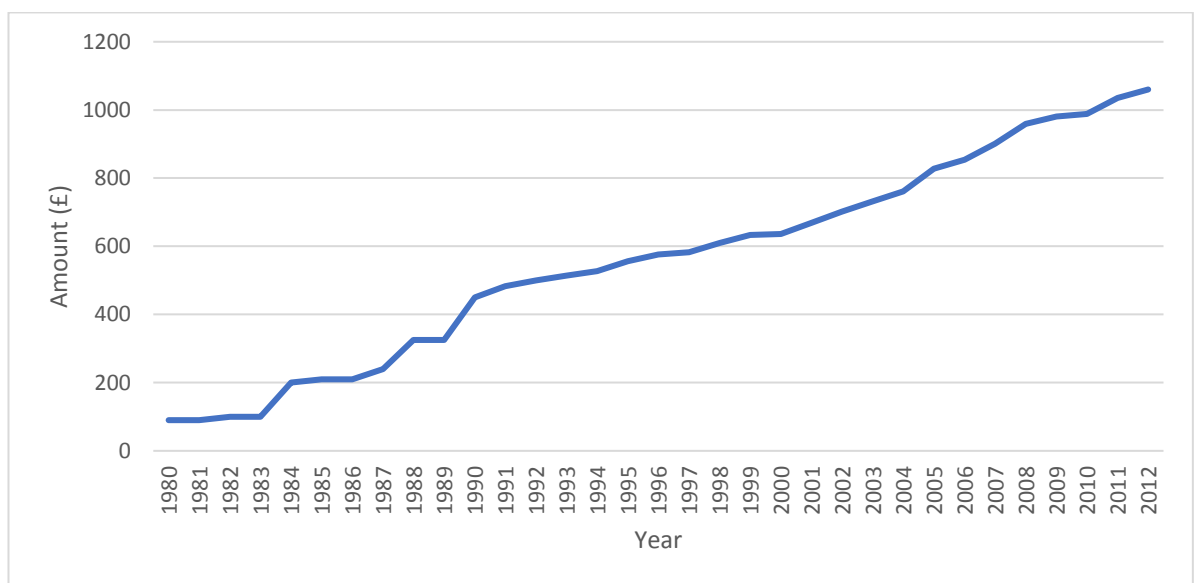
exhibitions in both years. Throughout this period, the most prevalent type of event was the classical music concert. All other genres (apart from in 1881 and 1882) accounted for less than twenty events each year, and sometimes much less.

By the 1930–55 period there were many more events: 139 in 1930 and 283 in 1955. The high point during this period came in 1948, after which the number of events started to decrease. Classical music remained the genre which was most prevalent, but by this point in the Hall’s history the range of events had begun to broaden.⁴³⁶ There were many more musical events outside of classical music, and sport had also begun to be a fixture—after the Second World War the number of sporting events reached into the 20s. Finally, the number of dinners/balls/religious/ political events increased substantially during this period. Whereas between 1871 and 1890 there were not more than thirteen in one year (and most of the time there were five or fewer), between 1930 and 1938 there were between 49 and 68. After the war, during which the Hall’s output was mainly classical music, the number of events classed as ‘other’ increased again: 63 in 1945, 72 in 1955, with a high of 81 in 1950.

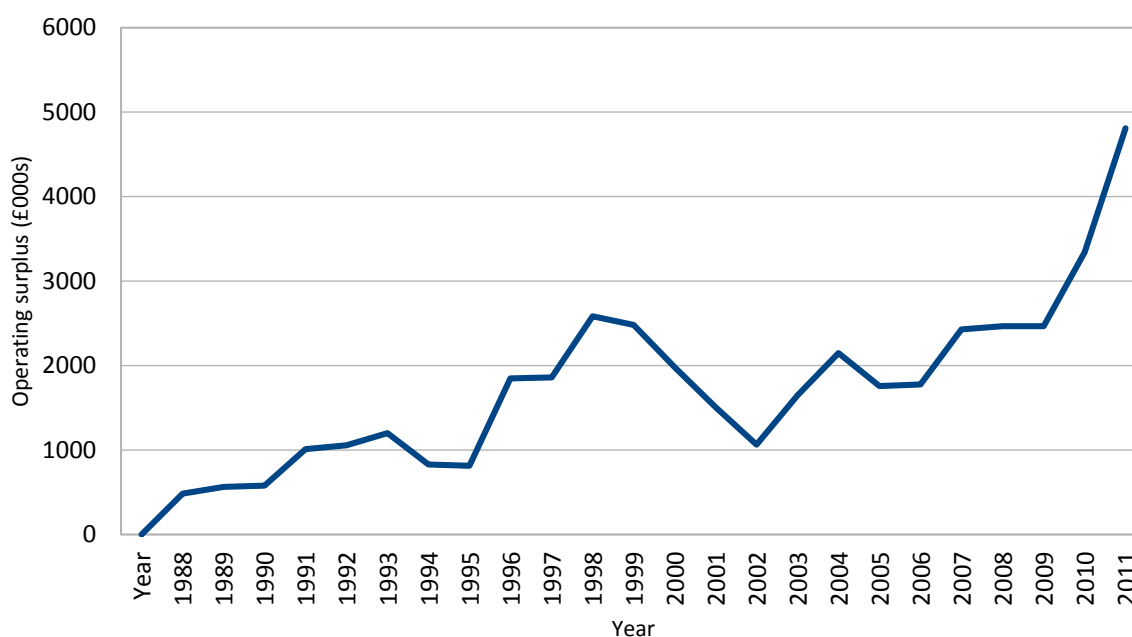
The final period in Graph 9, from 1995–2015, portrays the most dramatic increase in events: from 259 in 1995 to 1025 across the Hall in 2015. One could suggest that this increase was down to a number of factors: the impact of the lottery-funded renovation of 1996–2004, the increase in events in January, February and June (discussed earlier), the greater diversity in the types of events (each category saw an increase during this period) and the fact that the Hall was now holding events in its peripheral venues such as the Elgar Room, the Verdi Restaurant and the Loading Bay. The number of classical music events also increased, partially because more classical concerts began to take place in

⁴³⁶ See Appendix 2.5, Table 12: Classical music at the RAH: Total number of concert, Promenade concerts and Total number of events 1871–1890, 1930–1955 and 1995–2015.

these peripheral venues, but they were no longer the most prevalent type of event. In 1995 there were 117 classical music concerts, which accounted for 45% of the Hall's calendar. In comparison, in 2015 there were 338 classical music events but these accounted for 33% of the Hall's calendar. Thus, although there was an increase, the classical music concert became less important to the Hall's calendar. The greater diversity meant that the Hall could be described as a multi-purpose venue.



Graph 10: Seat Rate History 1980–2012

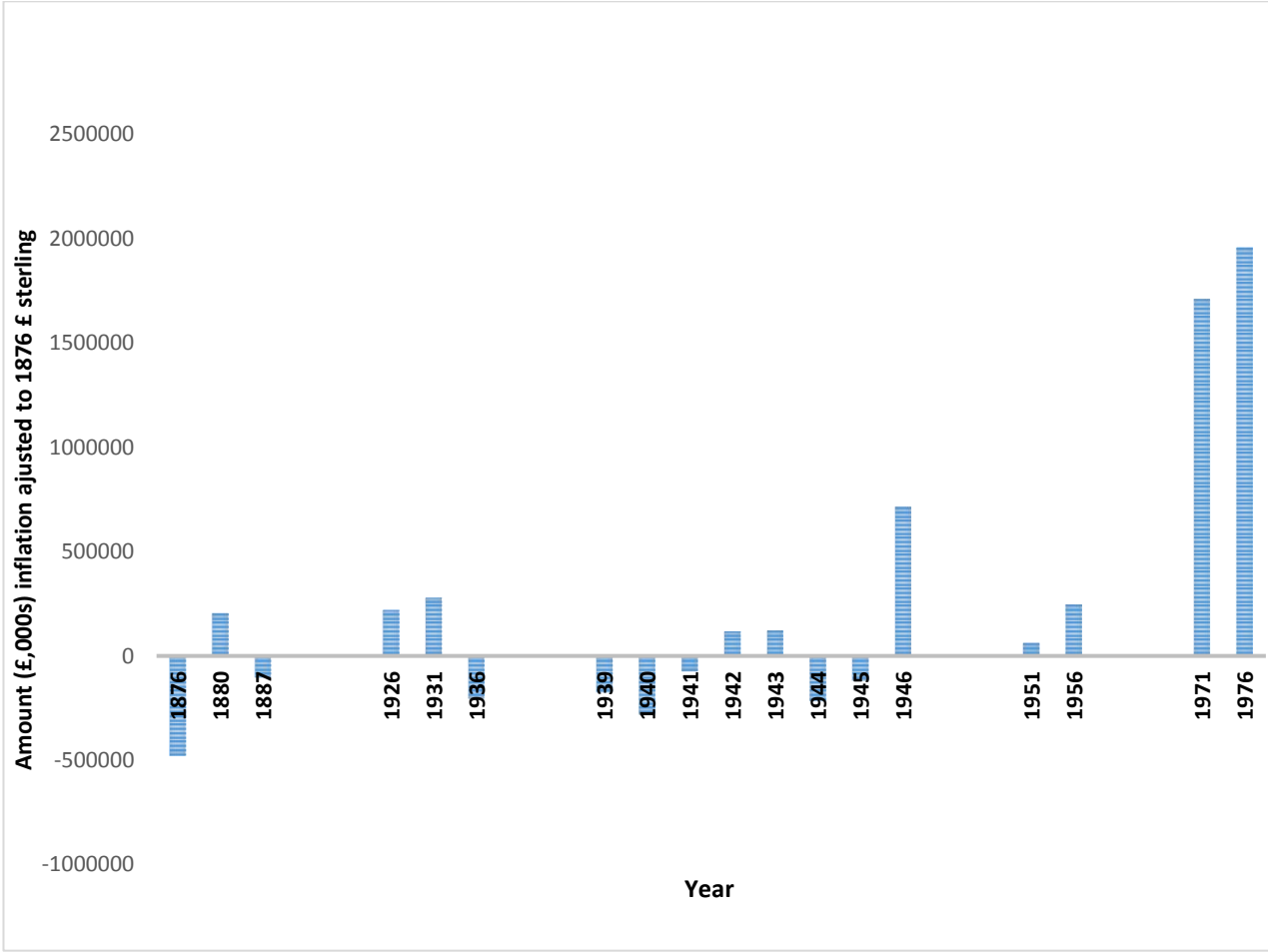


Graph 11: RAH Operating Surplus 1988–2011

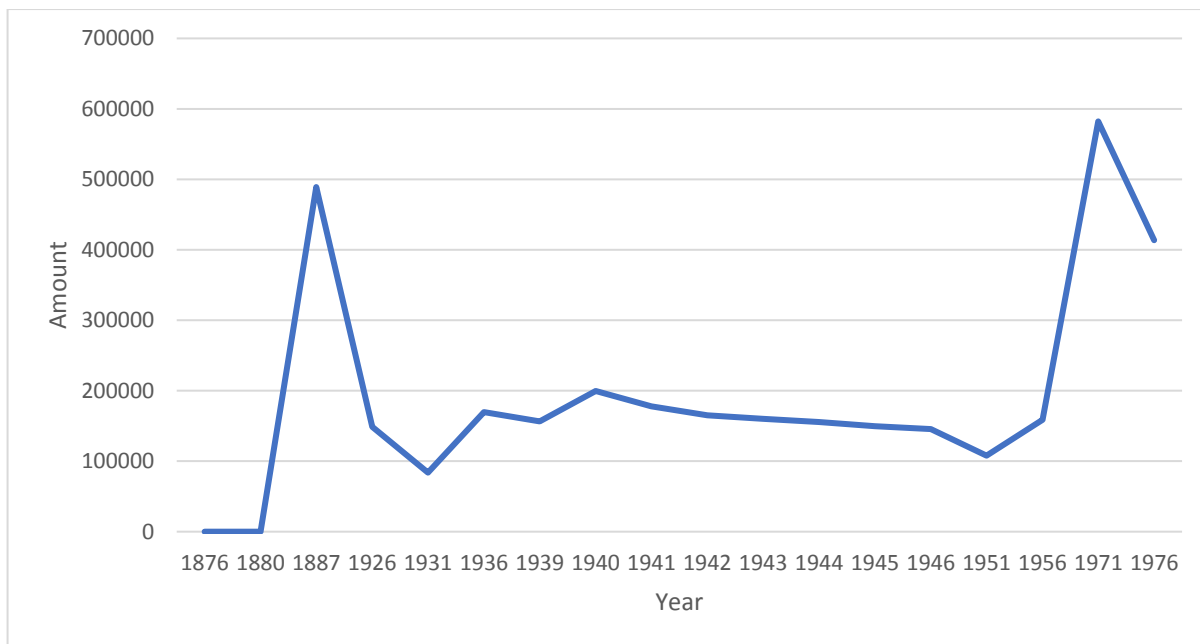
Graphs 10 and 11 illustrate the real amount which the seat-holders have contributed to the RAH between 1980 and 2012. They also show how dramatically this has increased since 1980. In 1980 the seat-holders paid a seat rate of £90 per seat, which amounted to an income of £114,785 for the hall: in 2012 their contribution per seat was increased more than tenfold to £1,060 and generated £1,351,500. There were several years during which the seat rate increased significantly. For example, in 1984 when there was a 5% CPI inflation rate there was a 100% increase, from £100 to £200 a year per seat and in 1988 when there was a 4.68% CPI inflation rate there was an increase of 35.4%, from £240 to £325 per seat. Another significant increase of 38.5% occurred shortly afterwards in 1990, when there was a CPI inflation rate of 7.61% and the amount increased from £325 to £450. After 1990 the increases were much smaller but continued steadily, at 8% or less. In terms of the real amount this meant that in 1991 the seat-rate was £483, just under half of the 2012 amount. One could perhaps assume that it was during the years when there was a large leap in the seat rate amount that the Hall was less financially stable.

As the seat rate gained stability, the Hall's operating surplus increased. In 1988

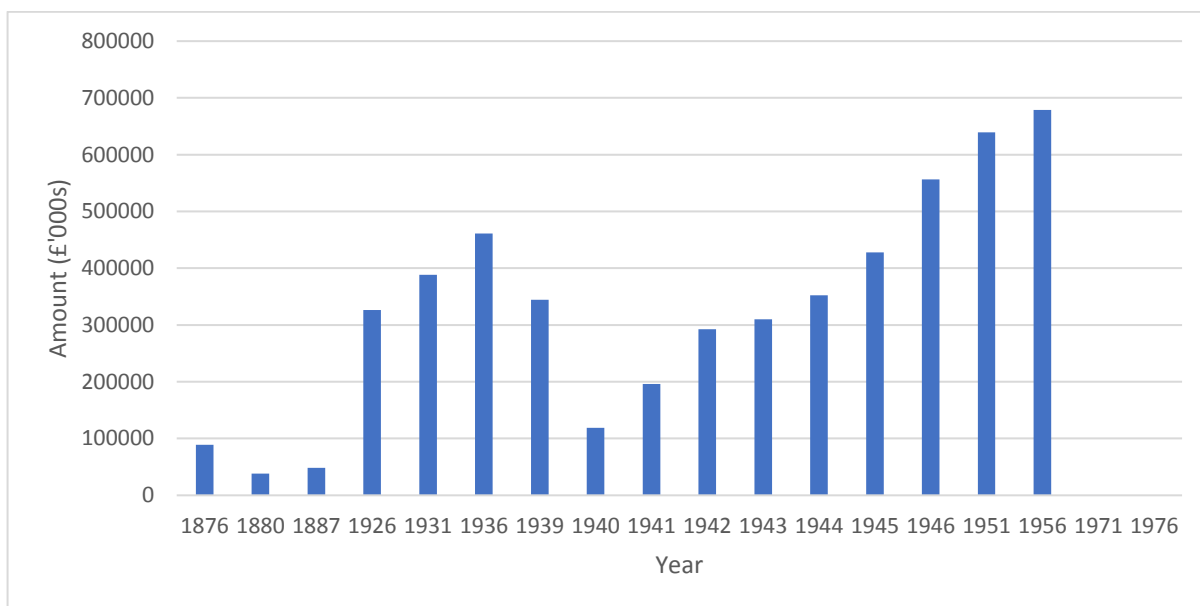
the operating surplus was £484,000; by 2011 it had increased to ten times that, to £4,809,000. However, this overall increase included several significant drops. In 1991 the operating surplus doubled and then remained at a similar level for 1992 and 1993 too. However, it dropped substantially (although not quite to pre-1991 levels) in 1994 and 1995. In 1996 the operating surplus again doubled and then increased until the year 2000, when it dropped, and then continued to decrease until 2002. The next spike occurred in 2004, after which the increase continued steadily. It seems likely that the spikes and drops can largely be attributed to one factor—*Cirque du Soleil*. The operating surplus mirrors the years during which *Cirque* was present at the Hall.



Graph 12: Inflation-adjusted Operating Surplus/ Deficit 1876–1976

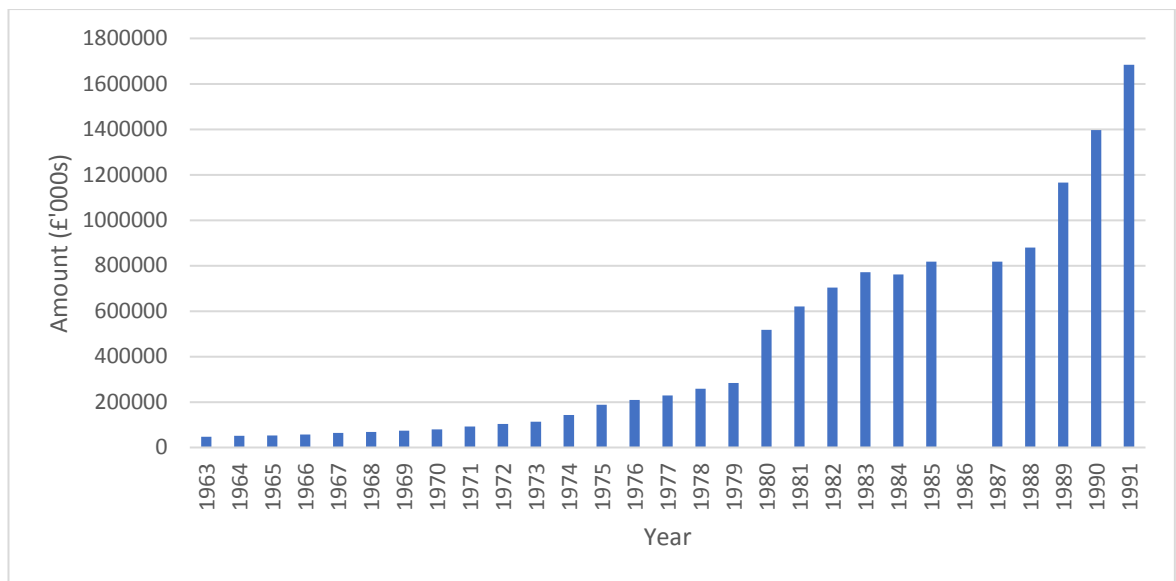


Graph 13: Inflation-adjusted Seat Rate Income, 1876–1976



Graph 14: Inflation-adjusted Total Salary Expenditure, 1876–1926 ⁴³⁷

⁴³⁷ The formula used to calculate inflation is $A = P (1 + r \div n)^{nt}$. This is the compound interest model.



Graph 15: Real Salary Expenditure, 1963–1991

Graphs 12–15 include data from across the Hall’s history, from 1876 to 1976. Indeed, it was remarkably exciting to discover three years of data from the 19th century, 1876, 1880 and 1887. Until the Act of Parliament in 1887 no seat rate was charged, so this did not contribute to the Hall’s income. In 1887, the total amount recouped through the seat rate amounted to £4,122. Between 1926 and 1958 the seat rate was quite stable, amounting to between £2000 and £4000. There was an increase to a total amount of £7,059 in 1956, but then it returned to approximately £4,000 until 1967, after the last Act of Parliament, when there was another large increase to £47,000. After the 1970s the total amount recouped through the seat rate increased steadily. Furthermore, the Members’ annual contribution amounted to just 4.2% of the Hall’s income in 1958, 3.8% in 1961 and 3.1% in 1964. However, in 1967 it increased to 32.4% of the Hall’s income and remained above 14% until the end of the 1970s.

Although only three years of data from the 19th century is available, it would seem that the Hall made a deficit more often than an operating surplus at this time, as seen in

Graph 12. In both 1876 and 1887 the Hall was in deficit from its operating activities, and in 1880 it made just £1,895. Between 1926 and 1941 the Hall was in deficit more often than it had a surplus. However, in 1942 and 1943 the Hall did make an operating surplus (one could perhaps attribute this to the move of the Proms from Queen's Hall). In 1944 and 1945 the Hall fell back into deficit, most likely due to the Second World War, but afterwards there was a large increase in surplus to £18,939, nearly a seven-fold gain. In 1951, the year in which the Royal Festival Hall opened, the surplus was much less at £2,201, but by 1956 some recovery had taken place and the surplus was £10,970. From the 1960s onwards the Hall made an operating surplus more often than it made a deficit, although there were still some fairly dramatic spikes and drops. For example, in 1978 there was a large drop from a surplus of £48,098 to a deficit of £20,940. The deficit continued each year (with the exception of 1980) until 1985. After 1987 the operating surplus gradually increased: in 1988 the surplus was £484,000, and by 2008 it was £2,468,000. In 1991 the surplus doubled, but then dropped in 1994 before doubling again in 1996. After 1996, the operating surplus did not drop below £1,064,000.

Graphs 14 and 15 show that between 1963 and 1991 the amount spent on salaries at the Hall increased from £46,619 to £1,684,193. Unlike other parts of the Hall's financial structure, salaries seem to have increased steadily with no dramatic falls. However, there were some large leaps, for example in 1980 the total amount spent on salaries increased to £518,373 from £283,727, and in 1989 it increased from £880,003 to £1,166,023.

In 2004 the Hall began spending money on 'Education, new programming and access'. Initially the Hall spent £335,000 on this department, but this had risen to £606,000 just four years later. Between 1989 and 1993 the amount spent on special project expenditure (excluding the Major Development) increased substantially. In 1988

this was £463,000, more than doubling to £979,000 in 1989. Over the following five years this rose to £1,598,000 in 1993. However, during the following decade this dropped, reaching a low of £260,000 in 1996. There were spikes in 2003 and 2004 and again during 2007 and 2008, but this does not appear to have settled in the same way as some of the other costs.

It would appear that, in general, the amounts spent and received by the Hall have increased exponentially over the course of its history. The large increases and falls can be attributed to the changes instigated by the Acts of Parliament, the Second World War and the move of the BBC Proms from Queen's Hall to the RAH, and then, later, to the lottery-funded development and the greater diversity of programming which occurred afterwards. There is also little doubt that the Hall's seat-holders have made a large contribution to the financial success of the Hall.

Conclusion

There is a common theme among the elements of the Royal Albert Hall as discussed in this chapter: they all have an exceptional nature. There is not another concert hall or performance venue in London which operates under the same governance structure as the Hall, the building is physically unique, and the Hall's output (and therefore its finances) are drawn from a diverse range of events, including many that only take place at the Hall. Additionally, the longevity of the RAH has meant that it has been able to build incomparable relationships with other organisations, as has been shown through the

Hall's connection with the BBC Proms, the Festival of Remembrance, *Cirque du Soleil* and also the Freemasons. While each of these factors have individually had both positive and negative effects on the RAH, together they appear to have contributed to the Hall's identity. Furthermore, although this unique combination of elements has developed organically across the Hall's history, they also assist in the exploration of how a fixed cultural space can be constantly re-inscribed. Although many of these factors have taken a number of years to have an influence on the identity of the Hall, arguably the Hall is sometimes re-inscribed on a daily basis, as there can be many different events in the space of a few days. The effects of the events are on both a micro and macro level. With this in mind, the final chapter of this thesis ascertains the effects of these factors on the Hall. How the RAH is perceived, who by and why, forms the third section of this thesis.

Chapter 3: Perceptions

Introduction

Perception is defined as ‘the process whereby information about one’s environment, received by the senses, is organised and interpreted so that it becomes meaningful; one’s powers of observation; one’s view or interpretation of something’.⁴³⁸ These definitions are of importance to this chapter, for they will shape the narrative which follows. Chapters one and two discussed the circumstances which led to the building of the Royal Albert Hall and the practical elements of its existence. They provided us with an understanding of the factors which can contribute to the constant reshaping of a fixed cultural space such as the Hall. With this context in place, this chapter will examine the extent to which this reshaping has affected how the Hall is regarded by outsiders.

As explained above, in order to give as thorough an insight as possible into the way the Hall has been perceived across its history, perceptions of the Hall will be studied through the lens of three periods: 1871–1880; 1939–1945 and 2005–2015. These periods have been chosen in order to give a broad understanding of the evolution of the RAH. The Hall opened in 1871, the years immediately afterward portray how it was initially perceived. The second, wartime, period includes the move of the BBC Proms to the Hall. This was to prove a catalyst for the re-invention of the Hall; it led to a greater number of events and affected its perception as a venue for classical music. Finally, the account of the years 2005–2015 explores the decade after the National Lottery renovation of 1996–2004 was completed. This period included a huge annual increase in the number of events

⁴³⁸ E.M. Kirkpatrick, ed., ‘Perception’, *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1983), 947.

which took place at the Hall and the subsequent financial growth. Therefore, it is reasonable to anticipate a change in how the Hall was perceived during this era, as potentially a wider audience demographic would be attending the Hall. This period also includes the era during which the author of this thesis was an employee of the Hall.

In order to provide as full an appraisal of each time period as possible, a range of sources is studied. Journalism features across all three time-frames, and provides a sense of continuity. Contemporaneous personal accounts of the Hall will also be used in each period. A variety of ethnographic data will be used in the third period, including the results of surveys, interviews and an analysis of the Hall from the perspective of a participant-observer. Thus, this chapter will employ both quantitative and qualitative data: a mixed-methods approach.⁴³⁹

The analysis of each era will begin with a discussion of the concerts and events held at the Hall at that time. However, in a departure from previous scholarship, this thesis will also examine how these events have affected perceptions of the Hall. With this background in place, close readings of the sources will be undertaken. This will allow overarching themes to be extrapolated from each period and also across the Hall's existence. While it is important to remember that different materials may generate individual opinions, together they can provide a viewpoint of the Hall never before comprehended.

Although no previous investigation of the type presented in this chapter exists in relation to a London venue, this chapter draws on a number of comparable studies. For example, Georgina Born's research on the *Institut de Recherche et de Coordination Acoustique/ Musique* (IRCAM) and the BBC illustrates what can be achieved by a

⁴³⁹ Colin Robson, *Real World Research: A Resource for Users of Social Research Methods in Applied Settings* (Chichester: Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2011), 164.

participant–observer. Born worked in some capacity in both institutions, recording her experiences and interviewing colleagues and associates in order to present as rounded a perspective of these institutions as possible. Furthermore, the work of Stephanie Pitts on audience interaction and experience has initiated in–depth discussions surrounding the concepts of live performance which this thesis will draw upon.

Finally, much of the qualitative and quantitative research presented in this chapter is original. It contributes to the discourse on venues and live performance in general, and in London specifically.⁴⁴⁰

3.1: 1871–1880

This section discusses historical perceptions of the Royal Albert Hall focusing on the years immediately after the Hall opened, from 1871 to 1880. The sources reviewed consist of newspaper editorials, articles from musicological journals such as *The Musical Times* and a personal account of the Hall at this time provided by George Bernard Shaw. The opinions given are presented, analysed and the points on which several sources overlap noted. If an opinion is stated in several different sources it suggests that it is a reflection of a more general perception of the Hall at this time.

Of course, each of the sources has limitations in terms of bias and perspective. For example, press journalism is often framed by its political viewpoint, and by the viewpoint of the journalist writing the article: musicological articles can be similarly hindered, diaries and letters usually portray the viewpoints of just one or two people at one point in time, and minutes from meetings can be restricted in terms of the amount of detail provided, for they are often a summary of events. Furthermore, it is in the nature of

⁴⁴⁰ While research has been conducted on live performance venues in other countries, such as Carnegie Hall and the Metropolitan Opera in the United States of America, a comparison with international venues is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it should be noted that research on international venues has, thus far, been of a different model from the one given here.

journalism to hold its subject to account, and therefore it has a tendency to critique. Thus, such sources may lean towards the negative, rather than the positive. However, by employing a range of evidence the amount of bias present in the overall analysis will be limited.

Between 1871 and 1880 the majority of events which took place at the RAH were concerts. A number were held as acoustical tests prior to the Hall's opening and a concert was held as part of the official opening. Others included a number of performances of Handel's *Messiah* and Mendelsohn's *Elijah*, the 'People's Concerts' which were promoted by the Council of the RAH, organ recitals and 'Grand Morning Concerts', 'Grand Operatic Concerts' and 'Grand National and Military Concerts' to name a few. Aside from concerts the RAH was also involved in the London International Exhibitions of 1871–74 and hosted a number of exhibitions, including the Exhibition of Electric Lighting Apparatus and the Fine Art Exhibition.⁴⁴¹

The sources from this period discuss a range of topics in relation to the Hall. The opening of the Hall features heavily in 1871, as would be expected. The acoustics also feature in the early articles; indeed they are examined at some length early in the decade, although over the years they are discussed less. How the Hall was to be used, including reviews of performances, is also presented. We know that during the Hall's early years the main events to take place were large choral concerts, which is also clear from these sources. Finally, the Hall's governance and its relationship with the Royal family is also deliberated in a number of articles.

As might be expected, between January and March 1871, the majority of newspaper articles published in relation to the Hall concerned its opening. Many were

⁴⁴¹ This information has been gathered from the Royal Albert Hall's catalogue of events: <http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/Advanced.aspx>, accessed 18/12/17.

announcements for the opening ceremony which advertised tickets, while others publicised acoustic trials. These took place before the opening ceremony, and consisted of performances by the Band of the 1st Life-Guards,⁴⁴² and the ‘Wandering Minstrels’.⁴⁴³ Furthermore, the building itself was discussed prior to the opening, and much of what was said was positive. The *London Daily News* recounted:

We can now see that the Royal Albert Hall will stand amongst the first, if it is not itself the foremost, of metropolitan buildings. It is handsome and imposing from any outside standpoint; it is a triumph of artistic lightness and elegance, viewed from every part of the interior. It is creditable to all who have been connected with its creation...⁴⁴⁴

This concurred with the *Evening Standard*’s earlier statement that the Hall, ‘promises to be handsome and imposing’ and that ‘When filled—the Albert Hall will certainly present a magnificent spectacle’.⁴⁴⁵ The architecture and frieze, the auditorium including the number of seats available in each section, and other areas of the Hall such as the gallery and ‘crush rooms’⁴⁴⁶ were also described and the Hall’s technical features explained:

...the ventilating fans which heat, cool, or exhaust the air in the shortest space of time: the revolving chairs in the amphitheatre... the wonderful system of electricity by which Mr Ludd will light the 4,210 gas jets in ten seconds—a feat the like of which has never, we believe, been attempted before.⁴⁴⁷

Perhaps the most interesting part of this particular critique comes at the end. The author asks, ‘The question which must arise in the mind of every visitor who gazes for the first time upon the Royal Albert Hall is, “What will they do with it?”’.⁴⁴⁸ That this question was being asked a day before the opening ceremony is perhaps indicative of the bewilderment the Hall prompted in those who viewed it. The periodical stated that the

⁴⁴² ‘Royal Albert Hall Acoustic Trial’, *London Daily News*, January 2, 1871, 5.

⁴⁴³ ‘Acoustic trial’, *Clerkenwell News*, February 28, 1871, 4.

⁴⁴⁴ ‘The Royal Albert Hall’, *London Daily News*, March 28, 1871, 6.

⁴⁴⁵ ‘Royal Albert Hall’, *Evening Standard*, January 9th, 1871, 3.

⁴⁴⁶ The Victorian term for foyer.

⁴⁴⁷ ‘The Royal Albert Hall’, *London Daily News*, March 28, 1871, 6.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Hall could be ‘adapted’⁴⁴⁹ for a range of purposes although, as we know, this did not occur immediately. However, one can perhaps assume that it was expected that concerts would be prevalent at the Hall. Concerts to be given by the Sacred Harmonic Society, military bands and on the Hall’s organ were advertised prior to the Hall’s opening.⁴⁵⁰

Ticket prices for the opening ceremony also provide a point of interest. These were as follows: a box of eight sittings (in its entirety) was £25,⁴⁵¹ a single seat in the stalls was £3,⁴⁵² a seat in the balcony (now known as the Circle) was £2,⁴⁵³ and a seat in the gallery was £1.^{454,455} In comparison, a season ticket for admission to the International Exhibition was 3 guineas,^{456,457} and tickets for ‘The Fourth Grand Orchestral and Vocal Concert’ were priced at 1 shilling for the orchestral seats,⁴⁵⁸ 2 shillings for the organ gallery,⁴⁵⁹ numbered seats in the picture gallery at 2 shillings and 6d,⁴⁶⁰ in the balcony at 5 and 7 shillings,⁴⁶¹ in the arena 7 shillings,⁴⁶² in the amphitheatre 10 shillings and 6d,⁴⁶³ and in the boxes, 3, 4 and 5 guineas.^{464,465} It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that a letter

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ ‘The Royal Albert Hall’, *Morning Advertiser*, January 26, 1871, 4; ‘Royal Hall’, *Illustrated London News*, January 28, 1871, 6; ‘The Royal Albert Hall’, *The Graphic*, January 28, 1871, 22–24.

⁴⁵¹ Equivalent to approximately £2,702.34 in 2016.

<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>

⁴⁵² Equivalent to over £300 in 2016.

<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>

⁴⁵³ Equivalent to over £200 in 2016.

<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>

⁴⁵⁴ Equivalent to approximately £100 in 2016.

<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>

⁴⁵⁵ These prices were found in ‘Royal Albert Hall’, *John Bull*, March 18, 1871, 8.

⁴⁵⁶ This price was found in ‘Royal Albert Hall’, *West London Observer*, April 1, 1871, 34.

⁴⁵⁷ Equivalent to £133.50 in 2016. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>

⁴⁵⁸ Equivalent to £5.40 in 2016. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>

⁴⁵⁹ Equivalent to approximately £10.80 in 2016. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>

⁴⁶⁰ Equivalent to £13.51 in 2016. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>

⁴⁶¹ Equivalent to approximately £27.02 and £37.83 in 2016. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>.

⁴⁶² Equivalent to approximately £37.83 in 2016. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>.

⁴⁶³ Equivalent to approximately £56.75 in 2016. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>

⁴⁶⁴ Equivalent to approximately £340.50, £454 and £567.50 in 2016.

<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>

⁴⁶⁵ These prices were found in ‘Royal Albert Hall’, *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, July 11, 1871, 1.

to the editor of the *London Daily News* stated that prices for the inauguration are ‘high’, although the writer does contend that they ‘compare favourably with the prices at the opera—on a debut or first performance night’. Furthermore, it seems that the Hall made a favourable impression for he writes that, ‘I have seen the hall, and from all sides I hear but the one opinion expressed, that it must become the centre for musical performances in London’.⁴⁶⁶ He continues that the most economical way for his family to attend the ceremony and then further performances was to purchase a second tier box for £500.⁴⁶⁷ This would allow him to attend performances at no extra cost for the next 999 years and also meant that he could rent his seats, which he expected to bring him in a ‘small annuity of at least 25 per cent’. This letter confirms that purchasing seats in the RAH was considered economical and an investment and also supports the assertion that concerts of classical music were expected to be held frequently at the Hall.

The opening ceremony itself was recounted at length. Several articles began by stating the role of the Queen:

The Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences was formally opened on Wednesday afternoon with all the *éclat* which the presence of her Majesty the Queen and the Prince of Wales, and other members of the Royal Family could secure.⁴⁶⁸

The addresses given by the Prince of Wales and the Queen were also reported, after which the organ and the concert given after the ceremony were reviewed. The *Daily Telegraph and Courier* wrote that ‘...bearing in mind the place occupied by music in the scheme of the Hall, it was fitting that music should be prominent at the inaugural ceremony’.⁴⁶⁹ Although from this, and the articles above, music was certainly expected to

⁴⁶⁶ ‘Prices at the Royal Albert Hall’, *London Daily News*, February 3, 1871, 3.

⁴⁶⁷ 500 pounds, equivalent to £54,046.88 in 2016.

⁴⁶⁸ ‘The Opening of the Royal Albert Hall’, *London Daily News*, March 30, 1871, 5–6.

⁴⁶⁹ ‘Opening of the Royal Albert Hall by Her Majesty the Queen’, *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, March 30, 1871, 2.

feature at the Hall, the *Morning Post* had raised the subject of how else the Hall was to be used the previous day. The writer appeared to issue a challenge:

The question as to the precise uses to which the Albert Hall can be put is not the 1st interesting consideration connected with the new building.
It is for the learning, the talent and the genius of the age to devise modes of developing the capacities of the Albert Hall to their utmost extent. Can we doubt that this will be done, that the nineteenth century will know how to make good use of the most perfect of amphitheatres England has yet seen?⁴⁷⁰

The writer appears somewhat in awe of the Hall, and indeed much of the language used by others marvelled at its size. In one article alone the Hall was described as a ‘colossal monument’, a ‘gigantic experiment’ and on a ‘scale of unprecedented magnitude’.⁴⁷¹ Furthermore, and as might be expected at the opening of a new building, much that was written was optimistic: ‘Art and science constitute a mighty and beneficent pair’, that it illustrated that ‘essential excellence exists’ and that Prince Albert loved to encourage art which ‘conduced most effectually to the genial refinement of everyday life, to the elevation of popular interests and popular pleasures. We trust that the Royal Albert Hall may contribute in no slight degree towards this end’.⁴⁷² The final point to make is that at the opening ceremony the acoustics were described by one periodical as ‘almost perfect’.⁴⁷³ However, both prior to and after this point, this was a subject of some contention.

The earliest newspaper reports of problems with the Hall’s acoustics occurred in January 1871, ahead of its opening on 29 March 1871. The comments recorded include the fact that there was an ‘...echo...’, that ‘the resonance was too great’,⁴⁷⁴ and in February at a performance during which the acoustics were tested, a ‘...strong and hearty

⁴⁷⁰ ‘Albert Hall’, *Morning Post*, March 29, 1871, 4.

⁴⁷¹ ‘The Royal Albert Hall’, *London Evening Standard*, March 30th, 1871, 4–5.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ ‘Acoustic trial’, *London Evening Standard*, January 9, 1871, 3.

echo...'⁴⁷⁵ was heard. After the Hall was opened the comments continued. In April it was written that, '...The Albert Hall for acoustic effects falls far short...'.⁴⁷⁶ Also in April, the Hall's architect, Colonel Scott, wrote to several London newspapers explaining the acoustics of the Hall, and why he believed the acoustics were not as good as he had hoped. He agreed that there was an '...echo present...' and this was partially due to the '...velarium not [being] low enough.'⁴⁷⁷ However, the criticism continued, with *The Examiner* stating in a review of a Society of Arts Concert that the Hall 'cannot compete with St. James' Hall or the Hanover-Square Concert Room'⁴⁷⁸ and the *London Daily News* asserting after a concert of Mendelsohn's *Elijah* that 'Exeter Hall is more fit for musical purposes' and that 'much remains to be done before this gigantic hall is fit for musical purposes'.⁴⁷⁹ Considering that previous to the Hall's opening classical music was expected to feature consistently at the Hall, this must have come as a blow to those in charge of the Hall.

Indeed, perhaps the negative publicity concerning the Hall's acoustics affected the Hall to a great extent. After April 1871 there were far fewer articles written concerning the Hall in general, and the acoustics in particular. This lapse of interest can perhaps be explained by the fact that between 1871 and 1880 there were fewer than 57 events held annually at the Hall, and sometimes this number was much lower. It makes sense that if the Hall was not being used then there would not be anything to write about. Certainly, this assertion would appear to be supported by an article in the *Evening Standard* from

⁴⁷⁵ 'Wandering Minstrels Performance and acoustical experiment'. *London Evening Standard*, 27 February 1871, 3.

⁴⁷⁶ 'The Royal Albert Hall and its acoustics', *London Evening Standard*, 8 April 1871, 6.

⁴⁷⁷ 'The Acoustics of the Royal Albert Hall', *Morning Advertiser*, 3 April 1871, 6.

⁴⁷⁸ 'Royal Albert Hall', *The Examiner*, April 15, 1871, 13.

⁴⁷⁹ 'Royal Albert Hall', *Daily News*, April 18, 1871, 7.

1874 in which the author states that, ‘Mr William Cole is one of the few entrepreneurs who have made the Royal Albert Hall the centre of their artistic efforts’.⁴⁸⁰

The fact that there was little press coverage of the RAH after the opening is also particularly surprising given that during the Victorian era the advertising industry grew immeasurably. Indeed, Thomas Richards argues in *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was a catalyst in the transformation of the industry from newspaper bills and street posters,⁴⁸¹ to the use of targeted slogans, images and phrases and which sold ‘the culture and ideology of England, its plans for commercial dominance, its dreams of Empire, its social standards, and its codes of conduct’.⁴⁸² It is ironic that the Great Exhibition, which was created by Prince Albert, was potentially vital to the development of the advertising industry, when the Hall that bore his name struggled to attract press coverage.

However, the Hall’s acoustics did not only feature in newspapers. They were also commented on by specialist journals. One of the first to do so was *The Musical Times*, in its review of the opening of the Hall in March 1871.

It would be unfair perhaps at present to say too much about the reverberations caused throughout the building by the slightest musical sound, because a very pretty correspondence has arisen upon the subject in the public papers. When all has been done that can be done to lessen the defect, we may have some remarks to make on the subject.⁴⁸³

Although it appears that the author of this article does not wish to draw hasty conclusions regarding the Hall’s acoustics in 1871, by 1878 writers are less forgiving. For example, in

⁴⁸⁰ ‘Royal Albert Hall’ *Evening Standard* [London] 30 October 1874, 3.

⁴⁸¹ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 21.

⁴⁸² Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 40.

⁴⁸³ Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844 – 1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times, volume 1* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 209.

the article quoted below the opinion is stated quite emphatically that music cannot be enjoyed in the RAH:

The Albert Hall, the most remarkable experiment in monster concert-room building in recent times, has taught us a good deal... radically and almost absurdly wrong in its plan and the method of seating the audience... no experienced... auditor can enjoy the higher forms of music there... the place is too big, and the proportions, balance, and delicacy of a great work are lost there.⁴⁸⁴

The jewel in the Hall's crown, at least with regard to music, was supposed to be its great organ. However, as can be seen below, even the sound of the organ does not escape criticism.

...the Albert Hall organ is utterly deadened by the building... so much so that, although the heavy 32-feet and 16-feet pedal-pipes sound tremendous when close to the instrument, they do not travel into the building the least, and the effect of the full pedal organ from the amphitheatre is like a gigantic harmonium.⁴⁸⁵

The musical criticism of George Bernard Shaw provides this thesis with a personal account of the RAH during the 19th century. His reports, which date from between 1876 and his death in 1950, refer to the Hall's acoustics, as one aspect of the general appearance of the Hall. Shaw was not complimentary when, in 1885, he wrote in *The Dramatic Review* that, 'To a nervous man the echoing Albert Hall during this performance [by the Chesterfield Harmonic Society] was about as cheerful as a draughty house with the doors slamming every fifty seconds'.⁴⁸⁶ However, his comments are more positive at a performance of the oratorio *Bethlehem* by Dr. Mackenzie in April 1894, although the echo is still mentioned:

⁴⁸⁴ H. Heathcote Statham, Concert Rooms, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1878, Vol. 19, No. 427, 482.

⁴⁸⁵ H. Heathcote Statham, Concert Rooms, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1878, Vol. 19, No. 427, 484.

⁴⁸⁶ Dan Laurence, ed., *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, Volume 1, 1876-1890*, 'Unsigned notes in *The Dramatic Review*, 5 September 1885' (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1981), 351.

Last Thursday England came into possession of another oratorio... I was duly present at the performance at the Albert Hall, with its thousand choristers, its lavish orchestra, its gigantic organ, and above all its huge audience applauding the composer to the echo – or rather to the two or three echoes which the building harbours – with evident enthusiasm and enjoyment.⁴⁸⁷

Shaw's remarks upon the Hall in September 1894 are also worthy of note. While his review of the concert included some positive comments such as, '...I can vouch at least for the fact that fine musical tone, however delicate, can be heard perfectly at the remotest points in the building,' he also stated that, '...on the other hand, bass musical tones of any sort, including certain organ mixture stops, are either not distinctly heard at all, or else betray themselves at once as abominable...temptation to try to overcome the vastness of the Albert Hall is only natural'. He continued by referring to the most problematic aspect of the Hall's acoustics, '...the Albert Hall revenges itself by letting loose a whole pack of echoes...', before stating that '...on the whole, the hall is not suitable for speakers; but... monster concerts, like those in the Albert Hall and of the Handel Orchestra in Crystal Palace, tend to encourage good singing and playing...'⁴⁸⁸ This rather balanced account provides an explanation as to why in the early years of the Hall's existence large choral concerts often took place, for they worked well in the Hall's auditorium.

Still, sources which describe the Royal Albert Hall as inadequate as a venue for concerts of classical music do not comment only on the acoustics. The size and shape of the auditorium has, historically, also been considered problematic. The extracts below depict opinions asserted in articles between 1871 and 1880. The first is from *The Musical Times* from 1871:

The Albert Hall, architecturally considered, is in every respect a success; but musically considered, it is a failure...if what has already been done may be regarded as an earnest

⁴⁸⁷ Dan Laurence, ed., *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, Volume 3, 1893-1950*, 'The World, 18 April 1894' (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1981), 180.

⁴⁸⁸ Laurence, ed., *Shaw's Music, Volume 3, 1893-1950*, 'The Musical Courier, September 1894', 327-329.

for the future, we shall begin to consider this gigantic building as a sort of suburban artistic hospital...⁴⁸⁹

This article suggests that while the dimensions and style of the Hall are impressive, the Hall's size means that it is not suitable for music. This is echoed in the following article, from 1873, which also comments on the challenges of the Hall's location:

Daily Exhibition Concerts

...To propose giving a classical orchestral concert every day, for more than six months, in a huge building on the outskirts of London, must have struck not a few timid or very practical souls as little short of madness... That they [the concerts] were not supported, even to the moderate extent hoped for, is a fact; it is a fact likewise that nothing availed to change... [its] fortunes...⁴⁹⁰

At this time, South Kensington was not considered to be in central London, but was considered suburban. This may also have contributed to poor attendance and, certainly, the author does not appear surprised at the failure of the series. Furthermore, the article below, from 1878, suggests that the shape of the auditorium was not considered appropriate for concerts:

...Important as the concert-room thus becomes in regard to the art of music, it has received comparatively little attention of a practical kind. In London, it cannot be said that there is one good concert room; and the finest musical performances, not exactly *in* London, but for the benefit of London audiences, are given in two of the worst and most comfortless rooms that can well be imagined – St. James's Hall and the Crystal Palace concert-room... The conditions of success in a concert-room may be considered in regard to size, shape, material employed, and arrangement of the audience and executants in relation to each other... in the case of the Albert Hall, which was started with the idea of the Roman amphitheatre in view and thus is deliberately planned as if it were a place for a spectacle, though really intended as an auditorium... in regard to size, the well-known laconic form of advice may be given to those who propose to build very big concert-rooms – 'Don't'.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹ Henry C. Lunn, 'The London Musical Season', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1871, Vol. 15, No. 343, 199.

⁴⁹⁰ 'Daily Exhibition Concerts', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1873, Vol. 16, No. 370, 319.

⁴⁹¹ H. Heathcote Statham, Concert Rooms, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1878, Vol. 19, No. 427, 481.

The Hall's auditorium is, in essence, a Roman amphitheatre and this means that as well as the spectacle onstage, members of the audience also have a clear view of one another. Thus, when attendance was high, the spectacle of 8000 people in one place would have been just as, if not more, impressive as that onstage. However, the opposite effect would also be possible. If the Hall was empty, it would feel desolate. The Hall's auditorium is obviously different from a conventional concert hall where the seats are in straight rows and it is possible to be unaware of how many others are in the auditorium.

George Bernard Shaw also wrote of the importance of a concert room's size. In 1885 his article, 'The Need for a New Concert Room' he stated that, '...it has been evident for a long time past that London is waiting for a concert room larger than St. James's and smaller than the Albert Hall'.⁴⁹² However, in 1889 it was clear that there were times when the Hall's great seating capacity could be useful for he also writes that '...As there is no other eligible hall in London capable of seating a sufficiently large audience...'.⁴⁹³

It appears that between 1871 and 1880 there were several factors which combined to provide a challenge to the success of the Royal Albert Hall. It was too big: even with an audience of 2,000 it looked empty. Furthermore, the shape of the auditorium made this more obvious. The acoustics were not suitable for classical music, and it was located out-of-town. In 1880, the future must have looked pretty bleak for those running the Hall.

However, we know from the statistics presented in chapter 2, that many events did take place at the Hall in the 1880s and concerts of classical music were the most regular

⁴⁹² Dan Laurence, ed., *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, Volume 1, 1876–1890* 'The Farnham, Haslemere and Hindhead Herald, 12 and 19 November 1898' (London: The Bodley Head Ltd, 1981), 406.

⁴⁹³ Laurence, ed., *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, Volume 1, 1876–1890*, 'The Nation, 19 March 1910', 607.

genre of performance promoted. Despite the criticisms discussed above, many were positively received. For example, a review of a concert in July 1871 stated that, ‘The concert proved one of the greatest successes we have had the pleasure of recording at this majestic Hall, where, in spite of adverse rumours depicting the qualities of the Hall as a concert room, music appears to flourish’.⁴⁹⁴ Other concerts in August and September of 1871 also attracted praise. The author of a review of a Grand Opera Concert wrote that ‘echoes which have haunted this magnificent building appear to be exorcised when it is full, since we have seldom heard the music go so well before’,⁴⁹⁵ while a review in the *London Daily News* commented that ‘...the Albert Hall, without being full, had none of that look of bare emptiness which its enemies have predicted for it whenever the attractions offered were not of a most special kind’.⁴⁹⁶ However, in October, there was negative publicity in the form of the Sacred Harmonic Society, which chose not to promote a series of concerts at the Hall in 1872, where it had ‘dropped a thousand pounds’ in 1871.⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, it seems that the standard of concert fell:

Many were in hopes when the Albert Hall was opened that there, at least, service endeavour would be made to arrange good concerts of vocal music at cheap rates; and at its so-called ‘popular concerts’ there is nothing to be said against the prices of admission which range from threepence to three shillings. On the other hand, there is nothing to be said in favour of the performances, which, if free from vulgarity, are scarcely less common-place than those of the music-halls. It is worth about threepence to see the interior of the magnificent concert-room... in what is probably the very largest concert hall, as it is certainly one of the handsomest, in existence.⁴⁹⁸

The last part of this extract is particularly worthy of note for, despite the negative perception of the concerts given, the Hall’s auditorium is described as ‘magnificent’ and ‘handsome’. Indeed, the author suggests that the auditorium is worthy of a visit (at the

⁴⁹⁴ ‘The Royal Albert Hall’, *The Era*, July 9, 1871, 12.

⁴⁹⁵ ‘Grand Opera Concert’, *The Era*, August 13, 1871, 13.

⁴⁹⁶ ‘Albert Hall’, *London Daily News*, September 19, 1871, 5.

⁴⁹⁷ ‘Concerts’, *The Graphic*, October 14, 1871, 19.

⁴⁹⁸ ‘Royal Albert Hall’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 20, 1872, 9–10.

cheapest price) regardless of the performance. However, it would seem that this author was not alone in their perception of some of the concerts as being of a low standard. This sentiment is repeated in 1874 by the author of an article published in *The Era*, 'The miscellaneous and uncertain character of the performances given at the Albert Hall since the opening of that magnificent building, render it very desirable that more direct control should be exorcised'.⁴⁹⁹ That the Hall's appearance is one of grandeur is repeated throughout the years and therefore seems generally accepted. However, the perception of the concerts given is more disparate, especially in terms of audience attendance. Earlier, in January 1874 a performance of Handel's *Messiah* is recorded as drawing 'a not very crowded audience' as 'these special performances are becoming too frequent',⁵⁰⁰ yet in November it is recorded that 'the monster concerts given in this vast hall continue to meet with extensive patronage' and that 'the concert passed off in the most successful manner'.⁵⁰¹ In April 1875 an article in *The Era* made reference to the challenges of filling the Hall, '...notwithstanding the grand effect of the building... it is a difficult matter to attract an audience to the Albert Hall...',⁵⁰² and in 1876 the same newspaper considered it possible that 'the Albert Hall is never likely to be a very popular locality for musical performances'.⁵⁰³ However, from 1878 concerts at the Hall are recorded as better attended. An operatic concert drew a 'large audience',⁵⁰⁴ an 'agreeable concert of Scottish music was exceedingly well attended'⁵⁰⁵ and a celebration of St Andrew's Day drew 'a very large audience'.⁵⁰⁶ While one must consider the nature of the concert taking place, for one could state that a concert of high standard is likely to attract a larger audience, it is

⁴⁹⁹ 'Albert Hall Concerts', *The Era*, September 25, 1874, 14.

⁵⁰⁰ 'Messiah at the Albert Hall', *Graphic*, January 10, 1874, 15.

⁵⁰¹ 'Albert Hall', *The Era*, November 1, 1874, 9.

⁵⁰² 'Passion Week at the Albert Hall', *The Era*, April 5, 1874, 4.

⁵⁰³ 'Grand Congratulatory Concert for the Prince of Wales on his return from India', *The Era*, May 21, 1876, 3.

⁵⁰⁴ 'Operatic Concert at the Albert Hall', *The Era*, July 21, 1878, 3.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Royal Albert Hall', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, November 30, 1879, 1.

⁵⁰⁶ 'Royal Albert Hall', *The Examiner*, December 4, 1880, 10–11.

also worth noting that the later reviews themselves are more infrequent, indicating fewer concerts, which we know occurred from the data in chapter 2. With fewer opportunities to attend concerts at the Hall, those given may have been considered more appealing.

It was not only concerts at the Royal Albert Hall which received a varied response. Exhibitions were also held at the Hall during this period, but these were not always positively received. In 1879 the *Evening Standard* reported that, ‘we cannot congratulate the managers of the Albert Hall in the Picture Exhibition which they open today. The galleries are very ill-lighted and the pictures are modest’. The article ends by describing the pictures as the ‘accomplishment of an unhappy mediocrity’.⁵⁰⁷ The tone was more positive in 1880 when an exhibition of Painting, Sculpture and Wood Carving’, drew ‘a large number of visitors’.⁵⁰⁸

As explored in chapter 2, the governance of the Hall was, and remains, unlike any other institution in London. One of the earliest references to the Hall’s governance structure appears in an article from *The Musical Times*, in 1871. The journal was in attendance at the opening of the Royal Albert Hall and, in its own words, ‘was not amused’.⁵⁰⁹ Those who were responsible for the Hall’s conception and its governance were mentioned somewhat unfavourably:

...It is natural that the persons forming that aristocratic *clique* which represents the governing power of this new temple should delude themselves into the belief that they had nothing to do but build a large Hall, under court influence, and then beckon art and science to Kensington Gore with a flourish of trumpets... what warrant there is for supposing that anything can be better done at the Albert Hall than anywhere else...⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ ‘Picture Exhibition’, *London Evening Standard*, February 3, 1879, 3.

⁵⁰⁸ ‘Exhibition’, *Daily News*, October 11, 1880, 2.

⁵⁰⁹ Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, volume 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 208.

⁵¹⁰ Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, volume 1, 209.

It is clear that at this time those at *The Musical Times* perceived the Hall to be a club for the aristocracy,⁵¹¹ rather than a symbol of Prince Albert's efforts for the betterment of the arts and sciences. Indeed, they saw those who had created the Hall as rather arrogant. This rather low opinion of those in charge of the RAH appears to have continued. In the same publication in 1875 criticism is levied at the, '...amateurs who have "managed" the Royal Albert Hall until they have plunged it into hopeless ruin...' ⁵¹² a clear reference to the Hall's lack of a solid financial foundation, and the fact that it had been, '... resolved to apply to Parliament for permission to compel the Seatholders to pay an annual rent to cover the present losses and establish a permanent fund to enable them to carry on their costly amusement in the future...' ⁵¹³ While it is somewhat ironic that the article also claims that '...We have more faith in the justice of our parliamentary legislators than to believe it possible that such an Act can ever pass...' ⁵¹⁴ it is of great interest that the writer states that, '... it is the duty of all lovers of justice boldly to protest against a proceeding which places the purses of a trusting few at the mercy of a self-elected corporation...' ⁵¹⁵ That the self-elected element of the Hall's governance was being criticised in the 1870s is noteworthy, considering that it remains part of the debate surrounding the Hall to this day, as we will see later in this chapter. The following from *The Times* (in 1876 before the Act had been passed), also comments on this feature. The article is quoted at length:

The South Kensington Breakdown

The fact that certain notorious enterprises at South Kensington, which had their origin in the surplus of the Great Exhibition of 1851, are at the present moment in a condition of hopeless financial collapse, would not be in itself a matter of much consequence if it affected only those who are immediately interested in these unfortunate projects. It happens, however, that a large sum of public money has been grossly misapplied... It was arranged that the profits realized by the first Great Exhibition should be applied to

⁵¹¹ This seems likely to have been a reference to those who originally bought seats in the Hall.

⁵¹² Occasional Notes, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1875, Vol. 17, No. 394, 297.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

promote the general advancement of science and art; but it appears that the greater part of the fund has been bestowed on such projects as... the Albert Hall, and no one can pretend that science or art has been profited by such an application of the money... the Albert Hall, it has never served, or attempted to serve, any purpose beyond that of competing in the ordinary way with the other concert-rooms and music-halls which are kept up by private enterprise; and it is difficult to see why it should be supported by public funds... the Albert Hall... absorbed a large part of the Royal Commissioners resources, and are making no return... [it] is clear that it is financially in a very bad way... [there is a] plan of levying a new tax on the unfortunate victims who have already purchased useless boxes and stalls at a high figure... it is a scandal that such a system of mismanagement and imposture should be placed in any degree to the credit of public administration.⁵¹⁶

Aside from attacking the Hall's finances and the imposition of a seat rate on the seat-holders, the writer is also highly critical of the way in which the Hall had been run, and stated that the Hall was not realising its artistic and scientific objectives. What is worthy of note is the author's perception of the Hall as publicly administered. This is perhaps the most interesting aspect of this article for, as it appeared in a national newspaper, it suggests that this was a view also held by others. This perception is not correct: the Hall has always been administered by the private individuals who make up the Corporation. However, that the Hall was seen as a public building could potentially portray the strength of connection between the Hall and the nation.

The Hall's governance and finances were also discussed in other London newspapers. The Annual General Meeting of the Seat-holders of the RAH was reported on, even if it was only to say that it occurred,⁵¹⁷ and the *Pall Mall Gazette* also reported on meetings held by seat-holders who disagreed with the 1876 Act:

A meeting of seat-holders of the RAH was held... to the following effect: – That the management of the Hall is, and has been, unsatisfactory; that the character of the bill now before the House of Commons is detrimental to the... seat-holders and the Hall itself and that a committee be appointed, in the interests of the seat-holders, to take the whole subject into consideration.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁶ 'The South Kensington Breakdown', *The Times*, 1876, 12.

⁵¹⁷ 'Meeting of the Corporation of the Albert Hall held', *The Era*, March 31, 1872, 7; 'Meeting of the Corporation of the Albert Hall', *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 5, 1875, 14.

⁵¹⁸ 'Royal Albert Hall', *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 10, 1876, 8–9.

Other articles quoted refer to the effectiveness of the 1876 Act in providing the Hall with some financial relief. As was discussed in chapter 2, the Hall initially struggled financially. The first report comments that at the Annual Meeting of Seat-holders there was a ‘...small attendance of Members...’, and that the ‘...Act of 1876 [had been] helpful...’.⁵¹⁹ In 1877, the article reflects upon the Hall’s exceptionality, ‘...no other building like it in the country...’ and that the 1876 Act had been ‘positive’ to the extent that the Council were looking for a manager to run the Hall on a day-to-day basis.⁵²⁰ The third report also supports the assistance of the 1876 Act for it states that the Hall’s, ‘...Financial situation [is] more satisfying...’.⁵²¹

Another feature of the Hall was deliberated over at the annual general meeting of the Corporation held in 1880. This was the Hall’s connection with the Royal family. It would appear that some Members of the Corporation felt that the Royal Albert Hall should have a stronger connection with the Royal family and be the recipient of greater Royal patronage. One member suggested for there to be ‘...pressure to be put on Royal patronage...’ because it was his opinion that, ‘...the Council had really got no Royal patronage at all...’.⁵²² As well as suggesting disappointment at the lack of visits by the Queen and the Royal family,⁵²³ the article also gives the first hint of uncertainty surrounding the rights and privileges of the seat-holders. It reports that some members had expressed the wish, ‘...to have access to all parts of the Hall at all times...’ no matter what was being held at the Hall. Although the gentleman in question was dissuaded from attending the Hall at inappropriate times, this is the first report of discussions regarding

⁵¹⁹ ‘Annual Meeting of Seatholders’, *The Era*, 16 July, 1876, 3.

⁵²⁰ ‘General Meeting of Corporation’, *The Era*, March 4, 1877, 5.

⁵²¹ ‘Meeting of RAH Corporation’, *Morning Post*, July 12, 1877, 3.

⁵²² ‘Annual General Meeting of Corporation’, *Morning Post*, March 1, 1880, 3.

⁵²³ There was also wider public discontent over Queen Victoria’s reclusiveness at this time.

their property rights.⁵²⁴ The final source to be considered from the 19th century returns to *The Musical Times*, in 1886.

When the Albert Hall was opened there were not wanting cynical folk who said that it would eventually come down to be a circus.⁵²⁵ If we may credit present reports, those prophets will eventually prove not so far wrong. It is said that the seat-holders have met to consider a proposal for the establishment of a 'Well-conducted and perfectly-controlled high-class music-hall,' with promenade concerts... It is much more easy to believe that that the seat-holders adjourned the debate on the proposition... To what base uses may we come at last! – even when the 'we' is represented by an edifice built as a princely memorial and owned by the highest classes in the land. Shame and disgrace await the Albert Hall if this amazing scheme be carried out.⁵²⁶

The *Musical Times* remained critical of the way in which the RAH was governed and the uses for which it was disposed. Their main difficulty appeared to lie with the fact that the Hall was supposed to be representative of Prince Albert and they did not perceive this to be the case.

It is clear from the sources above that the Royal Albert Hall faced many challenges during its early years and these affected how it was perceived. While the Act of 1876 went some way towards resolving some of the problems of the Halls finances, the structural difficulties of the building remained. The next section will examine the changes which had taken place in the intervening years, before assessing those which took place during the years of the Second World War and how this affected the perception of the Hall at this time.

⁵²⁴ 'Annual General Meeting of Corporation', *Morning Post*, March 1, 1880, 3.

⁵²⁵ Worthy of note is that both promenade concerts and a circus were to become staples of the Hall's output in later years.

⁵²⁶ Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times*, volume 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 195.

3.2: 1939–1945

Characterised at the time as a ‘people’s war’, as well as by historians to this day, the Second World War affected the entire civilian population of Britain. The effects of death, destruction and deprivation were felt by those at home, just as they were by those in uniform.⁵²⁷ There is little doubt that the Second World War had a large effect on the cultural life of London, and the Royal Albert Hall was no exception. With the declaration of war the Hall was closed, and although it opened fleetingly in 1940, it was not until May 1941 that it reopened for any length of time (it closed briefly in 1942 after it was hit by a bomb blast and then again in 1944 when V–weapons were particularly threatening).⁵²⁸ Thus, the majority of the sources discussed below are from 1941 or later.

During the Second World War it was again concerts which played the largest part in the RAH’s calendar. Concerts and charity events were held throughout the war in order to help fund the care of injured members of the armed forces. However, it was the arrival of the Sir Henry Wood Promenade Concerts in 1941 which solidified the RAH’s connection to classical music at this time (and subsequently). Other events of note included Winston Churchill’s speech on Thanksgiving Day 1944, and boxing tournaments held by the armed forces.⁵²⁹

An article from April 1940 provides, perhaps, the clearest perspective of the Hall at the beginning of the war. Published in *The Sketch* and written by the English music critic Edwin Evans, it suggested transforming the Hall into a national opera house. Evans stated that, ‘When I first became interested in musical matters, the Albert Hall was often described as “the place where good singers go when they die”, on account of the fact that

⁵²⁷ Juliet Gardiner, *Wartime Britain: 1939-1945* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2004), Foreword.

⁵²⁸ Ronald Clark, *The Royal Albert Hall* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958), 216.

⁵²⁹ This information has been gathered from the Royal Albert Hall’s catalogue of events: <http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/Advanced.aspx>, accessed 18/12/17.

singers were usually past their prime before a building the size of the Hall was needed to accommodate their admirers.⁵³⁰ While he did not deny that the echo existed, Evans also commented that it was possible to ‘hear and enjoy large choral works without being incommoded by this resonance’ and that ‘in recent times great progress has been made in improving the acoustics’.⁵³¹ Furthermore, he wrote on the uses of the Hall, stating that ‘the building is more often unoccupied than consistent with its original purpose and expectations’.⁵³² Evans suggested that ‘opera is practically insoluble without an auditorium sufficiently large to admit thousands of seats being brought within reach of patrons of modest means’. He also commented on the visual spectacle of the Hall, declaring the site ‘magnificent’.⁵³³ It is striking that although 60 years had passed, many of the same issues were commented upon as in 1880: the Hall was a visual spectacle; its acoustics were inadequate; it remained empty, or hosted events which were not part of its original objectives (boxing was advertised frequently at this time) but that large choral works worked well in the auditorium.

However, as explained in chapter 2, the situation changed somewhat over the course of the war. In 1941 the Sir Henry Wood Promenade Concerts (the Proms) moved to the RAH after Queen’s Hall was destroyed: the Hall was the only remaining large concert hall in the capital.⁵³⁴ It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that during this period the number of classical concerts held at the Hall increased. However, this also led to increased scrutiny of the Hall’s acoustics, and thus modifications were made to the building in order to improve them. Subsequently, articles appeared in the press which

⁵³⁰ Edwin Evans, ‘The Food of Love’, *The Sketch*, April 10, 1940.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ Jonathan Stone, ed., *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century* (London: Fitzhardinge Press, 2003), 75.

described the changes, so as to entice the promenaders to the new venue, as we can see below.

Initially there were concerns that the Hall's acoustics would contribute to the Proms audience not attending the concerts. One article states that fears were expressed due to the '...acoustics: orchestral music in particular had never sounded well in the Albert Hall...', and that '...efforts had been made to cope with this familiar failing...'.⁵³⁵ That the acoustics were seen as a 'familiar failing' suggests that by this point it had long been accepted that the Hall's acoustics were inadequate. However, another article from 1941 concerning the concert promoter Keith Douglas, explains that '... the acoustics of the Albert Hall were taken in hand...' ⁵³⁶ and described how this was achieved:

When London music lost its principal home... The Albert Hall was admirable for promenading, but its acoustics were an ancient grievance; and something had to be done about them... Big screens were set round the orchestra, and the velarium was lowered... The word... means a large spread of canvas or like material, horizontal except that it bellies like a sail... Although the acoustical problem was not wholly solved, there was an appreciable improvement in the body and blend of the orchestral sound... The orchestra is closely invested by tall screens; a roof held by chains hangs over the players; and on the floor behind the conductor is a large flat surface of hard material that acts as a resonator... It is generally agreed that one can now hear, in the Albert Hall, what orchestral scoring is meant to sound like.⁵³⁷

The opinion that the changes, while not perfecting the Hall's acoustics, did significantly improve them, is further supported by an article from October of 1941 in which the author states that:

Between the last 'Prom' and the first Philharmonic (on September 6) further efforts had been made to tackle the problem of sound in the Albert Hall. The tall screens behind and around the orchestra had been supplemented by a suspended roof, white and flood-lit; and on the floor between the orchestra and the audience was a flat oblong of hard material... designed to act as a sound reflector... the ear was grateful. Heard from the seat allotted to the *Musical Times*, the sounds... were near and clear... What remained of the echo manifested itself only under extreme provocation. In general, the Albert Hall had become a home fit for orchestral music.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁵ London Concerts, *The Musical Times*, 1941, Vol. 82, No. 1182, 310.

⁵³⁶ W. Keith Douglas McN, *The Musical Times*, 1941, Vol. 82, No. 1186, 425.

⁵³⁷ Douglas McN, *The Musical Times*, 427.

⁵³⁸ London Concerts, *The Musical Times*, 1941, Vol. 82, No. 1184, 381.

This opinion appears to have prevailed. In 1942 the acoustics of the Hall were referred to in an article published in *The Musical Times*. Although described as ‘peculiar’, the author makes plain that they were not wholly to account for the problems of the performance, ‘...It is probable that the peculiar acoustics of the Albert Hall stressed the conductor’s errors of judgement, but not all the flaws of that performance could be ascribed to the architect...’ Furthermore, it is clear that the concert was well attended for it is stated that the, ‘concert...drew an audience that filled the vast place in every available corner...’.⁵³⁹ While one could suggest that this meant that the acoustics did not discourage people from attending, it is important to remember that the Hall was the only large auditorium available and that concerts, and cultural events in general were extremely popular during the war. This perhaps could also go some way to explaining why, although advertisements publicising the concerts and other events at the Hall appeared regularly, there appears to have been a reduction in the number of reviews of events. Perhaps audiences were simply thankful that they were able to attend concerts, and therefore critiquing them became less important. Practically, this could also have been due to the fact that paper rationing was in operation during the war.

For a personal account of the RAH during the Second World War, this thesis turns next to Lionel Bradley, (1898–1953). A music-loving librarian, born in Manchester, Bradley spent the last sixteen years of his life in London. Almost as soon as Bradley arrived in London, he began to keep reports on the performances he attended or heard on the radio, and circulated them to a group of his friends from the north of England. Only recently published in 2016, these reports combine to create a collection which provides an extraordinary insight into the perceptions of the classical music scene in mid-20th–

⁵³⁹ London Concerts, *The Musical Times*, 1942, Vol. 83, No. 1191, 159.

century London, by an ordinary member of the audience.⁵⁴⁰

Bradley attended concerts and events at fifty venues over the course of World War Two. These included: Queen's Hall, Westminster Theatre, the Royal Opera House, Marble Arch Cinema, Cambridge Theatre, Wigmore Hall, Glyndebourne, the Royal Academy of Music, Kingsway Theatre, the National Gallery and the Coliseum among many others. This gives us an indication of how 'in tune' with London's music and arts scene he was at this time.

Bradley attended many concerts at the Albert Hall, but it was rare for him to state anything positive about the Hall itself. Indeed, he had only attended the Hall once before 1941. Bradley often commented on the Hall, and regularly remarked upon the acoustics. One of Bradley's first reports concerning the RAH was from 6 September 1941. During this concert, the London Philharmonic Orchestra (LPO) was conducted by Malcolm Sargent in Dvořák's Fifth Symphony.⁵⁴¹ Bradley wrote that the Hall was 'so big' and that he was seated 'miles away from the orchestra'. He continued that, 'I hope I shall, in time, get used to the Albert Hall and find that it is possible to hear an orchestra there... It is too much (and perhaps wrong) to hope that something may happen to this Hall too'.⁵⁴² While he appeared somewhat overwhelmed by the Hall's size, he also appeared hopeful that he may get used to the Hall. However, Bradley's next report of a concert held at the Hall, from November 1941, is somewhat scathing:

Both the percussion and the bass seemed to be too prominent and the percussion, at least, produced an echo. As a result of this Smetana's 'Bartered Bride Overture' sounded like nothing on earth, but the first two of Debussy's 'Nocturnes' – *Nuages* and *Fêtes* – came off much better and were in many ways the most enjoyable feature of the programme. There followed the first performance in this country of Walton's Viola Concerto with Henry Holst as soloist and the composer conducting... It is really impossible to pass any judgement on

⁵⁴⁰ Accessed October 28, 2015, <http://www.rcm.ac.uk/research/researchareas/pps/bradley/>; accessed June 20, 2017, http://pwb101.me.uk/?page_id=580 and accessed June 19 2017, http://pwb101.me.uk/?page_id=499.

⁵⁴¹ This was likely to have been symphony no. 9 in the modern numbering system, implemented in the 1950s.

⁵⁴² GB-Lcm MS12345 10176 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 4/9 to 7/9/1941.

it after one hearing in this awful building.⁵⁴³

The Hall's acoustics seem to have caused him much consternation, for he did not feel that he could pass a fair opinion on the pieces performed. The following bulletin from 1942 does not mention the Hall's acoustics, but he does covertly criticise the size of the Hall, in terms of its use for orchestral music.

June 4th 1942. LPO conducted by Basil Cameron. Symphony no. 5 – Sibelius.

By their appearance in this series of concerts the BBC orchestra has returned to London for the first time since its departure on the outbreak of the war. As no names were given on the programme I cannot say to what extent its personnel has changed. At a rough estimate there were between 80–90 players on stage, just over 50 were strings, so that is the biggest orchestra I have heard for some time. Tho that was hardly noticeable in this vast arena.⁵⁴⁴

Bradley consistently links the size of the Hall to the shortcomings (in his opinion) of the concerts he attended. However, his acrimony towards the Hall can perhaps be explained by a bulletin from March 1943, when he writes 'I believe that Menuhin [who was giving the concert] has not played in England since the spring of 1938 when I heard him in a sonata recital with his sister Hepzibah. His concerts with orchestra were given at the Albert Hall and for that reason I refused to go [to] them – which seems somewhat ironical now.'⁵⁴⁵ Could it be that Bradley was holding onto previous judgements? In May 1944 Bradley records that, '...I did not get much out of Berlioz's overture *Benvenuto Cellini* – perhaps the reason is that given by *The Times*, "not a good choice for this hall with its sudden chatter and no less sudden hushes".' Bradley does also make direct reference to both the acoustics and the echo, '...And certainly the tympani and loud brass chords often produced an echo throughout the evening... the fact that the string tone was not always as rich as we would have expected may have been due to the acoustics of the hall...' and he also gives quite a detailed account of where he was in the Hall, '...(sitting in the

⁵⁴³ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10178 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 22/10 to 8/11/1941.

⁵⁴⁴ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10186 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/6 to 22/6/1942.

⁵⁴⁵ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10196 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 8/3 to 31/3/1943

amphitheatre stalls, at a point directly facing the conductor's back, I was too far away to count accurately) [the number of double basses].'⁵⁴⁶

Perhaps by this point in his RAH ventures Bradley was interested in ascertaining the most advantageous spot and was experimenting with where he chose to sit. The following report from 1945 could support this suggestion; Bradley begins, 'I think that it is 3 years since I tried a series of visits to the balcony of the Albert Hall. If one can face the long climb and the lack of fresh air in the interval, it is probably worth it and tho' I did not find an ideal position tonight the only trouble with these execrable acoustics was the over presence of the tympani and I think that if I move further round towards the violins, even that may be lessened.'⁵⁴⁷ Although still critical and obviously irritated by the Hall's acoustics, by this point Bradley seemed more interested in the practicalities of dealing with the situation than simply complaining about them.

There are a number of factors to take into consideration with regard to Bradley's reports. While it might appear that he felt that the RAH was too big and the echo too great for concerts of classical music to be successfully held there, he attended concerts at the Hall regularly throughout the war. Although in December 1941 he wrote that 'it will need a real novelty to tempt me to book another concert here',⁵⁴⁸ Bradley attended seventy concerts at the Hall over the course of the war. This is even more remarkable considering that the Hall was closed for long periods. It is doubtful that he would attend so many, had he found the Hall disagreeable to the extent some of the bulletins suggest. Furthermore, while he commented on the acoustics of the Hall with some regularity, Bradley was not always completely disapproving of the performances. For example, after attending a concert given by the LPO in 1942 he wrote that, 'the string tone was duly rich and the

⁵⁴⁶ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10212 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 4/5 to 6/6/1944

⁵⁴⁷ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10224 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 20/6 to 7/8/1945

⁵⁴⁸ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10180 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/12 to 22/12/1941.

acoustics of the hall interfered very little with the music'.⁵⁴⁹ After attending a Prom in 1943 he wrote that, 'The LPO seemed to be at full strength and in good form. The acoustics gave me less trouble than usual',⁵⁵⁰ and at a concert given by the same orchestra in 1944 he stated that 'the echo... did not seriously impair my pleasure'.⁵⁵¹

Bradley did provide suggestions as to why the acoustics were not always as good as they might be. On more than one occasion he referred to the fact that '...all the screens, canopies and obelisks, which have been introduced on the platform to keep the echo in check, had been removed...'.⁵⁵² He records that the same thing occurred at a concert in 1944.⁵⁵³ It seems likely that when the screens were not available to the Hall, the acoustics could have been adversely affected. Finally, while there is some discrepancy between the view of the Hall stated in the newspapers and that by an individual, in general, it seems that while the acoustics remained imperfect for the duration of the Second World War, the screens did assist in improving the sound, and overall the echo did not entirely discourage the public, (including Lionel Bradley) from attending.

Despite the Hall's hosting of the Proms, towards the end of the Second World War discussions began around proposals to build a more adequate concert hall. In 1944 an article appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* called a 'Discussion on a Music Centre for London', written by the English music educator, writer, organist and composer Sir Percy Buck. The RAH is mentioned only in passing, and never as a solution to the problem of forming such a centre. The article commenced by stating that, '...we require a grand concert room, which could be hired by any concert-giving societies...'⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁴⁹ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10182 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 29/1 to 19/2/1942

⁵⁵⁰ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10200 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/6 to 30/6/1943.

⁵⁵¹ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10212 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 4/5 to 6/6/1944.

⁵⁵² GB-Lcm MS12345, 10186 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/6 to 22/6/1942.

⁵⁵³ GB-Lcm MS12345, 10212 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 4/5 to 6/6/1944.

⁵⁵⁴ Taylor & Francis, Ltd, on behalf of the Royal Musical Association, 'Discussion on a Music Centre for London', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 1944–1945, 71st Sess, 5.

and, among other elements of the discussion, a suggestion and idea for a concert hall on the Southbank of the Thames is aired: ‘The County of London Plan... does contain a suggestion for the establishment on the South bank of the Thames, near the County Hall, of a cultural centre ‘embracing, amongst other features, a modern theatre, a large concert hall, and the headquarters of various organisations.’⁵⁵⁵ As we know, this was to become a reality with the building of the Royal Festival Hall. However, of particular interest is why a new concert hall and cultural centre was considered necessary:

We have now the biggest public support for music that we have ever had in the country...we must be very careful to nurse those audiences... What I am afraid of is that if this scheme takes a long time to mature... we may have lost part of our audience.⁵⁵⁶

During the Second World War, the government had done much to promote classical music and culture to audiences all over the country, and it had been rewarded with audiences hungry for more.⁵⁵⁷ Thus, perhaps, it appeared that the time was ripe to suggest an improvement to the current situation. The article concludes with comments from Mr. H. Bagenal, from the Building Research Station in Watford. It was he who had been instrumental in altering the acoustics of the RAH for the Proms. He stated that, ‘The large “multi-purpose” hall built to be all things to all people, including rallies and exhibitions, will not make for good acoustics for music, and in my view is not an ideal to aim at...’.⁵⁵⁸ Mr Bagenal also declared that, ‘London has not had, in my memory, a hall really good for major choral works. This should be remedied...’.⁵⁵⁹ That the RAH was not commented on throughout this paper is perhaps indicative that it was not perceived by those working in the arts and classical music at this time as being suitable as a permanent home for

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 71st Sess, 3.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 71st Sess, 12.

⁵⁵⁷ Jenny Doctor and David Wright, eds., *The Proms: A New History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 120.

⁵⁵⁸ Taylor & Francis, Ltd, on behalf of the Royal Musical Association, ‘Discussion on a Music Centre for London’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 1944–1945, 71st Sess, 15.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 71st Sess, 16.

performances of classical music. Indeed, one could assert that the Hall had been used for the Proms simply because it was the only option available. The following extract from the journal *Tempo*, published in 1945, summarises the situation as it was at the end of the Second World War:

London is handicapped in many ways, and the handicaps are only too plain to anyone just back from Paris... we, as yet have none [opera houses] ...; [Paris has] an adequate number of halls in which to give all kinds of concerts, while we struggle along with the Royal Albert Hall at one end of the absurd extremity and Wigmore Hall at the other.⁵⁶⁰

In the context of other European cities, it is perhaps understandable why a new concert hall was considered necessary. However, although concerts were the most prevalent genre of event to take place at the Hall during this period, others did occur. The Hall was used as a meeting place for the Free French and, in 1942, there were two big gatherings of the *Français de Grande-Bretagne* in the Albert Hall, on the 18 June and the 11 November. At both events Charles de Gaulle addressed the company present. *The Times* reported that:

Several thousand Frenchmen and Frenchwomen attended a great patriotic demonstration which was addressed by General de Gaulle, leader of the Fighting France and president of the French National Committee, at the Albert Hall yesterday... Held as before on Armistice Day, this year's demonstration happens to have fallen at a moment of developments in the war that must mean for France fresh trials, but also a great quickening of hopes for her salvation. An unusual excitement was manifest throughout the afternoon among the assembly, which so far as could be seen filled the vast building.

Tricolours decked the platform and every gallery. Men of the fighting French army, navy and air force, and women in the uniforms of the auxiliary services, occupied seats on the platform, right and left of the band of the Irish Guards. When General de Gaulle entered, to music from French trumpets and drums, all the audience rose, and stood while the *Marseillaise* was played.⁵⁶¹

The article portrays a grand spectacle, part of which was the large audience who had come to listen to General de Gaulle. Although different from the visits of Queen Victoria

⁵⁶⁰ Thomas Russell, 'An Orchestra for London', *Tempo*, 1945, No. 10, 6.

⁵⁶¹ *The Times*, November 12, 1942, 12.

during the 19th century, the pomp and pageantry of state events, even those not of the British state, were well received.

The final topic to consider in this section is that of the Hall's governance. During the Second World War the governance structure and seat-holders of the Royal Albert Hall were not commented upon in the press or periodicals, nor does it appear to have been commented upon by Lionel Bradley. This may also have been due to the fact that after the bombing of Queen's Hall in 1941 there was little or no competition for the RAH. Indeed, after 1941, the fortunes of the Hall were much improved. As many of the discussions surrounding the Hall's governance were linked to its financial difficulties, and these were not as prevalent during the war, the issue was less press-worthy than it had been in previous years.

However, although external interest in the governance of the Hall seemed to have waned, it would appear that it was still a topic of interest internally. Two documents were created by those involved with the Hall during the Second World War which reflected upon its history and governance, both of which provide us with suggestions for how this was perceived by those who were involved with the Hall. Furthermore, they also address the subject of the building of other concert halls in London. The first document, *A History of the Royal Albert Hall* and written in 1944, is promoted as a factual record rather than based on opinion but, in reality, it records the viewpoint of its author, John Geale.⁵⁶² He was a member of the Council and a superintendent of the honorary corps of stewards. For example, Geale stated that:

During these 70 years... the Hall has thoroughly fulfilled its purposes and has proved itself a great and living centre of music to the lasting benefit and enjoyment of the public.

Music

⁵⁶² John Geale, *First Edition of a History of the Royal Albert Hall*, 1944. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 22.

But it is Music that has provided, and provides increasingly, the most consistently popular events which are held at this great centre of Arts and Sciences.

While there is little doubt that music was the most prolific genre in evidence at the Hall, the articles quoted above directly contradict Geale's statement that the Hall had thoroughly fulfilled its purposes. Furthermore, his claim below that the Hall strengthened its position as the 'musical centre of London' is open to criticism. The Hall, arguably, became central to the London music scene simply because there was a complete dearth of venues in which to hold live classical music performances.

The Future.

Since the reopening of the Hall in 1941 it has had a measure of success unparalleled in its history, and has further strengthened its position as the musical centre of London. It is in a unique position to serve the musical and other public since the Corporation is not a commercial or profit-making concern. As has been pointed out, the Council... serve in an honorary capacity, and comments made by the public about the Hall clearly indicate the affection with which it is generally regarded.

At the present time the Council... is proceeding with large and comprehensive schemes for bringing the building up to the standard of modern requirements.

These first instalments are indicative of the determination of the Council that the Hall shall worthily maintain its pre-eminent place in the world of music and art. JOHN B. GEALE.⁵⁶³

Several of Mr Geale's opinions could be seen to be contentious. Indeed, by stating that '...But it is Music that has provided, and provides increasingly, the most consistently popular events which are held at this great centre of Arts and Sciences...' This would likely be the case, especially considering the Hall's fledgling relationship with the BBC Proms, but this does not account for the remainder of the Hall's purposes being fulfilled.⁵⁶⁴ Third, the statement '...comments made by the public about the Hall clearly indicate the affection with which it is generally regarded...' ⁵⁶⁵ could also be questioned. What evidence did the author have to support this statement? It was not presented in the

⁵⁶³ Geale, *First Edition of a History of the Royal Albert Hall*, 1944. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 22.

⁵⁶⁴ Geale, *First Edition of a History of the Royal Albert Hall*, 1944. Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 Archive, Box 75 (Royal Albert Hall Correspondence), Folder 22.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

History. However, the assertion that since 1941 the Hall has ‘...had a measure of success unparalleled in its history...’⁵⁶⁶ does have a sense of authenticity, as it tallies with the financial findings of chapter 2. The final point of interest lies in the fact that this document would have been circulated throughout the Hall, and would likely have been read by many of its employees and the honorary stewards, especially since the author was a steward. In the third part of this chapter opinions of the Hall are provided by several employees, including stewards, allowing parallels to be drawn between the two eras.

The second, internal, document was also compiled in 1944, but is of a very different nature. Entitled *The Need for Replacing the Seatholders by a Public Trust*, it was written by Herbert Smith, who was the nominee of the trustees of the British Museum on the RAH’s Council. Smith explained that although its original promoters had intended for it to be used to further the arts and sciences these ‘were never even partially fulfilled, largely because of the absence of an endowment fund. The Corporation was in fact from the beginning in financial straits, partially relieved by the power to levy a seat rate under the 1876 Act... any pretence at the furtherance of the arts and sciences was dropped, and the Hall became almost wholly a place for entertainments. The members thus instead of being benefactors became beneficiaries, and their right of free admission to their seats... enabled them to enjoy entertainments without contributing anything towards the expenses incurred by the promoters; moreover, in recent years it has increasingly become usual for certain members to sell their tickets to the public in competition with the promoters’.⁵⁶⁷

Smith explained that the Hall was the recipient of exceptional prosperity after the destruction of Queen’s Hall in 1941. However, he raised the concern that this would not continue when other concert halls were built, as planned after the war. Furthermore, he

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ See Appendix 1.1: Confidential Memorandum-Royal Albert Hall: *The Need for replacing the Seatholders by a Public Trust* by G.F. Herbert Smith, 1944, 9; In 2005–15 the issues addressed by Smith remained as germane as ever, but by that date the debate was being conducted on the public stage.

suggested that, ‘unless the burden of the private seats has such a deleterious effect upon the finances of the Hall that it is no longer profitable to own seats... it can only be a matter of time before the commercial users own the majority of the seats, and are in a position to control the policy of the Corporation’. Smith concluded that the time had therefore come to replace the Corporation of private seat-holders by a public trust. His summary is as follows:

The Royal Albert Hall was founded as the major part of the National Memorial to the Prince Consort with the object of promoting the arts and sciences. That object has not been achieved, and the seatholders use the Hall in such a way that they benefit by free admission to their seats on all but a few occasions. The fact that an increasing number of seats are used commercially emphasizes the need for the replacement of the seatholders by a disinterested Trust. A suggestion is made for such a Trust.⁵⁶⁸

Although the governance structure of the Hall did not feature in the newspapers during the war, after 1945 this changed. For example, in 1947 a number of articles appeared in the press regarding the role of the Hall’s seat-holders. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that, ‘Sir Adrian Boult... believes that now is ‘a suitable moment to reconsider the propensity of continuing to allow a quarter of the seating capacity of the only full-sized concert hall in London to be governed autonomously by a group of private citizens’ and that ‘What is claimed to be a “racket” in private seats will be discussed by the Council of the Royal Albert Hall on Oct 23’, ‘...many [tickets] have got into the hands of speculators’.⁵⁶⁹ The *Times* also stated that, ‘Protests about the privately-owned seats at the Albert Hall by a group of orchestral chiefs headed by Sir Adrian Boult, are continuing...’ and that there had been ‘talk of promoting an Act of Parliament... It is being privately suggested that the seat-holders should be bought out and the Hall be handed over to the Arts Council.’⁵⁷⁰ In 1947 the RAH was the only large concert hall in London and this seems to have put a

⁵⁶⁸ See Appendix: Confidential Memorandum-Royal Albert Hall: *The Need for replacing the Seatholders by a Public Trust* by G.F. Herbert Smith, 1944, 10.

⁵⁶⁹ ‘Racket Alleged by Critics’, *Daily Telegraph* [London] October 11, 1947, 8.

⁵⁷⁰ ‘For 999 years, To arts council?’, *The Times*, October 13, 1947, 15.

spotlight on the Hall's governance structure. Sir Adrian Boult had written to several newspapers protesting against the rights of the RAH's seat-holders, explicitly their right to seats and the fact that many sold on their tickets at a higher price. In the years immediately after the Second World War, with the heightened sense of community the war initiated, it would perhaps seem particularly wrong for private individuals to profit financially from concerts which were meant to benefit the masses.

Furthermore, at the same time Herbert Smith went public with his vision of a Public Trust running the Hall in *The Times*. The article stated that, '...in my view it is improper that a building of that character [a national memorial to the Prince Consort] should be largely used for the benefit of a limited number of private individuals either by enabling them to enjoy entertainments without cost to themselves or, by profiting from the sale of tickets for their seats to the public. Surely a national memorial ought to be a national institution and placed under national authority'.⁵⁷¹ While Boult did not have any ties to the Hall other than his work as a conductor, the fact that Smith felt it necessary to promote his view, despite his position on the Council of the Hall, suggests his strength of feeling with regard to this subject.

Although the Second World War was a successful era for the Hall, there were further difficulties to come. Indeed, an article in the *Evening Standard* from July 1964 stated that it was being debated as to whether the RAH should be demolished.⁵⁷² There is little evidence that this suggestion was taken seriously, but it created enough concern for a member of the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 to write to a member of staff at the Hall. However, it was dismissed as '...just a gossip-writer's canard...'.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷¹ 'The Royal Albert Hall', *The Times* [London] October 11, 1947, 4.

⁵⁷² 'Never Knock 'Em Down', *The Evening Standard*, July 27, 1964, 7.

⁵⁷³ Correspondence between the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 and the RAH, July and August 1964.

Though neither the author of the article, nor subsequent correspondence suggests any reason for such a rumour, given the Hall's financial accounts at this time in its history perhaps this had been presented as an extreme solution to the Hall's difficulties.

There is little doubt that the years of the Second World War affected the Royal Albert Hall. With the arrival of the Proms, the Hall became the home for many more concerts of classical music, and this was also the motivation needed for an improvement to the acoustics. As documented in chapter 2, many more classical music concerts were held at the Hall at this time, compared to the immediately preceding years. However, it appears that this may have been due, at least in part, to the fact that there was no alternative. Certainly, before the war was over, the building of other concert halls was already being discussed. Section 3.3 will discuss which of these plans took place and the impact on the Hall, alongside an ethnographic study of perceptions of the Hall between 2005 and 2015.

3.3: 2005–2015

Having explored perceptions of the Royal Albert Hall between 1871–1880 and 1939–1945, 21st century observations of the Hall will be analysed. This allows for a number of different sources to be employed, i.e. a different methodological approach. As in the earlier periods, newspaper and journal articles will be scrutinised. However, alongside these documents, another category of data source will also be considered, namely responses from visitors gathered during the period of research for this thesis.

The author of this thesis was an employee of the Royal Albert Hall between 2007 and 2015. Therefore, there is a participant–observer aspect to this chapter. In conjunction with the individual experiences of the writer, a significant amount of fieldwork was undertaken; questionnaires, interviews, surveys and field notes combine to provide a

unique and exclusive account of the workings of the Hall from an insider perspective. However, also as before, the issue of bias must be considered. A participant–observer is often open to challenges of objectivity and fieldwork of any kind presents its own questions of legitimacy. This is because fieldwork, such as interviews and questionnaires, is reliant on the participants giving truthful answers. Nevertheless, the combination of sources will allow a comprehensive approach to be created and provide a detailed analysis of perceptions of the RAH at this time. Amalgamated with the information about the two earlier periods, this investigation will allow a deeper understanding of the extent to which the Hall holds different meanings for different people. It is possible to speculate on the impact of these perceptions on the Hall, and specifically whether they have contributed to the Hall’s recent financial prosperity.

As explained in chapter 2, there was an explosion in the number of events held at the RAH during this period as the number of performance spaces inside the RAH increased. Classical concerts, including the BBC Proms, became just one part of an increasingly diverse programme of events. Pop music was more prevalent, including the Teenage Cancer Trust concerts, held every year since 2000. There was also a number of film premieres and films performed with live orchestra. Dinners, balls, *Cirque Du Soleil*, scientific events and educational performance opportunities for young singers and dancers also contributed to the Hall’s calendar during this period.⁵⁷⁴

Methodology

Similar studies have been undertaken elsewhere, and the work of other musicologists and ethnomusicologists has provided a structure for the methodology employed here.

⁵⁷⁴ This information has been gathered from the Royal Albert Hall’s catalogue of events: <http://catalogue.royalalberthall.com/Advanced.aspx>, accessed 18/12/17.

Therefore, an explanation of the methodology employed is provided, as is a cross-section of the work already taking place in this field.

This thesis employs both qualitative and quantitative data and therefore techniques to analyse both will be used. As such, this thesis can be labelled a mixed-methods approach.⁵⁷⁵ This type of research design has become more popular over a couple of decades, as researchers have grown weary of the discourse that suggested that research could be only qualitative or quantitative.⁵⁷⁶

In his book *Research Design* John Creswell discusses qualitative procedures and states that qualitative researchers generally gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations and documents, rather than relying on a single source.⁵⁷⁷ He also comments on the researcher's role, writing that '...qualitative research... typically involves a sustained and intensive experience with participants' and that it 'can introduce a range of issues'. These could include challenges in arranging meetings, through to participants deciding that they do not wish to be quoted fully. He suggests a number of methods to counter these issues, for example, by including statements about past experiences that provide background information and comment on connections between the researcher and the participants and on the research sites.⁵⁷⁸ Creswell proposes a step-by-step method for interpreting qualitative data. This is as follows:⁵⁷⁹

Step 1. Organize and prepare the data for analysis. This involves transcribing interviews, optically scanning material, typing up field notes, or sorting and arranging the data into different types depending on the sources of information.

Step 2. Read through all the data.

Step 3. Begin detailed analysis with a coding process.

⁵⁷⁵ Colin Robson, *Real World Research* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1993), 29.

⁵⁷⁶ Robson, *Real World Research*, 30.

⁵⁷⁷ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (California: Sage Publications, 2003), 175.

⁵⁷⁸ Creswell, *Research Design*, 177.

⁵⁷⁹ Creswell, *Research Design*, 185–189.

Step 4. Use the coding process to generate a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis.

Step 5. Advance how the description and themes will be represented in the qualitative narrative. The most popular approach is to use a narrative passage to convey the findings of the analysis.

Step 6. A final step in data analysis involves making an interpretation or meaning of the data. Asking, 'what were the lessons learned?' captures the essence of this idea.

Coding is the process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information. It involves taking text data or pictures gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) or images into categories, and labelling those categories with a term, often a term based in the actual language of the participant (called an *in vivo* term).

In this thesis, steps 1–6 were employed to analyse the patron and employee interviews.

Finally, Creswell turns to the issue of objectivity, writing a list of strategies which can be engaged to ensure validity:

1. Triangulation of data—Data will be collected through multiple sources to include interviews, observations and document analysis.
2. Member checking—The informant will serve as a check throughout the analysis process. An ongoing dialogue regarding my interpretations of the informants reality and meanings will ensure the truth value of the data.
3. Long term and repeated observations at the research site—Regular and repeated observations of similar phenomena and settings will occur on-site over a four-month period of time.
4. Peer examination—a doctor or student and graduate assistant in the Educational Psychology Department will serve as a peer examiner.
5. Participatory modes of research—The informant will be involved in most phases of this study, from the design of the project to checking interpretations and conclusions.
6. Clarification of researcher bias—At the outset of this study researcher bias will be articulated in writing in the dissertation proposal under the heading, 'The Researcher's Role'.

Although it is not possible to include all of the strategies Creswell lists in this research, it was feasible to undertake several of them: triangulation of data, interviews, document analysis and observations were carried out. Member checking was also possible: the author engaged in regular dialogue with other patrons and employees at the Hall and in the academic community concerning her interpretations of the events and performances. Long-term and repeated observations at the research site were also possible, and the author spent four years documenting her experiences. Finally, the author of this thesis was

involved in all phases of this thesis: none of the fieldwork was outsourced and all interviews were conducted by the author.

Pre-2005

It is appropriate to provide some historical context for the discussion of the period 2005–2015 and to identify milestones of particular note which occurred between 1945 and 2005. One such event arose in 1969 when the issue of the Hall’s acoustics was addressed. Fibreglass acoustic diffusers (now known as the mushrooms) were hung from the ceiling, meaning the infamous echo was lessened greatly. Indeed, William Glock, BBC Controller of Music and Controller of the Proms, wrote in the 1969 Proms Guide that, ‘The acoustics have been transformed... the famous echo has become past history’.⁵⁸⁰ Although this statement remains, to some extent, one of opinion, it seems that there is little doubt that the acoustics were improved. This assertion is supported by a newspaper report from 1969 which gave an account of the improvements after the acoustic diffusers were installed:

When is an echo not an echo but just a reverberation? For 98 years visitors to the Royal Albert Hall have not had much difficulty in giving an answer, but last night was the first of a new era... In fact, the echo is not quite laid, but is now such a paltry thing compared with what it was that no one is likely to worry... removed the echo from the dome, while leaving the warmth, resonance and volume... What is already clear is that a substantial slice of the orchestral repertory is now likely to sound better in the Royal Albert Hall than at the Royal Festival Hall...⁵⁸¹

In 1991, 120 years after the opening of the RAH, an interview with the then CEO, Patrick Deuchar, appeared in the press which suggested that changes were afoot. This was in anticipation of the renovation which was to take place between 1996 and 2004. The article, published in *The Times*, was entitled ‘The Royal Albert Hall Takes Off’ and was

⁵⁸⁰ ‘Mushrooms: Acoustic Diffusers’, accessed May 10, 2016, <http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/acoustic-diffusers-mushrooms/>

⁵⁸¹ Edward Greenfield, ‘Farewell Echo’, *The Times*, 1969, 6.

extremely positive. It began by describing the Hall as a ‘venerable landmark’ and ‘a magnificent example of Victorian architecture’.⁵⁸² It also referred to the Hall’s multi-purpose status in confident terminology stating that ‘...it has been instrumental in introducing generations of Londoners to everything from classical music to sumo wrestling... the great flexibility of the facility as a venue for sport, business and cultural presentation has made the RAH pre-eminent, but the quality of that presentation is certainly enhanced by the splendour of its impeccably classic design, which lends such a wealth of character and flavour to all the events held on the premises.’⁵⁸³ The article quotes Deuchar at length. In it he asserted that he wished for the Hall to be a force for promoting the cultural life of London: ‘I want the RAH to be recognized universally as the finest entertainment centre in Europe’. He did not refer to the Hall as a concert venue, but rather as a place for *entertainment*, and also as integral to London’s cultural life. This is inferred by the statement that:

Ultimately, however, the implications of Deuchar’s goals go far beyond the RAH itself, since he sees the improvement of London’s cultural life as a whole at the frontier of achievement. He hopes that the efforts of the RAH may be combined with those of the South Bank, the National Gallery, and other premiere facilities in order to create a coordinating, comprehensive body that can enhance and promote the city’s arts free from the uncertain influence of party politics.⁵⁸⁴

Whether knowingly or not, the author of the article had created parallels between Deuchar and Prince Albert in this paragraph. (As previously discussed, Prince Albert had wished for the National Gallery to move to South Kensington and become part of the cultural quarter he wished to create there). Overall, the article is overt in stating that the Hall has ‘...a powerful impact on the quality of life in that city.’ This suggests that by the 1990s the Hall had found its niche in the city’s cultural life.

⁵⁸² ‘The Royal Albert Hall Takes Off’, *The Times*, 1991, 17.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

As with the two earlier periods, the first category of source material to be considered is that of newspapers and journals. In these similar issues, such as the Hall's architecture, size, uses and governance are commented upon. While the perception of some of these has evolved, others are analogous to what has come before. For example, the language used to describe the visual impact of the Hall is, as with the two earlier periods, positive. The Hall is described as 'London's grandest music hall',⁵⁸⁵ 'glamorous',⁵⁸⁶ with 'enchanted opulence'⁵⁸⁷ and as a '...magnificent Victorian monument, with its gleaming gold and red boxes...'.⁵⁸⁸ However, what is striking is that much of what was previously seen as problematic, is seen as advantageous by this period. For instance, with regard to the Hall's size, an article in the *Financial Times* explained that '...the Royal Albert Hall, in the right hands, has a knack of shrinking down to achieve an inexplicable sense of intimacy'.⁵⁸⁹ Musicians are also recorded as enjoying performing at the Hall, despite its size. Janine Jansen, when asked 'What's it like playing in the vast space of the Royal Albert Hall?' told *The Telegraph*, 'Oh, I love it. I feel very confident there, which sounds strange, because it's so big and when it's empty it really feel huge! When it's full with a Proms audience it feels warm and intimate in some strange way. The audience gives you such energy.'⁵⁹⁰ James Hall, the reviewer of a

⁵⁸⁵ Alice Vincent, 'Kacey Musgraves, Royal Albert Hall, review: 'as sweet as the ring of a Liberty Bell'', *The Telegraph*, November 19, 2015, accessed February 26, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/what-to-listen-to/kacey-musgraves-royal-albert-hall-review-as-sweet-as-the-ring-of/>.

⁵⁸⁶ Jeffrey Taylor, 'Classical review: Proms 6 at the Royal Albert Hall', *Sunday Express*, July 26, 2015, accessed January 18, 2016, <https://www.express.co.uk/entertainment/theatre/593764/classical-review-Proms-2015-BBC-Royal-Albert-Hall>.

⁵⁸⁷ Tom Yates, 'Scouting for Girls at the Royal Albert Hall', *The Up Coming*, November 18, 2013, accessed January 18, 2016, <https://www.theupcoming.co.uk/2013/11/18/scouting-for-girls-at-the-royal-albert-hall-live-review/>.

⁵⁸⁸ Sarah Crampton, *The Telegraph*, June 12, 2014.

⁵⁸⁹ Hugo Shirley, 'Orfeo, BBC Proms, Royal Albert Hall London: Review', *Financial Times*, August 5, 2015, accessed January 8, 2016, <https://www.ft.com/content/c4a50ee6-3b56-11e5-bbd1-b37bc06f590c>.

⁵⁹⁰ Ivan Hewitt, 'I Love the Albert Hall', *The Telegraph*, September 10, 2014, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/proms/11085064/Janine-Jansen-interview-I-love-the-Albert-Hall.html>.

concert given by David Gilmour, said much the same, it was ‘...a stadium show in a relatively intimate setting’.⁵⁹¹

Even the acoustics, long described as a failure of the Hall, are discussed in positive terminology, albeit facetiously. ‘...in the Royal Albert Hall, it is possible for a soprano to make every word distinct’,⁵⁹² and the infamous echo became of use in a performance of Shostakovich’s Seventh Symphony where ‘during the second movement, the Royal Albert Hall roof played its part too, echoing the sound of the snare drum and timpani back down to the auditorium and giving the impression of a much larger percussion ensemble advancing on the building... it was very evocative’.⁵⁹³

Furthermore, the acoustics of the Royal Albert Hall and indeed of all London’s halls were a subject of discussion within this time period. Sir Simon Rattle, who is to become Music Director of the London Symphony Orchestra in September 2017, took the opportunity to lobby for a new concert hall on the announcement of his appointment. He stated that London does not have a concert hall with the acoustical quality of Berlin’s Philharmonie or Birmingham’s Symphony Hall. This debate has led to the critiquing of the acoustics of several London venues, the RAH included. However, support for Rattle’s endeavour has not so far been forthcoming. Regarding the Albert Hall perhaps the comment below, from an acoustic engineering journal, goes some way to explaining why this is the case:

⁵⁹¹ James Hall, ‘David Gilmour, Royal Albert Hall, Review’, *The Telegraph*, September 24, 2015, accessed February 26, 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/what-to-listen-to/david-gilmour-royal-albert-hall-review/>.

⁵⁹² Andrew Clements, ‘BBC SO/Oramo/Torikka/Rusanen-Kartano review—urgent performances’, *The Guardian*, August 30, 2015, 29.

⁵⁹³ Caroline Crampton, ‘Proms 2015: The Labèque sisters do Mozart and Shostakovich takes us to Leningrad’, *New Statesman*, August 1, 2015, accessed February 26, 2016, <https://www.newstatesman.com/culture/2015/08/proms-2015-lab-que-sisters-do-mozart-and-shostakovich-takes-us-leningrad>.

Despite being a space that, as Leo Beranek [a famous architectural acoustician] puts it, ‘is much too large ever to be fully successful [as a concert hall],’ the Royal Albert Hall annually hosts the hugely popular BBC Proms, which is probably the largest classical musical festival in the World. I have been to a couple of Proms and enjoyed the concerts. Why? Although it pains me to admit it as an acoustic engineer, there is more to a concert than just the sound. Seeing a concert in the iconic hall is a great social event.⁵⁹⁴

Furthermore, other commentators appear to support this opinion. Ivan Hewett wrote that, ‘Classical music in particular has become so sophisticated that total acoustic clarity is for many people a necessity. The Royal Albert Hall doesn’t provide it, still less a car-park. But there’s a danger of getting too precious about this. Music ought to be robust enough to communicate across a variety of acoustics.’⁵⁹⁵ Julian Lloyd Webber also agreed when he wrote that:

...we are being told that the RFH is no longer good enough... Neither, apparently, is the Barbican Hall, nor the Royal Albert Hall – which seems to work for the Proms – nor Cadogan Hall, nor any other concert hall where orchestral concerts are heard in our capital city. Can this really be true? Or are classical music’s luvvies being a mite too sensitive? As someone who has both played and listened many times in all the London concert halls I would answer yes, to both questions. It is true that London doesn’t have a world-class hall for orchestral music to match our world-class orchestras, and the reason for this date back 70 years when a plan to rebuild the bomb-damaged Queen’s Hall near Oxford Circus was shelved. By all accounts the shoe box-shaped Queen’s Hall was acoustically superb but, after the war, everything needed to be new, and the decision was taken to build a brand new concrete structure south of the river.⁵⁹⁶

These comments support the view that the acoustics of a concert hall are just one factor in an audience’s perception of a live performance. However, this is not to say that the improvement of the Hall’s acoustics during the 1960s has not influenced this apparent

⁵⁹⁴ Trevor Cox, ‘What is wrong with London’s concert halls’, *The Sound Blog*, September 3, 2015, accessed July 8, 2017, <https://acousticengineering.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/what-is-wrong-with-londons-concert-halls/>.

⁵⁹⁵ Ivan Hewett, ‘Do Acoustics Actually Matter?’, *The Telegraph*, June 19, 2015, accessed April 2, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/classical-music/do-acoustics-actually-matter/>.

⁵⁹⁶ Julian Lloyd Webber, ‘Does London have a World-class Concert Hall? No. Does London need a new one? No’, *The Guardian*, September 3, 2016, accessed September 3, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/mar/09/julian-lloyd-webber-royal-festival-hall-acoustics-new-concert-hall-london>.

change of opinion regarding the Hall's standing as a live performance venue. It does not seem to be this alone that has changed opinion. Also, it is the Hall's longevity that has led to its qualification as an edifice of grand design. This aspect was commented on in numerous articles during this period. The website *R & M* (radioandmusic.com) maintained that 'The Royal Albert is one of the most popular and prestigious concert venues...',⁵⁹⁷ and that 'the Royal Albert Hall is a place of reverence'.⁵⁹⁸ Again, musicians were quoted as being affected by this. The singer Emile Sandé said in an interview that she could 'feel the history in the Royal Albert Hall',⁵⁹⁹ while the singer and composer Lisa Gerrard was quoted as saying 'For me to walk out onto the hallowed turf of this sacred space is one of the most significant and enduring memories of my existence. If you see me levitating slightly and happen to experience a similar sensation, don't be alarmed, it is just that you're at the Royal Albert Hall.'⁶⁰⁰ These comments suggest that the Hall has become a place of veneration at least partially due to the fact that it has survived a considerable length of time, especially in comparison to other London concert venues.

The consequences of this change in opinion can also be particularly deduced from an article in *The Sunday Times* from 2015. 'For those enjoying the pomp and circumstance and outright old-fashioned patriotism of the Proms, it could come as something of a surprise. A survey has named the Royal Albert Hall as one of Britain's

⁵⁹⁷ RnMTeam, 'Benny Dayal: Performing at Royal Albert Hall 'one of the Biggest Honours'', *R&M*, May 23, 2015, accessed January 20, 2016, <http://www.radioandmusic.com/entertainment/editorial/news/benny-dayal-performing-royal-albert-hall-one-biggest-honours-150523>.

⁵⁹⁸ Monty Munford, 'We grew up together from the cradle to the grave', *The Telegraph*, December 8, 2013, accessed January 8, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/news/10501179/We-grew-up-together-from-the-cradle-to-the-grave.html>.

⁵⁹⁹ Interview with abc News, 2013, accessed May 22, 2017. <http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/video/emelie-sande-interview-2013-feel-history-londons-royal-20080029>.

⁶⁰⁰ Mayer Nissim, 'Gladiator Live at the Royal Albert Hall: Swords, Sandals and a Stunning Score', *Digital Spy*, May 29, 2014, accessed January 15, 2015, <http://www.digitalspy.com/movies/feature/a574240/gladiator-live-at-the-royal-albert-hall-swords-sandals-and-a-stunning-score/>.

coolest brands for the first time’.⁶⁰¹ This was not the only award the Hall has won regarding its status as a concert venue in recent years. Also in 2015, the Hall won the ‘Arthur Award’ for ‘First Venue to Come Into Your Head’.⁶⁰² While this could suggest that in recent years perceptions of the Hall have shifted away from its establishment roots, one needs to be mindful that these awards are subjective, and that the voting system is unknown. Indeed the website states that CoolBrands canvassed ‘... the opinions of experts and consumers to produce an annual barometer of Britain’s coolest brands’.⁶⁰³ The process does not appear to have been one of exact scrutiny.

However, this apparent change in perception recorded in the press has not only been positive. In 2012 and 2016 a number of articles appeared in the British press in relation to the Hall’s governance, particularly with regard to the actions of the seat-holders, otherwise known as the Members of the Corporation. Many of the published comments were disapproving. It is worth reiterating that, while it is not the purpose of this thesis to justify or criticise the governance structure of the Hall, such a large quantity of literature regarding the perception of the Hall cannot be ignored.

The statements below come from several publications, although *The Times* appears to have contributed the greatest number of paragraphs to the topic. Early in 2012 an investigation by this newspaper apparently found that some of the Hall’s seat-holders, including members of the Council, were capitalising on the Hall’s greater number of high-profile events and selling their debenture tickets privately. This suggestion created a

⁶⁰¹ Tony Bonnici, ‘Albert Hall Joins Apple on the Supercool list’, *The Sunday Times*, September 28, 2015, accessed October 13, 2015, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/albert-hall-joins-apple-on-the-supercool-list-3vdhnc2j2xj>.

⁶⁰² ‘Arthur Awards’, accessed May 22, 2017. <http://27.ilmc.com/arthur-awards>.

⁶⁰³ ‘Royal Albert Hall named in the CoolBrands Top 20 List’, accessed November 30, 2017. <https://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/news/2015/september/royal-albert-hall-named-in-the-coolbrands-top-20-list/>

number of debates and arguments that this was wrong for a number of reasons. Firstly, that it was immoral for the Members to make profit out of a charity, which the Hall is:

The [Charity] commission confirmed that it raised concerns about the level of private benefits after being approached by trustees... But Peta Travis, the Albert Hall's president, said that the plans would be difficult to implement. Trustees were walking a tightrope by striving to curb profiteering while keeping generous benefactors happy... The issue of reselling tickets is a side-effect of the Albert Hall's success in attracting bigger acts... Turnover has soared...⁶⁰⁴

Secondly, the Hall was given a National Lottery grant of £40 million in order to modernise and, arguably, become more commercially successful. That the Members were profiteering from this public money was also questioned in the press:

...Holders of debenture-style seats... which has benefited from a £40 million National Lottery grant, can resell their tickets at a profit thanks to a legal loophole.⁶⁰⁵ 'The trustees of the Albert Hall should be custodians not businessmen...', 'As the profits available from live performances have soared, so too have the value of debentures... this is simply not what Britain's great institutions are for'.⁶⁰⁶

Although the statements above portray the members of the Albert Hall in an unfavourable light, the other side of the debate is also given some space. For example, the Hall's then president, Mrs Peta Travis, was quoted as saying that, 'The Hall would not have been built if members had not donated money in the first place...'.⁶⁰⁷ Indeed, this argument was invoked by a Council member regarding his purposes for selling his seats. He was quoted as stating that, 'The seats are a passive, modestly yielding long-term investment. You are surely aware that members [seat-holders] saw decades of net negative returns until relatively recently when their cash injections and careful stewardship finally bore

⁶⁰⁴ Fay Schlesinger, 'Albert Hall warned as member's 'tout' tickets for up to £20,000', *The Times*, January 13, 2012, accessed September 17, 2016, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/albert-hall-warned-as-members-tout-tickets-for-up-to-pound20000-r23503slzlb>.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁶ 'The Albert Hall is being exploited by trustees, at the nation's expense', *The Times*, March 26, 2012, 18.

⁶⁰⁷ Fay Schlesinger, 'Albert Hall warned as member's 'tout' tickets for up to £20,000', *The Times*, January 13, 201, accessed September 17, 2016, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/albert-hall-warned-as-members-tout-tickets-for-up-to-pound20000-r23503slzlb>.; Chapter 2 of this thesis explains the legal issues behind this debate.

fruit. You are also no doubt aware that any dilapidation or shortfall would again, as it did in the past, fall on members.’⁶⁰⁸ However, the suggestion that members of the Council were making money from their seats did mean another difficulty arose, for the Council plays a large part in policy-making at the RAH.

In 2012, the Hall passed a bye-law which stopped members of the Council from selling their tickets at more than face value; they had to use the Hall’s own ticket-return scheme.⁶⁰⁹ However, less than three months later this was overturned.⁶¹⁰ The following extract, from the publication the *Third Sector*, a publication discussing voluntary and community organisations, provides a detailed account of the financial relationship between the members and the RAH:

For more than a century the private benefit derived from such sales was so small that it was not considered more than incidental to the public benefit of the hall as a charity. Recently, however, the growing commercial success of the refurbished hall and the ability of members to trade valuable tickets on the internet have raised concerns that their private benefit might now be more than incidental.

The Charity Commission suggests that the benefit is now large enough to warrant a concern that the Members may prefer their own interests to those of the charity and has suggested an amendment to the Hall’s constitution.⁶¹¹ One of the most recent exchanges between the Hall and the Charity Commission occurred in *The Telegraph* in December

⁶⁰⁸ Fay Schlesinger, ‘Trustees turn to touting at the Royal Albert Hall’, *The Times*, March 27, 2012, accessed July 12, 2015, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/trustees-turn-to-touting-at-the-royal-albert-hall-d0z3f0sw553>.

⁶⁰⁹ Fay Schlesinger, ‘Albert Hall trustees are banned from touting tickets after emergency vote’, *The Times*, March 30, 2012, accessed July 15, 2015 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/albert-hall-votes-to-ban-trustees-from-touting-their-tickets-for-a-profit-9vnxkfxct6d>.

⁶¹⁰ Fay Schlesinger, ‘Ban on selling seats reversed in mutiny at the Albert Hall’, *The Times*, June 1, 2012, accessed July 20, 2015, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/ban-on-selling-seats-reversed-in-mutiny-at-the-albert-hall-kj8znls39r6>.

⁶¹¹ Stephen Cook and John Plummer, ‘Fireworks at the Royal Albert Hall’, *Third Sector*, September 3, 2015, accessed September 5, 2015, <https://www.thirdsector.co.uk/fireworks-royal-albert-hall/governance/article/1361229>.

2016 and January 2017. This article, which was an interview with the chairman of the Charity Commission, William Shawcross, included the following:

Mr Shawcross's concern is that debenture holders dominate the charity's board at the same time as being able to make money from selling the seats on the open market... The Royal Albert Hall has now been given until May to put its house in order or face a formal inquiry by the Commission. He [William Shawcross] says: 'The scale of commercialisation... raises questions about whether the charity is in fact operating for the public benefit... The trustees should consider whether such arrangements risk damaging public confidence in their charity.'⁶¹²

The Hall was quick to respond, with an article in the *Third Sector* in January 2017:

The Royal Albert Hall has protested strongly to the Charity Commission about a newspaper article based on an interview with its chair, William Shawcross... the hall asks it and him to disassociate themselves from this and other statements in the article... says it is untrue that the hall has been warned by the Commission that it faces a formal inquiry if it does not 'put its house in order'. It is obvious from the hall's events and education and outreach programme that it operates for the public benefit...

In terms of this inquiry it could be argued that it is perceptions which are partially responsible for defining this argument. The perception of the Members provided by the press is that they want to make money from their seats, which, because they are also perceived as wealthy appears at best covetous and at worst immoral. However, as stated in chapter 2, the legality of such acts is not in question. Rather, it is the perception that wealthy seat-holders are benefiting from what is perceived to be a national institution, which is a charity, and which has been the recipient of lottery funding which has been questioned. There is a tension between the public good provided by the Members, the high-minded original objectives of the charter (the promotion of the arts and sciences) and the financial profit the Members stand to gain. Furthermore, one could argue that the Hall's charitable position as 'held in trust for the nation' contributes to its perception as a building of public importance. While it would be unusual for a concert hall such as the

⁶¹² Christopher Hope, 'We need a Charities Tax to win back Public Trust, says Charity Commission boss', *The Telegraph*, December 31, 2016, accessed January 2, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/12/31/need-charities-tax-win-back-public-trust-says-charity-commission/>.

RAH not to hold charitable status, as we know, its governance structure is unique in London. Finally, this also means there is no precedent regarding how this situation may be resolved.

As part of this thesis it was possible to interview a former member of the Council of the Royal Albert Hall's Corporation. Harold Gould was president of the Hall between 1997 and 2001 and lived at Albert Court (across the road from the Hall) as a child. He attended the Proms as a young man and bought a five-seat box (on the second tier of the Hall) in 1967. Also a Freemason, he was an honorary member of RAH Lodge (as well as about 70 other lodges). Harold provided a unique insight into the Hall and touched on several of the issues discussed in the press, including the controversy surrounding the Hall's status as a charity. He stated that he felt that it would be a 'tragedy' if the Hall did not remain as such. Indeed, the reason Harold had been able to buy a box in the Hall was due in some part to similar circumstances. Prior to 1967 the seat levy was £3, then in 1967 it increased to £36 and thus, many seat-holders wished to sell their seats.⁶¹³ One would assume that they did not perceive the investment as worthwhile. Harold was therefore able to buy his box for £50.⁶¹⁴

Harold also commented on the Hall's acoustics. He purchased his box in 1967, before the mushrooms were installed and therefore before the acoustics improved. That the days of the echo are very much in living memory was brought home by Harold's explanation that he did not want to purchase 'a seat at 6 o'clock [directly opposite the stage] because then you heard everything twice. 3 o'clock or 9 o'clock were better'. His

⁶¹³ Equivalent to £599.63 in 2016. Bank of England Inflation Calculator: <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>. Accessed July 6, 2017.

⁶¹⁴ Equivalent to £832.83 in 2016. Bank of England Inflation Calculator: <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>. Accessed July 6, 2017. To put this in context, in 2011 a box on the same level, the second tier, was advertised for sale for £550,000. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-14371010>. Accessed May 28, 2017.

comments, which align with much that was recorded about the Hall by Lionel Bradley during the Second World War, suggest that prior to 1969 the Hall's acoustics presented a very real challenge to audiences.

Harold stated that he had originally procured his box in order to watch the Proms and the boxing, which was also prevalent at the Hall during the 1960s and 1970s. While it was clear from section 3.2 that the Proms had an initial impact on who chose to attend the Hall, this continued after the war, too.

Fieldwork: Venue comparison

In order to place the Royal Albert Hall in the context of London, eleven other venues were visited within the capital. These were:

The Royal Festival Hall
The Barbican
The Royal Opera House
Hackney Empire
Wilton's Music Hall
St John's Smith Square
The Coliseum
The O2 Arena
Kings Place
Wigmore Hall
Cadogan Hall

The template below illustrates the questions asked at each venue.

Template for venue comparison

Name of venue:
Name of event:
My seat:
<u>Expectations</u>
My own:
Based on marketing material previous to concert:
What is the purpose of the concert/ event?
Mission/ vision statement of venue?
<u>Venue</u>
Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building:
Concert/ event timings:
Pre-and interval impressions:
Does the event suit the venue?
Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member?

What is this hall seeking to do?

Performers

Attire:

What are they doing?

Audience interaction?

Artistic goals?

Quality of performance:

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member:

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude)

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role?

Does the audience interact with the performers?

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members?

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc.?

Does the programme work with the venue and audience?

Is the programme successful?

Is the performance of a good quality?

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished?

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance?

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue?

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals?

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience?

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision?

What effect did the concert/ event have on me?

General similarities to/ differences from other venues?

This research was conducted as preliminary fieldwork, the majority of which was undertaken in 2014, with the aim of assessing the full performance given and with the venue as a key component. This was in order to compare each venue with the Hall and evaluate their positive and negative features. This investigation was also undertaken in order for the author to gain a sense of objectivity within her position as a participant–observer, especially considering that the remainder of the fieldwork concerned the Hall only. A range of performances were attended, from orchestral concerts given by the Philharmonia Orchestra and the BBC Symphony Orchestra, through to a pop concert by Justin Timberlake and a chamber performance by the Wihan Quartet. Each venue was visited on a separate occasion and the information recorded. The full results are available in the Appendix 3.2 Venue Comparison Documents; however, in brief, as well as providing a greater context for the RAH, the results are thought–provoking because they

suggest that the shape and configuration of the auditorium affects the performances given. For example, during the pop concert by Justin Timberlake, the stage moved so that the artist was performing in the middle of the arena. Almost immediately the reaction of the audience was positive, and despite the size of the arena (which holds 20,000 people) the performance felt more intimate.

It should be noted that these are the perceptions of one observer, at one type of concert at each venue and it is possible, even likely, that if the observer had visited on a different evening her perception would have been different. However, this fieldwork did exemplify the challenges of the multi-purpose venue to the author from a different perspective from that experienced as an employee of the RAH. To some extent each of the venues presented a variety of events and concerts across their calendars, yet the aim to be a constant and deciding factor in audience attendance, regardless of what was being presented, would have been of interest to all.⁶¹⁵ As stated in the introduction to this thesis, it is often loyalty to an organisation which affects a person's sense of 'place attachment'.⁶¹⁶ As we will see from the interviews and questionnaires undertaken with regard to the RAH, it was the case that the venue was the principal reason for attendance on some occasions.

Fieldwork: Participant-observer Journal

⁶¹⁵ Venue marketing was explored in K. Wöber, K. Grabler and J. M. Jeng, 'Marketing Professionalism of Cultural Institutions in Europe' *Journal of Euromarketing*, 9 (2001) 33–55. This article analysed the marketing activities of 427 European cultural institutions. It was found that in general at this time cultural institutions in Europe had adopted passive and traditional marketing programmes as compared to other types of business. It was also found that the collaboration between the cultural institutions and the local city tourist offices were rather limited and underdeveloped. The authors suggested that the passive marketing programmes may have originated from the fact that, to a large extent, cultural institutions in Europe have traditionally been public organisations and therefore lacked profit orientation. While ten of the eleven venues visited by the author of this thesis were charities and received government funding (only the O2 is not) this is another way in which the Royal Albert Hall differs. Although the Hall is a charity it receives no government funding.

⁶¹⁶ Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, Kate Gee and Christopher Spencer, 'Views of an audience: Understanding the orchestral concert experiences from player and listener perspectives', *Participations: Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* 10 (2013), 83–84.

The first-hand account of working in the Front of House department of the Hall by the author offers a unique and personal insight into perceptions of the Royal Albert Hall. Keeping a journal of shifts allowed documentation of four years' experience of the workings of the Albert Hall, including events and issues relating to both patrons and staff. Considered collectively with the interviews and surveys, this has provided this thesis with a more holistic perception than would otherwise have been possible. The journal entries can be consolidated with statistics included in chapter 2. Two examples illustrate this. Early fieldnotes from 2012 regularly state that the Hall was undersold, or that patrons in the Circle were being offered complimentary seats closer to the stage. However, by 2015 this occurred much less frequently. Also, the events worked on by the author became more varied. There were many more performances given outside the auditorium, such as the Elgar Room. Both of these changes are reflected in statistics over the same period. There were many more performances given at the Hall (concerts and events in peripheral venues contributed to this) and the Hall's operating surplus increased, suggesting that the performances were turning a profit. This would have been, at least partially, due to higher attendance at events.

There is overlap between the topics discussed in other sources, such as the newspaper articles, and the experiences recorded in the journal. For example, the Hall's acoustics were discussed in some entries, while others recorded the responses of patrons to the Hall, concert or event which they were attending. A conversation between the author and a patron at a performance by the singer Ron Sexsmith led to a rather illuminating comment as the extract illustrates:

I had a chat with a lady on H stalls who had never been to the Hall before. We talked a bit about how she had come to love Ron Sexsmith's music and then she said 'I'm more excited to be here and seeing him, than just to see him'. The fact that he was playing the RAH really made the evening special for her.⁶¹⁷

This was not the only response of its kind. A concert given by Camden Music Festival on 17 March 2014 generated a positive response from one patron in the Circle:

A lot of the parents had been allocated seats by the schools their children attended and therefore a number of patrons had vertigo.⁶¹⁸ One woman I moved [to a seat lower in the auditorium] told me how great the Hall was. She explained that she had been to the Hall several times in order to watch her children perform in concerts and said that it was 'the best place to go in London'.⁶¹⁹

The acoustics of the Hall also featured in several journal entries: for example, in 2014, the singer Jake Bugg performed at the Hall and it was recorded that many audience members had commented on 'the crystal-clear sound'.⁶²⁰ The sound, and appearance of the Hall was also discussed in an entry from December 2013, at a concert of '*Messiah* from Scratch'. This event involves the audience paying to come and sing Handel's *Messiah*. The entry records that 'choral works are always received well at the Hall and I can see why. The sound is incredible and the visual spectacle of nearly 5000 people singing is quite something too!'⁶²¹ Worthy of note is that the acoustics were not negatively commented on by any patrons at a classical concert. However, they were at amplified events. For example, at a concert by the singer Alife Boe in 2013 several patrons in the Circle complained that 'the show was too loud and that they couldn't understand the words'.⁶²² However, the following day there were 'no sound complaints'⁶²³ which

⁶¹⁷ Journal entry, March 3, 2013, Ron Sexsmith.

⁶¹⁸ Working as the Head Steward in the Circle often meant managing patrons who felt that their seats were too high.

⁶¹⁹ Journal entry, March 3, 2014, Camden Music Festival.

⁶²⁰ Journal entry, February 2, 2014, Jake Bugg.

⁶²¹ Journal entry, December 1, 2013, *Messiah* from Scratch.

⁶²² Journal entry, April 8, 2013, Alfie Boe 1.

⁶²³ Journal entry, April 9, 2013, Alfie Boe 2.

suggests that the sound technicians had potentially managed to alter their equipment. Furthermore, it should be remembered that the lack of complaints does not necessarily mean that the patrons were happy with the performance.

In September 2013, the Royal Albert Hall was evacuated prior to a concert by Classic FM due to smoke in the basement. This incident was recorded at some length by the author:

The beacons went off for ages...we were told that it was likely that we were going to go to a stage 2 (evacuation) and that we would probably stop admitting shortly! I ran around the stalls as much as I could, telling the stewards...We stopped admitting and I walked around the west doors to provide support – not all of the stewards had heard the radio calls to stop admitting. Then shortly afterwards Lisa went onstage and announced that we needed to evacuate. The evacuation was very calm and quick. Despite the elderly age of many of the patrons they moved fast and were generally good about having to leave. Lots of people asked what was happening but we didn't really know. Once we had everyone outside, including other staff, the stewards 'swept' for missed patrons, I walked around the doors providing support to the stewards, and collecting wheelchair patrons in lifts... Overall, the procedure had gone smoothly, it was just getting people to leave which had been hard. Many had stayed for an hour hoping that the show would go on.

What is interesting is that another account is also available, from a patron who was at the Hall at the time:

I was in the door 3 porch, my friend had gone to buy a sandwich. There was no smell of smoke, I heard that something was happening over the steward's radio at door 3, that there had been a 'serious security incident'. The beacons in the door 3 porch were not obvious and when the staff stopped letting people in there was a large number of people outside. When the doors opened to let people out the queues pushed forward. It was quite a crush outside when we got out. We didn't hear that the show had been cancelled... a friend told us, and we left after we had seen the fire engines arrive, around 8pm. We didn't manage to get inside the auditorium during the time we were in the Hall, we should have been sitting in a box on the second tier, where the acoustics are good.

The observations of the interviewee are included here to provide further perspective for this incident. However, in terms of her account of what had happened, her experience of the evacuation appears quite straightforward and not dissimilar from the account given by the author. However, that she mentions the Hall's acoustics is worthy of note. The night of the evacuation was when a classical concert, 'Classic FM Live', was due to take place.

Arguably, the Hall's acoustics would be of more interest to a patron who was due to attend a classical music concert than one who was about to attend a sporting event, therefore this may have been part of the reason why the acoustics were of interest to her. This report also suggests that it remains the case that the Hall's acoustics still influence where some members of the audience choose to sit.

However, it was not only the acoustics of the Hall which provided a challenge to those working in Front of House. Sightlines could also be an issue. While for a standard concert the shape of the auditorium allows nearly every seat to have a view, when the Hall was used as a giant cinema (as it has often been in recent years) there were patrons who 'struggled to see the screen'.⁶²⁴ However, by 2014 this issue appears resolved, for no complaints were recorded at showings of *West Side Story* or *Gladiator* (both were with live orchestra). Rather, both films seemed to provoke an emotional response in the audience. At the end of *Gladiator* the audience gave 'a standing ovation lasting several minutes',⁶²⁵ and at the end of *West Side Story* several patrons 'left in tears', citing the atmosphere in the auditorium as overwhelming.⁶²⁶

That the Hall is a building of national interest also featured within the journal entries. The fact that members of the Royal family feature as in attendance at a number of performances is perhaps an obvious indication of this.⁶²⁷ However, there were occasionally protests held outside the Hall. The extract below illustrates one such occasion:

Tonight was a performance by the Russian singer Valeriya. She had aligned herself politically with Vladimir Putin in terms of her views on the Ukraine and homosexuals.

⁶²⁴ Journal entry, December 30, 2013, *The Artist*.

⁶²⁵ Journal entry, May 28, 2014, *Gladiator*.

⁶²⁶ Journal entry, July 4, 2014, *West Side Story*.

⁶²⁷ Between 2012 and 2015 the author recorded eight occasions when she was present when the Royal family attended.

There was a protest outside the Hall which was looked after by the police. They were chanting ‘shame on you Albert Hall’.⁶²⁸

This entry also provides an example of how it is sometimes difficult for the Hall to be seen as a separate entity from the event which it is hosting, discussed in chapter 2 as the ‘halo effect’. While this is often described in positive terms, this example shows that it can also lead to negative perceptions of the Hall.

Alongside the journal of fieldnotes discussed above, working at the Hall provided the author with other knowledge which did not necessarily come across in the journal. For example, the members and the Hall’s governance structure do not feature in the journal, for there were no specific incidents with Members while she was at work. However, the fact that seats in the Hall were owned by private individuals did affect the working day. Patrons sometimes became confused and irritated when told that there were no free seats in certain parts of the Hall (usually the Stalls and Grand Tier) only to be confronted with empty seats and boxes when they entered the auditorium. Explaining why those seats were not available became part of the everyday experience of working at the Hall.

Fieldwork: Surveys and Interviews with Patrons and Staff

Questionnaires were used in this thesis in order to gain a broad insight into who was attending the RAH and the perceptions that both RAH patrons and employees had of the Hall. These questionnaires were administered between September 2013 and September 2015 at a wide range of events across the Hall’s calendar. All of the patrons questioned were attending events in the main auditorium. Eighty-five patrons of the RAH were questioned, 38 men and 47 women. One patron under the age of 18 was questioned, eight between the ages of 18 and 25, 11 who were between 26 and 35, 18 between 36 and 50, 36 between the ages of 51 and 65 and 11 who were over 65. Of those questioned, 24

⁶²⁸ Journal entry October 21, 2014. Valeriya.

patrons (29%) were attending a Prom or other classical concert, five were watching a ballet performance (6%), 36 (44%) had come to see a rock or pop artist, one was watching a graduation ceremony, 16 were watching a performance by *Cirque du Soleil* (20%), and three were watching a comedy show (4%). The questions asked were chosen in order to understand who was attending the Hall, why, and their knowledge of the building (such as could be suggested in brief). This thesis has evolved since these questionnaires were dispensed and therefore a summary of the relevant answers can be seen in the table below. The full questionnaire is available in Appendix 3.4

Questionnaires for RAH patrons and staff:

Table 6: Questions and responses from patron questionnaire.

Question	Summary	Percentage
1. With whom have you attended this concert?	Family: 49 Friends: 29 Colleagues: 2 Alone: 5	57% 34% 3% 6%
2. Is this the first time that you have attended this show?	Yes: 39 No: 46	46% 54%
3. Is this your first visit to the Royal Albert Hall?	Yes: 17 No: 68	20% 80%
4. Are you aware of the RAH's status as a historical building?	Yes: 78 No: 7	92% 8%

A similar number of men and women were questioned, and the age-group which was most prevalent were those in the 51 to 65 age bracket. More than half of the patrons had attended the Hall with family. Interestingly, 54% of people questioned were attending an event which they had seen before, either at the Hall or elsewhere, while more than 80% had visited the Hall before. Finally, over 90% were aware of the Hall's status as a historical building. It was important to ask these questions in order to gain an insight into their knowledge of the Hall, and implicitly, the Hall's status. Other studies have employed similar questions in order to achieve comparable conclusions.⁶²⁹ The demographic of the audience is perhaps unsurprising, the age-group which was most dominant is likely to contain those who are still working, but are settled, so have time and income to spend on entertainment. Also, the number of repeat visitors to the Hall perhaps portrays the RAH's ability at retaining custom. Following on from the question above, the patrons were asked to provide reasons as to why they decided to attend events at the RAH. The statements were chosen to operate across a wide range of events. Patrons could tick as many boxes as they wished.

Table 7: Questions and responses from patron questionnaire continued.

Please tick next to the following statements if you feel that they apply to you (as many as required):

Statement	Number of patrons	Percentage
I like the ticket price	50	61%
I enjoy the atmosphere	60	73%
I find the quality of the performance excellent	48	59%
I have come to hear a specific piece of music	29	35%
I like to learn more about classical music	11	13%

⁶²⁹ These two studies by Stephanie Pitts use similar methods: Stephanie Pitts, 'On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences', *Psychology of Music* 44 (2016).

⁶²⁹ Stephanie Pitts, Melissa Dobson, Kate Gee and Christopher Spencer, 'Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experiences from Player and Listener Perspectives', *Participations: Journal of Audience and Reception Studies* 10 (2013).

I have friends to attend with	40	48%
I find the music relaxing	36	44%
I can dress as I please	51	62%
I enjoy associating with this audience	31	38%
I have come to hear a specific performer	47	57%
I enjoy visiting the Royal Albert Hall	65	79%

The most popular statement was ‘I enjoy visiting the Royal Albert Hall’, with 65 patrons. This could suggest that audiences were choosing to attend partially because they were engaged with the venue as well as with the concert or event which they had come to watch. Despite the fact that patrons who attended a classical concert were the second largest group, the statement with the lowest response was, ‘I like to learn more about classical music’. Less than half of those who were attending a classical concert chose this statement. Also of interest to this thesis is the second most popular statement, ‘I enjoy the atmosphere’. Indeed, as suggested earlier, it appears that the shape of the Hall’s auditorium, an elliptical oval, affects RAH audiences. It is a large auditorium (the Hall seats over 5000) and the audience can watch each other as much as those onstage. That this creates a sense of community and thus feelings of collective engagement within those present is asserted by this thesis.

The following question was a more overt attempt to understand how the Hall was perceived by those attending an event or concert. Patrons could choose four words from the list below which they felt exemplified their feelings about the Hall.

Table 8: Questions and responses from patron questionnaire continued.

*From the following words please choose **four** that describe your perception of the Royal Albert Hall:*

Word/ Statement	Number of patrons
Good programming	22

Youthful	2
Serious	8
Exciting	26
Music	30
Red	10
Gold	6
Dull	1
Bad customer service	0
Life-enhancing	10
Stressful	0
Relaxing	17
Happy	18
Sad	0
Non-boring	5
Staff	5
Amenities	4
Food	2
Drink	5
Boring	0
Celebratory	12
Astounding	11
Noisy	1
Impact	16
Spontaneous	7
Curious	3
Learning	5
Out of depth	1
Unemotional	1
Thrilling	13
Green	0
Satisfying	10
Historical	31
Surprising	8
Pleasant	22
Unsatisfied	0
Complaint	0
Good customer service	13

These terms were selected in order to give the patrons the opportunity to provide a wide range of responses. Other studies which have used this model of questionnaire, such as ‘On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences’⁶³⁰ and ‘Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert

⁶³⁰ Pitts, ‘On the Edge of their Seats: Comparing First Impressions and Regular Attendance in Arts Audiences’.

Experience from Player and Listener Perspectives’⁶³¹ by Stephanie Pitts, have found this to be highly successful. As can be seen, in general the more popular responses suggest that those questioned held positive opinions of the Hall. Good programming, pleasant, happy, relaxing, impact, exciting and music were all marked by over fifteen patrons, with some words scoring into the 20s and 30s. It also appears clear that the Hall is perceived as a historical building—31 patrons recorded this as one of their answers, and this alongside the fact that over 90% knew something of the Hall’s history could suggest that its history is perceived as a significant part of the RAH’s identity.

Employees of the RAH were also asked to complete a questionnaire on their experiences and perceptions of the Hall. The participant–observer approached members of staff personally and the questionnaires were conducted between September 2013 and December 2014. Fourteen members of staff agreed to complete the questionnaire, ten men, and four women. Although it was a small sample, there was no reluctance among employees of the RAH to complete the questionnaire. There was simply limited time in the research process to approach employees outside of working hours, and therefore it was not possible to undertake a larger sample. Furthermore, those that completed the questionnaire did so with enthusiasm. Four employees were between the ages of 18 and 25, seven between 26 and 35 and three were between 51 and 56. As before, a number of questions were asked and a summary of the relevant answers can be seen in the tables below. The full questionnaire is also available in Appendix 3.4 Questionnaires for RAH patrons and staff:

⁶³¹ Pitts, Dobson, Gee and Spencer, ‘Views of an Audience: Understanding the Orchestral Concert Experiences from Player and Listener Perspectives’.

Table 9: Questions and responses from staff questionnaire.

Question	Summary
What is your favourite part of the RAH's calendar?	<i>Cirque du Soleil</i> : 4 Classical Spectacular: 0 Teenage Cancer Trust: 3 BBC Proms: 3 Master's Tennis: 1 Remembrance Service: 1 Raymond Gubbay Christmas Festival: 0 I prefer the one-off shows: 1 Elgar events: 1

The staff members questioned worked in either the Front of House, education or crew departments. Both Front of House and crew employment was shift work and tended to be fairly flexible. It could take place at any time of day or night. Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that it is the two youngest age groups and those between 51 and 65 who constitute the staff questioned, for they are most likely to include students and older people who have perhaps retired or semi-retired (this is corroborated with the author's experience of both the Front of House and crew departments as a participant-observer). Among the staff questioned, (admittedly a small sample) *Cirque du Soleil*, the Teenage Cancer Trust concerts and the BBC Proms all received a similar number of responses. The following question discussed the employee's feelings about their work at the RAH.

Table 10: Questions and responses from staff questionnaire continued.

*Please circle **three** words/phrases from those below which you feel describe how you feel about working at the Royal Albert Hall:*

Statement	Number of staff
It's just a job	1
Pride	10
It fits in with my other work	7
I enjoy the shows	4
The RAH is a fair employer	3
Colleagues	2
Friends	4
Exciting	3
Employee benefits	1
I will never leave	1
Loyalty	1
Being part of a working family	5

Each employee chose three words and therefore there are 42 responses recorded here. As before, the words were chosen in order for the employees to be able to provide a range of answers. However, as can be seen, the highest scoring word was pride. That ten out of the fourteen members of staff questioned picked this word is potentially indicative of the Hall's perceived status and, arguably, also of how valued these people felt as employees. The second highest scoring statement, 'it fits in with my other work', also supports the earlier assertion that many people in these departments were busy working or studying elsewhere.

The final question attempted to ascertain the employee's perceptions of the Hall.

Table 11: Questions and responses from staff questionnaire continued.

*Please circle **three** words from those below which you feel reflect your perception of the RAH as an employee:*

Statement	Number of staff
Fast-paced	4
On the world stage	7
Too much change	1
Pedantic	0
Exciting	2
Opportunities	1
Out of touch	0
Patronising	0
Dynamic	5
Friendly	3
Modern	0
Unique	6
Fair	0
Customer service orientated	4
Beautiful	5
Financially-orientated	3

The highest scoring word or statement was ‘on the world stage’, closely followed by ‘unique’. One could therefore suggest that part of the reason the employees felt pride in their work was that they were having a positive effect on people’s lives on a large scale, and that they were doing something different. In a similar way to the questionnaire answered by members of the public, none of the more obviously negative statements (pedantic, out-of-touch or patronising) were marked by any of the participants, although, of course, the employee sample was smaller. Regarding this thesis’ interest in the perception of the visual effects of the Hall, that a third of those questioned felt that the Hall is ‘beautiful’ again supports the assertion that this is an important feature of the Hall. Finally, of interest is that none of the employees ticked that their perception of the Hall

was ‘modern’. Combined with the large number of patrons who perceived the Hall to be a historical building, perhaps this again demonstrates that the Hall’s ties to its history are particularly strong.

Fieldwork: Interviews

Conducting in–depth interviews with patrons of the Royal Albert Hall proved somewhat tricky. Although each patron who filled in the questionnaire was asked if they would be willing to take part in a longer interview, only a small number agreed. This thesis managed to engage five patrons for longer interviews which took place between January and December 2014. Reasons why it was difficult to further involve patrons were that many of them did not live in London, and they did not appear to be comfortable when the possibility of a telephone interview was suggested. Furthermore, although the majority of those approached were happy to help fill in a short questionnaire, when additional participation was proposed, most stated that they did not have time. However, despite the relatively small sample, it was possible to gain an initial impression of patron’s perceptions of the RAH which could be used as the basis for a larger study at a later date. The five interviewees attended concerts regularly at venues across London. As well as visiting the RAH, they also attended concerts at the Royal Festival Hall, the Barbican, the O2, St John’s Smith Square, King’s Place, Hammersmith Apollo and Fairfield Halls (to name a selection). The sample included four men and one woman. Patron 1 was a man in his 70s, patron 2 a woman in her 60s, patron 3 was a man in his 50s, patron 4 a man in his 40s and patron 5 was in his 20s. Interviews took place away from the Hall, usually during the day, at a location convenient to the interviewee.

Coding, as described above by John Creswell, was undertaken on the interviews given by the patrons and employees described below. Particular words and phrases were extrapolated from the interviews, in order to gain as thorough an insight into their perceptions of the Royal Albert Hall as possible, which was then employed to suggest broad trends. To begin, each interviewee stated that during an evening's entertainment, their experience of the venue would be a prominent feature. That some venues influence the audience experience of live entertainment and are more than simply a site in which the performance takes place is central to this thesis. The interviewees responses suggest that this approach is worthwhile. Several of the interviewees also stated that the rest of the audience would influence their enjoyment, supporting the assertion that this is an important element of live performance; 'If the audience is emotionally involved with the concert then so am I' (patron 2), 'During the Proms I like to watch from the gallery, the other patrons there are more relaxed' (patron 3), 'If the rest of the audience is enjoying the concert this will affect my own enjoyment' (patron 4), '..audiences that don't get up and dance when an upbeat song is played can spoil my enjoyment' (patron 5). Also, all of the patrons used words and phrases which suggested that the Hall was particularly 'special' and some also attempted to deduce why this might be. These included, '...it's history and the public perception of the RAH makes it special' (patron 1), 'the BBC Proms are held at the RAH' (patron 3), '...the Hall is unique in terms of its location, architecture and history, most people have heard of the RAH, it creates a wow factor. I would say that the Hall is more unique than other venues' (patron 4), 'it is an iconic venue' (patron 5).

The interviews also provided a certain amount of evidence which suggested that the halo effect is in evidence at the Hall. Patrons 1, 2, 3 and 5 all stated that it was the Proms which they most closely associated with the Hall, while patron 1 declared that

‘Cirque du Soleil and, even more, “the Proms” are central to my perception of the RAH as an entertainment centre. They represent a “gold standard” of entertainment.’ That this patron identified a link between what he perceived to be great entertainment and the Hall also suggests that his perception of the Hall was affected by the events which the Hall presented.

This was further supported by the interviewees’ answers to their perception of the Hall’s relationship with the BBC Proms specifically. Patron 2 said that while she would attend the Proms at a different venue, ‘she would be sad to do so’ and patron 3 had attended the Proms at Wembley Conference Centre in 1980 when the Musicians Union went on strike due to the axing of several of the BBC orchestras, but was relieved when they returned to the Hall. Additionally, patron 4 said that he saw ‘the Proms as totally linked to the RAH’ and that ‘...there is something special about the relationship between the two organisations’. Furthermore, patrons 1, 2 and 4 stated opinions such as ‘The Hall is a top classical centre of music’ (patron 2) and ‘The Hall is a centre for classical music’ (patron 4). Worthy of note is that, in general, the Hall is not nearly as reliant on classical music to fill its calendar as it was twenty years ago and the BBC Proms is by no means the only high-profile production to be hosted by the RAH. One could suggest that this illustrates just how difficult it is to transform public opinion, or it could be due to the fact that this was a small sample. Patron 5 was the only one to discuss other genres of music, suggesting that ‘The Hall’s iconic status makes it an important stepping stone for many rock and pop artists. They hope that by playing at the RAH they will follow the success of the many legendary artists who have performed there.’ These comments could suggest that those who attend the Hall, at least for concerts (of classical or rock or pop music), feel that the venue adds gravitas to the performances given.

Although the acoustic was a theme prevalent among other sources, the interviewees indicated that it was not a large influence on their decision to attend concerts at the Hall. Patron 3 said that although the acoustics of the Royal Festival Hall had been improved it was the RAH that he still considered the premier venue at which to hear choral singing and larger orchestral works (a statement repeated in other evidence throughout this section). Patron 4 said that the ‘acoustics are not an issue now’ and patron 5 declared that choosing whether to go to a concert ‘...depended on the artist performing rather than the acoustics’.

I asked each of the patrons if they had any memories of the Hall that they wished to share, and patron 1 narrated the following:

My first memory of the RAH was an evening of music culminating with the 1812 Overture. I was twelve. I had never been to a concert before. I shall never forget it. I had paid 11/6d (57.5p) for the ticket.⁶³² It was inspiring, frightening in its crescendo of noise. Amazing. Could a building contain such excitement and still be standing the next day? YES!

While this is of course a personal account, as a participant–observer, the author had been told similar stories by patrons while working at the Hall. The longevity of the Hall means that people can have attended throughout their lives, and when they return certain memories are evoked.

Finally, the patrons were asked for their opinions on how the Hall might evolve over the coming years. The answers of patrons 4 and 5 are perhaps indicative of their broader perceptions of the Hall. Patron 4 asked whether the Hall could become corporately sponsored (as many of its bars are). ‘Could it become the ‘HSBC Royal Albert Hall’ for example?’, while patron 5 suggested that over the next few years he

⁶³² This would be equivalent to £33.56 in 2000.

expected the Hall to become more of a 24/7 venue, with more daytime events, which is an element of the calendar which is already growing.

In general, there was an amount of consensus among the patrons in terms of their perceptions of the Hall. Therefore, despite the fact that this was a small sample, this lends a certain amount of gravitas to their opinions. The statements given support much of the evidence previously provided: that the venue can be an important factor in the perception of live performance and that the visual effect of the Hall is intrinsic to this. Furthermore, that there was agreement that other patrons affected the interviewees perception of the performance is particularly of interest with regard to the Hall, and the concept of collective engagement, for the Hall's auditorium allows more interaction with other audience members than is usual in concert venues. Additionally, the interviews corroborated the suggestion that the Hall's multi-purpose nature, especially with those events with which it has a successful history (in terms of finance or longevity) allows the halo effect to take place. Finally, the fact that the acoustics were not seen as an important element of live performance in the Hall again suggests that perceptions of the Hall have evolved since the previous two periods.

It was slightly easier to undertake interviews with RAH employees than it had been with patrons of the Hall and therefore the sample was larger. Among the staff who were not management, the interviews sought to understand the nature of their work and what the Hall meant to them. Aside from the tasks and challenges which each member of staff had to undertake as part of their role, two themes emerged from the interviews; a sense of pride at working at the Hall, and the variety of entertainment on offer. Their comments also included the challenges associated with working at a prestigious venue where the patrons had high expectations. Interestingly, as it perhaps points to a disjunction, the Hall's seat-holders did not feature in any discussion (this may have been

partially due to the timing of the interviews, which took place before the most recent spate of press articles) and the acoustics were only mentioned by one member of staff. This could also suggest that neither of these subjects substantially influenced the work of those interviewed. Interviews were conducted between January and December 2014, outside of working hours, although they often took place in the Hall's cafe. The table below illustrates the comments given:

Table 12: Responses to staff interviews.

Staff member	Comment
Steward 1 (male, 19 years of age)	The RAH has a sense of grandeur, people come for the Hall as well as for the concert.
Steward 2 (male, in his 20s)	I take great pride in my role. Very proud to work at such a historic building with such a fantastic value of production. Easy to get emotionally involved with the Hall. It is a special place to be part of. Can get emotional when see how much the audience are enjoying themselves, share in the patron's enjoyment. 'Wow' factor when walk in, building iconic and well known. Can make an evening. There are difficulties with the building too – not enough loos! In general positives outweigh the negatives. A wonderful place.
Steward 3 (female, in her 60s)	The RAH is an incredible venue. Very proud to work here. I often feel emotional during the Festival of Remembrance. Huge variety of events, so patrons can be different depending on the night. However, the majority of performances seem to attract slightly 'older' audiences.
Head steward 1 (male, in his 20s)	An amazing place to work, an iconic venue. Although there is a lot of variety there appears to be a returning audience for certain events and I would imagine that this does not allow the programming department to be as creative as they might be when recurring events are so popular. There are still less events which are attended by young people and ethnic minorities. I get emotional especially with the pop concerts where the audience makes the Hall feels like its erupting and the event captures you. Can be mind blowing!
Head steward 2 (male, 23)	Amazing. In general, I do find that complaints are about the Hall, rather than the event – sightlines, catering etc. Sometimes I look at the Hall and go 'this is my job!'

Head steward 3 (male, in his 50s)	Visiting the Hall should be like going on the Orient Express—an occasion. Being at the Hall makes the concert or event a special occasion. The RAH plays a huge role in the concert. It is like giving someone a bottle of champagne. They open it and expect it to be good! Being at the Hall makes an evening. This is ‘the’ place to hear classical music. However, high expectations can be challenging—people who have been to the Hall many times can be pompous.
Chief steward 1 (male, in his 30s)	The RAH is an amazing organisation to work for. Very diverse and constantly evolving. Challenging in good and bad ways. I do get emotional. The Festival of Remembrance is very emotional. There is no one patron demographic, such variety.
Chief steward 2 (female, in her 60s)	The RAH is a place of high energy and creativity. However, it is hugely intense when working, very demanding. I feel inspired when the audience are really enjoying themselves. Can be very exciting.
Admin staff 1 (female, in her 30s)	Emotional at Festival of Remembrance. Working at the Hall is not just a job. Still goes ‘wow’ after many years. A working family. Like any family has disagreements! Acoustics can be bad depending where you sit. Amazing that people come from all over the world.
Box office staff 1 (female, in her 20s)	The Hall is incredibly versatile. Feel proud to work here. The building is very special, can impact on a patrons evening, some look so amazed when they arrive!
Crew member (male, in his 30s)	Often challenging to get everything ready for the performance. Lots of different aspects depending on what is being held that day. I have a real sense of pride at working at the Hall. If I pop into the event where I have done a lot of work setting things up and it looks good it feels great to have been part of that. Real sense of achievement, part of the machine.

This sample of employees, at this time, were positive about working at the RAH. To some extent it is impossible to know with certainty that their opinions were authentic, for as employees it is possible that they felt that they should be positive when discussing work with another colleague. However, the fact that there was a certain amount of accord among their reports suggests that their comments contained a degree of validity. Of interest to this thesis the employees, in a similar way to the patrons, also commented on the grandeur and effects of the auditorium, its versatility and the emotion which was often in evidence for both the audience and for them in their role.

Fieldwork: Interviews with RAH Management

Interviews with members of the Hall's management team were conducted as part of this research. These were with the chief executive, the director of Finance, the chief operating officer, the director of Customer Relations and the head of Front of House (these titles were correct at the time the interviews were conducted). The questions below were carefully chosen in order to gauge their perceptions of the Hall in relation to their roles within the Hall, therefore all five do not feature in every answer.

1. Is the Hall 'special' to you?

Chief Executive Certainly. I have a strong emotional connection to the Hall. Extraordinary that there can be such emotions about a place. I first attended the Hall when I was 11.

Chief Operating Officer There is a magic about the place. Like fairy dust. Impossible to describe accurately. It is a combination of the walls of the Hall soaking up 143 years of history and the intangible feeling of being in the auditorium. It is there and as long as you recognise it you connect with it. Hall looks amazing too – incredible vision. The artist is closer in the Hall. A lot of atmosphere in one room, 5,000 people. Building's shape and appearance aids this.

Director of Finance Yes of course. This is partly because one cannot define why! Is it because the audience faces each other as well as the stage? Feeling of history. The artists are as excited to perform as the audience is to be watching.

Director of Customer Relations Yes definitely. Not sure what it is about the Hall, but it sucks you in! There are probably many different reasons as to why it is special–connection with Royalty, the shape of the auditorium, that it is an icon, unique place in terms of history.

Head of Front of House Yes absolutely, without a doubt. On my first shift I walked into the auditorium and felt 'wow!' Excitement makes it special. You are playing a part in history. Re-invigorates you every time there is a new event so it is hard to get blasé about it. The drive of new programming means one is constantly reminded how amazing it is.

2. Would you describe the Hall as iconic? What does iconic mean to you?

Chief Executive It is an icon but this is an overused term. It is very distinct and individual but not that ornate.

Chief Operating Officer I think that the inside is iconic. It is the opposite of Sydney Opera House–nothing special to say about the inside. There is nowhere like the inside of the RAH–scale and majesty of the auditorium. I would say that is not iconic as a landmark, but as an auditorium.

Director of Finance Yes, it is definitely an icon. People always have something to say about the Hall. Recognisable.

Director of Customer Relations Yes, and for many different reasons. It can mean different things to different people. The Hall experiences an aspirational level of recognition. The building is recognised internationally. The history of the building and the legacy of the artists who have performed here have contributed to this. Also, the Royal connection adds to it, provides heritage.

Head of Front of House Iconic—means symbolic/ that it holds special meaning for a lot of people. I think you earn the word iconic through your history. Hall has been a place where events of influence occur, for individuals and internationally.

3. *Does the Hall's longevity and history add any pressure to your role?*

Chief Executive No. It is motivational. There is always more to do. A great thing about the Hall.

Chief Operating Officer Yes, it does. Consider my time at the Hall where I have a duty/responsibility to make a difference. Want to be proud of what you have achieved. Want to make improvements to the Hall.

Director of Finance Yes, there is the sense that if something goes wrong we are in the spotlight. This can make one more risk averse as could easily be in the press. Don't want to be in the papers if not for a good reason.

Director of Customer Relations Yes, I am aware of it. Want to do the right thing and need to have a strong moral compass, especially around decision making. Decision-making is also guided by the fact that the Hall is a Grade 1 listed building and a charity.

Head of Front of House Both do influence my work. Want to reflect the history of the Hall but not get stuck. Blend history of tradition and culture with the modern day.

4. *Do you think that any one show or promoter is integral to the success of the RAH today?*

Chief Executive Depends if you are discussing success in terms of financial or artistic terms. The BBC Proms, *Cirque du Soleil* and Raymond Gubbay's shows account for approximately a third to a half of the Hall's calendar and have a huge effect on the Hall financially. However, some of the shows by Raymond Gubbay are not perhaps artistically brilliant, but is there anything wrong with being populist and bringing music to people who would not otherwise experience it?

Chief Operating Officer The Proms. This is partially due to the fact that it is not just about live entertainment, but also on the radio and television. Means that the fairy dust can travel.

Director of Finance Yes, there are a number of promoters who are integral to the Hall and we are trying to broaden that. A wider demographic is part of who we are but it is harder to define in a strapline or marketing. Widening participation all the time.

Head of Front of House Not really, there is such a range of events held.

5. *Do you have any thoughts you can share with me about the members' return scheme?*

Chief Executive Dealing with the Hall's constitution can lead to tension with the Council. It is very unique and unusual. The Members wish to protect their interests – this needs to be balanced with the Hall as a charity. The current Act of Parliament is out of date. Needs to be a new one. The ordinary and exclusive let situation can also create tension within the Hall. Again, it is very unusual. Members return 59% of the tickets they don't use. It is a question not of legality, for the seats are their own personal estate. Rather the question is whether they are acting appropriately.

Director of Finance The members do make it difficult to catch genuine fraudulent ticket sellers. Which is a Member's ticket vs. which is a fraudulent ticket on Viagogo?

In the past members have saved the Hall financially. Without the annual stipend, and the financial increases that have been put upon the Members the Hall would have gone bankrupt many years ago.

Head of Front of House The Members provide a challenge in terms of Front of House because it can be hard to explain to people why only certain seats are available when other seats are empty. However, the Members bring a great deal of value to the Hall.

6. *The Hall has expanded and changed hugely over the past five years—is this organic growth? Or the result of a carefully thought out plan?*

Director of Finance Although the business plan runs on a 5-year cycle, I would suggest that the overall growth of the Hall is organic. If we try something and it works then we do more of it. Within this five-year plan we are hoping to undertake more building work, but this depends on funding.

Director of Customer Relations I would say that this is due to the business plan. This is updated every five years and allows the business to develop. It also provides money which can be invested in the charitable aims. For example, just two years ago there were hardly any events held outside the main auditorium. However, it is also necessary to be aware of the different influences which affect the Hall over time so there is the need to be flexible too. When the O2 started holding events this made others in the industry raise their game.

Head of Front of House There is a business plan in place but organic growth is also responsible. One never knows what might come along, the peripheral spaces and daytime events have expanded hugely recently. The Hall is also more engaged with the digital world, it has Facebook and Twitter accounts.

As can be seen from the above, there was much concurrence among the answers provided by the Hall's management team. Of course, when conducting interviews one must be aware that those responding may feel inclined to give answers which favourably represent the organisation or subject in question if they are integral to its success. However, the

answers provided, when considered as part of the larger pool of evidence, can nevertheless offer a valid internal perspective of the Hall.

Each of the managers stated that they felt that the Hall was special to them, and their answers suggested a certain depth of feeling beyond simple company loyalty. The use of emotive language such as ‘fairy dust’, ‘magic’, and ‘excitement’ appeared to be an attempt to illustrate what they knew was intangible. Indeed, the director of Finance stated that ‘This is partly because one cannot define why!’ Similarly, regarding a discussion of the term ‘iconic’ in relation to the nature of the Hall there was a general consensus that this was largely related to the appearance of the auditorium and the architecture of the building. Additionally, and perhaps due to their closer relationship with the Hall’s patrons, both the director of Customers Relations and the head of Front of House stated that they felt that the Hall held meaning in different ways for different people. Moreover, although not all of the managers alleged that they felt the Hall’s longevity as a pressure, there was a certain congruence of the opinion that it influenced their work in some way.

Two opinions were stated in terms of which event was most integral to the Hall. The Proms were cited by the chief executive and the chief operating officer, while both the director of Finance and the head of Front of House suggested that the range of events was too wide to attribute the success of the Hall to one event. Furthermore, the three members of the management team who were asked about the members’ return scheme appear to give candid, yet balanced responses. The chief executive stated that the challenges of the idiosyncratic nature of the Hall’s governance structure could lead to tensions with the Hall’s Council, while the director of Finance and the head of Front of House both referred to difficulties with ticketing: for example, the challenge of knowing if a ticket was fraudulent or that of a Member. However, they were also keen to explain that without the Members the Hall would have been bankrupt years ago, and were of

continued value to the Hall. Finally, the director of Finance, the director of Customer Relations and the head of Front of House were unanimous in their assessment of the Hall's recent expansion. While aware that the planning undertaken within the business plan had allowed for financial growth, all three declared that the organic and flexible nature of the model allowed those who worked for the Hall to respond to challenges as they appeared.

Interviews with BBC Directors

The following interviews were conducted with two people who were not employees of the Albert Hall, but had experienced working closely with those at the Hall. As we have seen, there appears to be little doubt that the relationship with the BBC Proms has had a great effect on how the Hall is perceived. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to explore this relationship from the other side. Nicholas Kenyon and Roger Wright, both previous directors of the Proms, agreed to be interviewed. A summary of their answers is provided below, and the full transcripts of these interviews are available in Appendix 3.6. Both men were fairly candid about the relationship between the Hall and the BBC Proms and their perceptions of the RAH in general. Much of what was discussed surrounded the aspects of the Hall which have led to the present assertion that a venue is not always a peripheral element in the decision to attend a live performance, alongside the factors which have led to the Hall being repeatedly re-inscribed.

Nick Kenyon began by stating that in his opinion the RAH is not a classical music concert hall, but a multi-purpose hall. However, he did state that the Hall does work as a 'unique space for classical music...partly because it is particularly suited to promming'.

Kenyon also spoke of the effects of the visual impression of the Hall's architecture, maintaining that it is 'unlike any other Hall and instantly recognisable' and a 'symbol of the Victorian era'. Both men referred to the shape of the auditorium as of particular importance. Nick Kenyon said that the round auditorium 'made you aware of other audience members in a way that other venues don't, indeed to the extent 'that one is as aware of the audience as of the stage'. He suggested that this led to the sense of 'inclusivity and community', mentioned earlier with regard to collective engagement. Roger Wright described this as the 'magic of the Hall'. He explained that performances at the Hall during the Proms were often a large collective experience due to the size of the audience (five and half thousand people) and that being part of an audience which was in 'rapt attention' was 'very special'. Wright also stated that this sense of community was heightened when performances were held 'in the round'.

Roger Wright also acknowledged that his personal perception of the Hall would always be heavily affected by the Proms. Indeed, he stated that in his 'mind the Hall is most closely associated with the Proms and the Festival of Remembrance'. However, he also made reference to the multi-purpose nature of the Hall; 'tennis, *Cirque*, the Proms, Christmas, pop music—it is amazing and there is nowhere else like it in the world!'

Regarding the Hall's acoustics, the two ex-directors had slightly differing opinions. Roger Wright felt that although the Hall is technically 'too big and the wrong shape' for classical music, the acoustics are 'okay for classical music'. He also stated that if a concert is of a high standard 'generally people don't discuss the acoustics...so that's what the Proms aim for'. His comments indicate that the Hall's acoustics suit a more diverse programme than perhaps previously suggested: 'large forces work really well...as does Nigel Kennedy playing solo Bach'. However, Nick Kenyon was more critical. He felt that to some extent the effects of the acoustics still 'depends on where you sit [a point

Roger Wright agreed with], the size of the ensemble and whether the programme is orchestral or choral'. He also declared that 'the BBC was limited in its programming by the Hall's acoustics as it was tricky to bring off certain works well'. However, both Nick Kenyon and Roger Wright seemed to agree that despite the acoustics, it was likely that the BBC Proms would remain at the Hall. Furthermore, Roger Wright declared that 'changing venue would definitely change the character of the Proms dramatically'. He said:

You can't separate the Hall from the Proms. The Proms were lucky in 1941 that the Hall was available. Otherwise where would it have ended up? Would the Proms have survived if the Hall hadn't been available or if it hadn't survived the war? I'm not sure it would have... the front cover of the Proms programme has the Hall at its centre. The BBC is not afraid to show that the Hall is at the centre of the Proms.

It seems that Nick Kenyon held a similar opinion, stating that he felt that 'there is a confusion in people's minds as to who puts the Proms on'.

Finally, both Kenyon and Wright spoke about the governance structure of the Hall in relation to the Proms. Kenyon echoed the sentiment expressed by the author regarding the fact that the Hall can be 'sold out with empty seats', describing it as 'frustrating'. He also intimated that a positive effect of the governance structure is that it 'allows the BBC to say that a high percentage of the seats were sold', because not all were available. Roger Wright also expressed some frustration with regard to the fact that the, 'Last Night of the Proms cannot be an exclusive let' (where the members do not have access to their seats) although he said that he understood that 'the Members' fees help the Hall' and that 'the BBC would never want to create problems between the Hall and its Members'.

The perceptions of Nick Kenyon and Roger Wright support much of what this thesis has stated regarding the factors which have shaped the Hall's identity. Their perceptions of the effects of its size and shape support the concept of collective engagement, and, while acknowledging its acoustical weaknesses, this is of less

importance now than in the earlier two periods. Furthermore, it is clear that both Kenyon and Wright perceive the Hall and the Proms to be intrinsic to one another, which supports the notion of the ‘halo effect’ discussed in chapter 2. Finally, while each voiced some frustration with the governance structure of the Hall, they also acknowledged that it could be beneficial to both the Hall and the BBC.

It is clear from the sources examined that perceptions of the Royal Albert Hall have evolved substantially. The somewhat negative outlook of the first period, and the challenges of the second have been replaced by optimistic language and a sense of confidence. The Hall in 2015 is perceived not only as a concert hall but also as a multi-purpose venue. However, classical music has remained integral to its output, through the BBC Proms, and continues to affect the positive perception that is held of the Hall. Furthermore, due to the Hall’s longevity, it appears that it now has a reciprocal relationship with some of the longstanding events it hosts, including the BBC Proms and the Festival of Remembrance.

Discussion concerning the Hall’s acoustics remain, but as part of a larger cultural discourse concerning London’s place in the world of classical music. Furthermore, what is clear is that the Hall’s acoustics are no longer the defining aspect of the two earlier periods. Moreover, it is likely that one of the reasons for the Hall’s poor acoustics has also contributed to its recent financial success. The shape of the auditorium, unique among London venues, is largely responsible for the states of collective engagement and place attachment which appears tangible at the Hall. While the governance of the Hall remains a contemporary element of discourse, within the ethnographic study it appeared of less importance than the articles in the national press would perhaps lead one to believe. Additionally, this aspect does not appear to have impacted negatively on perceptions of the Hall among its patrons. Finally, this thesis suggests that the factors

discussed above amalgamate in this third period to lead to the transformation of the Hall as a space, as suggested by Georgina Born. There is little doubt that the Royal Albert Hall's auditorium has been affected by the physical and social dimensions of the performances it has presented. The multi-purpose feature of the Hall, which is now integral to its identity, is perhaps the most obvious aspect of this progression.⁶³³

Conclusion

This chapter has provided broad perceptions of the Royal Albert Hall over the course of its history. It is clear from the three periods examined that these perceptions have evolved, and that the challenges of the 19th century have morphed into the strengths of the 21st. In the early years many questioned why the Hall had been built, what it was to be used for and commented on the problem of its acoustics. By World War Two, the governance structure of the Hall had been updated to allow for more funding to be provided for the Hall's upkeep, and with the arrival of the BBC Proms, classical concerts were prevalent at the Hall, along with boxing. While the greater number of events, and improvements to the acoustics were welcomed, suggestions that the Hall was not fulfilling the remit for which it was built – namely the promotion of the arts and sciences – remained common. However, in the most recently assessed period many of the sources suggested that the Hall is now a landmark appreciated and considered intrinsic to the London live performance and event scene. Many of the acoustical issues have been solved and the Hall's longevity and the part it has played in events of national importance have led to the perception of the Hall as an iconic space.

There are a number of factors which have supported the proposition that a venue is not always a peripheral factor in the decision to attend a live performance. The unique

⁶³³ Georgina Born, ed., *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1–69.

shape and style of the auditorium, allows for ‘collective engagement’ to take place because the audience feel a connection to one another. Furthermore, recently a number of high-profile performances, such as those given by the pianist Lang Lang and the pop group Coldplay, which have taken place ‘in the round’ (in the arena), have arguably heightened this awareness.

Worthy of note, is the fact that the sensory information provided by the Royal Albert Hall is, currently, portrayed as positive. The interior and exterior of the Hall are visually impressive. It is architecturally unique, and its auditorium is also inimitable: the elliptical shape, large size and red and gold design contribute to its appearance as one of unbridled Victorian splendour. While the acoustics of the Hall have been much discussed over the course of its history, the negativity which once surrounded them has faded considerably. One could suggest that the style and shape of the auditorium contributes to the sense of touch. The decoration of the Hall provides an appearance of luxury, and the close proximity of the seats could also strengthen the connection between patrons. Although smell and taste are not literally associated with the Royal Albert Hall (there is no record of perfume having been piped through the Hall since the opening) it seems that the three restaurants and assorted food products associated with the Hall also influence how it is perceived. Corporate packages often include food and drink along with the entertainment.

Alongside ‘collective engagement’, the sources also support the theory that the Hall creates the necessary environment for ‘place attachment’ to take place. The Hall is a multi-purpose space where a number of diverse events take place. A number of these events, such as the BBC Proms and the Royal British Legion Festival of Remembrance, have lengthy associations with the Hall and therefore could be said to affect the prevailing perception of the type of event which is associated with the Hall. They feed into the collective psyche of perceptions. Georgina Born’s writing on ‘space’ suggests that these

relationships can affect how a neutral space can take on elements from the ‘social and historical’. The fact that the Hall can be conceived as a historical monument, could therefore also be said to contribute to ‘place attachment’.

Finally, the sources studied illustrated that there is not always a correlation between public and private sources. For example, issues highlighted in the press, such as the recent debate over the Hall’s governance structure, were not commented on by any of the patrons or staff questioned, nor did they feature in the journal of shifts written by the author while she worked in Front of House. This is important because it portrays that there is no ‘public’ perception of the Hall. Rather, perceptions are created through individual experiences. However, by drawing on a number of different sources, it has been possible to see where these individual experiences have overlapped and therefore can be seen as collective.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to offer a way in which a cultural venue can be studied and understood, namely not purely as a site for live performance, but as an agent of meaning which is often overlooked or taken for granted by users. Additionally, we have seen how that meaning can be continually reshaped and renegotiated over the course of a venue's existence. This thesis has explored the stages from the expression of a vision, before the building is constructed; to the realisation of that vision as it is confronted with pragmatic issues, such as finance and governance; to the success of that realisation in the responses of the venue's users. By employing the Royal Albert Hall as case study this thesis addressed five questions: What is the relationship between a public space and the events it hosts? What factors have affected the identity of the RAH as a public venue? How have these changed during the Hall's existence? How do these factors affect the events which the Hall hosts? And does a space affect what happens inside it?

This thesis has shown that venues may act as a significant factor in an audience member's decision to attend a live performance; in some cases, it is the deciding factor. Furthermore, we have seen that the venue is one of a number of features which come together to create a special experience during a live performance. This suggests that its influence can increase in importance depending on the context of the performance. This suggests that the Royal Albert Hall encodes multiple elements which have led it to having a greater role in live performance than is perhaps the case with other live entertainment and concert venues.

The shape of the Hall increases the potential for collective engagement, as it creates intimacy between the audience and performers and also between members of the audience. Despite the vastness of the space, the elliptical shape allows the audience to see one another (although this is lighting dependent). Performers are also acutely aware of

this atmosphere; in an interview with Russell Watson on ITV news, he told the journalist that performing at the Hall is like ‘having a great pair of arms wrap around you’.⁶³⁴ Alternatively, this feature may also have negative consequences, since when an event is poorly sold, the absence of audience is immediately evident and this affects the atmosphere. Furthermore, the visual impact of the Hall, both architecturally and in terms of its grand interior, also contributes to the effects of collective engagement and place attachment which this thesis has shown are intrinsic to its identity. Thus, the sensory information provided by the Royal Albert Hall, which was initially stated in the Hall’s vision from 1871, remains highly relevant today and contributes to the Hall’s effect on the live performances which take place there. Indeed, it has been shown through this thesis that although the acoustics of the Hall have been much criticised over the course of its history, they do not now appear to affect the Hall’s status as a performance venue.

The concept of space is also integral to the Hall. It is unique in the space it inhabits as a concert hall or live performance venue in London, for although the nature of live performance is transient and ephemeral, the features of the Hall explained above often amalgamate to create a lasting impression on the concert-goer in a way that is not always present in other venues. The multi-purpose nature of Hall also affects the space it inhabits in the collective imagination, because it would be easy for the Hall’s identity to be lost within such a diverse environment. However, as we saw in chapter 3, the Hall’s longevity has contributed positively towards its sense of identity. The Hall’s history is often discussed as a positive, and contributing, factor by performers and audiences.

Indeed, over the course of the last five years, it has also been made possible for many different events to take place at the Hall at the same time. As multiple spaces have

⁶³⁴ Interview with Russell Watson, ITV News at Ten, 15 May, 2017.

opened up, many different genres of music and performance can take place at the same time: a classical concert in the main auditorium, cabaret in the Elgar Room and a poetry jam or chess–boxing in the Loading Bay.⁶³⁵ The events which have taken and continue to take place in the Hall inscribe the Hall’s identity with their individual characteristics, alongside the permanent and unique physical properties of the building. Additionally, the Hall is now firmly bound to the identity of the majority of the events which it hosts. This symbiosis is sometimes the outcome of a lengthy relationship, such as with the BBC Proms or the Royal British Legion Festival of Remembrance. Sometimes this is due to the popularity of the event or performance, as is the case with *Cirque du Soleil* and on other occasions it is the grandeur of the building which affects the status of the event.⁶³⁶ There is no doubt that the perception of the Hall as a national institution has contributed to its position as an iconic landmark which creates a sense of occasion for those attending. This is heightened by the sheer number of performances which have taken place there due to its longevity, coupled with the Hall’s perceived connection with the Royal family.

Furthermore, the Hall’s governance structure, unique among London entertainment venues, has allowed it to remain financially independent and enabled it to achieve significant financial success of late. Although it is not a recipient of government funding the accomplishment of the Hall’s Victorian model of public funding is in direct juxtaposition to the fact that it is ‘held in trust for the nation’ by the Charity Commission, the only public body who currently hold it to account.

This thesis has contributed to scholarship on venues, live performance and the Royal Albert Hall. We have gained insight into an organisation which had not previously

⁶³⁵ All of these events have taken place at the RAH.

⁶³⁶ In 2012 and 2015 Royal World Premieres of the James Bond movies *Skyfall* and *Spectre* took place at the RAH.

been discussed in detail. This thesis has also aimed to construct a unique methodology, drawing together historical sources, fieldwork and including a participant–observer perspective, the majority of which has never previously been presented. Finally, by mining financial records and event count data we have gained a greater understanding of the evolution of the Hall and the links which make up the chain of a venue’s existence.

The thesis opens up several avenues for further research. For instance, the context in which the Royal Albert Hall was studied could be broadened. This thesis has considered the Hall only in comparison to other London venues, but another study could consider the Hall nationally and internationally. This case study could also provide a blueprint for research into other venues, ascertaining their purpose, significance and suggested future engagement. Furthermore, the factors which have influenced the Hall’s identity, such as its shape, sensory influences and governance structure, could be adopted (as much as physically possible) by other venues, to ascertain if this has a similar effect. Finally, it should be remembered that the current perception of the Hall, and the factors which have affected it, have evolved over the course of the Hall’s lifetime. It would be interesting to examine the Hall again at a later juncture, in order to ascertain if other aspects of the Hall will have contributed, either positively or negatively, to its place in London’s cultural life.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

For primary sources, including plans of the RAH please see Appendix 1.

Literature

Airplay, F. (pseud.). *Prince Albert: Why is he so unpopular?* London: Saunders and Otley, 1857.

Alexandra Palace, ed. *Alexandra Palace and Grounds: A concise and fully illustrated souvenir of Northern London's most popular indoor and outdoor entertainment and catering centre*. Cheltenham & London: New Centurion Publishing & Publicity Co., 1963.

Anderson, W.R. "Round about Radio." *The Musical Times* Vol. 86, No.1234 (Dec. 1945): 368 + 371–372.

Anger, Suzy. *Victorian Interpretation*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Arnstein, Walter L. *Queen Victoria*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Arts Enquiry, The. *Music: A Report on Musical Life in England*. London: Political and Economic Planning, 1949.

Ascenso, Sara, Aaron Williamon, and Rosie Perkins. "Understanding the wellbeing of professional musicians through the lens of Positive Psychology". *Psychology of Music* 45, Issue 1 (2017): 1 – 17.

Auerbach, Jeffrey A. *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

- Auerbach, Jeffrey A., and Peter H. Hoffenberg, eds. *Britain, The Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008.
- Ayre, Leslie. *The Proms: The Story of the Grandest Music Festival in the World*. London: Leslie Frewin Publishers Limited, 1968.
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830–1885*. London: Methuen, 1978.
- _____. *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Barbican Centre for Arts and Conferences. *The opening of the Barbican Centre by Her Majesty The Queen 3 March 1982*. London: Barbican Centre for Arts and Conferences, 1982.
- Barratt, Nick. *Greater London: The Story of the Suburbs*. London: Random House Books, 2014.
- Barringer, Tim. *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Barron, M. “Subjective study of British symphony concert halls.” *Acustica – Acta acustica* 66(1) (June 1988): 1–14.
- Barron, M. and L–J. Lee. “Energy relations in concert auditoriums.” *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 84(2) (August 1988): 618–628.
- Barz, Gregory F. ‘Confronting the Field (note) In and Out of the Field: Music, Voices, Texts, and Experiences in Dialogue’. In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, edited by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 206 – 223. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- Barz, Gregory and Timothy J. Cooley, ed. *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Bashford, Christina, and Leanne Langley, eds. *Music and Culture, 1785–1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Bayley, Stephen. *The Albert Memorial*. London: Scholar Press, 1981.
- BBC Handbook 1942*. London: BBC, 1942.
- BBC Year Book 1945*. London: BBC, 1945.
- Beasley, Rebecca, and Philip Ross Bullock, eds. *Russia in Britain, 1880 – 1940: From Melodrama to Modernism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Beaver, Patrick. *The Crystal Palace: A Portrait of Victorian Enterprise*. Chichester: Phillimore, 1986.
- Benjamin, Walter. “The author as producer”. In *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, edited by Andrew Arato and Eike Gephardt. Oxford: Blackwell, 1978.
- Bentley, Paul. “Earl Spencer’s top seats for charity concert at Albert Hall are touted online for £800.” *Daily Mail*, January 14, 2017.
- Benzecry, Claudio E. “Becoming a Fan: On the Seductions of Opera”, *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 32, Issue 2 (June 2009): 131 – 151.
- Bennett, Joseph. *Forty Years of Music, 1865 – 1905*. London: Methuen & Co., 1905.
- Beranek, Leo. *Concert Halls and Opera Houses: Music, Acoustics, and Architecture*. New York: Springer, 2003.
- Beranek, Leo L. “Subjective Rank–Orderings and Acoustical Measurements for Fifty–Eight Concert Halls.” *Acustica – Acta acustica* 89 (2003): 494–508.
- Beranek, Leo L. “Concert Hall Design: Some Considerations.” *International Symposium on Room Acoustics* (June 2013).

- Blanning, T.C.W., ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Blessner, Barry and Linda–Ruth Salter. *Spaces Speak, Are You Listening? Experiencing aural architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009.
- Bloxham, Andy, “Boxing to return to Royal Albert Hall thanks to military charity”. *The Telegraph*, September 1, 2011. Accessed September 1, 2011.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/8734726/Boxing-to-return-to-Royal-Albert-Hall-thanks-to-military-charity.html>
- Bonnici, Tony. “Albert Hall joins Apple on the supercool list”. *The Sunday Times*, September 28, 2015.
- Bonython, Elizabeth, and Anthony Burton. *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole*. London: V&A Publications, 2003.
- Boorman, Stanley. “The Musical Text”. In *Rethinking Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, 403–423. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Born, Georgina. *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant–Garde*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- _____. *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC*. London: Vintage, 2005.
- _____. “For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn”. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, No. 2 (2010): 205 – 243.
- _____, ed. *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- _____. “Introduction – music, sound and space: transformations of public and private experience”. In *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private*

Experience, edited by Georgina Born, 1 – 69. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Botstein, Leon. “After Fifty Years: Thoughts on Music and the End of World War II, *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 79, No. 2 (Summer 1995): 225 – 230.

_____. “Music in Times of Economic Distress.” *The Musical Quarterly* 90 (2008): 167–175.

Bowen, Jose A. “Finding the Music in Musicology: Performance History and Musical Works” in *Rethinking Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, 424 – 451. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Brindle, Steven, *Paddington Station: Its history and architecture*. London: Historic England, 2013.

Brooks, Chris, ed. *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial: its History, Contexts, and Conservation*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Buzart, James, Joseph W. Childers, and Eileen Gilleooly, eds. *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2007.

Byrne, David. *How Music Works*. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2012.

Burkholder, J. Peter, Donald J. Grout, and Claude V. Palisca. *A History of Western Music*. Rev.ed. London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006.

Burland, Karen and Stephanie Pitts eds. *Coughing and Clapping: Investigating Audience Experience*. Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2014.

Burrows, Tim, and Rebecca Gillieron. *From CGBG to the Roundhouse: Music Venues Through the Years*. London: Marion Boyars Publishers Ltd, 2009.

- Burstow, Robert. *Symbols for '51: The Royal Festival Hall, Skylon and sculptures on the South Bank for the Festival of Britain*. London: Royal Festival Hall, 1996.
- Cameron, Ian. *To the Farthest End of the Earth: The History of the Royal Geographical Society, 1830 – 1980*. London: Macdonald, 1980.
- Cannetti, Elias. *Crowds and Power* (English translation). New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1984.
- Cashman, David. “Fabricating Space: Postmodern Popular Music Performance Venues on Cruise Ships.” *Popular Entertainment Studies* 4(2) (2013): 92–110.
- Chapman, James. *The British at War: Cinema, State and Propaganda, 1939 – 1945*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1998.
- Chick, Shirley, ed. *The History of the Proms: Celebrating 100 Seasons*. High Wycombe: CMM Publications, 1995.
- Clark, Ronald W. *The Royal Albert Hall*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958.
- Clarke, Peter. *Hope and Glory: Britain 1900–2000*. Rev. ed. London: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Clarke, Eric, and Nicholas Cook, eds. *Empirical Musicology: Aims, Methods, Prospects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Clayton, Martin. “Crossing Boundaries and Bridging Gaps: Thoughts on Relationships Between Ethnomusicology And Music Psychology”, *Empirical Musicology Review* Vol. 4, No. 2 (2009): 75 – 77.
- Clayton, Martin, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton, eds. *The Cultural Study of Music: a Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

- Clements, Andrew. "BBC SO/Oramo/Torikka/Rusanen–Kartano review – urgent performances", *The Guardian*, August 30, 2015.
- Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1986.
- Clunn, Harold P. *London Rebuilt, 1897 – 1927*. London: John Murray, 1927.
- Cockburn, Harry. "From "village hall to world acclaim: Behind the scenes at the Royal Albert Hall". *LondonlovesBusiness.com* (6 February 2014).
- Cole, Alan S. *Fifty years of Public Work of Sir Henry Cole, K. C. B., accounted for in his deeds, speeches and writings*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1884.
- Coleman, S. "Material Religion: A Fruitful Tautology?" *Material religion: the journal of objects, art and belief* 5(3) (2009): 359–360.
- Colvin, H. *Royal Buildings*. London: Littlehampton Books Services Ltd, 1968.
- Cook, Nicholas. *Music: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. "What is Musicology?", *BBC Music Magazine* 7/9 (May 1999): 31 – 33.
- _____. "Music as Performance" in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, edited by Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton, 204 – 214. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Cook, Nicholas and Anthony Pople, eds. *The Cambridge History of Twentieth–Century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Cook, Stephen. "Royal Albert Hall takes issue with Shawcross interview", *Third Sector*, January 4, 2017, accessed January 5, 2017. <http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/royal-albert-hall-takes-issue-shawcross-interview/governance/article/1419813>
- Cook, Stephen. "President of Royal Albert Hall defends 'idiosyncratic' governance structure". *Third Sector*, May 15, 2017.
- Cook, Stephen and John Plummer, "Fireworks at the Royal Albert Hall", *Third Sector*, September 3, 2015.
- Cottrell, Stephen. 'Music as Capital: Deputizing among London's Freelance Musicians'. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 11, No. 2 (2002): 61 – 80.
- Cox, David. *The Henry Wood Proms*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1980.
- Cox, Gordon. *A History of Music Education in England 1872–1928*. Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1993.
- Cox, Trevor, "What is wrong with London's concert halls", *The Sound Blog*, March 9, 2015.
- Crampton, Caroline. "Proms 2015: The Labèque sisters do Mozart and Shostakovich takes us to Leningrad", *New Statesman*, August 1, 2015. Accessed August 30, 2015. <http://www.newstatesman.com/culture/2015/08/proms-2015-lab-que-sisters-do-mozart-and-shostakovich-takes-us-leningrad>.
- Crampton, Sarah, "Romeo and Juliet, Royal Albert Hall, review: 'Terrific evening'", *The Telegraph*, June 12, 2014.
- Creasy, Barry. "Prom 48: Academy of Ancient Music / Hill @ Royal Albert Hall, London". *MusicOMH*, August 21, 2015. Accessed 30 August 2015.

<https://www.musicomh.com/classical/reviews-classical/prom-48-academy-ancient-music-hill-royal-albert-hall-london>.

Creswell, John W. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. California: Sage Publications, 2009.

Cross, Gary. *A Social History of Leisure Since 1600*. Pennsylvania: Venture Publishing, 1990.

Crowley, David. *Introduction to Victorian Style*. New York: Mallard Press, 1990.

Dafforne, James. *The Albert Memorial, Hyde Park: Its history and description*. London: Virtue & Co, 1851.

Darby, Elisabeth, and Nicola Smith. *The Cult of the Prince Consort*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Daunton, Martin, ed. *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Davis, John R. *The Victorians and Germany*. Oxford: Peter Lang AG, 2007.

Day, John Robert, and John Reed. *The Story of London's Underground*. London, 2010.

Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Zone Books, 1994.

Dempster, Douglas. "Wither the Audience for Classical Music?" *Harmony: Forum of the Symphony Orchestra Institute* No. 11 (October 2000), 43 – 55.

DeNora, Tia. "Musical Practice and Social Structure: A Toolkit". In *Empirical Musicology*, edited by Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook, 35 – 56. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Deutsch, David. *British Literature and Classical Music (Historicizing Modernism)*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

- Dobson, Melissa. 'New audiences for classical music: The experiences of non-attendees at live orchestra concerts'. *Journal of New Music Research* Special Issue 39(2) (2010): 111 – 124.
- Doctor, Jenny. "The Parataxis of "British Musical Modernism"". *Musical Quarterly* 91, Issue 1 – 2 (2008): 89 – 115.
- Doctor, Jenny. "A New Dimension: The BBC takes on the Proms, 1920 – 1944". In *The Proms: A New History*, edited by Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon, 74 – 129. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.
- Doctor, Jenny, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon, eds. *The Proms: A New History*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.
- Donaldson, Frances. *The Royal Opera House in the Twentieth Century*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988.
- Dunsby, Jonathan. "Performers on Performance". In *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* edited by John Rink, 225 – 236. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Eatock, Colin. 'The Crystal Palace Concerts: Canon Formation and the English Musical Renaissance'. *19th-Century Music* 34, No. 1 (Summer 2010): 87 – 105.
- Edwards, Samantha. "The year that was with... Crewsaders, George P Johnson and the Royal Albert Hall." *Event Magazine*, December 17, 2013. Accessed April 1, 2014.
<http://www.eventmagazine.co.uk/year-with-crewsaders-george-p-johnson-royal-albert-hall/associations/article/1225058>
- Ehrlich, Blake. *London on the Thames*. London: Cassell & Company, 1968.
- Ehrlich, Cyril. *The music profession in Britain since the eighteenth century: a social history*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1985.

- Ellis, Carolyn, and Tony E. Adams. "The Purposes, Practices, and Principles of Autoethnographic Research". In *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by Patricia Leavy, 254 – 276. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Elkin, Robert. *Queen's Hall 1893–1941*. London: Rider & Co, 1944.
- Erdozain, Dominic. *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the crisis of religion*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010.
- Erickson, Carolly. *Her Little Majesty: The Life of Queen Victoria*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.
- Esquire, Fairplay. *Prince Albert: Why is he unpopular?* London: Saunders and Otley, 1857.
- Evans, Edwin, "The Food of Love", *The Sketch*, April 10, 1940.
- Eyck, Frank. *The Prince Consort: A Political Biography*. Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1975.
- Fabian, Dorottya. 'Classical Sound Recordings and Live Performances: Artistic and Analytical Perspectives'. In *Recorded Music: Philosophical and Critical Reflections* edited by Mine Doğantan, 232 – 260. Middlesex University Press, 2008.
- Faulk, Barry J. *Music Hall and Modernity: The Late-Victorian Discovery of Popular Culture*. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2014.
- Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian City: Everyday Life in Dickens' London*. London: Atlantic Books, 2012.
- Fleming, Simon. "Harmony and brotherly love: musicians and Freemasonry in 18th-century Durham," *The Musical Times* 149 (2008): 69–80.

- Foot, Sarah. *The Barbican*. Bodmin: Bossiney, 1988.
- Ford, Boris ed. *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain. Volume 8: The Edwardian Age and the Inter–War Years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- _____. *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain. Volume 9: Since the Second World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Foreman, Lewis. *From Parry to Britten: British Music in Letters 1900–1945*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1987.
- Frayling, Christopher. *The Royal College of Art: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Art and Design*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.
- Gardiner, Juliet. *Wartime Britain: 1939–1945*. London: Headline Book Publishing, 2004.
- Gay, Hannah. *The History of Imperial College London, 1907–2007*. London: Imperial College Press, 2007.
- Gibbs, Fiona. ‘German Classical Music in London during the Second World War.’ Unpub. BMus. diss., King’s College, London, 2009.
- Gibby, Phil. “Birthday refit for Albert Hall”, *The Stage*, February 22, 1996.
- Gilford, C. L. S. “Trends in Concert–Hall Acoustics and the Elizabeth Hall.” *The Musical Times* 109(1499) (January 1968): 20–24.
- Giuliani, M.V. “Theory of Attachment and Place Attachment”. In *Psychological theories for environmental issues* edited by M. Bonnes, T. Lee and M. Bonaiuto, 137 – 170. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Goble, J. Scott. “The Promise and Practice of Pragmatism–Based Music Education in Democratic Societies”, *Action Criticism & Theory for Music Education* Vol. 12, No. 2 (September 2013): 8 – 19.

- Golby, David J. *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Goodnow, Jacqueline J., Peggy J. Miller, and Frank Kessel. *Cultural Practices as Contexts for Development: New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, Number 67*. San Francisco: Wiley, 1995.
- Granier, Jacky. *Nîmes*. Monaco: Ajax Monaco, 2012.
- Green, Edward. 'Music and the Victorian Mind: The Musical Aesthetics of the Rev. H.R. Haweis / H.R. Haweisa' in the *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 39 No. 2. (December 2008): 239 – 256.
- Greenfield, Edward, "Farewell Echo", *The Times*, 1969.
- Grey, Charles. *The Early Years of the Prince Consort 1819 – 1841*. London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1867.
- Griffin, S. A. and Fidei Defensor. "Music after the War." *The Musical Times* Vol. 82, No. 1177 (Mar. 1941): 112 – 113.
- Hall, Barrie. *The Proms and the men who made them*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981.
- Hall, James, "The Telegraph", *David Gilmour, Royal Albert Hall, Review*, September 15, 2015.
- _____. "David Gilmour, Royal Albert Hall, review: 'The full Floyd experience in all but name'" *The Telegraph*, September 24, 2015.
- Hall, Ralph. "The Story of Our Music – What British Music Means and what it has accomplished". London: *Radio Times*, 1945.
- Harries, Guy. "'The Open Work': Ecologies of participation." *Organised Sound* 18(1) (2013): 3–13.

- Harrison, J.F.C. *Late Victorian Britain: 1875 – 1901*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Hayes, Ian. “Festival Fieldwork and the Participant Observer: Celtic Colours, Calendar Custom, and the Carnavalesque”, *Canadian Folk Music* Vol. 46, No. 2 (2012): 28 – 33.
- Heathcote Statham, H. “Concert–Rooms.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 19, No. 427 (Sep. 1, 1878): 481 – 484.
- Heffer, Simon. *High Minds: The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain*. London: Random House Books, 2013.
- Henley, Darren, and Vincent McKernan. *The Original Liverpool Sound: The Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Story*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009.
- Hewitt, Martin, ed. *The Victorian World*. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Hewett, Ivan. “I love the Albert Hall”, *The Telegraph*, September 10, 2014.
 _____. “Do acoustics actually matter?”, *The Telegraph*, June 19, 2015.
- Hill, Ralph, and C. B. Rees, ed. *Sir Henry Wood. Fifty Years of the Proms*. London: BBC, 1944.
- Hinton, James. *The Mass Observers: A History, 1937–1949*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Hitters, Erik, and Miriam van de Kamp. “The Music Industries: Changing Practices and New Research Directions”. *Proceedings of the IASPM Benelux conference: Popular Music: Theory and Practice in the Lowlands April 14th & 15th 2011, Haarlem, the Netherlands* (2011): 209 – 229.

- Hobhouse, Hermione. *The Crystal Palace And The Great Exhibition, Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*. London: Continuum, 2002.
- _____. *Prince Albert: his Life and Work*. London: H. Hamilton, 1983.
- Homans, Margaret, and Arienne Munich, eds. *Remaking Queen Victoria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Honing, Henkjan. "On the Growing Role of Observation, Formalization and Experimental Method in Musicology", *Empirical Musicology Review* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2006): 2 – 6.
- Hope, Christopher. "We need a charities tax to win back public trust, says Charity Commission boss", *The Telegraph*, December 31, 2016.
- Horral, Andrew. *Popular Culture in London c.1890–1918: The Transformation of Entertainment*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Howard, Percy. "Exeter Hall, The Strand London, 1831 – 1907: The Passing of Exeter Hall." *The Civil Service Observer* Vol. 13 No.5 (May 1907).
- Howes, Frank. *The English Musical Renaissance*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1966.
- Hughes, Meirion and Robert Stradling. *The English Musical Renaissance 1840 – 1940: Constructing a National Music*. Rev.ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Hurwitz, Matt. "The Hollywood Bowl: A Unique Blend of Natural Acoustics and Amplified Sound". *Mixonline*, January 10, 2014.
- Jackson, Alan, *London's Termini*. London: David & Charles, 1984.
- Jackson, Winefride, and Elizabeth Pettifer. *Royal School of Needlework – Yesterday and Today 1872 – 1948*. Andeson, 1981.

- James, Robert Rhodes. *Albert, Prince Consort: a biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1983.
- John, Juliet, and Alice Jenkins, ed. *Rethinking Victorian Culture*. London: Macmillan Press, 2000.
- Kaucká, Lucie. “Rudolfinum – The “Temple of Beauty” in the Heart of Prague: Architecture of the Rudolfinum Music Hall in the Context of Prague Musical Life Toward the End of the 19th Century.” *Philosophica Aesthetica* 28 (2005): 59 – 72.
- Kassabian, Anahid. *Ubiquitous Listening: Affect, Attention, and Distributed Subjectivity*. London: University of California Press, 2013.
- Kater, Michael H. *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and their Music in the Third Reich*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Kawase, Satoshi, and Satoshi Obata. “Psychological responses to recorded music as predictors of intentions to attend concerts: Emotions, liking, performance evaluations, and monetary value.” *Musicae Scientiae* 20(2) (2016): 163 – 172.
- Kettle, Jonathan. “Battle of the Echo Chambers.” *BBC Music Magazine* Vol. 6 No. 9 (May 1998): 32 – 37.
- Kharibian, Leah. *Passionate Patrons: Victoria & Albert and the Arts*. London: Royal Collections Publications, 2010.
- Kime, William Thomas. *Albert the Good: A Nation’s tribute of affection to the memory of a truly virtuous Prince*. London: J. F. Shaw & Co, 1867.
- Kingsbury, Henry. *Music, Talent & Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

- Kirkpatrick, E. M., ed. *Chambers 20th Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1983).
- Kisliuk, Michelle. '(Un)doing Fieldwork: Sharing Songs, Sharing Lives'. In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, edited by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 183–205. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Klein, Hermann. *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London, 1870 – 1900*. London: Heinemann, 1903.
- Kolb, Bonita M. "You Call This Fun? Reactions of Young First-time Attendees to a Classical Concert" *MEIEA Journal* Vol. 1 No. 1 (2000): 13 – 28.
- Kupers, Elisa, Marijn van Dijk, Paul van Geert, and Gary E. McPherson. "A mixed-methods approach to studying co-regulation of student autonomy through teacher-student interactions in music lessons". *Psychology of Music* 43, No. 3 (2015): 333 – 358.
- Kyle, Gerard, and Garry Chick. "The Social Construction of a Sense of Place". *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 29 (2007): 209 – 225.
- Kyle, Gerard, Alan Graefe, Robert Manning, and James Bacon. "Effects of place attachment on users' perceptions of social and environmental conditions in a natural setting". *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 24 (2004): 213 – 225.
- Langley, Leanne. "Building an Orchestra, Creating an Audience: Robert Newman and The Queen's Hall Promenade Concerts, 1895 – 1926." In *The Proms: A New History*, edited by Jenny Doctor, David Wright and Nicholas Kenyon, 32–73. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.
- Latham, Alexandra. "Valuing Musical Participation by Stephanie Pitts, Book review". *Psychology of Music* 34, no. 4 (2005): 593 – 5.

- Latham, Alison, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Laurence, Dan H., ed. *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, Volume 1 1876 – 1890*. Rev. ed. London: The Bodley Head, 1989.
- Laurence, Dan H., ed. *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, Volume 2 1890 – 1893*. Rev. ed. London: The Bodley Head, 1989.
- Laurence, Dan H., ed. *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw, Volume 3 1893 – 1950*. Rev. ed. London: The Bodley Head, 1989.
- Levine, Louise. *Financial Times*, December 24, 2015.
- Lister, David. "Leave lasers to others, but the Albert Hall Proms could enhance the show", *The Independent*, July 25, 2013. Accessed 30 August 2015.
<http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/leave-lasers-to-others-but-the-albert-hall-proms-could-enhance-the-show-8731879.html>.
- Lloyd Webber, Julian. "Does London have a world-class concert hall? No. Does London need a new one? No", *The Guardian*, March 9, 2016.
- London County Council, ed. *Royal Festival Hall: ceremonial opening and inaugural series of symphony concerts*. London: London County Council, 1951.
- Longford, Elizabeth. *Victoria R.I.* London: World Books, 1967.
- Lunn, Henry C. "The London Musical Season." *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 15 No. 343 (Sep. 1, 1871): 199 – 202.
- Mackerness, E. D. *A social history of English music*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- Malt, Andy. "Royal Albert Hall has record year for income." *Complete Music Update*, May 2, 2014.

Marketpower Limited, ed. *Eating out in the leisure market: a study of performance, profit and potential in selected venues*. London: Marketpower Ltd., 1992.

Marsden, Jonathan, ed. *Victoria & Albert: Art and Love*. London: Royal Collection Enterprises Ltd, 2010.

Martin, Theodore. *The Life of His Royal Highness The Prince Consort, volume 2*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882.

McArthur, Euan. *Scotland, CEMA and the Arts Council, 1919 – 1967: Background, Politics and Visual Art Policy*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

McN., W. “Keith Douglas.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 82, No. 1186 (Dec. 1941): 425 – 427.

McVeigh, Simon. “Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the late Eighteenth Century” in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by David Wyn Jones, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000.

Menzies Lyth, Isabel. *Containing anxiety in institutions: selected essays Volume 1*. London: Free Association, 1988.

Metkemeijer, R.A., Adviesbureau Peutz & Associés B. V., Zoetermeer. “The Acoustics of the

Auditorium of the Royal Albert Hall before and after redevelopment.” *Peutz Group RT 128 paper* (23 May 2002). Accessed 12 February 2017.

https://peutz.websites.xs4all.nl/info/publicaties/definitief/Peutz_Publicatie_RM_I_OA_05-2002.pdf.

Minors, Anne, and Carlo Harvey. “Influence of active listening on eye movements while viewing

images of concert halls.” *Psychomusicology: Music, Mind, and Brain* 25(3) (2015): 345 – 354.

Morris, Peter J. T., ed. *Science for the Nation: Perspectives on the History of the Science Museum*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Morrison, Richard. *Orchestra. The LSO: A Century of Triumph and Turbulence*. London: Faber and Faber, 2004.

Mullen, Peter. *The History of the Proms: Celebrating 100 Seasons*. High Wycombe, CMM Publications, 1995.

Munch, Anders V. “Architecture as Multimedia: Jean Nouvel, the DR Concert Hall, and the Gesamtkunstwerk.” *The Nordic Journal of Aesthetics* 36–37 (2008–2009): 81 – 101.

Munford, Monty, “We grew up together from the cradle to the grave”, *The Telegraph*, December 8, 2013.

Murphy, Clare, ed. *Discover Kensington Palace*. Surrey: Historic Royal Palaces, 2013.

Musgrave, Michael. *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Nerland, Monika. “One-to-one teaching as cultural practice: two case studies from an academy of music”. *Music Education Research* 9, No. 3 (November 2007): 399 – 416.

Nettl, Bruno. *Heartland Excursions: Ethnomusicological Reflections on Schools of Music*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

Newhouse, Victoria. *Site and Sound: The Architecture and Acoustics of New Opera Houses and Concert Halls*. New York: Monacelli Press, 2012.

- Founce, Héctor. "Bruno Nettle. Fifty Years of Changes and Challenges in the Ethnomusicological Field." *Portal de Publicaciones Científicas y Técnicas*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2004).
- Nissim, Mayer, "Gladiator Live at the Royal Albert Hall: Swords, sandals and a stunning score", *Digital Spy*, May 29, 2014.
- Nissim, Mayer. "Gladiator Live returns to the Royal Albert Hall: 'A concert experience like no other'" *Digital Spy*, October 24, 2015.
- Norris, Christopher, ed. *Music and the Politics of Culture*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1989.
- Orga, Ateş. *The Proms*. London: Newton Abbot, 1974.
- Palmer, Fiona M. "Conductors and Conducting in 19th–Century Britain: The Liverpool Philharmonic Society (1840–1895)." In *Orchestral Conducting in the Nineteenth Century* edited by Roberto Iliano and Michela Niccolai. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.
- Panayi, Panikos. *German Immigrants in Britain During the Nineteenth Century, 1815 – 1914*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1995.
- Panayi, Panikos, ed. *Germans in Britain Since 1500*. London: The Hambledon Press, 1996.
- Paterson, W. P., ed. *German Culture: The Contribution of the Germans to Knowledge, Literature, Art and Life*. London: Fb & C Ltd, 1915.
- Perkins, Rosie. "Hierarchies and learning in the conservatoire: Exploring what students learn through the lens of Bourdieu". *Research Studies in Music Education* 35, Issue 2 (2013): 198–212.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design: Victorian and After*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968.
- Physick, John. *The Victoria and Albert Museum: The History of its Building*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1982.

- _____. “Albertopolis: The Estate of the 1851 Commissioners”. In *The Albert Memorial. The Prince Consort National Memorial: Its History, Contexts, and Conservation*, edited by Chris Brooks, 308 – 338. London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Pitts, Stephanie E. “What makes an Audience? Investigating the Roles and Experiences of Listeners at a Chamber Music Festival”. *Music & Letters* 86, no.2 (2005): 257 – 269.
- _____. “On the edge of their seats: Comparing first impressions and regular attendance in arts audiences”. *Psychology of Music* 44, no.5 (2016): 1175 – 1192.
- Pitts, Stephanie E., and Christopher P. Spencer. “Loyalty and Longevity in Audience Listening: Investigating Experiences of Attendance at a Chamber Music Festival”. *Music & Letters* 89, no.2 (2007): 227 – 238.
- Pitts, Stephanie E., Melissa C. Dobson, Kate Gee, and Christopher P. Spencer. “Views of an audience: Understanding the orchestral concert experience from player and listener perspectives”. *Participations: Journal of Audience & Reception Studies* 10, issue 2 (November 2013): 65 – 95.
- Porter, Roy. *London, A Social History*. Rev.ed. London: Penguin Books, 2000.
- Pound, Reginald. *Sir Henry Wood*. London: Cassell & Company Ltd, 1969.
- Price, Sarah M. “Risk and Reward in Classical Music Concert Attendance: Investigating the Engagement of ‘Art’ and ‘Entertainment’ Audiences with a Regional Symphony Orchestra in the UK.” Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 2017.
- Purves, Libby. “The Albert Hall must keep its broad appeal”, *The Times*, April 18, 2011.
- Radbourne, Jennifer, Katya Johanson, and Hilary Glow. “The value of “being there”: How the live experience measures quality for the audience”. In *Coughing and*

Clapping: Investigating audience experience, edited by Karen Burland and Stephanie Pitts, 55 – 68. Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2014.

Radbourne, Jennifer, Katya Johanson, Hilary Glow, and Tabitha White. “The Audience Experience: *Measuring Quality in the Performing Arts*”. *International Journal of Arts Management* 11, No. 3 (2009): 16 – 29.

Rainbow, Bernarr. *The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800 – 1860 and its Continental Antecedents*. London: Novello and Company, 1967.

Rappaport, Helen. *Magnificent Obsession: Victoria, Albert and the Death that Changed the Monarchy*. London: Hutchinson, 2011.

Read, Cornelia. “The Royal Albert Hall takes off”. *UK & USA* 75/36.

Reason, Matthew. “Young audiences and live theatre, Part 1: methods, participation and memory in audience research”. *Studies in Theatre and Performance* 26(2) (2006): 129 – 145.

Reynolds, K. D., and H. C. G. Matthew. *Queen Victoria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Richards, Jeffrey. *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876 – 1953*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.

Richards, Thomas. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Riley, Matthew and Anthony D. Smith. *Nation and Classical Music: From Handel to Copland*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016.

Roberts, Brian A. “The Challenge of Over-Rapport”. *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* No. 123, Qualitative Methodologies in Music Education Research Conference (Winter, 1994/1995): 90 – 96.

- Robson, Colin. *Real World Research: A Resource for Users of Social Research Methods in Applied Settings. Third Edition*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2011.
- Roose, Henk. "Many–Voiced or Unison?: An Inquiry into Motives for Attendance and Aesthetic Dispositions of the Audience Attending Classical Concerts". *Acta Sociologica* 51, No. 3 (September 2008): 237 – 253.
- Ross, Alex. *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007.
- Rosenzweig, Phil. *The Halo Effect...and the Eight Other Business Delusions That Deceive Managers*. New York: Free Press, 2007.
- Royle, Edward. *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750 – 2011. Third edition*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012.
- Russell, Thomas. *Philharmonic Decade*. London: Hutchinson & Co, 1945.
- Russell, Thomas. "An Orchestra for London." *Tempo* No. 10 (Mar. 1945): 5 – 7.
- Sadie, Stanley and Alison Latham, eds. *The Cambridge Music Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Sandbrook, Dominic. *Never Had it So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. London: Little Brown, 2005.
- Schlesinger, Fay. "Albert Hall warned as members 'tout' tickets for up to £20,000." *The Times*, January 13, 2012.

_____. "For smart investors it really is the land of hope and glory." *The Times*, January 13, 2012.

_____. "Trustees sell charity tickets for profit." *The Times*, March 27, 2012.

_____. "Trustees turn to touting at the Royal Albert Hall." *The Times*, March 27, 2012.

_____. "Rock stars condemn charity act ticket touts." *The Times*, March 28, 2012.

_____. "I've sold my seats as well, admits Albert Hall chief". *The Times*, March 29, 2012.

_____. "Albert Hall trustees are banned from touting tickets after emergency vote." *The Times*, March 30, 2012.

_____. "Albert Hall touting ban 'not enough'." *The Times*, March 31, 2012.

_____. "Ban on selling seats reversed in mutiny at the Albert Hall." *The Times*, June 1, 2012.

_____. "Earl Spencer in Albert Hall debenture 'ticket touting' row." *The Times*, April 6, 2013.

Scholes, Percy A. *The Mirror of Music 1844–1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as reflected in the pages of the Musical Times Vol. 1*. London: Oxford University Press, 1947.

_____. *The Mirror of Music 1844 – 1944: A Century of Musical Life in Britain as reflected in the pages of the Musical Times Vol. 2*. London: Oxford University Press, 1947.

_____. "The 'Musical Times' Century." *The Musical Times* Vol. 85, No. 1216, Centenary Number 1844–1944 (Jun. 1944): 173 – 176.

- Schroeder, M. R. *Music perception in concert halls*. Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1979.
- Schulte, Regina, ed. *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500 – 2000*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006.
- Scully, Richard. *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860 – 1914*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Seeger, Anthony. ‘Theories Forged in the Crucible of Action: The Joys, Dangers, and Potentials of Advocacy and Fieldwork’. In *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*, edited by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, 271 – 288. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Sheridan, David Allen. “Give Us More Music’: Women, Musical Culture, and Work in Wartime Britain, 1939 – 1946.” PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2007.
- Shirley, Hugo. “Orfeo, BBC Proms, Royal Albert Hall, London – Review”, *Financial Times*, August 5, 2015.
- Shulman, Laurie. “Out of place: A hyperhistory of the elusive acoustics of concert hall venues.” *Out of Place*. January 1, 2002. Accessed June 22, 2017.
<http://www.newmusicbox.org/articles/Out-of-Place-A-HyperHistory-of-the-Elusive-Acoustics-of-Concert-Hall-Venues/>.
- Sidgwick, A. H. *The Promenade Ticket: A lay record of concert-going*. Rev. ed. London: Edmund Arnold & Co, 1945.
- Simeone, Nigel. *French Music in Wartime London: The Festival of English and French Music and the Concerts De Musique Française*. Bangor: School of Music, University of Wales Bangor, 2005.

- Sinclair, Andrew. *Arts and Cultures: The History of the 50 Years of the Arts Council of Great Britain*. London: Sinclair–Stevenson, 1995.
- Skelton, Geoffrey. *Paul Hindemith: The Man Behind the Music*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1975.
- Small, Christopher. *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1998.
- Spanier, Gideon. “Albert Hall profits from self–help”. *Evening Standard*, June 5, 2013.
- Stansky, Peter and William Abrahams. *London’s Burning: Life, Death and Art in the Second World War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Statham, H. Heathcote. “Concert Rooms”. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 19, No. 427 (1878): 481 – 4.
- Steinbach, Susie L. *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth–Century Britain*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Stearn, William T. *The Natural History Museum at South Kensington: A History of the British Museum (Natural History). 1753 – 1980*. London: Heinemann: 1981.
- Stephens, W. B., and Jeremy Black, eds. *Education in Britain: 1750 – 1914*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998.
- Stock, Jonathan. “Documenting the Musical Event: Observation, Participation, Representation”. In *Empirical Musicology*, edited by Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook, 15 – 34. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Stone, Jonathan, ed. *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century*. London: Fitzhardinge Press, 2003.
- Sykes, J.B., ed. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Taruskin, Richard. *Music in the Nineteenth Century: The Oxford History of Western Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

_____. *Music in the Early Twentieth Century: The Oxford History of Western Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

_____. *Music in the Late Twentieth Century: The Oxford History of Western Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Taylor, Jeffery. "Classical review: Proms 6 at the Royal Albert Hall". *Sunday Express*, July 26, 2015. Accessed August 30, 2015.
<http://www.express.co.uk/entertainment/theatre/593764/classical-review-Proms-2015-BBC-Royal-Albert-Hall>

Taylor & Francis, Ltd, on behalf of the Royal Musical Association. "Discussion on a Music Centre for London", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 71st Sess. (1944 – 1945).

Thackrah, J. R. *The Royal Albert Hall*. Suffolk: Terence Dalton Limited, 1983.

Thackray, J. C. *Geological Museum*. Kineton, Warwick: The Roundwood Press, 1987.

Thackray, John, and Bob Press. *Nature's Treasure House: A History of the Natural History Museum*. London: Natural History Museum, 2001.

Thompson, F. M. L., ed. *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750 – 1950. Volume 1. Regions and communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Thompson, Sam. "Determinants of listeners' enjoyment of a performance". *Psychology of Music* 35, No. 1 (2007): 20 – 36.

Tomes, Susan. *Beyond the Notes: Journeys with Chamber Music*. Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2004.

- Trail, R. T. *The True temperance platform or an exposition of the fallacy of alcoholic medication: being the substance of addresses delivered in the Queens Concert Room Hanover Square and in Exeter Hall London during the session of the international temperance convention September 2, 3, & 4 1862*. New York: S. R. Wells & Co, 1877.
- Trevelyan, G.M. *Illustrated English Social History: 4*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1964.
- Turner, Michael. *Osborne House*. England: English Heritage, 1989.
- Turner, Michael. "From Coburg to Osborne via Naples: Prince Albert and architectural inspiration at Osborne. In *Art in Britain and Germany in the Age of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert*, edited by F. Bosbach and F. Buttner (Munich, 1998): 21 – 38.
- Tyack, Geoffrey. "The Albert Memorial". *Victorian Studies* 44, no. 2 (Winter 2002): 293 – 5.
- van der Erve, Marc. *The power of tomorrow's management: using the vision–culture balance in organizations*. California: Heinemann Professional, 1989.
- Vincent, Alice. "London's greatest music hall", *The Telegraph*, November 19, 2015.
- Viñuela, Eduardo. "Live Architecture: Venues, Stages and Arenas for Popular Music, Robert Kronenburg, review". *Journal of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music* 4, no.1 (2014): 120 – 121.
- Walford, Edward. *Life of the Prince Consort*. London: Routledge, 1862.
- Warrack, Guy. *Royal College of Music: The First Eighty–five Years, 1883 – 1968 and Beyond*. London: Royal College of Music, 1977.

- Watt, Paul, and Alison Rabinovici. "Alexandra Palace: Music, Leisure, and the cultivation of 'higher civilization' in the late nineteenth century." *Music & Letters* 95 (2014): 183 – 212.
- Weber, William. "Miscellany vs. Homogeneity: Concert Programmes at the Royal Academy of Music and the Royal College of Music in the 1880s". In *Music and British Culture, 1785 – 1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 299 – 320. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. *Music in the Middle Class: The social structure of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Weinreb, Ben, and Christopher Hibbert, eds. *The London Encyclopaedia*. London: Book Club Associates, 1985.
- Weintraub, Stanley. *Albert: Uncrowned King*. London: John Murray, 1997.
- White, Jeremy. *London in the 19th Century*. London: Vintage Books, 2008.
- Whittall, Arnold. *Music since the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Williams, Richard G., and Anne Barrett. *Imperial College, a pictorial history*. London: Imperial College Archives, 1988.
- Williams, Roger. *The Royal Albert Hall: A Victorian Masterpiece for the 21st Century*. London: Fitzhardinge Press, 2003.
- Wilson, A.N. *The Victorians*. London: Arrow Books, 2003.

_____. *Victoria: A Life*. London: Atlantic Books, 2014.

Wöber, K., K. Grabler and J. M. Jeng. “Marketing Professionalism of Cultural Institutions in

Europe”, *Journal of Euromarketing* 9 (2001): 33 – 55.

Wood, Ralph. “The Prom Audience.” *Music & Letters* XI (2) (1930): 177 – 181.

Woolcock, Nicola. “Albert Hall plays to a younger audience”. *The Sunday Times*, October 31, 2015.

Wright, David C. H. *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural*

History. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013.

Wyver, John. *Vision on: Film, Television and the Arts in Britain*. London: Wallflower Press, 2007.

Yates, Tom, “Scouting for Girls at the Royal Albert Hall”, *The Up Coming*, November 18, 2013.

Zahorski, Kenneth J., ed. *Scholarship in the postmodern era: new venues, new values, new visions*. San Francisco: Jossey–Bass, 2002.

Zon, Bennett, ed. *Nineteenth–Century British Music Studies. Volume 1*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1999.

Anonymous Journal articles, arranged chronologically

“Crystal Palace.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 16, No. 370 (Dec. 1, 1873): 319.

- “Royal Albert Hall Choral Society.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 16, No. 370 (Dec. 1, 1873): 319.
- “Daily Exhibition Concerts.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 16, No. 370 (1873): 319.
- “Royal Albert Hall Concerts.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 16, No. 384 (Feb. 1, 1875): 774 – 775.
- “Occasional Notes.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 17, No. 394 (Dec. 1, 1875): 297 – 298.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* Vol. 21, No. 447 (May 1, 1880): 228 – 229.
- “Albert Hall Acoustics: Some notes” [updated 1941], WAC R79/115/17.
- “London Concerts.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 82, No. 1182 (Aug. 1941): 310 – 311.
- “London Concerts.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 82, No. 1184 (Oct. 1941): 381 – 382.
- “London Concerts.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 83, No. 1191 (May 1942): 159 – 160.
- “London Concerts.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 83, No. 1193 (Jul. 1942): 222 – 223.
- “London Concerts.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 84, No. 1209 (Nov. 1943): 349 – 350.
- “London Concerts.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 85, No. 1216, Centenary Number 1844 – 1944 (Jun. 1944): 189.
- “London Concerts.” *The Musical Times* Vol. 86, No. 1226 (Apr. 1945): 123 – 124.
- “Discussion on a Music Centre for London” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 71st Sess. (1944–1945): 1 – 17.

1851 Comm., W.A. XIV, 18 in “The Estate of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851”. In *Survey of London: Volume 38, South Kensington Museums Area* edited by F. H. W. Sheppard. London: 1975. Accessed April 8, 2015. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol38/pp49-73>.

Newspaper articles, author unknown, arranged chronologically

“Royal Albert Hall Acoustic Trial.” *London Daily News*, January 2, 1871, 5.

“Opening fixed by Queen.” *Hackney & Kingsland Gazette*, January 7, 1871.

“Resonance too great.” *Evening Standard*, January 9, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Morning Post*, January 9, 1871.

“Acoustic trial.” *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, January 9, 1871.

“Acoustic trial.” *London Daily News*, January 9, 1871, 3.

“Acoustic trial.” *Evening Standard*, January 9, 1871, 9.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, January 15, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Clerkenwell News*, January 18, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall Organ.” *Morning Post*, January 21, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, January 22, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Morning Advertiser*, January 26, 1871, 4.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 26, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, January 26, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Evening Standard*, January 26, 1871.

- “Royal Albert Hall Organ.” *Morning Post*, January 27, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *Illustrated London News*, January 28, 1871, 6.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, January 28, 1871, 22-24.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *The Examiner*, January 28, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *London City Press*, January 28, 1871.
- “Opening of Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 31, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *London Evening Standard*, February 3, 1871.
- “Prices at the Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, February 3, 1871, 3.
- “Metropolitan Railway Company.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 16, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *London Evening Standard*, February 27, 1871.
- “Wandering Minstrels Performance and acoustical experiment.” *London Evening Standard*, February 27, 1871, 3.
- “Acoustic test.” *Clerkenwell News*, February 28, 1871, 4.
- “Correspondence.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 28, 1871.
- “International Exhibition of 1871.” *Morning Post*, March 13, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *Penny Illustrated Paper*, March 14, 1871.
- “Opening of Royal Albert Hall.” *John Bull*, March 18, 1871, 8.
- “The Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, March 24, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, March 28, 1871, 6.
- “Opening of Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, March 28, 1871.

- “Opening of the Royal Albert Hall.” *Clerkenwell News*, March 29, 1871.
- “Albert Hall.” *Morning Post*, March 29, 1871, 4.
- “The Opening of the Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, March 30, 1871, 5–6.
- “Opening of Royal Albert Hall.” *London Evening Standard*, March 30, 1871, 4–5.
- “Opening of the Royal Albert Hall by Her Majesty the Queen.” *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, March 30, 1871, 2.
- “Society of Arts.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 30, 1871.
- “Society of Art.” *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, March 30, 1871.
- “London International Exhibition.” *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, March 31, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *The Examiner*, April 1, 1871.
- “The Acoustic of the Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, April 1, 1871, 34.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, April 1, 1871.
- “Echo.” *Graphic*, April 2, 1871.
- “The Acoustics of the Royal Albert Hall.” *Morning Advertiser*, April 3, 1871, 6.
- “Opening of the Royal Albert Hall.” *Illustrated London News*, April 8, 1871.
- “The Royal Albert Hall and its acoustics.” *London Evening Standard*, April 8, 1871, 6.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, April 13, 1871.
- “Royal Albert Hall.” *Morning Post*, April 14, 1871.
- “Society of Arts Concert.” *The Examiner*, April 15, 1871, 13.

“Performance of Elijah by Sacred Harmonic Society.” *London Daily News*, April 18, 1871, 7.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 3, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, May 25, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, July 1, 1871.

“The Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, July 9, 1871, 3–12.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, July 15, 1871.

“West theatre.” *Graphic*, July 15, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, July 30, 1871.

“Grand Opera Concert.” *The Era*, August 13, 1871, 13.

“International Exhibition.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 19, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, September 19, 1871, 5.

“Concerts.” *Graphic*, October 14, 1871, 19.

“Royal Albert Hall Choral Society.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, October 28, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, November 12, 1871.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, November 17, 1871.

“Messiah at the Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, December 7, 1871.

“Sacred Harmonic Society.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 21, 1871.

“Thanksgiving for the recovery of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.” *London Daily News*, January 18, 1872.

“Meeting of the Corporation of the Albert Hall held.” *The Era*, March 31, 1872, 14.

“People's Concert.” *Reynold's Newspaper*, August 6, 1872.

“Albert Hall Festival Concert.” *The Era*, August 11, 1872.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 20, 1872, 9–10.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 5, 1872.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, December 1, 1872.

“Elijah at the Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, December 24, 1872.

“Seatholders' meeting.” *London Daily News*, March 26, 1872.

“Royal Albert Hall Amateur Orchestral Society.” *London Daily News*, January 8, 1873.

“Tribute to Late Emperor Napoleon.” *London Daily News*, January 21, 1873.

“Royal Albert Hall Choral Society.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 25, 1873.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, February 1, 1873.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 14, 1873.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, February 17, 1873.

“Performances of Sacred Music in Holy Week.” *Illustrated London News*, April 5, 1873.

“The Albert Hall and its Finances.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 16, 1873.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 2, 1873.

“National Training School of Music.” *Lloyd's Weekly Paper*, August 10, 1873.

“Messiah at the Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, January 10, 1874, 15.

“Passion Week Music at the Albert Hall.” *The Era*, April 5, 1874, 4.

“State visit of the Emperor.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 19, 1874.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 29, 1874.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, June 21, 1874.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, August 8, 1874.

“Albert Hall Concerts.” *The Era*, September 25, 1874, 14.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, October 25, 1874.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Evening Standard*, October 30, 1874, 3.

“Albert Hall.” *The Era*, November 1, 1874, 9.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, November 14, 1874.

“Royal Albert Hall Concert.” *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, November 22, 1874.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 28, 1874.

“Royal Albert Hall Concerts.” *London Evening Standard*, December 19, 1874.

“Ash Wednesday at the Albert Hall.” *The Era*, February 14, 1875.

“The Prince of Wales and Freemasonry.” *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, March 7, 1875.

“Passion Week at the Albert Hall.” *The Era*, April 23, 1875.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Graphic*, June 5, 1875.

“Meeting of the Corporation of the Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 5, 1875.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 18, 1875.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 1, 1875.

“Performance of 'Messiah' with Royal Albert Hall Choral Society.” *London Daily News*,
December 22, 1875

“National Training School for Music.” *Graphic*, January 22, 1876.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, February 27, 1876.

“Queen attends Royal Albert Hall.” *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, March 5, 1876.

“Meeting of Royal Albert Hall seat-holders.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 10, 1876, 8–9.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 8, 1876.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, April 23, 1876.

“Grand Congratulatory Concert for the Prince of Wales on his return from India.” *The Era*, May
21, 1876, 3.

“Annual Meeting of Seatholders.” *The Era*, July 16, 1876, 3.

“The South Kensington Breakdown.” *The Times*, 1876, 12.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Era*, February 15, 1877.

“Meeting of seatholders of the Royal Albert Hall.” *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 23, 1877.

“General Meeting of Corporation.” *The Era*. March 4, 1877, 5.

“Royal Albert Hall Choral Society.” *The Era*, April 15, 1877.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, June 9, 1877.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, June 11, 1877.

“Mr Simon Reeve Benefit Concert.” *Morning Post*, July 3, 1877.

“Meeting of RAH Corporation.” *Morning Post*, July 12, 1877, 3.

“Operatic Concert at the Albert Hall.” *The Era*, July 21, 1878, 3.

“Picture Exhibition.” *London Evening Standard*, February 3, 1879, 3.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, May 8, 1879.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Morning Post*, June 24, 1879.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, July 2, 1879.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Examiner*, August 9, 1879.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, November 30, 1879, 1.

“Annual General Meeting of Corporation.” *Morning Post*, March 1, 1880, 3.

“Art at the Albert Hall.” *The Era*, March 28, 1880.

“Albert Hall Operatic Concert.” *The Era*, June 13, 1880.

“Concert at the Albert Hall.” *London Daily News*, July 5, 1880.

“Exhibition”, *London Daily News*, October 11, 1880, 2.

“Royal Albert Hall.” *The Examiner*, December 4, 1880, 10–11.

“St Andrew’s Day.” *The Examiner*, December 6, 1880.

“Festival of Folk Dancing.” *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, January 13, 1939.

“Yehudi Menuhin.” *Illustrated London News*, March 11, 1939.

“RAH refused to London Co-operative Society.” *Marylebone Mercury*, June 3, 1939.

“The Royal Albert Hall.” *Croydon Advertiser & East Surrey Reporter*, June 20, 1939.

“Hiawatha.” *The Sketch*. June 21, 1939.

“Cancellation of A.B.A.” *The Sketch*, October 11, 1939.

“The Royal Albert Hall.” *Daily Herald*, March 29, 1940.

“Promenade Concerts: Wagner, Elgar, and Others.” *The Times*, August 28, 1940.

“Huge crowd at Royal Albert Hall to hear Archbishop of Canterbury speak.” *Illustrated London News*, October 3, 1942.

“Albert Hall Hit.” *Daily Mirror*, October 10, 1942.

“Henry Wood taken ill and ordered bed rest for three months.” *The Stage*, June 24, 1943.

“The Albert Hall.” *The Stage*, September 16, 1943.

“British Legion Festival of Remembrance.” *Illustrated London News*, November 20, 1943.

“Henry Wood.” *The Tatler*, March 1, 1944.

“Concert held at Royal Albert Hall.” *Daily Herald*, June 30, 1945.

“Thanksgiving concert at the Royal Albert Hall.” *The Stage*, November 15, 1945.

“Racket Alleged by Critics.” *Daily Telegraph*, October 11, 1947, 8.

“The Royal Albert Hall.” *The Times*, October 11, 1947, 4.

“For 999 years, To arts council?” *The Times*, October 13, 1947, 15.

“Exhibition Hall?” *The Scotsman*, March 12, 1955.

“Exhibitions Will Be “Lucrative” For The Albert Hall.” *The Evening News*, May 19, 1955.

“Never Knock ‘Em Down.” *The Evening Standard*, July 27, 1964, 7.

“The Royal Albert Hall Takes Off.” *The Times*, 1991, 17.

“Royal Albert Hall private box for sale at £550,000.” *BBC News*. August 2, 2011. Accessed May 28, 2017. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-14371010>.

“Boxing back at the Albert Hall”. *Frank Warren.tv*, September 1, 2011. Accessed September 1, 2011. <http://www.frankwarren.tv/index.php/news/fwtv-news/latest-news/1357-boxing-back-at-the-Albert-Hall.html>.

“The Albert Hall is being exploited by trustees, at the nation's expense.” *The Times*, March 26, 2012.

“Royal Albert Hall trustees accused of 'earning £100k annually selling on concert tickets’”. *Civil Society*, March 27, 2012. Accessed September 3, 2012.
<https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/royal-albert-hall-trustees-accused-of-earning-100k-annually-selling-on-concert-tickets-.html>.

“Royal Albert Hall trustees 'touting charity tickets for profit’”. *The Telegraph*, March 27, 2012. Accessed September 3, 2012.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/culturenews/9168749/Royal-Albert-Hall-tusteets-touting-tickets-for-profit.html>.

“Boxing returns to Royal Albert Hall after 13 years”. *BBC News London*, April 28, 2012. Accessed April 28, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-17877488?print=true>.

“Benny Dayal: Performing at Royal Albert Hall “one of the biggest honours”, *R&M*, May 23, 2015.

“Arthur Awards.” *ILMC*. Accessed May 22, 2017.

“Orfeo, BBC Proms, Royal Albert Hall London: Review.” *Financial Times*, August 5, 2015.

“Royal Albert Hall Gets Spaced Out With Robe”, *Live Design*, September 14, 2015. Accessed September 14, 2015. <http://www.livedesignonline.com/briefing-room/royal-albert-hall-gets-spaced-out-robe>.

Web sources

Charity Commission

“Summary Information Return 2013: THE CORPORATION OF THE HALL OF ARTS

AND SCIENCES.” *Charity Commission*. Accessed November 29, 2016.

http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/SIR/ENDS43/0000254543_SIR_20131231_E.PDF

"Financial History – Royal Opera House", Charity Commission. Accessed April 30, 2017.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/FinancialHistory.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=211775&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

“Charity Framework.” *Charity Commission*. Accessed January 20, 2017.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=298909&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

“Financial History – Southbank Centre.” *Charity Commission*. Accessed January 27, 2017.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/FinancialHistory.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=298909&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

“Charity Commission: Charity Framework.” *Charity Commission*. Accessed April 30, 2017.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=211775&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

“Charity Commission: Charity Framework – Royal Albert Hall” *Charity Commission*.

Accessed April 30, 2017.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=254543&SubsidiaryNumber=0>.

“Charity framework.” *Charity Commission*. Accessed January 8, 2017.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=213373&SubsidiaryNumber=0>

“The Corporation of Arts and Sciences.” Accessed 29 November 2016.

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/Charity/WithPartB.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=254543&SubsidiaryNumber=0>.

Royal Albert Hall

“About us: Management.” *Royal Albert Hall*. Accessed April 30, 2017.

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/management/>.

“About us: Trustees.” *Royal Albert Hall*. Accessed April 30, 2017.

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/trustees/>.

“Mosaic frieze.” Royal Albert Hall. Accessed December 16, 2016.

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/mosaic-frieze/>.

“Mushrooms (Acoustic diffusers).” *Royal Albert Hall*. Accessed January 6, 2017.

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/acoustic-diffusers-mushrooms>.

“Roof.” Royal Albert Hall. Accessed December 17, 2016.

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/our-history/explore-our-history/building/roof/>.

Royal Albert Hall website: www.life.royalalberthall.com.

“Royal Albert Hall: Annual Review 2015.” *Royal Albert Hall*. Accessed April 30, 2017.

<https://indd.adobe.com/view/ba214b62-0ad4-4724-9a2c-bc4efcd93031>.

“The Royal Albert Hall: About the Charity.” *Royal Albert Hall*. Accessed April 23, 2017.

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-hall/the-charity/about-the-charity/>.

“The Royal Albert Hall: Governance.” *Royal Albert Hall*. Accessed December 12, 2016.

<http://www.royalalberthall.com/about-the-charity/governance>.

Other websites

“Southbank Centre: Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2016.” *Southbank Centre*. Accessed January 27, 2017.

https://bynder.southbankcentre.co.uk/m/387f7e7323d3e402/original/0000298909_AC_20160331_E_C.pdf?_ga=1.96708124.2009062762.1493559754.

“Governance.” *Southbank Centre*. Accessed January 27, 2017.

<https://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/about/what-we-do/governance>.

“History.” *The Royal Geographical Society*. Accessed April 24, 2017.

<http://www.rgs.org/AboutUs/History.htm>.

“History.” *Royal Opera House*. Accessed April 30, 2017.

<http://www.roh.org.uk/about/history>.

“Public benefit: rules for charities.” *Gov.uk*. Accessed April 30, 2017.

<https://www.gov.uk/guidance/public-benefit-rules-for-charities>.

“Royal Opera House: Annual report 2014 – 15”, *Royal Opera House*. Accessed April 30, 2017. https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/static.roh.org.uk/about/annual-review/pdfs/annual_review_1415.pdf.

“Projects: Royal Albert Hall.” *BDP.com*. Accessed April 29, 2014.
<http://www.bdp.com/en/projects/p-z/Royal-Albert-Hall/>.

“Inflation calculator”. *Bank of England*. Accessed May 20, 2017.
<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/resources/inflationtools/calculator/default.aspx>

“Learning Victorians.” *British Library*. www.bl.co.uk/learningvictorians.

Discography

Celebrating the Royal Albert Hall: Presented by Charles Hazelwood. BBC CD/AudioGo, 2011.

London in Festival Year. Panamint Cinema, 2009.

“Interview with ABC News, 2013.” *ABC News*. Accessed May 22, 2017.
<http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/video/emelie-sande-interview-2013-feel-history-londons-royal-20080029>.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Visions

1.1 Archive research: List of items examined in the 1851 Commission Archive

8/B/1 – Minutes of meetings of Special Enquiry Committees: 1874-1881

C/5 – Book – Sub-committees of H.M. Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, Minute Book, 1871 – 1916.

Albert Hall correspondence with 1851 Commission.

75/ 1 – Correspondence and newspaper cuttings regarding the dispute over the private ownership of a proportion of the Royal Albert Hall seats, 1945-1947.

Report of the Provisional Committee, 1865.

Correspondence concerning seats and general finance, 1903-1912.

Correspondence concerning the chimney shaft and urinal. 1883-1926.

75/ 2 – Correspondence concerning the supplemental Charter of 1928, 1927-1928.

The Royal Albert Hall's Constitution

The Royal Albert Hall's Charter.

Correspondence concerning seats and general finance, 1907-1912.

75/3 – Document 'The following document has been prepared by Messrs. Novello as the basis for an Agreement between the Council and the Messrs. Novello, and is articulated for consideration of the Committee appointed to discuss the project for giving a series of concerts as the joint responsibility of themselves and the Council, under the Concerts Guarantee Fund.

Correspondence concerning the chimney shaft and urinal, 1883-1918.

75/4 – Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 – An account of the connection between the Royal Commission and the Corporation of the Royal Albert Hall.

Numbers of seats belonging to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851.

Booklet of numbers of seats of stalls and boxes available for letting. Commission seats distinguished by a red line. Remainder are Corporation seats.

Correspondence concerning the chimney shaft and urinal, 1919-1926.

75/5 – Royal Albert Hall – Papers relating to the erection of the Hall, 1862-1872.

Correspondence concerning seats and general finance, 1866-1902.

Correspondence concerning the chimney shaft and urinal, 1927-1950.

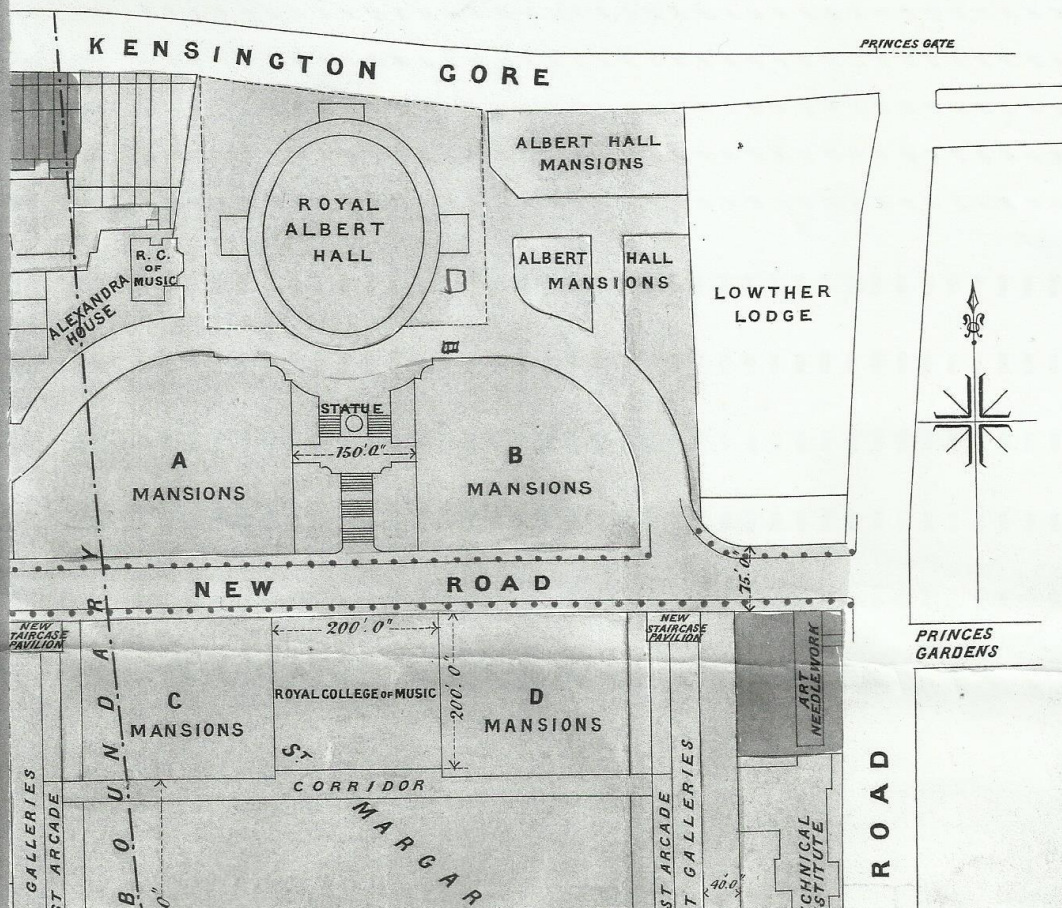
Not by the Secretary to the Commission on the chimney and urinal, 1980s.

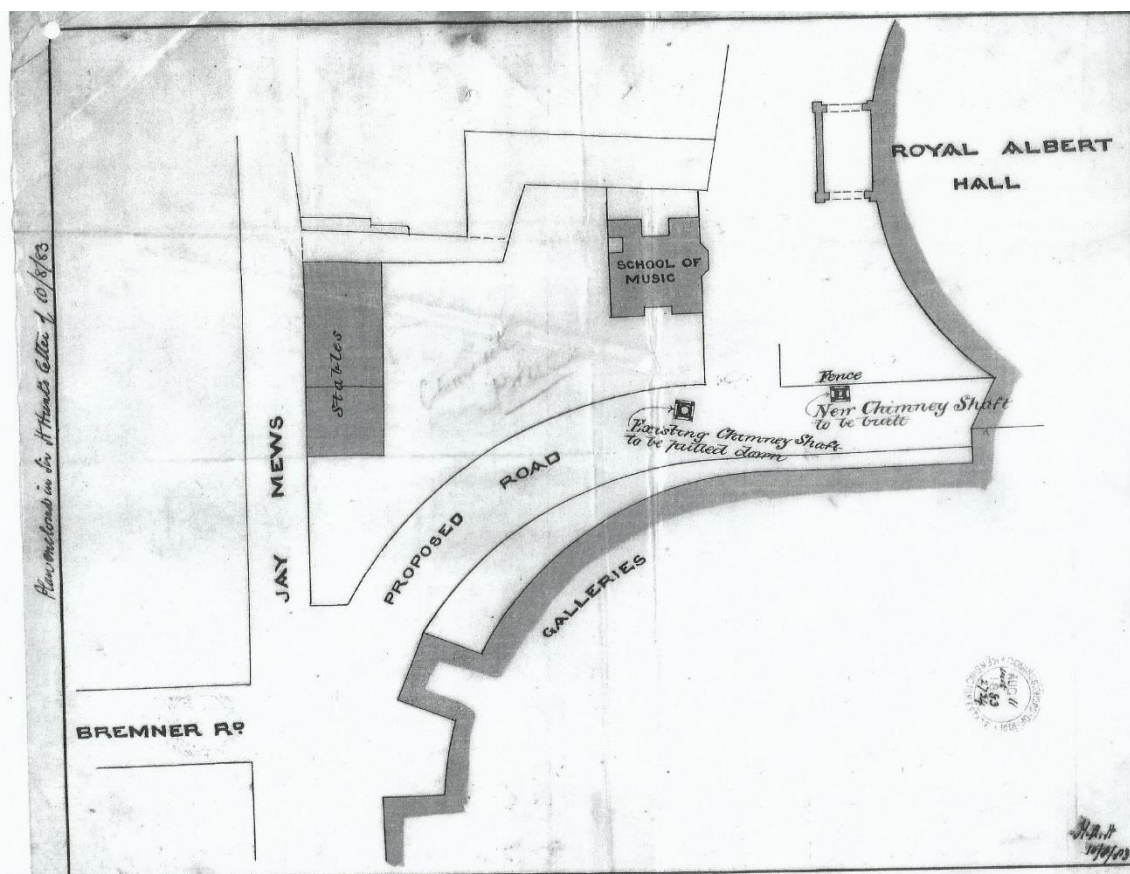
75/6 – An account of the connection between the Royal Commission and the Corporation of the Royal Albert Hall.

75/9 – Plan of the Main Square of the Kensington Gore Estate, 1891 and the West Side of the Royal Albert Hall, 1883

PLAN OF THE
MAIN SQUARE
— of the —
KENSINGTON GORE ESTATE.

1891.





75/12 – Correspondence concerning the Southern Approach and entrance 1889-1909, General correspondence, 1926 – 1949. Other correspondence and papers. Extracts from the minutes and the Annual Report of the Board of management concerning the Royal Albert Hall, 1884-1908.

75/13 – Correspondence and draft agreement between the Commissioners and the Corporation of the Royal Albert Hall concerning the lease of the conservatory, Quadrants and part of the facilities and land formerly let to the Royal Horticultural Society, 1886-1887.

75/14 – Correspondence concerning the Southern Approach and entrance and the building land on the south side of the Hall, 1889-1891.

75/15 – Correspondence concerning the Southern Approach and entrance and the building land on the South side of the Hall, 1892-1896.

75/16 – Correspondence concerning the Southern Approach and entrance and the building land on the south side of the Hall, 1897-1909.

75/17 – Correspondence relating to the exhaustion of the well, 1907.

75/18 – Correspondence and other papers relating to the scheme for settling the financial position between the Commissioners and the Royal Albert Hall, 1907-1908. Opinion of Fladgate and Co. (Solicitors) on the legal position, 1912.

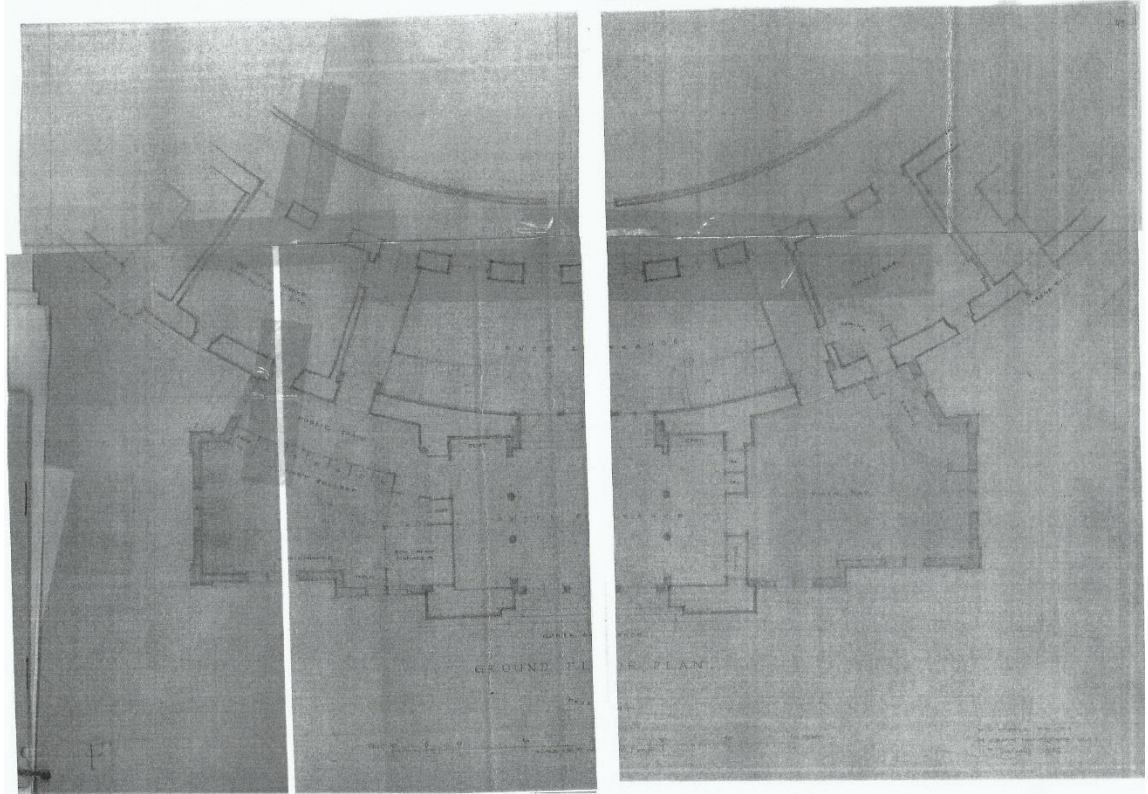
75/19 – Correspondence concerning notices posted outside the Hall, 1908.

75/20 – Correspondence concerning the move on the part of the London County Council to bring the Royal Albert Hall within the powers of the Building Acts, 1915.

75/21 – Correspondence concerning the raising of funds for the renovation of the Organ, 1923 – 1924.

75/22 – Correspondence with Reginald Askew, G.F. Herbert Smith, J.B. Geale, A.B. Knapp-Fisher, C.S. Taylor, Holroyal Chambers, Sherwood and Co, and Fladgates

concerning the request from the Hall for a loan; a possible transfer of the Hall's management; G.B Geale's 'Short History'; proposed structural alterations to the North and South porches; insurance of the building; seepage of water into the South basement; bicycle parking; reconstruction of lavatories; licence to erect advertisement hoardings and alter the railings; the Royal Albert Hall Bill and the referral of the draft to the Commission for comment.



Plan for structural alterations to the North Porch, 1945

Also, copy of the Royal Albert Hall Bill, 1951; 'A Short History of the Royal Albert Hall' – copies of 1944 and 1949 editions; print of architect's preliminary sketch of proposed alterations to the North porch, 1926-1949.

Prince Albert's correspondence with others and concerning him posthumously.

H/1/3 – Musical performance in the 1851 Exhibition.

H/1/8 – Musical arrangements in 1872.

H/1/10/71 – Letters concerning the purchase of Gore House, 1852.

H/1/17 – Letters 1860-1861. Correspondence between Mr Bowring, General Grey, Mr. Dilke, the Prince of Wales and the Royal Horticultural Society concerning a site for an International Concert Room, a memorial statue of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert's death and the memorial statue of the 1851 Commission and Prince Albert.

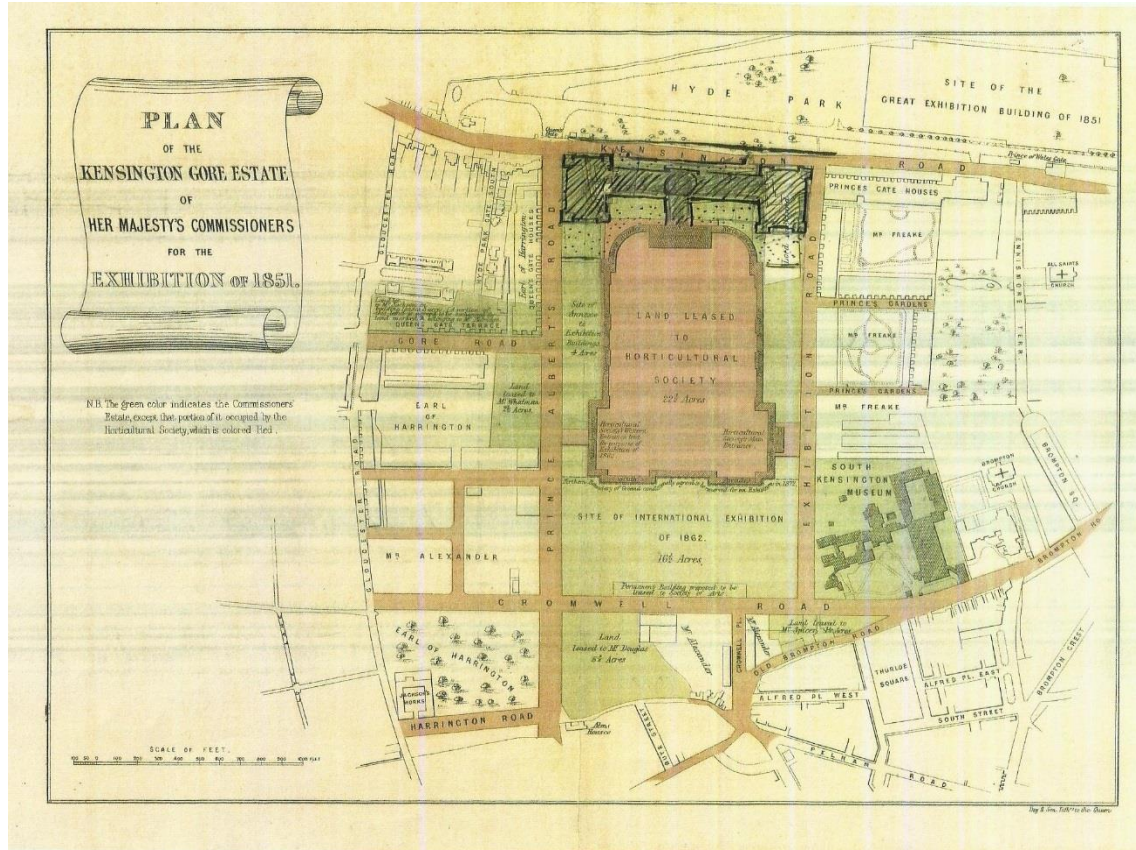
H/1/18 – Letters 1862. Correspondence between Baron Marochetti, General Grey, Mr. Cole and Mr. Bowring mainly concerned with the Prince's memorial and the effect of Prince Albert's death on South Kensington projects. Also concerning a Kensington University.

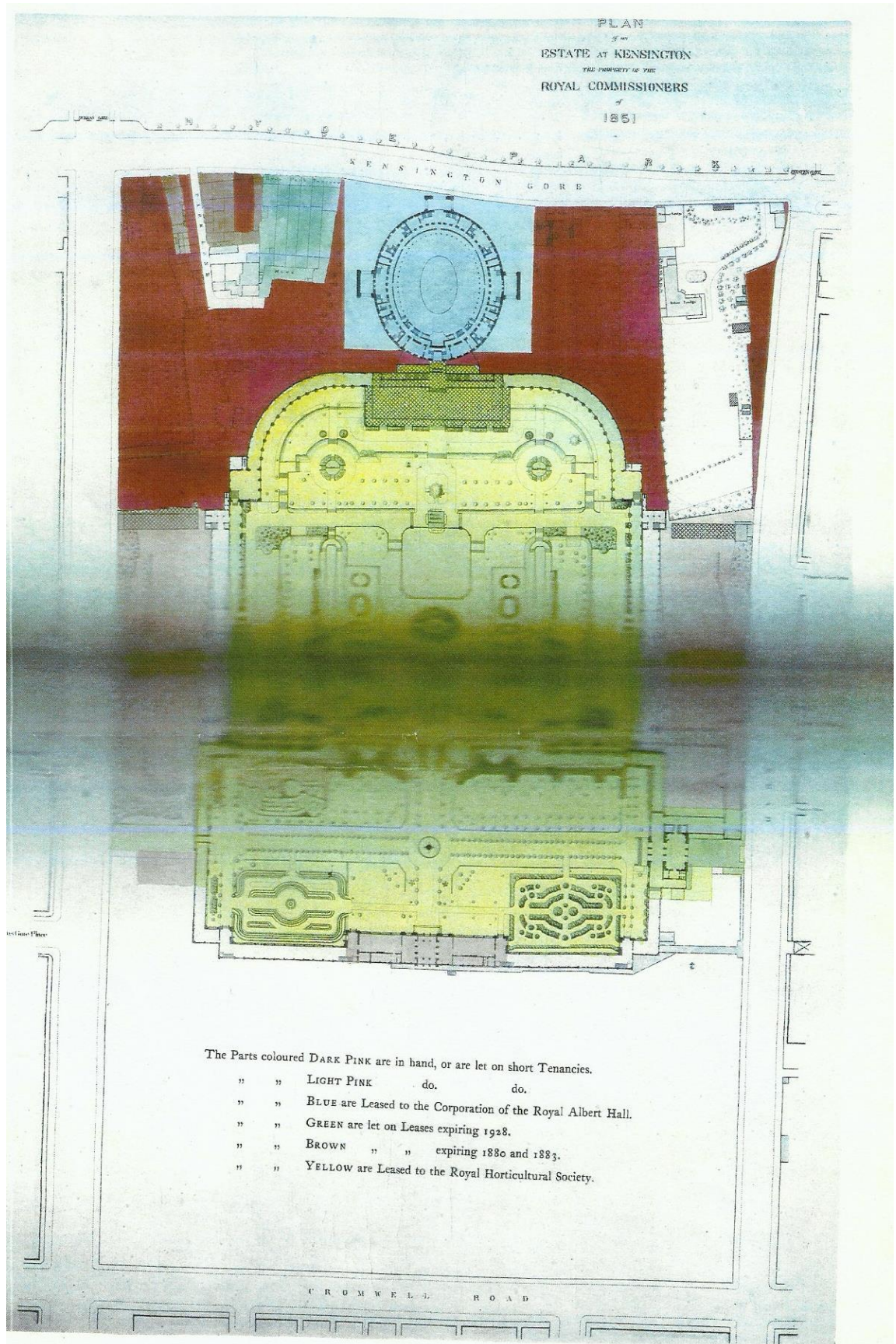
H/1/19 – Letters concerning the South Kensington estate.

H/1/20 – Correspondence between Mr Cole, General Grey, Mr. Bowring, Lord Derby and Lord Granville concerning the Prince's memorial, the Albert Hall project, the memorandum on potential Vice-Presidents of the Albert Hall, the Albert Hall prospectus, subscribers to the Albert Hall scheme, regarding the Royal Academy of Music, a meeting at Osborne to discuss the Albert Hall with the Prince of Wales, possible aid for the Albert

Hall from the Commission, about how the Commission would support the Albert Hall, the costs of building the Albert Hall, ideas on how to approach the public about the Albert Hall, lists of those who have taken boxes or stalls in the Albert Hall and regarding the Albert Hall negotiations and the British Museum buildings. 1864-1866.

H/1/21/57 – Plans of the Kensington Gore Estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851





H/1/22 – Correspondence between Mr Cole (later Sir Henry Cole), Lord Granville, Lord

Pansonby, the Duke of Edinburgh and Mr. W.L. Cole. Also newspaper cuttings concerning the Albert Hall. 1873-1886.

H/1/24 – Correspondence between General Grey, Mr. Cole, Mr Bowring, Lord Derby, Prince of Wales, Colonel Scott, Mr Fisher, Mr. Gilbert Scott and the Duke of Edinburgh concerning the Albert Hall scheme including meetings, architects, subscribers, building ideas, prospectuses, seat holders, committees and the Hall's Charter. 1865-1867.

H/1/D – Mr Bowring's correspondence with General Grey, Sir Charles Phipps and others. 20th April 1860-7th October 1865.

1.2 List of items examined in the Royal Albert Hall Archive

Collections

The Hall is currently in the process of cataloguing their collections to make them more readily available online. In the interim, the information below gives a brief overview of their collections:

Royal Albert Hall Events Collection

Programmes (20,000+)

Posters, tickets and handbills

Event Records

Props and souvenirs

Audio-visual recordings

Royal Albert Hall Collection

Royal Charter

Publications

Silverware, artworks and furniture

Press cuttings

Ephemera

Charles Graham-Dixon Collection

Collection of 17th Century Dutch paintings by artists including Pieter de Hooch and Jacob Ruisdael, bequeathed in 1985 by Charles Graham-Dixon, former Vice President of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts & Sciences.

Great Exhibition Catalogues (EX)

Catalogues from the 1851 Great Exhibition and 1862 Exhibition

The Archive also has a small amount of reference material relating to the Royal Albert Hall, neighbouring institutions and associated persons and organisations.

Notes on the Building

1. Notes on the Boilers from 1924.
2. Notes on the Beam Engine from 1921. Constructed by the engineer John Penn, it used to drive parts of the organ blowing apparatus.
3. Notes on the Grasshopper Engine which used to drive the water pumps, until the level of the well fell too low.
4. Notes on the Hydraulic Fire Main on the Roof, 1911.
5. Notes on Organ Blowing, 1923.
6. Notes on the Heating of the Hall and the Hot Water System, 1921-1924.
7. Notes on the Boiler House, 24th October 1911.
8. Notes on the Gas Radiators, 1922.
9. Notes on the Hydraulic Lift, 1921-1924.
10. Notes on the Electric Lift, 1925.
11. Notes on the Electric Lift, 1922.
12. Notes on Organ Damage and Accidents, 1925.
13. Notes on Repairs to No. 1 Boiler, 1925.

14. Notes on Organ Blowing, 1921.
15. Notes on the Boilers, 1917-1920.
16. Notes on Organ Blowing, 1922. Includes that the pressure cut out during the concert of January 28th 1922.
17. Notes on Organ Blowing 1921.
18. Notes on Steam Radiators, 1921-1935.
19. Notes on the Boiler House, 1922-1924.
20. Notes on the New Lift, 1920.
21. Notes on the Lift in the East Balcony Entrance, 1920.

1.3 Table 1: Original Allotment of Seats–1871 from RAH archive

The catalogue below records the original seatholders from 1871. Aside from the seats held by the Royal Commissioners the names of those who bought seats allow us to understand who was initially involved with the RAH, and whether this would have been for status or because they were interested and involved with the arts and sciences.

In general, the Grand Tier, Second Tier and Loggia boxes would have been held by those with the greatest status, while those in the stalls would have had a lower standing. Grand Tier boxes now hold twelve patrons (originally it was ten). Original owners included Queen Victoria (whose double box remains the Queen's Box), the Prince of Wales, HRH the Duke of Edinburgh and HRH the Duke of Cambridge. Others include The Duke of Wellington, the Earl Spencer and the Duke of St. Albans. While the majority of Grand Tier seatholders were titled and male, there are one or two exceptions. Mrs Clara Palmer from Brighton and Mrs Joseph Somes. Joseph Somes was a ship builder, many of his ships were used to transport convicts, but he had died in 1845.

The Second Tier boxes hold five people. Original owners of these boxes when the Hall opened also included some who were titled, and were exclusively male. Most appear to have resided in London. Henry Cole owned three boxes on the Second Tier. Others of note include the Liberal MP George Moffatt and the banker and politician Lord Overstone.

Many of the loggia boxes appear to have been given to the Commissioners for the

Exhibition of 1851 at this time, who had received seats in return for the financial assistance they had provided for building the RAH. A number of stalls seats were also held by the Commissioners. Again, the majority of the owners are male, and the addresses which have been recorded are London addresses in general. The engineer and philanthropist Sir Joseph Whitworth Bart held four seats, as did the Rt Hon Edward Cardwell Liberal MP. Others of note include the astronomer Warren de la Rue and the lawyer Henry Cadogan Rothery. It seems that those who held seats in the stalls were more likely to be self-made, rather than born into wealth.

Grand Tier Boxes	Original number	Certificate number	Name	Address
	2–3		Commissioners	
	4		Commissioners/Albert Grant	48 Porchester Terrace W
	5	0C 1A	Messrs Minton - M D Hollins VP & C M Campbell VP	
	6	0C2	Arthur Hyde Dendy	Rock House, Torquay
	7	C	Capt. Thomas Davison	
	8	C3	Thomas P Chappell	50 New Bond Street
	9	C4	John Hawkshaw	33 St George St
	10	C5	John Fowler CE (VP)	Thornwood Lodge, Campden Hill
	11	C6	Charles James Freake (VP)	
	12	C	Messrs Lucas – Charles Lucas VP & Thomas Lucas VP	
	13	C7	John Kelk MP (VP)	109 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park

	14	C8	The Earl of Rosse KG (VP)	Heaton Hall Bradford Yorkshire
	15		The Marquess of Salisbury KG (VP)	
	16	OC3/4	HRH Duke of Edinburgh KG (VP) & HRH Duke of Cambridge KG VP	
	17	C9	Prince of Wales KG (P)	
	18	C10	The Duke of Sutherland KG VP	
	19	C11	Geo. Peabody	
	20	C12	Dion Boucicault	
	21	C13	Mrs Joseph Somes	
	22	C14	The Duke of Wellington KG (VP)	
	23	C15	Sir Titus Salt Bart (VP)	
	24	C16	Ed: W H Schenley	
	25		The Earl of Derby KG (VP)	
	26	C17	The Duke of Buccleuch KG (VP)	
	27		Her Majesty The Queen	
	28		Her Majesty The Queen	
	29	OC5/6	The Earl of Granville KG VP & The Duke of St Albans KG VP	
	30	C18	The Hon. Gen. C Grey & Alfred Paget	
	31	C19	John Pender	
	32	C20	Thos. Baring MP (VP)	
Grand Tier Boxes cont. Page 2				
	33	C21	Thos. Dyer Edwardes (VP)	

	34	C22	J R McClean FRS MP	
	35	C23	Messrs Elkington - A J Elkington (VP)	
	36		George G Sandeman	
	37	C24	Lord Alfred Henry Paget	
	38	C25	The Earl Spencer KG (VP)	
	39	C26	Mrs Clara Palmer	5 Eastern Terrace Brighton
	40–42		Commissioners	
Second Tier Boxes				
	7–14		Commissioners	
	15	34	Ray E Barker	
	16	49	Edward Wood	Newbold Revel
	17	31	W C Parkinson	9 Tufnell Park West Holloway
	18	32	Isaac Horton	307 Clapham Road SW
	19	36	Col. D'Oyly	
	20	1C	Charles Lawson	35 George Square Edinburgh
	21	2C	Richard Cockerton	83 Cornwall Gardens S. Ken
	22	4C	Sir James Tyler	Pine House Holloway
	23	3C	Rr Adml Sir G N Broke Middleton Bt CB	Shrubland Park Needham
	24	5C	Fred. R Crowder	16 Cumberland Terrace Regents Park
	25	6C	Duke of Leinster KV	6 Carlton House Terrace London SW
	26	7C	George Wood	13 Queens Gate Terrace HP

	27	8C	W H Nicholson	St Margarets' Rochester Kent
	28	9C	Rt Hon. H A Bruce MP (VP)	1 Queen's Gate W
	29	10C	The Earl of Feversham	2 Albert Gate Hyde Park
	30	11C	Wm H Benyon Winsor	29 Kensington Gardens Square Hyde Park
	31		George Moffatt MP (VP)	
	32		George J Drummond	
	33		Major Gen Sir W Gordon RE KCB	
	34	12C	Capt. Wm H Molyneux RN	12 Queens Gate Terrace HP W
Second Tier Boxes cont. Page 3				
	35	13C	William Baines	4 Portland Place
	36	14C	The Lord Overstone (VP)	Carlton Gardens London
	37		John Vaughan	
	38	15C	George Smith & Co	13 South St Grosvenor
	39	30	James Livesey	6 Upper Phillimore Gardens
	40	35	Henry Robertson CE	13 Lancaster Gate
	41		Henry Blackett	13 Great Marlborough St
	42		Commissioners	
	43		Commissioners / Henry Wm Bolckoco MP	
	44	33	Major James George Clarke	
	45	47	Henry Cole CB	
	46	16C	Captain John Grant	11 Craven Hill Hyde Park

	47	17C	Sir D C Marjoribanks DC Bt MP (VP)	Brook House Park Lane
	49	43	Spencer Herapath	18 Upper Phillimore Gardens Kensington
	50		John Irving	94 Eaton Place SW
	51	39	Rev Henry Nicholls	Hawkhurst Lodge, Burdocks, Horsham, Sussex
	52		Commissioners	
	53	27	Edward Hermow MP	38 Grosvenor Place SW & Preston Lancashire
	54	45	Lt Col Henry YD Scott RE	
	55	18C	J S Bickford & Stall no. 702	Tuckingmill Cornwall
	56	19C	His Ex M Sylvain Van de Meyer (VP)	
	57	40	Frank Sich	Chiswick W
	58	20C	Henry A Hunt (VP)	54 Eccleston Square Pimlico
	59		Edward A Brande/Eliz M Wylde & W H Wylde)	
	60		Samuel Isaac	
	61	38	E Wood	Newbold Manor
	62	41/42/62	Henry Cole	
	63	21C	John Griffith Frith	50 Old Broad St London
	64		George Robert Smith	
	65	22C	Sir Wm Page Wood (VP) now Lord Hatherley	
	66		Gilbert Blane	
	67	23C	William Bird	Hornton Villa Kensington W

	68		George Edward Barr	76 Holland Park
	69	24C	John Prendergast	60 Porchester Terrace W
	70	29	James Bulloch	26 Holland Park W
	71	44	G A J Cavendish Bentinck MP	48 Charles St Berkeley Sq W
	72–75		Commissioners	
Second Tier Boxes cont. Page 4				
	76	in lieu of 784&5 stalls	James Holmes	4 New Ormond St WC
	77–84		Commissioners	
Loggia Boxes				
	1–8		Commissioners	
	9		Commissioners/The Earl of Feversham	
	10		Commissioners/Wm Baines	4 Portland Place W
	11		Colin Minton Campbell	Woodseat Ashbourn
	12		His Ex M Sylvain Van de Meyer (VP)	
	13–36		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats				
	4	also 103/4	Hon Edward Hanbury Tracy	9 Stratton St Piccadilly W
	5–29		Commissioners	
	30		Col Sir T Trowbridge Bt CB (VP)	
	31		Col Sir T Trowbridge Bt CB (VP)	
	32–48		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 6				

	49		John Yates	34 Gloucester Gardens Hyde Park
	50		John Yates	34 Gloucester Gardens Hyde Park
	51–52		Commissioners	
	53		Commissioners/The Earl Cowley KG GCB	20 Albemarle St W
	54		Commissioners/The Earl Cowley KG GCB	20 Albemarle St W
	55–57		Commissioners	
	58	1C	Sir John Francis Davis Bart KCB	Holly Wood Westbury Bristol
	59	1C	Sir John Francis Davis Bart KCB	Holly Wood Westbury Bristol
	60		Commissioners/Alexr Grant Dallas	3 Ennismore Gardens Princes Gate W
	61		Commissioners/Alexr Grant Dallas	3 Ennismore Gardens Princes Gate W
	62–66		Commissioners	
	67	2C	The Lord Taunton	Qunantock Lodge Bridgewater
	68	2C	The Lord Taunton	Qunantock Lodge Bridgewater
	69–75		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 7				
	76	291	Thomas Henry Wright-Anderson	6 Stanley Crescent Kensington Park Gardens
	77	292	Mrs Frances Laura Wright-Anderson	6 Stanley Crescent Kensington Park Gardens
	78		Commissioners/Archibald Gilchrist Potter	

	79–95		Commissioners	
	96	3C	The Lord Portman	
	97	3C	The Lord Portman	
	98–102		Commissioners	
	103	also no 4	Hon Edward Hanbury Tracy	9 Stratton St Piccadilly W
	104		Hon Edward Hanbury Tracy	9 Stratton St Piccadilly W
	105–197		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 8				
	198		Mrs Mary Ann Jones	9 Durham Villas Campden Hill W
	199		Mrs Mary Ann Jones	9 Durham Villas Campden Hill W
	200		Mrs Mary Ann Jones	9 Durham Villas Campden Hill W
	201–203		Commissioners	
	204		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 10				
	205		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	206		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	207		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	208		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	209		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	210		Commissioners/Sir Donald McLeod	

	211		Commissioners/Sir Donald McLeod	
	212–215		Commissioners	
	216		Frederick Styles	99 Piccadilly London
	217		Frederick Styles	99 Piccadilly London
	218–223		Commissioners	
	224	304	Commissioners/Alexr Grant Dallas	3 Ennismore Gardens
	225	304	Commissioners/Alexr Grant Dallas	3 Ennismore Gardens
	226–242		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 11				
	243		Sir Henry Watson Parker	Stawell House, Richmond SW
	244		Sir Henry Watson Parker	Stawell House, Richmond SW
	264	302	Commissioners	
	265	302	Commissioners	
	266–278		Commissioners	
	279	also 431- 436	Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	280		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	281		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	282		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	283–290		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 12				

	291	4C	William Tomline	5 Whitehall Gardens London
	292	4C	William Tomline	5 Whitehall Gardens London
	293–294		Commissioners	
	295	5C	William Ewing – see 1276	95 Gloucester Place Portman Square
	296		William Ewing – see 1276	95 Gloucester Place Portman Square
	297–345		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 13				
	346	288	Henry Hall Dare	5 Upper Wimpole St W
	347	288	Henry Hall Dare	5 Upper Wimpole St W
	348		Richard Oliverson	37 Gloucester Sq Hyde Park W
	349		Richard Oliverson	37 Gloucester Sq Hyde Park W
	350		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	351		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	352		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	353		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	354		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	355		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	

	356	also 927-8, 380-4, 529- 32	Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	357		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	358		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	359		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	360		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	361		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	362		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	363	also 204-9	Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	364		Commissioners/Lord Alfred Paget	
	365	324	Sir Robert Montgomery KCB	7 Cornwall Gardens Queens Gate W
	366	324	Sir Robert Montgomery KCB	7 Cornwall Gardens Queens Gate W
Stalls Seats cont. Page 14				
	367		Sir Donald McLeod	1 Clarendon Road, Kensington W
	368	6C	John Irving	94 Eaton Place SW
	369	6C	John Irving	Barnfoot Ecclefeltham NB
	370		John Buckle	
	371		John Buckle	
	372	7 C	Lt Col H Y D Scott RE	Sunnyside Ealing

	373	7 C	Lt Col H Y D Scott RE	Sunnyside Ealing
	374		John J V Lowndes	
	375		John J V Lowndes	
	376		John J V Lowndes	
	377		Richard Valpy	5 Rutland Gate
	378		Emily Ann Valpy	5 Rutland Gate
	379		Richard Valpy	5 Rutland Gate
	380		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	381		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	382		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	383		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	384		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	385–394		Commissioners	
	397	8C	J J Blandy/Charles	Ripon Lodge Reading
	398	9C	J J Blandy/William Frank	Friar Street Reading
	401–407		Commissioners	
	416	321	John Peter	
	417	321	John Peter	
	418	320	Fredk Arthur Alexander Rowland	Claremont Villa, Upper Teddington
	419	320	Fredk Arthur Alexander Rowland	Claremont Villa, Upper Teddington
	422		Arthur H Bateman/Christopher Derman	41 Seething Lane, Great Tower St EC

	423		Arthur H Bateman/Christopher Derman	41 Seething Lane, Great Tower St EC
	430		Commissioners	
	431		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	432		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	433		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	434		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	435		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	436		Commissioners/J P Chappell	In lieu of Box 8 1st Tier
	437		Commissioners	
	438		Commissioners	
	439		Commissioners/Edward Lyall Brandreth	32 Elvaston Place W
	440		Commissioners/Edward Lyall Brandreth	32 Elvaston Place W
	441		Commissioners/Edward Lyall Brandreth	32 Elvaston Place W
	444	10C	Sir John P Boileau Bart	20 Upper Brook St W
	445	10C	Sir John P Boileau Bart	20 Upper Brook St W
	446	10C	Sir F G M Boileau	
	447–479		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 16				
	480		Commissioners (in lieu of 351-355)	
	481–493		Commissioners	

Stalls Seats cont. Page 17				
	494	11C	Mrs Jacob Ellery	The Gables Broadwater Tunbridge Wells
	495	11C	Mrs Jacob Ellery	The Gables Broadwater Tunbridge Wells
	496	11C	Mrs Jacob Ellery	The Gables Broadwater Tunbridge Wells
	497	12C	Commander E Turnour RN	
	498	12C	Commander E Turnour RN	
	499		The Lord DeTably	
	500		The Lord DeTably	
	501		Martin Hope Sutton	Reading
	502		Martin Hope Sutton	Reading
	503	274	Mrs Frances Elizabeth Beckwith	20 Dawson Place Bayswater W
	504	274	Mrs Ellen M Beckwith Green	
	505		William Carswell Lade	17 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park W
	506		William Carswell Lade	17 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park W
	507		Commissioners	
	508		Commissioners/Sir W G Anderson	
	509		Commissioners/Sir W G Anderson	
	510		Commissioners/Lt Col W T Makins	
	511		Commissioners/Lt Col W T Makins	

	512		Lt Col William Thomas Makins	34 Holland Park W
	513		Lt Col William Thomas Makins	34 Holland Park W
	514		William Leask	
	515		William Leask	
	516	13C	Joseph Maynard	52 Westbourne Terrace Hyde Park W
	517	13C	Joseph Maynard	52 Westbourne Terrace Hyde Park W
	518	13C	Joseph Maynard	52 Westbourne Terrace Hyde Park W
	519	14C	W Wilson Saunders FRS (VP)	Hillfield Reigate Surrey
	520	14C	W Wilson Saunders FRS (VP)	Hillfield Reigate Surrey
	521	14C	W Wilson Saunders FRS (VP)	Hillfield Reigate Surrey
	522	15C	James William Safe	2 Inverness Road Bayswater
	523	16C	Lt Col Edwyn Sherard Burnaby	51 Eaton Square SW
	524	16C	Lt Col Edwyn Sherard Burnaby	51 Eaton Square SW
	525		Mrs Millicent Squire	13 Bolton Gardens South Kensington
	526		Miss Clara Squire	58 Gloucester Terrace Hyde Park
	527	17C	Henry Ebenezer Edmonds	25 Petersburg Place Bayswater
	528	17C	Henry Ebenezer Edmonds	25 Petersburg Place Bayswater

Stalls Seats cont. Page 18				
	529		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	530		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	531		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	532		Commissioners/Samuel Harton	
	533–538		Commissioners	
	539		William Martin	36 St Peters Square Hammersmith
	540		William Martin	36 St Peters Square Hammersmith
	544	18C	Sir Roderick Impey Murchison Bt VP	16 Belgrave Square
	545	18C	Sir Roderick Impey Murchison Bt VP	16 Belgrave Square
	546			
	547		Capt Christenson Syme Jackson RA	Woolwich SE/Shoeburyness
	548–550		Commissioners	
	551		Commissioners/Kenneth Robert Murchison	24 Chapel St Park Lane
	552		Commissioners/Kenneth Robert Murchison	24 Chapel St Park Lane
	553–539		Commissioners	
	560		Hugh Barkly Davidson	2 Gordon Place Kensington W
	561		Archibald Travers	28a Addison Road Kensington W
	562	19C	F Wyatt Truscott	5 Park Crescent Portland Place NW

	563	19C	F Wyatt Truscott	5 Park Crescent Portland Place NW
	564	20C	The Lord Harris	Belmont Faversham
	565	20C	The Lord Harris	Belmont Faversham
Stalls Seats cont. Page 19				
	566		Mrs Laura Elizabeth Kingdom	36 Victoria Road S. Kensington
	567		Miss Harriet Rose	7 Stanford Road Kensington W
	568		John Benson Cole/Emily Marion Rose	11 Clarendon Road S Kensington
	569		Anne Frances Rose	11 Clarendon Road S Kensington
	570		Mrs Laura Elizabeth Kingdon	36 Victoria Road Kensington W
	571		Miss Harriet Rose	7 Stanford Road Kensington
	580		George Gilbert Scott	31 Spring Gardens SW
	581		George Gilbert Scott	31 Spring Gardens SW
	583		Lord Francis Hervey	49 Maddox St W
	584		Lord Francis Hervey	49 Maddox St W
	585		Capt T B Heathren RA	7 Pall Mall SW
	586		William Haughton	ETUS Club 14 St James's Sq SW
	587		Francis Stanier-Broade	Betley Hall Crewe
	588		Francis Stanier-Broade	Betley Hall Crewe
	589		Thomas Fairbairn	20 Norfolk St Park Lane W
	590		Thomas Fairbairn	20 Norfolk St Park Lane W

	591–636		Commissioners	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 20				
	637	305	Edward West/Viscount Eversley	Woodlands Ealing
	638	305	Edward West/Viscount Eversley	Woodlands Ealing
	639	21C	The Duke of Rutland KG (VP)	Belvoir Castle Grantham
	640		Professor Thos Graham DCL (VP)	
	641	22C	Rt Hon Sir G Grey Bart	Falloden Charhill Northumberland
	642	23C	Admiral Alfred Phillips Ryder	
	643	23C	Admiral Alfred Phillips Ryder	
	644	221C	Colonel John Walpole D'Oyly	6 Charles St Berkeley Square
	645	221C	Colonel John Walpole D'Oyly	6 Charles St Berkeley Square
	646		George Stagg	2 Craven Hill Gardens Hyde Park W
	647		George Stagg	2 Craven Hill Gardens Hyde Park W
	648	see also 784/785	Archibald Templeton	1 Stafford Terrace Kensington W
	649	24C	Fredk Du Cane Godman	55 Lowndes Square London SW
	650	24C	Fredk Du Cane Godman	55 Lowndes Square London SW
Stalls Seats cont. Page 21				

	651		Mrs Mary Elizabeth Littledale	19 Queen's Gate Gardens W
	652	296	Mrs Mary Elizabeth Littledale	19 Queen's Gate Gardens W
	653		Mrs Mary Elizabeth Littledale	19 Queen's Gate Gardens W
	654		John Hunt	22 Lancaster Gate W
	655		John Hunt	22 Lancaster Gate W
	656	279	Henry Francis Makins	19 Prince of Wales Terrace Kensington
	657	279	Henry Francis Makins	19 Prince of Wales Terrace Kensington
	658	25C	John Cochrane	The Grange Stourbridge
	659	25C	John Cochrane	The Grange Stourbridge
	660	26C	Sir R N C Hamilton Bart KCB	5 Park Street Grosvenor Square
	661	26C	Sir R N C Hamilton Bart KCB	5 Park Street Grosvenor Square
	662	27C	Joshua East	7 Curzon St Mayfair
	663	27C	Joshua East	7 Curzon St Mayfair
	664	222C	Robert C E Napier (VP)/John	Lancefield Ho Glasgow
	665	222C	Robert C E Napier (VP)/John	Lancefield Ho Glasgow
	666	28C	The Marquess of Lansdowne KG (VP)	54 Berkeley Square
	667	28C	The Marquess of Lansdowne KG (VP)	54 Berkeley Square

	668	29C	The Earl of Ducie	Tortworth Court Wooton Under Edge
	669	30C	The Lord Bolton	Bolton Hall Bedale Yorkshire
	670	30C	The Lord Bolton	Bolton Hall Bedale Yorkshire
	671	31C	Sir M Digby Wyatt (VP)	37 Tavistock Pl Tavistock Sq WC
	672	32C	William Atkinson FRS	47 Gordon Square WC
	673	33C	Revd Chas. F Norman	35 Princes Gardens W
	674	33C	Revd Chas. F Norman	35 Princes Gardens W
	675		John Fisher	Eldon Villa Portishead Somerset
	676		William Bernard Sills	19 Beaufort Gardens S. Kensington
	677		William Bernard Sills	19 Beaufort Gardens S. Kensington
	678	289	William Smith	17 Grosvenor Mansions Victoria St SW
	679	289	William Smith	17 Grosvenor Mansions Victoria St SW
	680	272 see 2nd Tier 53	Edward Hermon/William Atkinson FRS	38 Grosvenor Place SW & Preston Lancashire47 Gordon Sq
	681	272 see 2nd Tier 53	Edward Hermon/William Atkinson FRS	38 Grosvenor Place SW & Preston Lancashire47 Gordon Sq

	682		Edward Hunter	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 22				
	683		Edward Hunter	
	684		Edward Hunter	
	685		Seats in the centre passage moveable, not to be sold	
	686		Seats in the centre passage moveable, not to be sold	
	687	34C	Lt Gen Sir Ed Macarthur KCB	27 Princes Gardens W
	688	35C	Lt Gen Sir Ed Macarthur KCB/Lady Sarah	27 Princes Gardens W
	689	36C	Rear Adml Sir G N Broke- Middleton Bt CB	Shrubland Park Needham Suffolk
	690	36C	Rear Adml Sir G N Broke- Middleton Bt CB	Shrubland Park Needham Suffolk
	691	36C	Rear Adml Sir G N Broke- Middleton Bt CB	Shrubland Park Needham Suffolk
	692	36C	Rear Adml Sir G N Broke- Middleton Bt CB	Shrubland Park Needham Suffolk
	693	36C	Rear Adml Sir G N Broke- Middleton Bt CB	Shrubland Park Needham Suffolk
	694	37C	James Taylor	209 Sloane St
	695	37C	James Taylor	209 Sloane St
	696		J Charles Monk	
	697		J Charles Monk	
	698		Revd James Heyworth	Henbury Hill Bristol
	699		Revd James Heyworth	Henbury Hill Bristol
	700		Revd James Heyworth	Henbury Hill Bristol

	701		Revd James Heyworth	Henbury Hill Bristol
	702	38C	J S Bickford	Tuckingsmill Cornwall
	703		W Potter Livingstone	
	704		W Potter Livingstone	
	705	39C	Professor R Owen FRS DCL (VP)	Sheen Lodge Richmond
	706		John Linklater	
	707		John Linklater	
	708	40C	W H Roberts	1 Holland Place Kensington
	709	40C	W H Roberts	1 Holland Place Kensington
	710		George John Fenwick	Union Club SW
	711		George John Fenwick	Union Club SW
	712	293	George John Fenwick	Union Club SW
	713		George John Fenwick	Union Club SW
	714	328	Augustin Fielding (also 716)	12 Ladbroke Gardens Kensington
	715	329	Miss Mary Fielding	12 Ladbroke Gardens Kensington
	716	330	Miss Elizabeth Fielding/Augustin	12 Ladbroke Gardens Kensington
Stalls Seats cont. Page 23				
	722		Mrs J G Beckwith/Leonard Charles & Fredk William Wyon/Augustin Wm Langdon	20 Dawson Place Bayswater W/Bayswater W
	723		Mrs Ellen M Beckwith Green	8 Chepstow Villas

	724		Revd Green	
	725		Samuel Wagstaff Smith	30 Maida Vale NW
	726		Samuel Wagstaff Smith	30 Maida Vale NW
	727		Capt Jas Cornwall Miller	Club Chambers 15 Regent st SW
	728		Capt Jas Cornwall Miller	Club Chambers 15 Regent st SW
	729	41C	Edward Rosher	23 Upper Hamilton Terrace St Johns Wood
	730	41C	Edward Rosher	23 Upper Hamilton Terrace St Johns Wood
	731	303	Edwin Saunders	13a George St Hanover Sq W
	732	303	Edwin Saunders	13a George St Hanover Sq W
	733		Commissioners/R P Linton FRCS	14 St James Square
	734		Commissioners/R P Linton FRCS	14 St James Square
Stalls Seats cont. Page 24				
	773	223C	The Viscount Eversley (VP)	
	774	223C	The Viscount Eversley (VP)	
	775	also 671-2, 806-7, 1361-2	Commissioners/John Thomas Peacock	
	776		Commissioners/John Thomas Peacock	
	777		Commissioners/John Thomas Peacock	
	778	42C	Archibald Bulloch	6 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park

	779	42C	Archibald Bulloch	6 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park
	780	43C	Bartlett Hooper	43 King William St EC
	781	43C	Bartlett Hooper	43 King William St EC
	782		Richard Lloyd	
	783		Richard Lloyd	
	784		John Evans	
	785		John Evans	
	786	44C	T W Ramsay	16 Queens Gate S.K.
	787		Capt H W Notman	Brandenburgh Cottage Fulham Rd Hammersmith
	788		Capt H W Notman	Brandenburgh Cottage Fulham Rd Hammersmith
	789		William Sharp	Mortlake
	790		William Sharp	Mortlake
	791		Forster Graham	
	792	295	George William Heysham- Mounsey	14 Brunswick Gardens Kensington W
	793	295	George William Heysham- Mounsey	14 Brunswick Gardens Kensington W
	794	325	Captain John Farrer	47 Princes Gate Hyde Park
	795	325	Captain John Farrer	47 Princes Gate Hyde Park
	796	227C	Col Hon Octavius Duncombe	84 Eaton Square SW
Stalls Seats cont. Page 25				

	797		Commissioners/H F Makins	
	798		Col Hon Octavius Duncombe	84 Eaton Square SW
	799	45C	Sir Wm J Alexander Bart	22 St James Place SW
	800	45C	Sir Wm J Alexander Bart	22 St James Place SW
	801	46C	Capt Henry W Tyler RE	Board of Trade Whitehall
	802	47C	Major Genl G H Hyde	13 Albert Place Victoria Rd Kensington
	803	48C	Mrs Weldon	10 Shalford Pl W
	804	48C	Mrs Weldon	10 Shalford Pl W
	805	49C	George Turnbull	23 Cornwall Gardens S. Kensington
	806	50C	The Earl Grey KG	13 Carlton House Terrace SW
	807	50C	The Earl Grey KG	13 Carlton House Terrace SW
	808	51C	The Earl Cowley KG GCB (VP)	20 Albermarle St London W
	809	51C	The Earl Cowley KG GCB (VP)	20 Albermarle St London W
	810	52C	The Lord Clarence Paget MP	
	811	52C	The Lord Clarence Paget MP	
	812		The Marquess of Townshend	
	813		The Marquess of Townshend	
	814	53C	George Duddell	7 Albermarle St London
	815	53C	George Duddell	7 Albermarle St London
	816	54C	Mrs Blake	8a St Georges Place Hyde Park

	817	54C	Mrs Blake	8a St Georges Place Hyde Park
	818	55C	George Mitchell	22 Bolton St Piccadilly W
	819	55C	George Mitchell	22 Bolton St Piccadilly W
	820	56C	S Scott Alison MD	85 Park St Grosvenor Sq
	821	56C	S Scott Alison MD	85 Park St Grosvenor Sq
	822		Edwin Smith	
	823		Seat occasionally removed	
	824		Seat occasionally removed	
	825	57C	T Marr Johnson (VP)	14 Westbourne St
	826	57C	T Marr Johnson (VP)	14 Westbourne St
	827	58C	Leonard Wm Collman	53 George St Pimlico
	828	58C	Leonard Wm Collman	53 George St Pimlico
	829	59C	G Pearson Renshaw	Park Valley Nottingham
	830	60C	Miss Thomson	2 Durham Villas Campden Hill W
	831	60C	Miss Thomson	2 Durham Villas Campden Hill W
	832		S S Dancocks	177 Fulham Rd SW
	833		S S Dancocks	177 Fulham Rd SW
	834	61C	C Wren Hoskyns MP (VP)	Harewood Park Ross.
	835	62C	Edwd James Daniell	17 Sussex Square Hyde Park
	836	62C	Edwd James Daniell	17 Sussex Square Hyde Park

	837	62C	Edwd James Daniell	17 Sussex Square Hyde Park
	838	63C	The Earl of Dartmouth	48 Grosvenor Square W
Stalls Seats cont. Page 26				
	839	63C	The Earl of Dartmouth	48 Grosvenor Square W
	840	64C	John Dillon/Gertrude Maria	Netley Lodge Phillimore Gardens
	841	64C	John Dillon/Gertrude Maria	Netley Lodge Phillimore Gardens
	842	65C	Jas Booth (CB)	2 Princes Gardens W
	843	65C	Jas Booth (CB)	2 Princes Gardens W
	844		William Squire	
	845		William Squire	
	846		George J Drummond	
	847		George J Drummond	
	848		George J Drummond	
	849	66C	G C Joad	Patching near Arundel Sussex
	850	66C	G C Joad	Patching near Arundel Sussex
	851	67C	Major Henry Newsham Pedder	9 Queens Gate W
	852	67C	Major Henry Newsham Pedder	9 Queens Gate W
	853		Charles Morgan	27 Elvaston Place Queens Gate
	854		Charles Morgan	27 Elvaston Place Queens Gate
	855		Charles Morgan	27 Elvaston Place Queens Gate

	856	290	Revd W F Elrington	Vicarage Great Heywood Stafford
	857	290	Revd W F Elrington	Vicarage Great Heywood Stafford
	858	282	Robert Pilkington Linton FRCS	14 St James's Square
	859	308	Col George Gordon	United Service Club St James's Square SW
	860	68C	F Leyborne-Popham	Puckaster Niton I of Wight
	861		Sir Henry Drummond Wolff	Athenaeum Club
	862		Sir Henry Drummond Wolff	Athenaeum Club
	863	310	Richard Basset/Augustus Goldsmith see 644/5	
	864	69C	Thos Charles Threlfall	
	865	69C	Thos Charles Threlfall	
	866	71C	F John Mouat MD	Athenaeum Club SW
	867	71C	F John Mouat MD	Athenaeum Club SW
	868		Commissioners/Edward Lyall Brandreth	32 Elvaston Place W
	869	Comm. to have 430-2 inlieu	Commissioners/Edward Lyall Brandreth	32 Elvaston Place W
	870		Commissioners/Edward Lyall Brandreth	32 Elvaston Place W
Stalls Seats cont. Page 27				
	910		Commissioners/Charles Critchett	11 Woburn Sq WC
	911		Commissioners/George Critchett	21 Harley St W
	912		Gavin Hardie	

	913	72C	Julius Benedict (VP)	2 Manchester Square
	914	72C	Julius Benedict (VP)	2 Manchester Square
	915	224	Sir Henry Holland Bt (VP)	72 Brook St Grosvenor Square
	916	224	Sir Henry Holland Bt (VP)	72 Brook St Grosvenor Square
	917	73C	Philip Rawson	Woodhurst Crawley Sussex
	918	73C	Philip Rawson	Woodhurst Crawley Sussex
	919	74C	Owen Jones	Argyll Place W
	920	74C	Owen Jones	Argyll Place W
Stalls Seats cont. Page 28				
	921	75C	Major Gen Baker RE	India Office Westminster
	922	75C	Major Gen Baker RE	India Office Westminster
	923		George Jennings	
	924		George Jennings	
	925	76C	W H Harfield	Sunbury Court Sunbury
	926	76C	W H Harfield	Sunbury Court Sunbury
	927	77C	Samuel Harton	Berkeley Lodge Norwood Lane Lower Norwood
	928	77C	Samuel Harton	Berkeley Lodge Norwood Lane Lower Norwood
	929	78C	Thos. Grissell FSA	19 Kensington Pal Gardens W

	930	78C	Thos. Grissell FSA	19 Kensington Pal Gardens W
	931	79C	Joseph Henry Good	21 Upper Hamilton Terr
	932	79C	Joseph Henry Good	21 Upper Hamilton Terr
	933		J Chevallier Cobbold MP	
	934		J Chevallier Cobbold MP	
	935	80C	Alexander Black	31 Hyde Park Gardens
	936	80C	Alexander Black	31 Hyde Park Gardens
	937	80C	Alexander Black	31 Hyde Park Gardens
	938	81C	Mrs Frederick West	Newlands Lymington Hants
	939	81C	W Cornwallis West	
	940	82C	B Hamilton Gilmour	Fulwood Park Liverpool
	941	82C	B Hamilton Gilmour	Fulwood Park Liverpool
	942	83C	Arles Dufour	Lyons France
	943	84C	The Lord Methuen	68 Prince's Gate S Kensington
	944	84C	The Lord Methuen	68 Prince's Gate S Kensington
	945		The Earl of Lucan KCB	
	946		The Earl of Lucan KCB	
	947	85C	John Fergusson	
	948	85C	John Fergusson	
	949	85C	John Fergusson	
	950	86C	James Rae	32 Phillimore Gardens Kens

	951	86C	James Rae	32 Phillimore Gardens Kens
	952	87C	Wm Henry Cullingford	7 Phillimore Gardens Kens
	953	87C	Wm Henry Cullingford	7 Phillimore Gardens Kens
	956		William E Green	
	957		William E Green	
	958	88C	Richard Oliverson	37 Gloucester Square Hyde Park
	959	88C	Richard Oliverson	37 Gloucester Square Hyde Park
	960	89C	Henry Hucks Gibbs	St Dunstons Reg Park
	961	89C	Henry Hucks Gibbs	St Dunstons Reg Park
	962	89C	Henry Hucks Gibbs	St Dunstons Reg Park
	963	90C	Captain Charles Gibbs	Junior Carlton Club
	964	90C	Captain Charles Gibbs	Junior Carlton Club
Stalls Seats cont. Page 29				
	965	91C	Alexander Donald Macleay	2 Onslow Villas Onslow Sq
	966		John Peter	
	967	92C	William Taylor	
	968		George Critchett	
	969		George Critchett	
	970		Capt E J Ottley	
	971		Capt E J Ottley	
	972	93C	John Smith/Annie Alicia Smith	27 Princes Gate
	973	93C	John Smith/Annie Alicia Smith	27 Princes Gate

	974	94C	John Smith/Mary Mc Hwraith	36 Princes Gate
	975	94C	John Smith/Mary Mc Hwraith	36 Princes Gate
	976	95C	Ephraim Mosely	5 Grosvenor St Grosvenor Sq W
	977	95C	Ephraim Mosely	5 Grosvenor St Grosvenor Sq W
	978		Fred William Monk	
	979		Fred William Monk	
	980	96C	A Barfield	27 South Audley St
	981	96C	A Barfield	27 South Audley St
	982	96C	A Barfield/T Simpson	27 South Audley St
	983	96C	A Barfield/T Simpson	27 South Audley St
	984	97C	Robt H Holdsworth	
	985	97C	Robt H Holdsworth	
	986	97C	Robt H Holdsworth	
	987	98C	Thos Taplin	14 St James Square
	988	99C	Fredk Braby	Mount Henley Sydenham Hill SE
	989	99C	Fredk Braby	Mount Henley Sydenham Hill SE
	990		John Taylor MD	
	991		John Taylor MD	
	992	287	Fred A Inderwick	
	993	287	Fred A Inderwick	
	994		Rev William Rogers MA (VP)	
	995		John Williams	
	996		John Williams	
	997		W W Malden	195 Brompton Rd SW

	998		W W Malden	195 Brompton Rd SW
	999		W W Malden	195 Brompton Rd SW
	1000		W W Malden	195 Brompton Rd SW
	1001		W W Malden	195 Brompton Rd SW
Stalls Seats cont. Page 30				
	1027	323	Richard Hughes	20 Sumner Place Onslow Square
	1032	100C	Major Thos Burt FRS	Puppbrook Ho Dorking
	1033	101C	William T S Oakes	Rutland Lodge Addison Rd Kensington
	1034	101C	William T S Oakes	Rutland Lodge Addison Rd Kensington
	1035		Hon Edward Hanbury Tracy	9 Stratton St Piccadilly
	1036	102C	Lt Col G G Ouseley Higgins	6 Wilton Pl SW
	1037	103C	Robert Low	
	1038	103C	Robert Low	
	1039	103C	Robert Low	
	1040	104C	William Righy	Lansdowne Villa St Leonards on Sea
	1041	104C	William Righy	Lansdowne Villa St Leonards on Sea
	1042	105C	James H Wilson	19 Onslow Sq
	1043	105C	James H Wilson	19 Onslow Sq
	1044	106C	E Facon Watson	201 Piccadilly
	1045	107C	Wm Golby Aplin	2 Allen Terr Kensington

	1046	107C	Wm Golby Aplin	2 Allen Terr Kensington
	1047	108C	Major Arthur Foyle	Steeple Aston Oxford
	1048		Henry Barkinyoung	
	1049		Henry Barkinyoung	
	1050		Henry Barkinyoung	
	1051	109C	Alfred R Corpe	15 King St James
Stalls Seats cont. Page 31				
	1052		E Ralli	
	1053		E Ralli	
	1054	110C	Demetrius P Scaramanga/ Julia	22 Hyde Park Gardens W
	1055	110C	Demetrius P Scaramanga/Julia	22 Hyde Park Gardens W
	1056	111C	Joseph Goolden	18 Lancaster Gate
	1057	111C	Joseph Goolden	18 Lancaster Gate
	1058	112C	Joseph/Caroline Pugh	23 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park
	1059	113C	Joseph/Ellen Pugh	23 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park
	1060	114C	Joseph/Laura Pugh	23 Lancaster Gate Hyde Park
	1061	115C	Thomas Kershaw	38 Baker St Portman Sq
	1062	115C	Thomas Kershaw	38 Baker St Portman Sq
	1063	116C	Thomas Kershaw/George Hunt	1 High St Kensington
	1064	117C	Lord Dufferin & Clandeboye (VP)	8 Grosvenor Sq
	1065	117C	Lord Dufferin & Clandeboye (VP)	8 Grosvenor Sq

	1066	118C	The Earl of Durham VP)	
	1067	118C	The Earl of Durham VP)	
	1068	119C	The Earl Cowper KG (VP)	Panshanger Herts
	1069	294	Sir Archibald K Macdonald Bart	
	1070	294	Sir Archibald K Macdonald Bart	
	1071	120C	R Lowther	57 Queens Gardens W
	1072	120C	R Lowther	57 Queens Gardens W
	1073	121C	William Butt	1 Devonport St Hyde Park
	1074	121C	William Butt	1 Devonport St Hyde Park
	1075	122C	Richard W Buckley	50 Lincolns Inn Fields WC
	1076	123C	Baron Marochetti	London Joint Stock Bank 69 Pall Mall
	1077	123C	Baron Marochetti	London Joint Stock Bank 69 Pall Mall
	1080	124C	Walter Aston Blount	1 West Eaton Place
	1081	225C	Fred W Dolman	Thornbrake Addison Rd Kensington
	1082	225C	Fred W Dolman	Thornbrake Addison Rd Kensington
	1083		George E Adams	
	1084		George E Adams	
	1085	125C	William Gibbs	16 Hyde Park Gardens
	1086	126C	William/Matilda Blanche Gibbs	16 Hyde Park Gardens

	1087	127C	William/Anthony Gibbs	16 Hyde Park Gardens
	1088	128C	Duncan Stewart MD	76 Gloucester Crescent Hyde Park W
	1089	128C	Duncan Stewart MD	76 Gloucester Crescent Hyde Park W
Stalls Seats cont. Page 32				
	1090	129C	Sir Michael Costa (VP)	59 Eccleston Sq
	1091	130C	John Clutton (VP)	3 Sussex Sq W
	1092	130C	John Clutton (VP)	3 Sussex Sq W
	1093	130C	John Clutton (VP)	3 Sussex Sq W
	1094	131C	Mrs G Lennox Prendergast	69 Lowndes Square London
	1095	131C	Mrs G Lennox Prendergast	69 Lowndes Square London
	1096	132C	Richard Jefferson	a/4 The Albany
	1097		Col G W Thos Rich CB	
	1098		Col G W Thos Rich CB	
	1099	133C	Capt R Hamilton Beamish	15 St George's Rd Pimlico
	1100	133C	Capt R Hamilton Beamish	15 St George's Rd Pimlico
	1101	134C	John Edward Gray	4 Linden Grove Bayswater
	1102	134C	John Edward Gray	4 Linden Grove Bayswater
	1103	135C	Michael Lewis Brown	47 St Martins Lane W
	1104	136C	Thos B Baskitt	Audit Office Somerset House
	1105	137C	Revd Harvey W Brooks MA	St Stephens Westbourne Pk

	1106	137C	Revd Harvey W Brooks MA	St Stephens Westbourne Pk
	1107		Archbishop of Canterbury (VP)	
	1108	138C	William Tite MP FRS	42 Lownes Sq
	1109	138C	William Tite MP FRS	42 Lownes Sq
	1110		George J Drummond	
	1111		George J Drummond	
	1112	139C	W H Ripley	111 Jermyn St
	1113	140C	Charles Hack	39 Gloucester Pl Portman Sq
	1114	140C	Charles Hack	39 Gloucester Pl Portman Sq
	1115		A W Hofmann LLD FRS	
	1116	141C	Charles Moxon	25 Phillimore Gardens
	1117	141C	Charles Moxon	25 Phillimore Gardens
	1118	142C	David Brandon FSA	24 Berkeley Square
	1119	142C	David Brandon FSA	24 Berkeley Square
	1120	143C	William Cooper	158 Brompton Rd
	1121	143C	William Cooper	158 Brompton Rd
	1122		Augustus Goldsmith ex for 863	19 Ryder St James's SW
Stalls Seats cont. Page 33				
	1147		Francis Jervoise / Ellis Jervoise	13 Chester Street Grosvenor Place SW
	1148		Francis Jervoise / Ellis Jervoise	13 Chester Street Grosvenor Place SW
	1149	144C	Samuel Dean	13 Cleveland Gardens

	1150	144C	Samuel Dean	13 Cleveland Gardens
	1152	145C	Miss Emily Cox	20 St Petersburg Pl Bayswater
	1153	146C	Joseph J Ellis	102 Harley St
	1154	146C	Joseph J Ellis	102 Harley St
	1155	147C	Chevalier Louis W Desanges	16 Stratford Place W
	1156	147C	Chevalier Louis W Desanges	16 Stratford Place W
	1157	148C	Charles Langton	Bark Hill Liverpool
	1158	148C	Charles Langton	Bark Hill Liverpool
	1159	149C	The Earl of Cawdor	74 Sth Audley St
	1160	149C	The Earl of Cawdor	74 Sth Audley St
	1161	150C	Hon Arthur Kinnaid MP (VP)	2 Pall Mall East SW
	1162		James Bateman FRS (VP)	
	1163		Sir Joseph Whitworth Bart FRS (VP)	
	1164		Sir Joseph Whitworth Bart FRS (VP)	
	1165		Sir Joseph Whitworth Bart FRS (VP)	
	1166		Sir Joseph Whitworth Bart FRS (VP)	
	1167		Henry Barkinyoung	
	1168		Henry Barkinyoung	
	1169	151C	Peter Nash	1 Inverness Rd Bayswater
	1170	151C	Peter Nash	1 Inverness Rd Bayswater
	1171	152C	James/Philip Boyd	91 New Bond St
	1172	152C	James/Philip Boyd	91 New Bond St

	1173	153C	John Fredk Bateman FRS	16 Great George St Westminster
	1174	153C	John Fredk Bateman FRS	16 Great George St Westminster
Stalls Seats cont. Page 34				
	1175	153C	John Fredk Bateman FRS	16 Great George St Westminster
	1176	154C	The Earl Stanhope (VP) DCL	
	1177	155C	Sir Roundell Palmer MP (VP)	6 Portland Place
	1178	156C	Revd Richd Wood	31 Leinster Gardens
	1179	156C	Revd Richd Wood	31 Leinster Gardens
	1180	157C	G F Wilson	Heather Bank Weybridge
	1181	157C	G F Wilson	Heather Bank Weybridge
	1182		Sir Arthur W Butler MP (VP)	
	1183	158C	Henry Fielder Esq	20- Carlton Villas Maida Vale
	1184	159C	Lt Col T F Blois	
	1185	160C	Hon Sir Henry S Keating	11 Princes' Gardens
	1186	160C	Hon Sir Henry S Keating	11 Princes' Gardens
	1187	161C	The Lord Cairns (VP)	5 Cromwell House
	1188	161C	The Lord Cairns (VP)	5 Cromwell House
	1189		Thomas Prothero FSA	
	1190		Thomas Prothero FSA	
	1191	162C	Samuel Saunders	

	1192	162C	Samuel Saunders	
	1193	163	Alderman & Col Wilson (VP)	Banacks Finsbury
	1194	163	Alderman & Col Wilson (VP)	Banacks Finsbury
	1197	164	Sir Charles Lyell Bart DCS	
	1198	165C	Henry Rougier	
	1199	165C	Henry Rougier	
	1200	166C	John O'Brien Saunders	
	1201	166C	John O'Brien Saunders	
	1202	167C	William Adams Davy	13 Pembroke Crescent
	1203	168C	Charles Woolloton	Nutfield Surrey
	1204	168C	Charles Woolloton	Nutfield Surrey
	1205		Michael Scott	
	1206		Michael Scott	
	1207	169C	John C Bowring	Larkbeare Exeter
	1208	169C	John C Bowring	Larkbeare Exeter
	1209	169C	John C Bowring	Larkbeare Exeter
	1210		R H Loden Smith	
	1211	170C	R B Wardlaw Ramsay	
	1212	170C	R B Wardlaw Ramsay	
	1213	171C	Liet Gen Sir Ed Lugard GCB	
	1214	171C	Liet Gen Sir Ed Lugard GCB	
	1215	172C	The Venerable Archdeacon Sinclair (VP)	
	1216		Joseph Boord	
	1217		Joseph Boord	
	1218		Joseph Boord	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 35				

	1219	173C	John Forbes	
	1220	173C	John Forbes	
	1221	174C	Ch John Hare MD	
	1222	174C	Ch John Hare MD	
	1223	175	MacLeod of Macleod	
	1224	175	MacLeod of Macleod	
	1225	176	Leonard C Wyon	
	1226	176	Leonard C Wyon	
	1227	177C	Edward Tyler	
	1228	178C	Charles B France	
	1229	178C	Charles B France	
	1230	179C	Bishop of Worcester (VP)	
	1231	180C	Warren De La Rue FRS	
	1232	180C	Warren De La Rue FRS	
	1233	181C	Edward G Warren	
	1234	181C	Edward G Warren	
	1235	182C	Henry Warren	
	1236		Albert H Warren	
	1237		John Jay	
	1238	183C	John Harvey	
	1239	183C	John Harvey	
	1240		John Robert Hall	The Grange Sutton Surrey
	1241		John Robert Hall	The Grange Sutton Surrey
	1253	184C	Ray Edmund Barker (1151&1265)	22 Park Side Knightsbridge SW
	1254	184C	Ray Edmund Barker (1151&1265)	22 Park Side Knightsbridge SW
	1255		G C Bartley/J Peacock/W W Malden	

	1256		G C Bartley/J Peacock/W W Malden	
	1257	185C	Edwin Frend	
	1258	185C	Edwin Frend	
	1259	186C	Charles Gray Searle	
	1260	186C	Charles Gray Searle	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 36				
	1261		Major Hampbell Kane	
	1262	187C	George Godwin FRS	
	1263		Edward Vigers	
	1264		Edward Vigers	
	1265		Mrs Rumley	
	1266	188C	Francis Thompson	
	1267	188C	Francis Thompson	
	1268	189C	G W Mercer Henderson	Fordell Inverkeithing Fife
	1269	189C	G W Mercer Henderson	Fordell Inverkeithing Fife
	1270		J Danford Baldry	
	1271		J Danford Baldry	
	1272	190C	Sir C Wentworth Dilke Bart MP (VP)	
	1273	190C	Sir C Wentworth Dilke Bart MP (VP)	
	1274	191C	Henry Thring (VP)	
	1275	191C	Henry Thring (VP)	
	1276	191C	Henry Thring (VP)	
	1277	192C	Henry Cadogan Rothery	
	1278	192C	Henry Cadogan Rothery	
	1279		John Webb (VP)	

	1280		John Webb (VP)	
	1281		John Webb (VP)	
	1282		Peter Graham	
	1283		Peter Graham	
	1284	314	George E Forrest	
	1285	314	George E Forrest	
	1286	193C	Adml Sir R Spencer Robinson KCB	
	1287	193C	Adml Sir R Spencer Robinson KCB	
	1288	194C	Rt Hon Ed Cardwell MP (VP)	
	1289	194C	Rt Hon Ed Cardwell MP (VP)	
	1290		Rt Hon W F Cowper MP (VP)	
	1291		Rt Hon W F Cowper MP (VP)	
	1292	195C	Edward Wood (VP)	
	1293	195C	Edward Wood (VP)	
	1294	195C	Edward Wood (VP)	
	1295	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1296	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1297	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1298	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1299	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1300	197C	Edward Thomas	
	1301		James Campbell	59 Brompton Crescent S Kensington
Stalls Seats cont. Page 37				

	1302		James Campbell	59 Brompton Crescent S Kensington
	1303	198C	Henry John Nicoll	
	1304	198C	Henry John Nicoll	
	1305	199C	J Lindsay Scott	
	1306	199C	J Lindsay Scott	
	1309	200C	The Earl of Hardwicke (VP)	
	1310	201C	The Visct SydneyGCB (VP)	
	1311	201C	The Visct SydneyGCB (VP)	
	1312	202C	Col W F Drummond Jervois RE CB	
	1313	202C	Col W F Drummond Jervois RE CB	
	1314	203C	Edgar A Bowing CB (VP)	
	1315	203C	Edgar A Bowing CB (VP)	
	1316	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1317	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1318	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1319	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1320	196C	Messrs Coutts	
	1321	204C	J Hungerford Pollen MA	
	1322	204C	J Hungerford Pollen MA	
	1323	205C	Edw Fitzroy Talbot	
	1324	205C	Edw Fitzroy Talbot	
	1325	205C	Edw Fitzroy Talbot	
	1326	205C	Edw Fitzroy Talbot	
	1327	205C	Edw Fitzroy Talbot	
	1328	206C	Coghlan McLean McHardy	
	1329	206C	Coghlan McLean McHardy	
	1330	207C	Edward J Reed CB	

	1331	207C	Edward J Reed CB	
	1332		Wentworth L Cole	
	1333		Wentworth L Cole	
	1334	208C	Henry Cole CB (VP)	
	1335	209C	Richard Redgrave RA	
	1336		Thomas Creswick RA	
	1337		Thomas Creswick RA	
	1338	210C	Major Gen Sir A Scott Waugh RE	
	1339	210C	Major Gen Sir A Scott Waugh RE	
	1340	211C	James Heywood	
	1341	211C	James Heywood	
	1342	212C	Revd Richard Brooke	
Stalls Seats cont. Page 38				
	1343		The Lord Redesdale	
	1344		The Lord Redesdale	
	1345		Samuel Spofforth	
	1346		Alfred Davis	
	1347	213C	Fredk Parbury	
	1348	213C	Fredk Parbury	
	1349	214C	Nathan Wallis Button	
	1350	215C	The Earl of Ripon & De Grey	
	1351	215C	The Earl of Ripon & De Grey	
	1352	216C	Charles James B Williams MD	
	1353	216C	Charles James B Williams MD	

	1354	217C	Gen Sir George Pollock GCB	
	1355	217C	Gen Sir George Pollock GCB	
	1356	218C	Baron Barreto FRSL	
	1357	218C	Baron Barreto FRSL	
	1358	219C	G C J Bartley (VP)	
	1359	219C	G C J Bartley (VP)	
	1360	220C	Miss Hannah Grant	
	1361	220C	Miss Hannah Grant	
	1362		Geo Ch Wallich MD	

Appendix 2: Practicalities

2.1 Charity Statements

CHARITY 254543 - THE CORPORATION OF THE HALL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

To maintain to a high standard and further improve the Grade 1 listed Royal Albert Hall. To promote the arts and sciences by means of: a full, wide ranging, programme of high quality and well attended events including community and charitable events; attracting new, diverse and younger audiences; a distinctive education programme; and by increasing public access to the building as a whole.

CHARITY 285111 - THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL TRUST

The trust receives and invests funds in support of the maintenance and presentation of the Royal Albert Hall, a Grade 1 listed building of historic and cultural significance, and of the work of the Hall in seeking to advance education for the public benefit.

CHARITY 213373 - ROYAL ALBERT HALL LODGE NO 2986 BENEVOLENT FUND

Income and capital to or for the benefit of such distressed brother masons their widows and children or to or for the benefit of such Masonic charities or other charitable institutions, societies and objects as the lodge shall in duly constituted meeting from time to time direct.

2.2 Legal Documents

CHARTER

OF THE

CORPORATION OF THE HALL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

VICTORIA, by the Grace of GOD of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: -

WHEREAS it has been represented to us by our most dearly beloved Son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, that the building a Hall for the purposes hereinafter mentioned would conduce to the advancement of Science and Art: And whereas the persons hereinafter named, with many others, have subscribed towards the funds for the erection of the Hall, in consideration of having granted to them in return for their subscriptions, permanent seats in the Hall in manner appearing in the Schedule annexed hereto: And whereas provision is made in the said Schedule for registering as Members of the Corporation established by this Our Charter, all such persons as aforesaid and all other persons who may engage to take permanent seats in the Hall: And whereas the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, in furtherance of the objects of their Charter, and of the designs of Our late most dearly beloved Husband, the Prince Consort, have agreed to lease to the said Corporation, for the term of 999 years, a portion of their estate at South Kensington, to be used as a site for the Hall; and have further agreed to guarantee a certain portion of the expense of building the Hall, on condition, amongst other things that the amount guaranteed shall not exceed £50,000 and that the Commissioners, so far as their guarantee is not covered by public subscriptions, shall be entitled to the same rights as are granted to other subscribers, but not for the individual advantages of any of the Members of the Commission: And whereas application has been made to us by Our said dearly beloved Son the Prince of Wales to incorporate the several persons hereinafter named, and all other persons: who may become the Members of the said Corporation: NOW KNOW YE THAT WE, being desirous of promoting the advancement of Science and Art by the building of the said Hall, have, of Our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion given and granted, and we do hereby give and grant that Our said dearly beloved Son, ALBERT EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES, and Our dearly beloved Son, ALFRED ERNEST ALBERT, DUKE OF EDINBURGH Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor EDWARD GEOFFREY, EARL OF DERBY, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor GRANVILLE GEORGE, EARL GRANVILLE, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Our trusty and well-beloved CHARLES GREY, Esquire, Lieutenant-General in Our Army, Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor ROBERT LOWE,

Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, HENRY Ausrln BRUCE, Our truly and well beloved HENRY COLE, Esquire, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath EDGAR ALFRED BOWRING, Esquire, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, THOMAS BARING, Esquire and HENRY THRING Esquire, and all other persons who may become Member of the Corporation established by this Our Charter, shall be a Body Corporate, by the name of "The Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences," having a perpetual succession and a Common Seal, with a capacity to sue and be used in their corporate name, and to acquire and hold lands for the purposes of the said Corporation without license in mortmain.

And we do hereby declare as follows: -

PRELIMINARY.

1st. -In the construction of this Our Charter, the following words and expressions, unless there is something in the context inconsistent with such interpretations, shall have the meanings **hereinafter attached to** them, that is to say,

- " The Corporation " shall mean "The Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences" established by this Our Charter.
- " The Commissioners " shall mean "The Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851."
- " Persons " shall include" A body of Persons corporate or incorporate." Words in the masculine gender shall include the feminine, and words in the singular number shall include the plural, and in the plural number shall include the singular."

2nd. - The Schedule annexed hereto, shall be deemed part of this Our Charter.

PURPOSES OF CORPORATION.

3rd.-The purposes of the Corporation shall be the Building and maintaining of a Hall and buildings connected therewith, hereinafter included under the term "Hall," on the Estate of the Commissioners at South Kensington, and the appropriation of the Hall to the objects hereinafter mentioned, that is to say, to

- (a.) Congresses, both National and International, for purposes of Science and Art.
- (b.) Performances of Music, including performances on the Organ.
- (c.) The Distribution of Prizes by Public Bodies and Societies.
- (d.) Conversaziones of Societies established for the promotion of Science and Art.
- (e.) Agricultural, Horticultural, and the like Exhibitions.
- (f) National and International Exhibitions of Works of Art and Industry, including Industrial Exhibitions by the Artizan Classes.

(g.) Exhibitions of Pictures, Sculpture, and other objects of artistic or scientific interest.

(h.) Generally any other purposes connected with Science and Art, with power for the Corporation to furnish the Hall in such manner, and with such works and objects of scientific and artistic interest as they think fit, and generally to do all such acts and things, whether such acts and things are or are not of the same character or nature as be acts and things before enumerated, as they think conducive to the purposes of the Corporation, or for the benefit of the Members thereof, having regard to the purposes aforesaid.

4th. - With a view to raise the required funds for the building and maintenance of the Hall, the Corporation may receive Subscriptions or Donations from any persons or society desirous of giving the same and, subject to the rights reserved to Members of the Corporation by this Our Charter, may grant to the persons or societies giving such Subscriptions or Donations, such interests in the Hall as the Corporation deem expedient.

5th. - Subject to the rights reserved to the Members of the Corporation, the Corporation may let the use of the Hall for a limited period, either wholly or partially, exclusively, or reserving certain rights of entry to any persons for any purposes for which the Corporation might themselves use the Hall. The Corporation may also appropriate, for a limited period, any buildings connected with the Hall, and which may not, for the time being, be required for the purposes thereof, to the use of any society, or societies, established for purposes similar to those for which the Corporation are themselves established, and upon such terms as the Corporation think expedient.

6th. - No dividend shall be payable to any Member of the Corporation and all profits which the Corporation make by the use of the Hall, or by the sale or letting of any seats which, after the completion of the Hall, may, for the time being, belong to the Corporation, shall be applied in carrying into effect the purpose of the Corporation in such manner as the Corporation think fit.

GOVERNING BODY OF CORPORATION.

7th. -The governing body of the Corporation, until a Council is substituted for them as hereinafter mentioned. shall be a Provisional Committee, consisting of the persons hereinbefore named.

8th. -His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales shall be President of the Provisional Committee.

9th. -The Provisional Committee are entrusted with the duty of carrying into effect the purposes of the Corporation, until such time as another governing body is appointed in pursuance of this Our Charter, and they may do all such acts and things, and exercise all such powers

as the Corporation themselves are empowered, by this Our Charter, to do or exercise. The Provisional Committee may fill up any vacancy occurring in their number. They may also add to their number by the election of any other person or persons being a Member or Members of the Corporation.

10th. -The Provisional Committee may act, notwithstanding any vacancy in their body. They may meet together for the dispatch of business, adjourn, and otherwise regulate their meetings as they think fit, and determine the quorum necessary for the transaction of business, and the mode of voting at their meetings; and may, from time to time, appoint and remove all necessary officers, award to them their salaries, and assign their duties.

11th. -The Provisional Committee shall be assisted in the performance of their duties by an Executive Committee.

12th. -The First Members of the Executive Committee shall be the following persons: That is to say-Our said dearly beloved Son ALFRED ERNEST ALBERT, DUKE OF EDINBURGH, and the said CHARLES GREY, HENRY AUSTIN BRUCE, HENRY COLE, EDGAR ALFRED BOWRING, and HENRY THRING.

13th.-The Executive Committee shall conform to any instructions that may be given them by the Provisional Committee, and it shall be lawful for the Provisional Committee from time to time to revoke, determine, or modify any powers conferred on the Executive Committee, and to confer any new powers on them, to add to or diminish the number of their Members, and otherwise to deal with them as the Provisional Committee think fit, but subject, as aforesaid, and until any alteration is made by the Provisional Committee, or instructions given to the contrary, the Executive Committee may contract for building the Hall, and do any other acts that may be conducive to the completion of the Hall.

14th. -Subject as aforesaid, the Executive Committee may appoint the necessary officers to superintend the building of the Hall, assign to them their duties, and award to them their salaries; they may also appoint Solicitors, Bankers, and other officers of the Corporation.

15th. -Subject as aforesaid, the Executive Committee may meet together for the dispatch of business, adjourn, or otherwise regulate their proceedings as they think fit, and determine the quorum necessary for the transaction of business, and the mode of voting at their meetings.

OPENING OF THE HALL.

16th. - The Provisional Committee shall open the Hall, when completed, with such ceremonies and in such manner as they think fit.

17th. -Within twelve months, at the furthest, after the opening of the Hall, the Provisional Committee shall call a General Meeting of the

Corporation, by Advertisement published in some London Newspaper, and shall render to the Corporation a full account of all expenses incurred by the Provisional Committee in respect of the Hall, and, on the occasion of such meeting, shall propose to the Corporation a form of constitution containing such provisions as may be deemed expedient in relation to the government of the Corporation, and to the management of the Hall, and generally to the regulation of all matters whatever (whether of the same description or not as those hereinbefore specified), which the Provisional Committee may deem it expedient to provide for in such constitution, with as ample a power in the Corporation of making regulations for the administration of their affairs (subject only to those provisions of this Our Charter, which define the purpose of the Corporation, and the right of Members), as if the Corporation were the absolute and uncontrolled owners of the property belonging to them.

The form of constitution proposed by the Provisional Committee, or any modification thereof, when accepted by the Corporation and approved by us, shall be as valid as if contained in this Charter, but shall be subject to alteration in manner hereinafter mentioned.

18th. -The acceptance by the Corporation of any such constitution as aforesaid, or any modification thereof, shall be certified by a Resolution passed by a majority of Members of the said Corporation, present personally or by proxy, at the General Meeting summoned as aforesaid, by the Provisional Committee, or at some adjournment thereof, or at some other General Meeting that may be summoned for that purpose by the Provisional Committee.

19th. -Ten Members, personally present, shall be a quorum at any General Meeting of the Corporation, and the President for the time being of the Governing Body, or in his absence, any person chosen by the meeting, shall be the Chairman.

20th. -The Chairman of a General Meeting may adjourn any meeting, and may regulate the proceeding of such meeting; and in the event of an equal division at any meeting shall have an additional or casting vote.

21st. -The sense of any General Meeting of the Corporation shall be taken by a show of hands, unless a poll be demanded, in writing, by not less than three persons present at the meeting, in which case the poll should be taken in such manner and at such time as the Chairman of the meeting directs, and the sense of the Corporation as ascertained by the result of such poll shall be deemed a resolution of the General Meeting.

Votes on the occasion of a poll shall be given in manner appearing in the said Schedule.

22nd. -In the constitution to be proposed by the Provisional Committee, an Elective Council shall be substituted for the Provisional Committee as the governing body of the Corporation, but the first Members of that

Council shall be named in the proposed constitution, and all or any Members of the Provisional Committee may be proposed as the first Members of the Council.

23rd.-The Provisional Committee shall remain in office until a Council is substituted for them.

24th.-Subject to such provisions of this Our Charter as define the purposes of the Corporation and the rights of Members, the Corporation may, in General Meeting, from time to time, by passing a Special Resolution in manner hereinafter mentioned, alter the constitution of the Corporation when accepted as afore aid, or any part thereof, and make new provisions to the exclusion of, or in addition to, all or any of the provisions of such constitution, and any provisions so made, by Special Resolution, shall be deemed to be provisions of the constitution of the Corporation of the same validity as if they had been originally contained in this Charter, and shall be subject in like manner, from time to time, to be altered or modified by any subsequent Special Resolution: Provided always that such alterations and provisions shall not be of any force until the same shall have been approved by us.

25th. -A Resolution of the Corporation shall be deemed to be Special which has been passed at the General Meeting of the Corporation, and confirmed at a subsequent General Meeting held at an interval of not Less than 30 days, nor greater than two months from the date of the meeting at which such Resolution was first passed, subject to the conditions following: -

- 1st.* When a poll is demanded the majority at the first meeting must consist of not less than three-fourths of the votes recorded, but a bare majority of the votes recorded will suffice for confirming the resolution.
- 2nd.* Notice of both meetings, and of the object for holding the same, must be given according to the mode. in which notices of General Meetings are required to be given by the regulations of the Corporation for the time being in force.

Unless a poll is demanded in writing by at least three Members present at the meeting, a declaration of the Chairman that the Resolution has **been** carried shall be deemed conclusive evidence of the fact, without **proof** of the number or proportion of the votes_ recorded in favor of or against the same.

26th. -The governing body, for the time being, of the Corporation may apply for a new Charter, or for any modification of this Charter, **but** such application shall not be made after the opening of the Hall, without the consent of the Corporation, testified by a Special Resolution.

SCHEDULE

REFERRED TO IN THE CHARTER.

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF SUBSCRIBERS AND MEMBERS.

REGISTRATION OF MEMBERS.

1. A register of Members shall be formed, and every person who has subscribed for, engaged to take, or is otherwise entitled to a permanent seat in the Hall, and whose name is entered on the register of Members, shall be a Member of the Corporation.

2. Permanent seats in the Hall shall be of the descriptions following:

1st. A private box on the first tier of the Hall, containing ten seats. *2nd.* A private box on the second tier of the Hall, containing five seats

3rd. A seat in the amphitheatre of the Hall.

3. A Subscriber of £1,000 shall be entitled to a private box on the first tier, or to two private boxes on the second tier. A Subscriber of £500 shall be entitled to a private box on the second tier. A Subscriber of £100 shall be entitled to a seat in the amphitheatre of the Hall. A Subscriber for a box may elect to take an equivalent number of permanent seats in the amphitheatre instead of a box.

Boxes may be divided with the sanction of the governing body of the Corporation, and subject to the provisions of this Our Charter.

4. One person only shall be entitled to be registered as the holder of a seat in the amphitheatre, except in cases where a seat has become vested in the assignees or personal representatives of a former Member. In the case of a box, several persons may, with the sanction of the governing body for the time being of the Corporation, be registered as separate holders of the seats therein, so that not more than one person is registered as the holder of any one seat, and subject to this proviso: That every person registered as the holder of a seat in a box shall be severally liable to pay all the instalments due in respect of such box as well as the instalments due in respect of the seat of which he is registered as holder.

5. Every person who has engaged to take a seat in the Hall before the granting of this Charter, shall, on the payment of the first instalment due from him, be entitled to have his name inserted in the register of Members.

6. The Provisional Committee may take such steps as they may be advised for enforcing the fulfilment of the obligations of persons who have engaged to take, or may hereafter engage to take, seats in the Hall.

7. The right of a Member to his seat shall continue for the whole term for which the site of the Hall is granted.

8. The interest of a Member in the Hall shall be personal estate, and not the nature of real estate.

9. A body Corporate may subscribe for permanent seats in the Hall, and be registered in their Corporate name as a Member.

10. The Commissioners shall be deemed to be entitled to a permanent seat in respect of every £100 advanced by them on account of their guarantee, and may be registered as a Member accordingly. The Commissioners shall not be entitled, individually, to any seats possessed by them in their character of Commissioners.

11. Members will, on the completion of the Hall, be furnished with tickets entitling them, and those claiming seats from them, to go into any part of the Hall, or take any seat that is not appropriated for some special purpose or to some particular person, where the nature of the entertainment permits, and so far as is consistent with general comfort and convenience, and with the regulations of the Corporation for the time being in force.

12. The register of Members shall state the name and address of each Member and the seat or seats to which he is entitled, and the sum payable in respect of such seat, and the amount paid by the Member. And such register shall be *prima facie* evidence of the matters directed by this Charter to be inserted therein.

13. No notice of any trust, expressed, implied, or constructive, shall be entered on the register, or be receivable by or on behalf of the Corporation.

14. A certificate, under the Common Seal of the Corporation, specifying the seats belonging to any Member, shall be *prima facie* evidence of the title of the Member to such seats, and shall be given to any Member on payment of such sum, not exceeding 1s., as may be determined by the regulations of the Corporation for the time being in force.

CALLS.

15. When a sufficient sum has been subscribed to insure, in the opinion of the Provisional Committee, the completion of the Hall, the Provisional Committee may from time to time make such calls upon the Members in respect of any instalments payable by them, as the Provisional Committee think fit, provided that twenty-one days' notice at least is given of each call, that calls are made at intervals of not less than three months, and are spread over a period of not less than two years, and each Member, or his legal personal representatives, hereinafter included under the term "Member", shall be liable to pay the amount so called for to the persons, and at the times and places appointed by the Provisional Committee.

16. If the call payable by any Member is not paid at the appointed place before, or on the day appointed for payment thereof, the Member shall be liable to pay interest for the same at the rate of £7 in the £100 from the day appointed for the payment thereof, to the time of the actual payment; and it shall be lawful for the Corporation to sue such Member for the amount thereof, in any court of law or equity having competent jurisdiction.

17. In any action or suit brought by the Corporation against any Member to recover any call, or other moneys due from such Member in his character of Member, it shall not be necessary to set forth the special manner, but it shall be sufficient to allege that the defendant is a Member of the Corporation, and is indebted to the Corporation in respect of a call, or other moneys due, whereby an action or suit hath accrued to the Corporation.

18. If any Member fails to pay any call on the day appointed for payment thereof, the Provisional Committee may, at any time thereafter, during such time as the call remains unpaid, serve a notice on him by post, addressed to his registered place of residence, requiring him to pay such call, together with interest, and any expenses that may have accrued by reason of such non-payment.

19. The notice shall name a further day, on or before which such call, and all interest and expenses that have accrued by reason of such non-payment are to be paid. It shall also name the place where payment is to be made. The notice shall also state, that in the event of non-payment at or before the time, and at the place appointed the seat of the Member will be liable to be forfeited.

20. If the requisitions of any such notice as aforesaid are not complied with, the seat of any Member to whom such notice has been given, may, at any time thereafter, before payment of all calls interest, and expenses due in respect thereof has been made, be forfeited, by a resolution of the Provisional Committee to that effect.

21. When a Member has forfeited his seat, any payments which may have been made by him in respect thereof shall be deemed to be the property of the Corporation, and may be disposed of in such manner as the Provisional Committee think fit, but the forfeiture of the seat of a Member shall not preclude the Corporation from recovering any moneys due from him to the Corporation at the time of forfeiture.

22. A statement under the seal of the Corporation, and signed by any Member of the Provisional Committee, that the call in respect of a seat was made, and notice thereof given, and that default in payment of the call was made, and that the forfeiture of the seat was made by a resolution of the Provisional Committee to that effect, shall be sufficient evidence of the facts therein stated, as against all persons entitled to such seat; and such statement, and the receipt of the Corporation for the price of such seat shall constitute a good title to such seat, in favour of any person to whom the Corporation may sell the same and a certificate of Membership shall be delivered to a purchaser, and thereupon he shall be deemed the holder of such seat discharged from all calls due prior to such purchase and he shall not be bound to see to the application of the purchase-money, nor shall his title to such seat be affected by any irregularity in the proceedings in reference to such sale.

23. Where a Member has subscribed for a box, or is otherwise entitled to more seats than one in the Hall, all payments made or to be made by him shall be apportioned rateably amongst the several seats to which he is entitled, and shall not be attributed to any particular seat.

TRANSFERS OF SEATS.

24. A permanent seat in the Hall may be transferred by the registered holder thereof, and the transferee shall be registered as a holder of such seat in the place of the transferor. The instrument of transfer of any seat in the Corporation shall be executed both by the transferor and transferee, and the transferor shall be deemed to remain the holder of such seat until the name of the transferee is entered in the register book in respect thereof.

25. Seats in the corporation shall be transferred in the following form, or in such other form as may be prescribed by the regulations of the Corporation for the time being in force.

I, *A.B.*, of in consideration of the sum of pounds, paid to me by *C.D.*, of do hereby transfer to the said *C.D.* the box; No or the seat [or seats] No. of which I am registered as holder in the books of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences, to hold unto the said *C.D.*, his executors, administrators, and assigns, subject to the several conditions on which I held the same at the time of the execution hereof; and I the said *C.D.* do hereby agree to take the said [box] or [seat] or [seats] subject to the same conditions. As witness our hands the day of

26. The Corporation may decline to register any transfer of seats made by a Member who is indebted to the Corporation.

27. Every transfer of a box or seat shall be stamped as required by law, and the Corporation may charge, in respect of the register of such transfer, any sum not exceeding five shillings, which may be prescribed by the regulations of the Corporation for the time being in force.

28. The transfer books shall be closed at such times not exceeding in the whole twenty-eight days in a year, exclusive of Sundays. And holidays, as may be prescribed by the regulations for the time being of the Corporation.

TRANSMISSION OF SEATS.

29. The executors or administrators of a deceased Member shall be the only persons recognized by the Corporation as having any title to his seat.

30. Any person becoming entitled to a seat in consequence of the death or bankruptcy of any Member, or in consequence of the marriage of any female Member, may be registered as a Member upon such evidence being produced as may be required by the governing body for the time being of the Corporation.

VOTES OF MEMBERS.

31. Every Member shall have one vote for every seat of which he is registered as holder.

32. If two or more persons being the assignees or personal representatives of a former Member, are registered as the joint holders of a seat or seats, the person whose name stands first in the register of Members as one of the holders of such seat or seats and no other, shall be entitled to vote in respect of the same.

33. No Member shall be entitled to vote at any General Meeting unless all calls due from him have been paid and no Member shall be entitled to vote in respect of any seat that he has acquired by transfer unless he has been possessed of the seat in respect of which he claims to vote, and shall have been registered as the holder thereof for at least three months previously to the time of holding the meeting at which he proposes to vote.

34. Votes, in the case of individuals, may be given either personally or by proxy, but in the case of a corporation shall be given by proxy.

35. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be in writing, under the hand of the appointer, or if such appointer is a corporation, under their common seal, and shall be attested by one or more witness or witnesses; no person who is not a Member of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences shall be appointed proxy of an individual Member, but in the case of a corporation, any member of such corporation, or any officer thereof may be appointed a proxy.

36. The instrument appointing a proxy shall be stamped, as required by law, and shall be deposited at the Office of the Corporation not less than 48 hours before the time for holding the meeting at which the person named in such instrument proposes to vote.

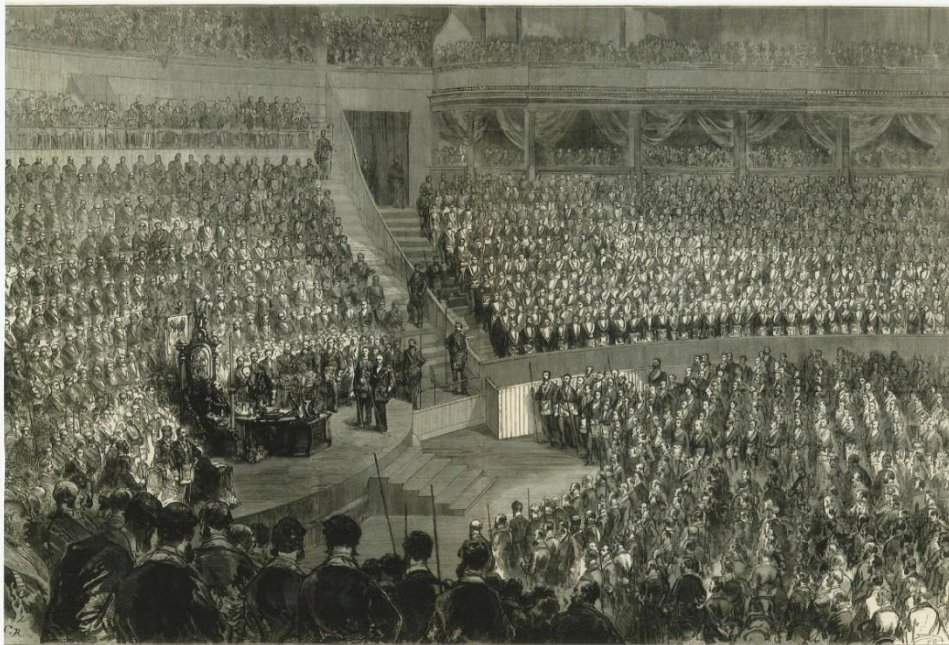
37. Any instrument appointing a proxy shall be in such form as may be prescribed by the Provisional Committee or the regulations of the Corporation for the time being.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.

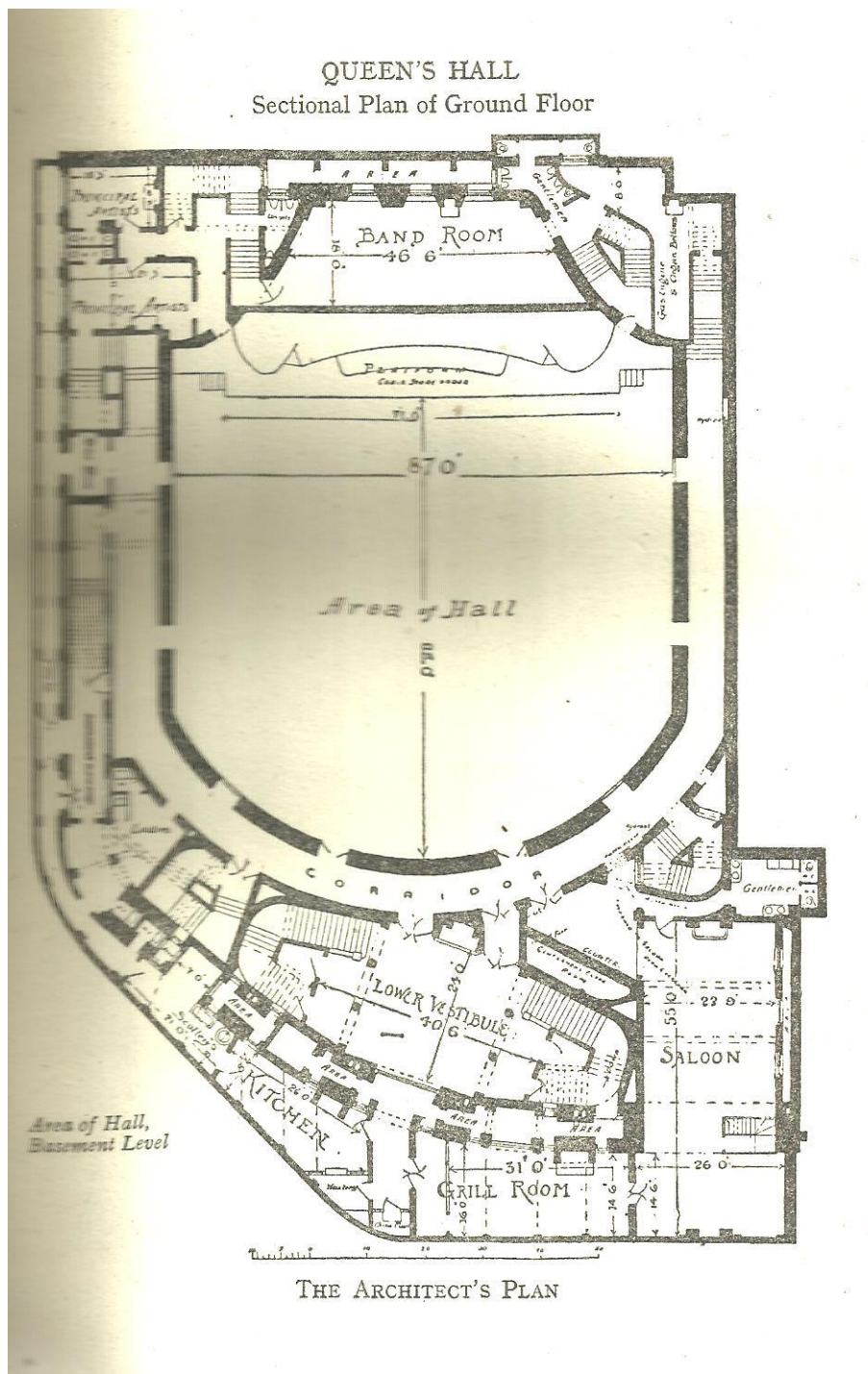
38. Any powers by this Schedule conferred on the Provisional Committee may be exercised by the governing body for the time being of the Corporation.

In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourself at Our Palace at Westminster, the Eighth day of April, in the Thirtieth year of Our Reign.

2.3 Illustration of the Installation of the Prince of Wales as Grand Master of the Freemasons at the Royal Albert Hall, 1875



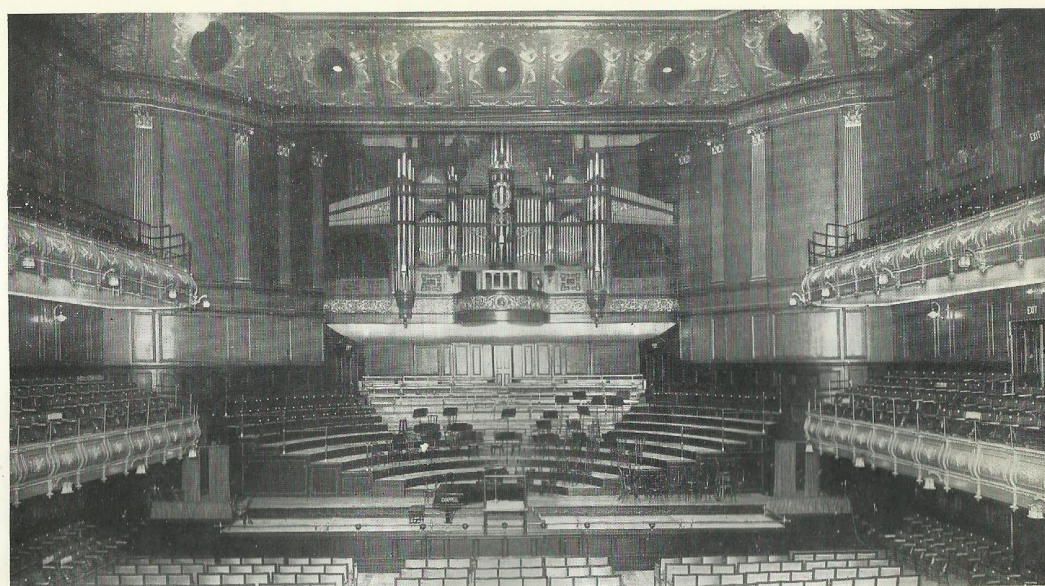
2.4 Queen's Hall: Sectional Plan of Ground Floor and photographs





EXTERIOR OF QUEEN'S HALL FROM LANGHAM PLACE

By courtesy of Chappell & Co. Ltd.



INTERIOR OF QUEEN'S HALL, 1924



A bombed Queen's Hall



Photograph of Henry Wood (centre) surveying the damage to Queen's Hall

2.5 Financial Documents

Table 2: Financial outcomes for the RAH from 1988 to 2011:

£'000	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Operating Income	2,663	3,042	3,550	4,253	4,414	4,786	4,883	4,853	6,251	6,825	7,122	7,482
Operating Expenditure	2,179	2,480	2,970	3,243	3,358	3,586	4,053	4,041	4,042	4,965	5,069	5,300
Operating Surplus	484	562	580	1,010	1,056	1,200	830	812	1,849	1,860	2,053	2,182
Operating Surplus per show	1.8	2.2	2.0	3.7	4.2	4.3	3.2	3.3	6.0	5.8	6.4	6.6
Show count	265	254	296	271	252	279	256	248	308	320	321	329

£'000	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Operating Income	7,300	7,363	7,792	8,512	10,003	9,673	10,079	11,377	11,738	12,176	13,957	15,783
Operating Expenditure	5,619	6,148	6,765	7,042	8,183	8,277	8,429	9,142	9,799	10,316	10,872	11,174
Operating Surplus	1,681	1,215	1,027	1,470	1,820	1,396	1,650	2,235	1,939	1,860	3,085	4,609
Operating Surplus per show	5.5	4.0	3.2	4.5	5.0	3.9	4.7	6.2	5.4	5.2	8.1	12.4
Show count	303	301	322	328	365	354	352	360	356	359	381	372

Table 3: Gross Seat rate history (1980 – 2012)

Year	Gross Seat rate
1980	90
1981	90
1982	100
1983	100
1984	200
1985	210
1986	210
1987	240
1988	325
1989	325
1990	450
1991	483
1992	500
1993	514
1994	527
1995	556
1996	576
1997	583
1998	610

1999	633
2000	636
2001	669
2002	702
2003	732
2004	761
2005	828
2006	854
2007	901
2008	959
2009	981
2010	988
2011	1035
2012	1060

Table 4: Operating surplus and deficit

Year	Total surplus/deficit from operating activities
1876	-478775.51
1880	205627.66
1887	-102118.60
1926	219856.86
1931	279025.30
1936	-204127.50
1939	-173164.16
1940	-280500.09
1941	-73585.714
1942	118150
1943	122770.16
1944	-216920
1945	-118078.63
1946	715473.33
1951	62361.67
1956	247006.62
1971	1709532.75
1976	1956406.75

Table 5: RAH operating surpluses 1988 – 2011

Year	RAH Operating Surplus (£000s)
1988	484
1989	562
1990	580
1991	1010
1992	1056
1993	1200
1994	830
1995	812
1996	1849
1997	1860
1998	2585
1999	2482
2000	1982
2001	1509
2002	1064
2003	1649
2004	2146
2005	1757
2006	1778
2007	2430
2008	2468
2009	2465
2010	3342
2011	4809

Table 6: Inflation adjusted Seat Rate Income

Year	Seat Rate Income
1876	0
1880	0
1887	488888.4
1926	148644.3
1931	83750.6
1936	169447.5
1939	156360.7
1940	199556.5
1941	177725.9

1942	165240
1943	159909.7
1944	155520
1945	149807.6
1946	145444.4
1951	107695
1956	158944.4
1971	582216
1976	413616.2

Table 7: Inflation-adjusted salary expenditure

Year	Salary expenditure
1876	88989.8
1880	38304.26
1887	48390.7
1926	326142.3
1931	388214.5
1936	461422.5
1939	344677.5
1940	119117.9
1941	196395.5
1942	292825
1943	310071.8
1944	352560
1945	427699.2
1946	556240
1951	639086.7
1956	678941.7
1971	0
1976	0

Table 8: Real salary expenditure: 1963 – 1991

Year	Real Salaries and Wages
1963	46619
1964	51565
1965	53385
1966	57161
1967	63413
1968	68810
1969	73383
1970	79258
1971	92379
1972	102931
1973	113823
1974	143224
1975	188354
1976	209811
1977	228446
1978	258444
1979	283727
1980	518373
1981	621028
1982	703786
1983	771378
1984	761636
1985	818428
1986	0
1987	818227
1988	880003
1989	1166023
1990	1396392
1991	1684193

2.6 Tables of Events

Table 9: Show Count History: Total, ordinaries and exclusive lets, 1926 – 2013.

Year	Total Show Count	Ordinaries	Exclusives
1926	121	90	31
1927	138	106	32
1928	130	108	22
1929	124	94	30
1930	146	106	40
1931	150	119	31
1932	125	92	33
1933	108	73	35
1934	158	122	36
1935	144	108	36
1936	145	103	42
1937	128	0	0
1938	127	0	0
1939	92	65	27
1940	0	0	0
1941	77	73	4
1942	141	137	4
1943	178	168	10
1944	143	135	8
1945	248	238	10
1946	366	356	10
1947	354	344	10
1948	377	367	10
1949	365	354	11
1950	350	338	12
1951	330	316	14
1952	256	238	18
1953	252	234	18
1954	233	215	18
1955	268	252	16
1956	289	268	21
1957	252	237	15
1958	272	0	0
1959	256	0	0
1960	257	0	0
1961	254	0	0
1962	266	0	0
1963	281	0	0
1964	293	0	0
1965	247	0	0
1966	233	0	0

1967	282	180	102
1968	255	171	84
1969	277	188	89
1970	269	178	91
1971	294	192	102
1972	293	202	91
1973	288	198	90
1974	266	177	89
1975	300	185	115
1976	299	196	103
1977	307	210	97
1978	317	211	106
1979	295	183	112
1980	278	168	110
1981	295	178	117
1982	286	178	108
1983	277	165	112
1984	241	136	105
1985	270	165	105
1986	276	170	106
1987	273	163	110
1988	265	165	100
1989	254	152	102
1990	296	187	109
1991	271	188	83
1992	252	169	83
1993	279	183	96
1994	256	183	73
1995	248	175	73
1996	308	195	113
1997	320	214	106
1998	321	191	130
1999	329	207	122
2000	303	206	97
2001	301	195	106
2002	322	204	118
2003	328	203	125
2004	365	224	141
2005	354	236	118
2006	352	219	133
2007	360	234	126
2008	356	223	133
2009	359	223	136
2010	381	244	137
2011	372	229	143
2012	377	247	130
2013	390	248	142

Table 10: Total number of events: 1871–1890, 1930–1955 and 1995–2015

Year	Total number of events
1871	36
1872	72
1873	52
1874	57
1875	49
1876	27
1877	36
1878	34
1879	41
1880	33
1881	97
1882	78
1883	43
1884	38
1885	32
1886	40
1887	51
1888	45
1889	42
1890	25
1930	139
1931	142
1932	119
1933	126
1934	155
1935	143
1936	139
1937	128
1938	131
1939	88
1940	2
1941	102
1942	170
1943	207
1944	194
1945	297
1946	342
1947	318

1948	368
1949	356
1950	336
1951	305
1952	259
1953	255
1954	231
1955	283
1995	259
1996	327
1997	332
1998	331
1999	356
2000	318
2001	312
2002	33
2003	341
2004	381
2005	374
2006	401
2007	447
2008	436
2009	422
2010	579
2011	546
2012	567
2013	663
2014	943
2015	1025

Table 11: Number of scientific events held at the Royal Albert Hall: 1871–2015

Year	Scientific Event
1871	3
1872	3
1873	1
1874	1
1875	1
1876	2
1877	0
1878	2
1879	4
1880	0
1881	63
1882	45
1883	8
1884	4
1885	0
1886	1
1887	0
1888	1
1889	5
1890	1
1930	0
1931	19
1932	9
1933	10
1934	9
1935	10
1936	9
1937	14
1938	4
1939	0
1940	0
1941	0
1942	0
1943	0
1944	0
1945	0
1946	0
1947	0

1948	2
1949	0
1950	0
1951	0
1952	6
1953	0
1954	0
1955	11
1995	5
1996	5
1997	2
1998	7
1999	5
2000	4
2001	5
2002	8
2003	1
2004	5
2005	2
2006	7
2007	0
2008	3
2009	0
2010	60
2011	18
2012	11
2013	6
2014	124
2015	116

Table 12: Classical music at the RAH: Total number of concerts, Promenade concerts and Total number of events 1871–1890, 1930–1955 and 1995–2015

Year	Classical music	Total number of events	Promenade Concerts
1871	30	36	0
1872	68	72	0
1873	49	52	0
1874	47	57	0
1875	40	49	0
1876	23	27	0
1877	33	36	0
1878	25	34	0
1879	29	41	0
1880	30	33	0
1881	23	97	0
1882	27	78	0
1883	28	43	0
1884	28	38	0
1885	30	32	0
1886	26	40	0
1887	45	51	0
1888	41	45	0
1889	29	42	0
1890	18	25	0
1930	59	139	0
1931	48	142	0
1932	38	119	0
1933	34	126	0
1934	54	155	0
1935	51	143	0
1936	48	139	0
1937	35	128	0
1938	50	131	0
1939	58	88	0
1940	0	2	0
1941	95	102	37
1942	161	170	49
1943	190	207	55
1944	186	194	17
1945	262	297	50
1946	255	342	49

1947	236	318	61
1948	265	368	61
1949	268	356	49
1950	194	336	61
1951	187	305	61
1952	149	259	61
1953	139	255	55
1954	119	231	49
1955	115	283	49
1995	117	259	74
1996	134	327	77
1997	151	332	79
1998	154	331	78
1999	139	356	77
2000	157	318	76
2001	145	312	77
2002	152	333	79
2003	150	341	79
2004	145	381	79
2005	154	374	78
2006	148	401	78
2007	154	447	76
2008	159	436	81
2009	144	422	80
2010	162	579	80
2011	185	546	79
2012	189	567	84
2013	213	663	80
2014	207	943	80
2015	338	1025	80

Appendix 3: Perceptions

3.1 Preliminary interview research

Meeting with Lucy Noble, Head of Programming and Education at the Royal Albert Hall:
29/5/12: 10am

[Questions in roman type, answers in italics]

1. How much does the RAH's charity status affect what can/cannot be programmed?

Not that much. About eighty charity events a year. RAH gives 20% off the rental hire to charities – does not have to but chooses to. As part of the lottery funding education work had to be included in what the Hall does. However, the Hall chooses to do as much as it does. Hall's choice, not restrictive.

2. Survey talked about at stewards' training – why was it carried out? When?

Carried out in 2009, wanted to discover how Hall was perceived. Some quite negative perceptions – old fashioned, stuffy, upper class etc. Wanted to change these – the RAH is cool! Huge variety of events – needed to show this better.

3. Has there been another survey since to establish whether perceptions have changed? (Is it possible to get hold of the surveys? Could I do a follow up one if there hasn't been one?)

No. I could do one perhaps? Speak to Jessica from marketing.

4. Is the Hall trying to get away from its image and perception as the home of the 'Last night of the Proms'?

Does not want to get away from this image – a big part of the Hall's heritage and history – but wants to expand upon it. Show off the Hall's diversity and variation. Diversity is definitely strength rather than a challenge or difficulty.

5. Things really appear to have changed perceptibly in the last twelve months or so – is this to do with the recession? Or was there always a plan to try to reach out to new audiences? Financial incentives?

The recession has not really affected the Hall at all. Still turning down shows, not enough free dates in the year! People want to perform at the Hall, 'makes' their careers. Only reason people have cancelled shows this year has been through illness or injury, not

because of money. Hall is trying to attract younger bands – and therefore a younger audience. Lucy would say that the RAH's real competitors are not the ROH or the O2, but rather Hammersmith Apollo, Shepherds Bush and Brixton Academy and perhaps the Festival Hall. All a similar size to the Hall.

O2 has not taken shows from the Hall, more from Earls Court and Wembley.

6. Some events have been on the Hall's calendar for decades – is it possible to get promoters to move with the times too?

Hall would not advise a promoter regarding the artistic side of things – but would pass on information regarding whether something had worked well or not. If it goes badly would not ask that promoter back again.

Hall strong enough not to have as much Gubbay as he would like. Can say 'no' in order to have more RAH promoted events.

Gubbay opera and ballet are co-promotes with the Hall. The Classical Spectacular shows and the Christmas Festival are not though.

7. Does the Hall have a religious licence?

Not specifically for religious activities – the main licence covers this. Have to be careful with religious events – if they are too radical this can impact negatively upon the Hall.

8. The Hall is a receiving House – but it appears to becoming more autonomous – more co-promotes etc. Is there an aim that one day the majority of the Hall's programming might be done in-house/ through co-promotes?

This is definitely the case but it is all about balance. Need the 'standards' – Cirque, TCT (Teenage Cancer Trust concerts), Gubbay, Proms etc. – in order to be able to do more of our own promotes.

All the 'More at the Hall' events are promoted just by the RAH. No other promoter involved. Club night in September.

If worried that a young band might be a risk in terms of audience can always put them in the Elgar – great that we can be so diverse!

9. 'Albertopolis' as an area has really expanded since the Exhibition Road development. I know that there are already links between the Hall and RCM but is there a plan to expand these relationships and work with the other institutions of South Ken too? Science Museum/ V & A etc.

Yes. Once things a bit more sorted within the RAH itself there are plans to expand upon the relationships within the South Ken area. Lucy meeting with the Science Museum shortly. Other institutions want to collaborate with the Hall, Hall perceived has having money and successful.

10. More and more high-profile events coming to the Hall – Titanic première, Olympic Gala – is this likely to increase?

Hopefully but this is a lot down to luck. Film premieres tend to happen quickly, just whether the Hall is free or not! However, RAH staff are having meetings with film producers etc. to try to get more of those types of events. We do go after the high-profile events. The Olympic Gala had been booked in for years however!

Other info:

The Proms brings in about 25% of the total audience for the Hall each year.

Hall's core audience is 85% the same year-on- year. Trying to change this – not so much middle to upper class, middle-aged and elderly people. Trying to attract younger audiences too.

Door 6 being opened up during the Proms this year – Hall therefore more inviting, open to public, get more walk ups for tours etc.

Meeting with James Ainscough Director of Finance and Administration at the RAH – 8/6/12: 11am

1. How does the Hall survive financially? What is the structure of the RAH?

No financial help from Central Government. Members' stipend, the shows (the Calendar), corporate means – more recently co-promotes and events in other parts of the Hall such as the Loading Bay and the Elgar Room.

Structure of the RAH:

The day-to-day management of the Hall is the responsibility of the Chief Executive, Chris Cotton, who is accountable to the Council for all aspects of the Hall's operations. He is supported by four Directors.

The Council of the Corporation of the Hall of Arts and Sciences is also the trustee body of the charity. Eighteen of the Council are elected from Members of the Corporation, being individual or corporate owners of seats in the Hall who are the successors of those who subscribed capital to fund the Hall's original construction. There are in addition five members of the Council who are appointed by the bodies indicated in the list below.

The President of the Corporation is elected by the Members each year.

The Council operates through a series of sub-committees responsible for different aspects of the Corporation's responsibilities. For example, the Finance Committee signs off budget.

The President and members of the Council are un-remunerated.

The Secretary to the Corporation is responsible for all administrative aspects of the Council's affairs and for company secretarial duties.

Roles: The Trustees have a vision and The Executive fulfils this.

Council are all Members apart from the member from the South Kensington group – no conflict of interest.

One Government appointed member of the Council.

2. Why are things so much better now than they were in previous years? For example, in the 1980s. Now the RAH has an operating surplus.

55 extra shows at least a year now since the building development. Also, because of Cirque du Soleil – this show came for the first time in 1990 – massive hike in operating surplus after this, filled a big hole in the Hall’s calendar.

3. Is the Hall allowed to make money even though it is a charity?

1966 – When the RAH gained charity status. Trustees there because the Hall is a charity. They make sure that the Hall’s operating surplus gets pumped back into the running of the building and educational projects.

4. What is the remit that the Hall must fulfil in order to be a charity?

Two parts of having charity status –

‘The Promotion of the Arts and Sciences’ and ‘Enjoying the Building’. Therefore, the RAH must provide access to people who might not otherwise be able to go to a venue like the Hall because of financial difficulties or physical disabilities. The RAH provides performance and educational opportunities for thousands of children every year.

5. Have there been other changes over the past twenty years or so that have changed the financial status of the Hall?

Until the 1990s the Hall did very badly financially. There have been two factors that have changed this – the advent of the Cirque effect and the building development of 1997 – 2004 – this made many more shows possible.

Cirque is the singular most financially beneficial show over the last twenty years. Before then shows such as the ‘Tweenies Live’ filled the calendar after New Year.

BUT Cirque does not contribute to the Arts and Sciences remit of the Hall's Charity

Status, just to 'using the building'. Cirque brings in at least half a million pounds each year.

6. How much do the Members contribute through their annual stipend?

The Members currently pay an annual stipend of £1000 each. This amounts to approximately 1.1 million.

The Members still do not like exclusive lets.

Promoters have to pay more for exclusive lets – in reality the Hall has two sizes. One of 5222 and one nearer 3000.

7. What is the Hall's official status on Members selling tickets? Are they allowed?

Members CAN re-sell their tickets – RAH have a return ticket scheme; however, they can make more money by using Viagogo/ gumtree/ eBay.

In the last 5 – 10 years websites like Viagogo have become more prevalent, they have become big business – members can make lots of money.

However, Members have primary rights over their tickets – normal patrons have secondary rights. Two strands to the Member ticket problem aside from morals and ethics –

1. Charity law states that the trustees cannot benefit from the charity.

2. Members have property rights to their seats.

These two strands are in direct conflict with one another. To resolve can either go via the negotiation route or through Court. RAH nowhere near Court, trying to do negotiation. Only if Members were very detrimental to the Hall's image would the RAH go down the Court route.

Charity Commission cannot revoke the Hall's charity status – would just be giving a public building back to private individuals – Members win! It could replace the Board of trustees with its own people – but this is usually only after bankruptcy or blatant corruption. There would be a huge outcry against this at the Hall.

The Members do make it difficult to catch genuine fraudulent ticket sellers. Which is a Members ticket vs. which is a fraudulent ticket on Viagogo?

In the past Members have saved the Hall financially. Without the annual stipend, and the financial increases that have been put upon the Members the Hall would have gone bankrupt many years ago.

8. What percentage of the Hall's revenue is gained through corporate means? Has this grown over recent years? Has it been affected by the recession?

2009 – Slight dip in corporate sales – recession.

Pre-2008 lease boxes were the only corporate avenue at the Hall. Now have lease, hospitality packages, and corporate sponsorship – like the bars. Hall provides its own hospitality packages, in-house – more visible. Corporate sponsorship on bars – help to renovate bars without the Hall paying for it and then that space helps the company to make money.

Linked brands – Moet etc. with RAH brand. Can reinforce the other brand as premium.

RAH needs to be careful however, make sure that RAH brand does not suffer because of its partner brands. Rhubarb – offered more money than Leith's. BUT also, better food. Big-name chefs. Bespoke menus/offers. Have greater flexibility and looking to expand this. If you give people what they want they will pay for it. E.g. Indian night – curry.

Extras make money. Food and drink purely a commercial venue – we can treat it commercially. No one forced to eat and drink in the Hall. Best Acts and Best stage = steady/no risk – longevity added to this.

Harder for the likes of Brixton Academy and Hammersmith Apollo.

During recession – ‘flight to safety’ – people less likely to take risks.

The Calendar drives the Hall. Central to everything.

Recession – shown that premium brands stay/ survive. RAH is a premium brand.

3.2 Venue Comparison Documents

PhD venue comparisons: Wilton's Music Hall

Name of venue: Wilton's Music Hall

Name of show: Les Bougies Baroque perform *Il Parnaso Confuso* by C. W. Gluck.

My seat: Unreserved seating – I sat on the second row of seating in the gallery, directly opposite the stage.

Expectations

My own:

I visited Wilton's in 2011 before the refurbishment had begun and fundraising was still taking place. On that occasion, I went on a tour of the building and afterwards visited the bar. In 2011, it was not possible to go upstairs into the gallery as it was not safe. This time I hoped that more of the building would be accessible.

Based on marketing material previous to concert:

It appeared from the marketing material that the renovation project had been substantial and I was excited to see the changes that had occurred in the time since my previous visit.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show?

To perform *Il Parnaso Confuso* on baroque instruments, which does not occur often, and showcase the ensemble.

Mission/ vision statement of venue?

A Modern Music Hall: 'Wilton's is a place of artistic distinction and diversity; a hive of activity anchored by an historic building with soul and a heart – a place to experience and interact with.'

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building: Wilton's is a Victorian music hall sandwiched between modern buildings. It is easy to miss. Made of wood and stone it has retained many of its original Victorian features, such as the columns in the auditorium. The floors are uneven and the auditorium itself has a sloping floor, like raked seating. The feeling is that once inside you have stepped back in time.

Concert/ event timings: Start 7:30pm; End 9:10pm (No interval).

Pre-and interval impressions: Busy and a pleasant atmosphere. Lots of people were in the bar. It felt like I was somewhere unlike anywhere else in London. It is not a standard concert hall. Although there was no interval many members of the audience stayed afterwards too. Social atmosphere.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, the coupling of period music with a theatre restored to its Victorian glory gave for quite a special ambiance.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? All the front of house staff were very helpful (stewards and box office). The queue in the bar was very long, and the barmaid gave my friend the wrong change. Quite expensive for drinks and snacks.

What is this Hall seeking to do? Give audiences the opportunity to have a unique concert experience. Wilton's is a unique performance space and performances that take place there will feel unlike modern concert venues.

Performers

Attire: Orchestra in all black. Opera singers in costume.

What are they doing? Performing Gluck's opera *Il Parnaso Confuso*.

Audience interaction? Bowing. Standing.

Artistic goals? To perform the work on period instruments, but with a modern interpretation, to the highest possible standard.

Quality of performance: Young ensemble but very high standard of singing and playing.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: Excellent – despite the lack of interval I was engaged the whole way through. Very funny and emotive.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) Many audience members seem to be family or friends of the performers. Generally middle aged with some younger audience members too. Would suggest that most people are middle-class, smartly dressed. I was not the youngest member of the audience, perhaps music students in attendance?

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? Although my role is simply to sit and enjoy the performance, the fact that it is so funny and engaging means that there is quite a lot of laughter. This encourages the performers and shows that as audience members we can affect the performance by providing a good atmosphere.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Yes – laughter, applause.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? Everyone appears very engaged. Lots of laughter and hardly any fidgeting, at least in the area around me. Afterwards people are in high spirits – the bar is noisy and there are lots of audible 'well done!' and 'I really enjoyed that' comments.

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? A baroque ensemble performing a baroque work in a historical and atmospheric venue. Overall an innovative performance.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes. The audience have their expectations met and possibly exceeded. The acoustics of the hall are good.

Is the programme successful? Yes, it was a great performance. The performer's skills were exhibited and the ensemble appeared well-prepared.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, the bar is open and there is plenty of space in which to socialise.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? This was a good performance, but if it was not in Wilton's I think some of the magic of this particular evening would have been lost. Perhaps having an interval, if this is possible, would have added to the evening as a whole?

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? I would say that the two complimented each other well, so this was fairly equal.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? The ambiance of the venue added something magical to what was a very good performance.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? Yes.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I really enjoyed it and would like to see something else there.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? This is the oldest venue I have attended as part of my fieldwork. Effective front of house staff, nice ambiance, not a commercial venue.

PhD venue comparisons: Wigmore Hall

Name of venue: Wigmore Hall

Name of show: *Exaudi*

My seat: Stalls Right, Row N, Seat 11.

Programme -

Léonin: *Alleluia*. Video celos

Scelsi: *Tre Canti Sacri*

Machaut: *Benedictus (Messe de Nostre Dame)*;

Rose, liz, printemps, verdure;

Agnus Dei (*Messe de Nostre Dame*)

Heinz Holliger: Selection from “nicht Ichts – nicht Nichts” (UK première)

Johannes Ciconia: *Le ray au soleyl*

Rodericus: *Angelorum psalat*

Rodericus arr. Weeks: *Angelorum salad*

Michael Finnissy: *Kelir*

Expectations

My own: I have visited Wigmore Hall previous to this evening, but always to listen to instrumental ensembles (mainly quartets). I was interested to listen to a vocal ensemble of ten singers in this space.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: There did not appear to be any marketing material for this concert apart from its listing on Wigmore Hall's website. It seemed like it would be a pleasant evening of early choral music by young singers who are established but exciting in their approach to classical music.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? A double homage – first to the virtuosity of *Exaudi* and second to the programming vision of Sir William Glock – he placed early and contemporary music side-by-side in programmes.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? The Wigmore Hall has a Trust, who's mission statement is:

To ensure international recognition for Wigmore Hall as the pre-eminent recital hall for chamber and instrumental music, early music and song, and as a commissioning centre of excellence.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building: Discreetly nestled in Central London, the Hall – renowned for its intimacy, responsive acoustic and its Arts and Crafts interior – has a capacity of 552 seats, but draws in audiences from far and wide through its enterprising use of digital media and its ambitious learning and outreach programmes; these go beyond concert audiences to embrace schools, nurseries,

hospitals, community centres and care homes. Opened as Bechstein Hall in 1901 this venue has a long history. The auditorium is warm and comfortable, although there is not much leg room.

Concert/ event timings: Start 7:30pm; Interval 8:30pm (20 minutes), End 9:50pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: I have attended this concert alone so I have not left loads of time before the concert starts. However, there are many others sitting alone in the bar, perhaps perusing the programme or having a quiet drink. By the time I have bought a programme and taken my seat there are a few minutes before the concert starts.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, vocal music works exceptionally well in Wigmore's intimate atmosphere and acoustic. The clarity of the acoustic means that the voices are not lost.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? I didn't dine pre-concert, but this is possible. The stewards are very helpful, although as the auditorium is so small it is quite easy to find one's seat.

What is this Hall seeking to do? To be one of the world's leading recital venues.

Performers

Attire: The performers are wearing smart concert clothes, in all black.

What are they doing? Singing.

Audience interaction? Clapping at the end of pieces.

Artistic goals? To combine contemporary and early vocal music in such a way as does not feel uncomfortable for the audience.

Quality of performance: High-quality vocal ensemble.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: Although I am a musician I am not a singer, so I had wondered beforehand if I would simply enjoy the music, but perhaps not be that engaged with it. As it turned out, I did enjoy the music, and I found the notes on the pieces most interesting. This evening's performance certainly whetted my appetite for vocal music.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) I was one of the youngest members of the audience. Most attendees were over sixty, there were some very elderly-looking patrons. The audience is smartly dressed and most people have bought the extensive programme. This is an intellectual audience.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? To enjoy the music in silence and show appreciation through applause.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Through applause only.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? The auditorium is full and the applause goes on for several minutes – I would assert that the audience really enjoyed the concert.

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? I would suggest that this is a balanced programme – it is a mixture of modern works composed in a Renaissance style, and works from the Renaissance era.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, the music all sounds sublime in the Hall's acoustics. The programme explains why each piece has been chosen, for academic as well as artistic reasons, which will definitely interest the highly intellectual audience.

Is the programme successful? Yes, the juxtaposition of early and contemporary pieces works perfectly.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes, Exaudi perform to a very high standard.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, the bar is open.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? This is very much a 'typical' recital. The audience sits and listens while the artists perform. There is not much interaction between audience and performers.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The venue.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes, it was of excellent quality and the programme worked well.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? How well the early and contemporary music worked alongside each other.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? Yes, the acoustics are perfect for small-scale performance.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I felt very calm and uplifted post-concert. Although not an exciting evening, it was definitely an enjoyable experience.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? This is the smallest venue I am visiting, with perhaps the oldest audience. However, the performance was of excellent quality and the performers appeared fully engaged with their performance (unlike my perception of the performers at King's Place and Cadogan Hall).

PhD venue comparisons: The Coliseum

Name of venue: The Coliseum

Name of show: English National Opera – *Xerxes* (Opera) by Handel. Friday 3rd October 2014.

My seat: Balcony – B7

Expectations

My own: I had been to the Coliseum previous to this evening. However, I had not seen a baroque opera before so I was intrigued as to how it would compare to the operas of Verdi, Wagner and Puccini, of which I have seen many. I was aware of several of the cast as singers so I expected it to be a good production musically.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: ENO's website suggested that this particular award-winning production of *Xerxes* was particularly special, and the photos and synopsis suggested that the opera would be amusing. Therefore, I expected that it would be a good evening of musical entertainment.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? To perform the opera *Xerxes*, in English and to a high standard.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? English National Opera is founded on the belief that opera of the highest quality should be accessible to everyone.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building:

The London Coliseum was designed by Frank Matcham for Sir Oswald Stoll with the ambition of being the largest and finest 'people's palace of entertainment' of the age. Matcham wanted a Theatre of Variety – not a music hall but equally not highbrow entertainment. The resulting programme was a mix of music hall and variety theatre, with one act – a full scale revolving chariot race – requiring the stage to revolve. The theatre's original slogan was PRO BONO PUBLICO (For the public good). It was opened in 1904 and the inaugural performance was a variety bill on 24 December that year.

With 2,359 seats, the London Coliseum is the largest theatre in London. It underwent extensive renovations between 2000 and 2004 when an original staircase planned by Frank Matcham was finally put in to his specifications.

The theatre changed its name from the London Coliseum to the Coliseum Theatre between 1931 and 1968. During the Second World War, the Coliseum served as a canteen for Air Raid Patrol workers, and Winston Churchill gave a speech from the stage.

After 1945 it was mainly used for American musicals before becoming in 1961 a cinema for seven years. In 1968, it reopened as the London Coliseum, home of Sadler's Wells Opera. In 1974 Sadler's Wells became English National Opera and the Company bought the freehold of the building for £12.8 million in 1992.

The theatre underwent a complete and detailed restoration from 2000 which was supported by National Heritage Lottery Fund, English Heritage, the National Lottery through Arts Council England and Vernon & Hazel Ellis. The auditorium and other public areas were returned to their original Edwardian decoration and new public spaces were created. The theatre reopened in 2004.

The London Coliseum has the widest proscenium arch in London (55 feet wide and 34 feet high – the stage is 80 feet wide, with a throw of over 115 feet from the stage to the back of the balcony) and was one of the first theatres to have electric lighting.

It was built with a revolving stage, although this was rarely used. This consisted of three concentric rings and was 75 feet across, and cost Stoll £70,000. A range of modern features included electric lifts for patrons, a roof garden and an information bureau. Here, physicians, or others expecting urgent telephone calls or telegrams, could leave their seat numbers and be immediately informed if required.

Concert/ event timings: Running time – 3hrs 30mins including two intervals. Start 7pm; Interval 8pm (20 mins); End 10:30pm

Pre-and interval impressions: There is a pleasant atmosphere in the bar beforehand. I get a drink at the interval, and although I have attended tonight's opera alone I do not feel uncomfortable. Patrons are sitting in small groups or couples chatting, and there are several others also on their own reading the programme.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, the theatre is well suited to hosting operatic productions.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? Drinks and dining are available – I have a drink and take my seat. The queue at the bar disappears quickly. I didn't see any front of house staff on my way to my seat from the bar.

What is this Hall seeking to do? The Coliseum is the home of ENO, so it is linked into ENO's mission to bring high-quality operatic performance to as many people as possible. However, it also needs to make enough money to survive, and on the website, there are options to hold events at the Coliseum, or hire the auditorium.

Performers

Attire: The opera singers are in 18th century costume.

What are they doing? Performing the opera – singing, acting, dancing.

Audience interaction? Acknowledgement of applause at the end of sections of music, and at the end of acts. Bowing.

Artistic goals? To perform Handel's opera to a high standard and bring it to as many people as possible.

Quality of performance: Very high quality.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: I really enjoyed the performance. The singers had incredible voices (especially their use of coloratura) and there were many comic moments. The story was easy to follow because it was in English and it appeared that the performers were enjoying telling it.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude). I am at the younger end of the spectrum. The audience consists mainly of people over 40. They are well dressed in the main. It seems that the majority have visited the Coliseum previously.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? I do not feel part of the performance, but I feel that I am being performed to. The audience is there to listen and appreciate.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Yes, through applause and cheering.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? There is laughter at the comic moments, and during the solo arias there is almost reverent silence. If I look around no one is dozing, they are all attentive.

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? Operatic.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, the Coliseum is renowned for its opera performances, and this work is no exception.

Is the programme successful? Yes. The opera seems to be enjoyed by the audience.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes, it is a wonderful performance.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? No, the bars are closed.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? I loved everything about this production. It was performed impeccably; the production was fun and the acting engaged the audience.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The performance.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes, the quality of the performance was exceptional and was accessible, too.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? I really enjoyed the production. The singers sounded amazing in this venue, and it was very amusing to watch.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? No.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I enjoyed the music, I was just slightly uncomfortable in my seat – there was not much leg room.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? The Coliseum is a theatre, rather than a concert hall. In much the same way as Hackney Empire, there were a few sight-line issues from my seat. Tonight, it did have a more relaxed atmosphere than the Royal Opera House.

PhD venue comparison: The Barbican

Name of venue: The Barbican

Name of show: BBC Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sakari Oramo.

My seat: Stalls Level Minus 1, Door 4, Seat M76.

Expectations

My own: I have attended orchestral concerts at Barbican Hall previously, so I know that generally orchestral music can be performed effectively in this venue.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: Aside from online, which states what is to be performed, there is no marketing material about this concert.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? To perform the following works:

Dukas- *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*

Bright Sheng – *Let Fly*, *BBC Commission: UK Première*

Béla Bartók – *Concerto for Orchestra*

This concert was part of the BBCSO Family programme, so was suggested as suitable for younger listeners.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? Driving the arts by leading, challenging and entertaining our audiences, through an imaginative, diverse and stimulating programme, offering quality, diversity and innovation, open and accessible to all. Satisfying our audiences by creating a welcoming and friendly environment which provides a total quality experience throughout the Barbican, offering education and outreach, expanding and extending our audiences and regularly exceeding our visitors' expectations. Serving our clients by serving the business community through the provision of high-quality facilities to meet their commercial and promotional needs and

setting such high standards that companies will consistently return to us and recommend us to others as a premier venue. Knowing our business by making the best use of resources provided by the Corporation of London, by being efficient and effective in everything we do so that the worlds of business and the arts recognise and respect us for our achievements.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building: A Grade II listed building, the Barbican is Europe's largest multi-arts and conference venue and one of London's best examples of Brutalist architecture. It was developed from designs by architects Chamberlin, Powell and Bon as part of a utopian vision to transform an area of London left devastated by bombing during the Second World War. The Centre took over a decade to build, with the final cost totalling £156 million (it would cost an astonishing £500 million to build today). The Barbican was opened by the Queen in 1982, who declared it 'one of the modern wonders of the world' with the building seen as a landmark in terms of its scale, cohesion and ambition. Its stunning spaces and unique location at the heart of the Barbican Estate have made it an internationally recognised venue, set within an urban landscape acknowledged as one of the most significant architectural achievements of the 20th century.

Concert/ event timings: Start 7:30pm; Interval 8:15pm (20 minutes); End 9:30pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: Barbican Hall is situated within the Barbican Complex. There are places to socialise and everything seems very clean and smart.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, this Hall hosts classical music performances on a regular basis. The LSO is resident at the Barbican, along with the BBCSO.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? There are bars and restaurants available before the concert. We had a drink pre-and post-concert. The stewards are helpful and polite.

What is this Hall seeking to do? The Barbican wants to inspire people to discover and love the arts.

Performers

Attire: Concert dress – black tie for men, long black dresses or top and trousers for women.

What are they doing? Performing orchestral repertoire.

Audience interaction? Applause.

Artistic goals? To perform music that will appeal to wide audience, and also educate the audience in contemporary music.

Quality of performance: The BBCSO is one of London's top orchestras. This was a performance of high quality.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: I enjoy the concert. It is a suitable length for an after-work or school performance, it is not too long and there is time to dine afterwards. The orchestra also seem to be enjoying the programme.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) Mainly middle aged - I am at the younger end of the spectrum but there are children in attendance too, as it is a family-friendly concert.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? I am not part of the performance. The audience's role is to sit and listen and then show appreciation through applause.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Applause after each piece.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? The audience clap enthusiastically. It seems that everyone enjoys the concert.

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? This is a balanced programme, and one that could be seen to be educational as it is intended as appropriate for families too. The pieces are not too long, so the concert is suitable for people who are new to classical music, and younger listeners.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, the Dukas is programmatic and the Bartók displays each orchestral instrument separately.

Is the programme successful? Yes, the pieces work well together, especially in a family-friendly concert.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes, this is a high-quality orchestral concert.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, the bars are still open.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? More interaction between the orchestra and the audience could be beneficial.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The performance.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes, the programme worked well.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? I liked listening to the commissioned piece, and Bartók's Concerto for Orchestra was fun to listen to.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? No.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I found the concert enjoyable.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? This venue is similar in size to the Royal Festival Hall. However, the immediate surroundings of the Barbican are not as attractive as the Southbank or South Kensington, where the RAH is located.

PhD venue comparisons: St John's Smith Square

Name of venue: St John's Smith Square

Name of show: Young Musicians Symphony Orchestra Concert – 18th June 2014

My seat: H5

Expectations

My own: I have attended and performed in many concerts at St John's Smith Square.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: The YMSO is a training orchestra for young musicians who have completed studying, but who have not yet obtained professional positions in orchestras. I assumed the quality would be fairly high, but perhaps not as good as a professional orchestra.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? For the Young Musicians Symphony Orchestra to perform.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? Does not appear to have one.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building:

For over 200 years, St John's Smith Square served as a parish church, though not without incident. In 1742 a major fire led to extensive restoration and modification to Archer's design. In 1815 the church was struck by lightning, causing subsidence to the towers, and in the early twentieth century it was the target of a Suffragette bomb plot. Ironically, in 1928, the church held Emmeline Pankhurst's funeral.

Perhaps heralding the future musical life of St John's Smith Square, in September 1901 Edith Hockey and Robert Britten were married here. Twelve years later, they had a son, Benjamin, who as an adult would record here with the Wandsworth School's Boys Choir. Perhaps the most dramatic night in St John's history was 10 May 1941, the final night of the Blitz, when a direct hit from an incendiary bomb gutted the church. After the war, it lay as a ruin and there was talk of turning the site into a car park. This galvanised local people, under the leadership of Lady Parker of Waddington, to raise the funds to buy the site and commission Marshall Sisson to lead the restoration to

Archer's original designs. When the work was completed in 1969, St John's Smith Square was re-born as one of the finest concert halls in London.

Concert/ event timings: Start 7:30pm; Interval 8:20pm; End 9:15pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: The crypt below the auditorium has wonderful food and is full of audience members eating and drinking – the food must be good!

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, the acoustics are superb.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? Yes, there is on-site dining available in the crypt. I see stewards selling programmes, but they are not very proactive so I find my seat by myself.

What is this Hall seeking to do? To provide as much classical music as possible to as many people as possible.

Performers

Attire: Concert dress – long black for ladies, black tie for men.

What are they doing? Performing orchestral works. Walton – *Spitfire Prelude and Fugue*, Cecil Forsyth – *Viola Concerto*, Elgar – *Symphony No.1*.

Audience interaction? Acknowledgement of applause – standing/bowing.

Artistic goals? To enable young people to perform the standard orchestral repertory.

Quality of performance: Good. There are just a couple of issues with intonation and ensemble, but in general it is very good.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: It was a good quality classical concert.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) Lots of parents, some younger audience members (perhaps siblings and friends). Also, some benefactors of the orchestra – very well dressed. A wider range of ages in general.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? The audience's role is to sit and listen.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Yes, through applause.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? It seems that the majority of people are engaged. The audience members around me seem attentive.

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? Standard orchestral repertoire.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes.

Is the programme successful? Yes.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? No, the restaurant downstairs is reserved for a private dinner.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance?
There were a few intonation and ensemble issues but in general the music was performed to a high standard.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The venue.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes, the young performers played well.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? It was great to see younger performers onstage.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? Yes.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? It made me want to go home and play my violin.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? As St. John's is first and foremost a church, it is different from nearly every other venue I have visited. However, I would say that the hospitality seems as good as at the Royal Opera House, and that the relaxed atmosphere provides a good backdrop for an evening's entertainment. At 900 seats, this venue is smaller than the RFH and the Barbican, but not as intimate as Wilton's or Wigmore.

PhD Venue Comparisons: Royal Festival Hall

Name of venue: Royal Festival Hall

Name of show: Philharmonia orchestra with Andris Nelsons conducting – Thursday 20th February 2014.

Brahms, *Academic Festival Overture*
Brahms, *Violin Concerto* (Christian Tetzlaff violin)
-interval-
Brahms, *Symphony No. 2*

My seat: Balcony – seat 41.

Expectations

My own: I have visited the RFH before and always enjoyed the concerts there, even if the acoustics are often criticised. (The sound does not always carry well to the back of the Hall). This concert is part of the Andris Nelsons and Philharmonia Brahms Cycle. The combination of a world class orchestra with a highly respected conductor and great music should make for a great evening.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: I have not seen any marketing for this concert other than on the website, where it states the programme and performers.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? To hear a great work performed by a wonderful orchestra and with a famous conductor.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? The Royal Festival Hall is part of the Southbank Centre. The mission statement of the Southbank Centre is: 'Southbank Centre passionately believes the arts have the power to transform lives. We also believe that the arts must be available to all of us – and this lies at the heart of all we do'.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building: The Royal Festival Hall looks fairly unattractive from the outside, built in 1951 for the Festival of Britain it does concrete well. However, it forms part of the Southbank Centre, which has worked on improving its appearance since the 1950s. There are many glass-fronted restaurants and indeed the RFH bar and cafés are all glass-fronted. The auditorium is mainly wood, and has comfortable seats. It is a pleasant space to listen to music in.

Concert/ event timings: Start – 7:30pm; Interval – 8:30pm after an encore of a movement of a Partita by Bach; End – 9:40pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: The foyer is busy – it seems that the concert is nearly sold out. Most people are chatting over drinks, some are having dinner and my companion and I recognise several people that we know from the music world.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, this is a typical classical music concert being held in a hall designed (albeit ineffectively) for classical concerts.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? The front of house staff are helpful but not obtrusive. On-site dining is available, and there are a plethora of restaurants within the rest of the Southbank complex.

What is this Hall seeking to do? The Royal Festival Hall is seeking to host world class performances of classical music.

Performers

Attire: All black for ladies and black tie for gents.

What are they doing? Performing classical music as part of the Philharmonia Orchestra.

Audience interaction? Clapping, some whooping.

Artistic goals? High-quality performance.

Quality of performance: Very high quality from the orchestra, soloist and conductor.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: I am fully engaged by this performance. It is exciting (Nelsons is young in age, but also in energy and a fresh love of the music and wants to go fast) and the playing is exquisite. I am excited to realise that I recognise some members of the orchestra!

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude): Most members of the audience are over 30, some are obviously music students (they are carrying instruments). The audience is well dressed. My companion, John, is a 'Prommer' (he attends most of the BBC Proms concerts each summer) and we meet several others who 'have decamped to the RFH for the winter'.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? Yes, I feel that the orchestra are performing for us, rather than in their own bubble. Our role is to be engaged.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Standing and acknowledging applause.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? The applause is somewhat thunderous and at both the interval and at the end people can be heard saying, "what a wonderful concert".

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? This is not an innovative concert program grammatically. However, it is balanced in the way classical music concerts often are – overture, concerto, symphony. This concert is exciting because it is of a high standard.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, I would say that this is exactly the type of concert and audience which the hall was originally built for.

Is the programme successful? Yes, it all works very well together, especially if you like Brahms!

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes, most certainly.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, the foyer bar is still open and the restaurants on the Southbank are still serving.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance?
This is a wonderful concert, it does exactly what people expect a classical music concert to do. Therefore, the only 'problem' I could state is that it does not challenge the audience. There is nothing special about it in terms of audience/ orchestra interaction. It is all 'the way things are done'. This is absolutely fine, just not different or educational.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The performance, but I think that this was because it was a particularly good performance.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? The excitement of the audience at the end of the symphony - classical music is not dead!

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? Yes. It is a very pleasant venue.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I really enjoyed the evening. I came away feeling quite elated!

General similarities/ differences to other venues? The RFH is a modern concert hall and a multi-purpose venue, there are many different types of events held there, all over the building. However, it did not feel overly commercial like King's Place, nor neglected like The Coliseum or Hackney Empire. The concert and the venue were a good fit.

PhD venue comparisons: Royal Opera House

Name of venue: Royal Opera House

Name of show: *Manon* by Massenet (Ballet). Wednesday 1st October 2014.

My seat: Orchestra Stalls Right

Expectations

My own: I have visited the Royal Opera House several times before but never to see a ballet production. I expected that as this production was being staged at the ROH it would be of a high level (as the best companies usually play at the ROH) and that I would be able to understand the story.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: The production was highly acclaimed. The pictures on the website suggested that the ballet was going to be emotionally charged.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? To perform the ballet Manon.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? The Royal Opera House aims to enrich people's lives through opera and ballet. We seek to be always accessible and engaging, to develop audiences across the UK and to break new ground in the presentation of lyric theatre.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building:

The magnificent Royal Opera House, with its grand classical portico fronting Bow Street, is actually the third theatre built on the Covent Garden site. Both the previous theatres were destroyed by fire, a serious hazard in the era before electricity.

Actor-manager John Rich built the first Theatre Royal, Covent Garden with the fortune he had made from the huge success of *The Beggar's Opera*. At that time, under the terms of a Royal Patent, Covent Garden was only one of two theatres permitted to perform drama in the capital. The other patent theatre was the nearby Theatre Royal Drury Lane, and a keen rivalry soon developed between them.

The first important musical works to be heard at the theatre were by Handel, who, from 1735 until his death in 1759, had close links with Covent Garden both as composer and organist. Extensive rebuilding work took place in 1787 and 1792, but in 1808 the theatre was completely destroyed by fire with the loss of twenty-three fireman as the building collapsed.

Work on a new theatre began immediately to designs by Robert Smirke. The Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone on the last day of 1808 and the theatre opened just over eight months later with a performance of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* starring the renowned brother and sister team of John Philip Kemble and Sarah Siddons.

In 1846 the gifted composer and conductor Michael Costa joined the theatre from Her Majesty's in the Haymarket, bringing most of his company of singers with him. The theatre reopened as the Royal Italian Opera in April 1847 with a performance of Rossini's *Semiramide*.

On 5 March 1856 disaster struck again: for the second time the theatre was completely destroyed by fire. Work on the third and present theatre eventually started in 1857 and the new building opened in May 1858 with a performance of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*.

In 1892, with the repertoire broadening, the theatre was renamed the Royal Opera House. Winter and summer seasons of opera and ballet were given and between seasons the theatre was either closed or used for film shows, dancing, cabaret and lectures. During the Great War the theatre became a furniture repository and during the

Second World War a Mecca Dance Hall. That is how it might have remained if the music publishers Boosey and Hawkes hadn't acquired the lease.

The Opera House reopened on 20 February 1946 with a gala performance of *The Sleeping Beauty* with Margot Fonteyn as Aurora. With no suitable opera company able to take up residence, Webster and music director Karl Rankl began to build a company from scratch. In December 1946, the embryo Covent Garden Opera teamed up with the ballet in a production of Purcell's *The Fairy Queen*, choreographed by Frederick Ashton. Both companies were eventually awarded Royal Charters: The Royal Ballet in 1956, the Royal Opera in 1968.

By the 1980s it was clear that the facilities at the Royal Opera House were inadequate for carrying the two companies forward into the 21st century. However, it was only after the creation of the National Lottery that the Opera House was awarded £58.5m towards rebuilding costs. Work started in 1996 with a farewell gala taking place in the 'old' house in July 1997.

Three years later, at total cost of £178m, the theatre had been utterly transformed. Brand new technical and rehearsal facilities were built; a smaller auditorium, the Linbury Studio, was created for smaller and more experimental productions, while the existing auditorium and foyers were fully refurbished. As well as all this, the virtually derelict Floral Hall was completely rebuilt and turned into a thrilling public arena, with bars and eating spaces in spectacular surroundings.

Concert/ event timings: Start 7:30pm; Interval 8:40pm (30 minutes); End 9:50pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: The opera house is full, it seems that this evening's performance will be nearly sold out. There is a buzzy atmosphere, people are there to watch the ballet, but also to be seen watching the ballet. The tinkle of wine glasses chimes alongside the light chatter of conversation.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, completely.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? The stewards are friendly and helpful. They are also immaculately presented.

What is this Hall seeking to do? To be a world stage for ballet and opera.

Performers

Attire: The dancers are in costume, the orchestra in concert dress.

What are they doing? Dancing and performing the music for the ballet.

Audience interaction? Acknowledgement of applause.

Artistic goals? To tell the story and perform to the highest possible level.

Quality of performance: High quality.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: I am captivated by the dancing. The story is beautiful, yet tragic. Others around me also seem entranced.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) Very well dressed, affluent audience. My companion and I are amongst the youngest in the house, most are over sixty. There are several quite elderly members of the audience.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? The audience's role is to watch and appreciate the production.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Yes, through applause and cheering.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? The audience give the performance their rapt attention. There does not appear to be anyone asleep!

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? A well-known ballet.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes.

Is the programme successful? Yes, it is a popular ballet.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, the bar is open.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? It was a beautiful telling of the story. No improvements, just I got the impression this was quite a classical/ traditional performance. The set and production did not seem innovative.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? Both were equal.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes – it was a beautiful production.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? The ballet was exquisite. I was completely lost in the story.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? Yes.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I would like to see more ballet productions.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? The ROH is probably the most luxurious venue I have visited. It is a beautiful building, and wonderfully ornate inside the auditorium.

The O2 Arena: PhD venue comparison

Name of venue: The O2 Arena

My seat: Level 4, Block 418, Row M, Seat 866

Expectations:

My own: I have visited the O2 several times to see bands and I am a big fan of Justin Timberlake, so I had fairly high expectations. However, I had never before sat in Level 4 where it is very high up, so I was slightly concerned that I might not be able to see everything (as a shorter person). The O2 is a good place for an overall good night, with its bars and restaurants, so I hoped that the evening would be good whatever.

Based on marketing material previous to the concert: I only looked at the venue's website in order to try to ascertain how high Level 4 was.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? An opportunity for Justin Timberlake to share his latest album – the 20/20 experience – with his fans.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? Doesn't appear to have one.

Venue:

Description – physicality/ history/aesthetics of building:

Once named the Millennium Dome the O2 is a multi-purpose entertainment complex in Greenwich. It is the world's largest fabric building and stands 40m tall. Essentially a huge tent, it has many chain restaurants, an exhibition space, a cinema and nightclubs within the dome as well as the arena itself.

Concert timings: Start 8:30pm, 9:40pm interval for 15 minutes; end 11pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: The O2 arena isn't a pretty venue – it is not comfortable and is often cold, but it serves a purpose – which is to let as many people as possible see an act or show at the same time.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, despite the vastness of the auditorium Justin Timberlake made it feel quite intimate – the platform on which he was performing came out and up so that he was in the middle of the arena. In a venue which holds 20,000 people that's quite an achievement!

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? We didn't have time to eat in any of the restaurants as the queues were so long, so we got a pizza within the arena itself. We also bought drinks at one of the bars. These were quite

expensive, but meant that we had eaten before the show. All members of staff we came into contact with were very helpful.

What is this Hall seeking to do? To be as commercially viable as possible.

Performers

Attire: Justin Timberlake, his backing singers and dancers wore a variety of outfits. For the men, this was usually a suit of some kind, Justin Timberlake also occasionally wore a hat. For the ladies, this was usually a sparkly dress or cat suit of varying length and colour.

What are they doing? Justin Timberlake sings and dances songs from his catalogue.

Audience interaction? There is a lot of audience interaction. Justin Timberlake only goes off stage for a few minutes in the two and a half hours of the show.

Artistic goals? To showcase his new album and make sure his fans have a great time.

Quality of performance: The performance is most enjoyable. As a JT fan it is of very high quality.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: This is a great pop concert by an artist who knows his fans. The set is a mix of greatest hits, songs from the two most recent albums which are not as well known, acoustic versions of other songs, a couple of Michael Jackson covers and old-school pop songs from his time in Nsync.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) There are a wide range of people attending this concert. Teenagers, twenty-somethings who would remember JT from his time in the band Nsync, families and middle-aged couples. It would appear that Justin Timberlake has a wide appeal.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? My role is to enjoy myself, and show that I am, therefore helping to create the atmosphere.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Yes, clapping, cheering, whooping, dancing etc.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? At the start of the show I and my three companions stand up to dance. A mother comes along the row to ask us to sit down, which we do although we are slightly surprised by her request as most of the audience are standing. A few minutes later the whole auditorium is on its feet and we don't sit down for the rest of the night!

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? This is a pop concert first and foremost. The programme is a mix of JT's greatest hits.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, the set is perfect for this concert. There were lots of pyrotechnics.

Is the programme successful? Yes.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes, there is no doubt that Justin Timberlake is a great performer, regardless of whether one is a fan of his music.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? The bars and restaurants are still open, but we chose to go straight home.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? This pop concert far exceeded my expectations.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The performance.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes, the audience had a great time.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? When JT performed in the round it really showed the value of the performer being physically close to their audience, not just on a screen.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? No.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I went home buzzing! It was a great night of entertainment.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? The O2 is similar to the RAH in that it is a multi-purpose venue. It is different from a concert hall like the RFH or Barbican because it simply holds many more people. It is generally a less intimate venue, unless you are watching a production 'in the round'.

PhD venue comparisons: Kings Place

Name of venue: Kings Place

Name of show: Wihan String Quartet: 30th Anniversary Concert

My seat: Hall One, Stalls East Door, F9

Expectations

My own: Despite hearing a lot about Kings Place, as a young and 'happening' venue I had never been. I was curious to see how busy such a modern venue (opened in 2008) was.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: I'd only looked at the venue's website and it seemed like a lot of events were taking place every day.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? To give chamber music another platform in Central London.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? Music+art+restaurants

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building: Large glass and wood building. Looks a bit like an office block. Got a bit lost – no signage, nearly ended up in the restaurant but in the end, I followed everyone else down the escalator into the large atrium. Very clean. Young building, also houses the offices of the Guardian and Observer.

Concert/ event timings: Start 6:30pm, 7:40pm interval (20 minutes), end 8:45pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: Very clean, buzzy atmosphere. Comfortable foyer area with sofas and a café and restaurants. Downstairs a smart looking bar. There is obviously a group of people who come here regularly. People look smart and at ease.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, Hall one had ambient lighting and the quartet wasn't too small for the stage.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? Staff very polite and helpful from box office to stewards. Lots of opportunities to eat and drink.

What is this Hall seeking to do? Be a multi-purpose venue.

Performers

Attire: Identical suits.

What are they doing? Performing quartets by Mozart, Schubert and Beethoven.

Audience interaction? None, other than bowing.

Artistic goals? To perform the works to a high level.

Quality of performance: Technically excellent, but didn't move me emotionally.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: Very good, but I fell asleep! The performance was relaxing, but not engaging.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) I am one of the youngest audience members for this concert. Most are smartly dressed and 65+.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? I don't feel part of the performance, no. My role is to sit and enjoy the music only.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Applause.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? The man on my left falls asleep too. The ladies next to me pay rapt attention. At the interval people appear very impressed – 'that was very enjoyable'; 'I heard them before...they were excellent then too'.

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced et? Balanced, a 'typical' chamber music concert. Three works by three 'great masters'.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, the audience enjoy it a lot and the acoustics of the venue are great, the sound quality is very high. Acoustics were obviously thought about when the Hall was designed.

Is the programme successful? Yes, it was a very pleasant concert. All the works complimented one another.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, the bars and restaurants are open.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? King's Place is a very pleasant and comfortable venue. There is a lot of artwork around and I'm sure that all the glass makes it very beautiful in the sunshine. Not particularly homely, still got a slight impression of office block about it. I enjoyed my evening, but neither the venue nor the performance blew me away. Not much 'wow' factor. If the performers had engaged more with the audience that might have helped.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The venue.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? I wanted to see other types of performance/exhibitions in the space.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? Yes.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I found it a very pleasant evening.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? Most modern venue I have attended. Lots of opportunity to make the concert into an 'event' rather than just turn up for the music.

PhD venue comparisons: Hackney Empire

Name of venue: Hackney Empire

Name of show: *Ottone* by Handel – English Touring Opera. 18th October 2014.

My seat: Gallery

Expectations

My own: I had never visited Hackney Empire before this evening so I was not sure what to expect. I thought that perhaps the venue would perhaps be a less likely venue for opera, but this idea was founded purely on the idea that theatre would be more common in this venue.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: There was a fair amount of coverage of the opera on ETO's website. It seemed that ETO was an extremely professional organisation and I expected the performance to be good.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? To perform the opera *Ottone*.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? To provide quality entertainment to a local and global audience.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building:

History of the Hackney Empire

Built in 1901, the Hackney Empire with its electric lights, central heating and in-built projection box was a technological wonder of its time. When the theatre opened under the ownership of Oswald Stoll (later of Stoll Moss fame) it attracted acts from all over the world. Chaplin appeared a number of times before decamping to America to gain fame in Hollywood, and Stan Laurel perfected his act upon these boards. But undoubtedly the most important star to appear in this heyday of music hall before the First World War was Marie Lloyd, who lived on Graham Road, just by the theatre. Lloyd's act consciously shocked and challenged her audiences. This 'Queen of the Halls' lent her support to an artists' strike in 1907 which led to the formation of the Variety Artists' Association, now part of the actors' union Equity. Between the wars the Empire hosted burlesque, reviews, plays and concerts as well as variety, and even Louis Armstrong was happy to leave Harlem to appear. In the years following the Second World War, audiences flocked to see artists made household

names by the radio and recording industries such as Charlie Chester, Issy Bonn, Tony Hancock and even Liberace.

The Empire continued as a confluence of popular culture when, in 1956, Stoll Moss sold the theatre to ATV and it became the first commercial television studio in the country. Programmes such as Take Your Pick and Oh Boy! the Top of The Pops of its day, on which Marty Wilde appeared with Cliff Richard and the legendary Maria Callas, were filmed at the Empire, as was Emergency Ward 10.

In 1963 Mecca purchased the theatre and converted it into a bingo hall. In 1984 the building became a Grade II* listed building and Mecca were ordered to restore the domes on the Mare Street façade.

C.A.S.T. (Cartoon Archetypical Slogan Theatre) were a political theatre company led by Roland Muldoon. In 1981 the Company set up its New Variety project which went on to receive support from the Greater London Council, enabling them to run eight venues throughout London and establish the first modern comedy circuit. This gave the company the confidence to take over the 1500 seat Hackney Empire as a permanent base for their operations and ambitions. Establishing the Hackney Empire Preservation Trust and Hackney New Variety Management Company (now known as Hackney Empire Ltd) the group organised the purchase of the building and began the process of restoration and modernisation. Roland became the Theatre Director of the company and other members of C.A.S.T. took over the technical and administrative roles. The immediate focus of attention was to resurrect the 1901 Hackney Empire from a bingo hall and turn it once again into a venue for popular theatre. The building was reopened on its 85th birthday, 9 December 1986, and went on to establish itself as one of the leading stand-up comedy venues in the UK.

In 2001, the Empire's centenary year, the Chairman of the Fundraising Appeal, Griff Rhys Jones, was able to announce that after many years of hard work the Empire had raised £15 million to fund the renovation and restoration of the theatre. The 14th September 2004 marked the completion of the entire project with a celebration gala and Sir Alan Sugar, one of our primary benefactors, opened the finished complex. The Marie Lloyd annexe houses the new theatre bar Stage 3 and the Harold Pinter space. On the exterior of the new development are super-graphics spelling the name 'Hackney Empire'. This bold and fitting marker stands over 21 feet high and greets airline passengers as they fly into City Airport.

Concert/ event timings: Start 7:30pm; Interval 9pm (20 minutes); End 10:20pm

Pre-and interval impressions: To get into the gallery one enters via a side door. Upstairs there was a bar. The atmosphere was relaxed and casual. There were lots of younger people in the gallery (the tickets were slightly cheaper up there).

Does the event suit the venue? Before the opera started I was not sure it would, but actually acoustically it worked really well. The only slight juxtaposition is that I currently associate opera performance with attractive venues like the ROH. Hackney Empire is certainly not unattractive but it feels like it would also be a good venue for a rock band! The seats are not plush, although they are comfortable and the décor upstairs is very dark.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? There is a bar in the gallery which is open pre-concert and at the interval. 'Stage 3', the café-bar

situated within Hackney Empire, was open, but I did not purchase anything. All the staff were helpful and friendly.

What is this Hall seeking to do? To bring good entertainment to as many people as possible in an area where perhaps you would not expect opera, in this case.

Performers

Attire: The singers are in costume which is suitable to the time the opera was written. (The baroque period).

What are they doing? Performing the opera *Ottone* by Handel.

Audience interaction? Applause.

Artistic goals? ETO aims to: Offer opera to everyone, with a varied repertoire of high-quality professional productions featuring some of the finest talent in opera.

Quality of performance: This was a high-quality performance. The singers were exceptionally good, the orchestra were tight as an ensemble and the costumes and staging added to the production.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: I enjoyed the performance, although at over two hours, it felt quite long. The singers had mesmerising voices, and I very much enjoyed the music.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) There is a complete mix of different types of patrons. There are young people, perhaps music students, slightly older young professional types who are dressed well but not over-dressed and there are those who would be considered the 'normal' audience for opera – well-dressed, slightly older patrons.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? To listen and watch.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Only through applause.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? The others around me all appear completely attentive. There is loud applause and whooping for the performers at the end.

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? The opera is a baroque opera. Although not as famous as the repertoire of Verdi and Wagner, this is a well-known work. It is educational in that by programming it, ETO are making more audiences aware of opera and of this work in particular.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, I get the impression that a number of audience members have attended ETO performances here before. There is a relaxed atmosphere.

Is the programme successful? Yes, the opera is successful, in my opinion in terms of the performance, and the theatre was more-or-less full.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes, this is a high-quality performance.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, Stage 3, the café-bar, was open.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? Considering the fact that the opera was performed in what felt like a modern venue, it would have been interesting to see a production which included modern dress and a modern setting. However, the production which was performed was very good.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The venue. I thought that the relaxed atmosphere added to my evening.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes, it was a great performance and the audience appeared very engaged.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? The fact that opera is just as, if not more, enjoyable when it is produced in venues which are slightly less formal, which the Hackney Empire is.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? Yes.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I enjoyed the performance, and my surroundings.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? With 1,500 seats Hackney Empire has a good-sized auditorium. Not as large as the RFH and Barbican, but larger than Wilton's or Wigmore. The sight lines were sometimes difficult from the gallery, as they are at the RAH, and I assume from other parts of the theatre.

PhD venue comparisons: Cadogan Hall

Name of venue: Cadogan Hall

Name of show: Royal Philharmonic Orchestra resident season concert – Thursday 27th November 2014.

Beethoven, *Fidelio Overture*
Mascagni, Intermezzo from *Cavalleria rusticana*
Grieg, *Piano Concerto*
Dvořák, *Symphony No. 7*
Alexandra Dariescu, piano
Alessandro Fabrizi, conductor

My seat: Stalls BB2

Expectations

My own: I have played with orchestras at Cadogan Hall, but had not watched a concert there before this evening.

Based on marketing material previous to concert: The concert has been marketed as part of the RPO's resident season. The programme encompasses fairly 'standard' repertoire. This concert would appeal to the general music lover, so I expected the concert to be enjoyable, but not push any artistic boundaries.

What is the purpose of the concert/ show? For the orchestra to perform well known repertoire.

Mission/ vision statement of venue? Does not appear to have one.

Venue

Description – physicality/ history/ aesthetics of building:

First opened in 1907 as a New Christian Science Church designed by Robert Fellowes Chisholm, the hall hosted congregations of 1400 in its heyday. However, like most other churches there was a decline in attendances and in 1996 the congregation moved to a smaller church. The property was sold but fell into disuse for several years. Cadogan Estate purchased the Hall in 2000 to safeguard its future. Through their connection with Opera Holland Park, Cadogan discovered that the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra was looking for a permanent base in London. Cadogan Hall was an excellent opportunity for the orchestra to benefit from Cadogan's aim to bring the former church back into useful life in a manner befitting its character and civic presence. The Hall reopened as a concert hall in June 2004.

Concert/ event timings: The interval was after the piano concerto. Start 7:30pm; interval 8:15pm; End 9:20pm.

Pre-and interval impressions: Cadogan Hall is a comfortable concert hall – lots of beige and nice carpets. The foyer area was quite busy when I arrived so I expected there to be a good-sized audience. The audience seemed to be fairly local to the area in which the Hall is situated – Chelsea. They seemed well dressed and over fifty in general.

Does the event suit the venue? Yes, orchestral music works well with the Hall's acoustic. It felt like I was attending a traditional concert in a traditional concert hall.

Anything else? On-site dining? How am I treated as an audience member? There is the opportunity to dine and have drinks at Cadogan Hall but I just took my seat. All members of staff I came into contact with were very helpful.

What is this Hall seeking to do? This is a commercial concert hall. It is hired by organisations and orchestras for concerts.

Performers

Attire: Black tie for men, long black for ladies.

What are they doing? Performing standard orchestral repertoire as part of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra.

Audience interaction? Standing to acknowledge applause. There is no speaking from the stage.

Artistic goals? To perform well known classical works to a high standard.

Quality of performance: In general, the RPO play to a high standard. However, I was sitting where I could see some of the back desks of the string sections, and some of the players looked fairly disengaged.

Audience

My impressions of the performance as an audience member: I enjoyed the performance, I found it very relaxing. This programme includes works that I know well and it is good to hear them played by a professional orchestra. However, I do struggle to stay awake in the warm and comfy concert hall – the seats are very soft.

Social demographic of the other audience members (age, attire, attitude) The majority of the audience is over fifty and appears fairly affluent. Patrons are well dressed.

Do I feel part of the performance? What is the audience's role? The audience's role is simply to enjoy the music.

Does the audience interact with the performers? Yes, they applaud the orchestra at the end of each piece.

What is my perception of the reactions/ attention of other audience members? The audience certainly enjoys the concert. However, as I look around the auditorium during the concert, I can tell I am not the only audience member who is struggling to stay awake!

Programming

What is it? Educational? Innovative? Balanced etc? This is a 'standard' concert programme. It does not include any contemporary works. Most of the audience will recognise at least one of the works.

Does the programme work with the venue and audience? Yes, the programme, venue and audience all appear in sync.

Is the programme successful? Yes, the works all work well together.

Is the performance of a good quality? Yes, the RPO perform the music to a high standard.

Post-concert:

Is there somewhere to socialise after the performance has finished? Yes, the bar is open post-concert.

Initial impressions/ outcomes/ problems/ improvements to suggest to performance? The concert appeared to fulfil its aim and the audience enjoyed the concert. I would suggest that perhaps some of the players could look more engaged.

What did you notice more, the performance or the venue? The performance.

Did the performance fulfil its artistic goals? Yes, it was a very pleasant concert experience.

What caught your imagination the most about the whole experience? The number of people who attended the concert. The hall was more-or-less full. It was pleasing to see how popular the standard canon of classical music still is.

If I were to return to this venue would the actual venue have any impact on this decision? No.

What effect did the concert/ event have on me? I enjoyed the concert, mostly as a means for relaxation.

General similarities/ differences to other venues? The Hall is smaller than the other large concert venues in London, such as the Barbican and the RFH. It has hospitality available pre-interval and post-concert and seems to aim for a high standard of service.

3.3 Memo of Understanding

Memo of Understanding

Doctoral Research by Fiona Gibbs: The Royal Albert Hall: A Case Study in Evolving Cultural Practices

1. Context

1.1. Fiona Gibbs is currently enrolled on the period of initial study at the Royal College of Music in preparation for full registration as a doctoral student at the College.

1.2. At a preliminary discussion with Fiona Gibbs, Prof. Colin Lawson (Director, RCM), Prof. Paul Banks (RCM supervisor) Chris Cotton indicated that the Royal Albert Hall would be happy to support this research project and, within the

requirements of Data Protection legislation and the need to safeguard commercial confidentiality, to make available relevant information and documents.

1.3. As an employee of the Royal Albert Hall, Fiona Gibbs is also bound by the terms of her employment contract, and in particular section 15 of that contract which covers issues relating to confidentiality and publication.

1.4. This Memo agreed between the RCM, the Royal Albert Hall and Fiona Gibbs, details modifications to her contract of employment and a procedural framework within which Fiona Gibbs may undertake her doctoral research with due regard for her academic freedom and future scholarly career, while respecting the Hall's commercial and legal responsibilities.

2. Research Notes – Contract Clause 15.3

2.1. For the duration of her doctoral research and solely in conjunction with that research Fiona Gibbs may make any necessary notes relating to the business and history of the Hall and to maintain a journal based on her experience while working at the Hall.

2.2. Such notes and journals will remain the property of Fiona Gibbs.

2.3. The Royal Albert Hall will not unreasonably withhold permission for Fiona Gibbs to refer to and quote from these notes and journal in her thesis, lectures, scholarly publications and presentations.

2.4. The notes and journal will not otherwise be made available to third parties.

3. Commercial Information

3.1. Fiona Gibbs will discuss the possible access to and use of commercial and other data relating to the RAH with the manager responsible for the data.

3.2. Fiona Gibbs will prepare a memorandum detailing the conditions of access agreed with the relevant manager, and will supply a copy to Chris Cotton.

4. Surveys and Questionnaires

4.1. Fiona Gibbs will discuss design and management of any surveys, questionnaires or feedback processes with Lucy Noble.

4.2. Where appropriate the surveys/questionnaires may be designed to incorporate elements requested by the RAH, provided these do not compromise the integrity of the research process.

4.3. Following the award of the doctorate, Fiona Gibbs will supply a copy of any data sets she has derived from such surveys/questionnaires to the RAH.

5. Thesis and other Publications

5.1. A draft copy of the thesis will be supplied to the RAH to allow for an internal review of any potential areas of commercial confidentiality and privacy. Requests for reasonable changes to the data presented will be discussed with Fiona Gibbs and her supervisory team.

5.2. RCM Doctoral theses are held at the RCM library and may be read there, or copies ordered by external users. One copy will be supplied to the RAH by Fiona Gibbs.

5.3. As a matter of courtesy Fiona Gibbs will notify the RAH of any subsequent plans to publish books, article, or other material that draws on the research she undertakes during her doctoral study. If requested she will provide a draft of the text to the RAH management.

3.4 Questionnaires for RAH patrons and staff

Questionnaire for RAH patrons

1. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

2. Please circle your age group:

- Under 18
- 18 – 25
- 26 – 35
- 36 – 50
- 51 – 65
- Over 65

3. With who have you attended this concert?

- Family
- Friends
- Colleagues
- I came alone
- Other

4. Is this the first time that you have attended this show?

- Yes
- No

5. Is this your first visit to the Royal Albert Hall?

- Yes
- No

6. Are you aware of the RAH's status as a historical building?

- Yes
- No

7. Please tick next to the following statements if you feel that they apply to you:

- I like the ticket price
- I enjoy the atmosphere
- I find the quality of the performance excellent
- I have come to hear a specific piece of music
- I like to learn more about classical music
- I have friends to attend with
- I find the music relaxing
- I can dress as I please
- I enjoy associating with this audience
- I have come to hear a specific performer
- I enjoy visiting the Royal Albert Hall

8. From the following words please choose four that describe your perception of the Royal Albert Hall:

Good programming – Youthful – Serious – Exciting – Music – Red – Gold – Dull
 Bad customer service – Life-enhancing – Stressful – Relaxing – Happy – Sad – Non-boring
 Staff – Amenities – Food – Drink – Boring – Celebratory – Astounding – Noisy
 – Impact Spontaneous – Curious – Learning – Out of depth – Unemotional – Thrilling
 – Green Satisfying – Historical – Surprising – Pleasant – Unsatisfied – Complaint –
 Good customer service

9. The reason I am attending the show today is because....

10. Have you made use of any of the FOH facilities such as the bar and/or restaurants?

11. Any other comments:

12. Would you be happy to have a more in-depth interview regarding your perception and experience of the Royal Albert Hall at a later date?

- Yes – Email address/ telephone number:

- No

Questionnaire for RAH staff

1. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

2. Please circle your age group:

- 18 – 25
- 26 – 35
- 36 – 50
- 51 – 65
- Over 65

3. How many years have you worked at the Royal Albert Hall?

4. Is your RAH role your main profession?

5. If no, what is your main profession?

6. What is your favourite part of the RAH's Calendar?

- Cirque de Soleil
- Classical Spectacular
- TCT
- BBC Proms
- Master's Tennis
- Remembrance Service
- Raymond Gubbay Christmas Festival
- I prefer the one-off shows
- Elgar events

7. Please circle three words from those below which you feel describe how you feel about working at the Royal Albert Hall:

It's just a job

The RAH is a fair employer Employee benefits

Pride	Colleagues	I will never leave	
It fits in with my other work	Friends	Loyalty	
I enjoy the shows	Exciting	Being part of a working family	
<u>8. Please circle three words from those below which you feel reflect the RAH in 2013:</u>			
Fast-paced	Exciting	Dynamic	Fair
On the world-stage orientated	Opportunities	Friendly	Customer service
Too much change	Out of touch	Modern	Beautiful
Pedantic	Patronising	Unique	Financially-orientated

3.5 In-depth interviews for RAH patrons and staff

Interview Questions – Patrons

Concerts in general.

- What makes you attend a concert?
- How often do you attend concerts?
- Does where the concert is being held have any impact on whether you attend or not?
- Does who you attend concerts with have an impact on whether you attend? e.g. with parents, friends, colleagues.
- What is your general concert experience in terms of pre-concert, during the interval and post-concert? Can you talk me through a typical concert outing for you?
- Is how you respond to the concert affected by external circumstances? E.g. how you feel, events that day, world events.
- Do you think that the venue affects your concert experience?
- What effects does the audience and occasion have on you generally? And at the RAH?
- Do you ever think about this while your experiencing a concert?

What makes the Royal Albert Hall ‘special’?

- Why do you attend concerts at the RAH?
- Is the Hall ‘special’ to you? If so, in what way?
- Do you think that it is more ‘special’ than other venues in general/ to you?
- What kinds of concerts do you come to see at the RAH?
- Have you visited the Hall without seeing a concert?
- Are you aware of the Hall as an historical building?
- Have you been on a tour of the RAH?
- What about the RAH don’t you like?

- What about the RAH do you think could appear negative?
- Can you describe an evening you might have at the RAH? Take me through what you do pre-concert, during the interval and post show. Does anything happen differently from at other venues?
- Do you use any of the food outlets during an evening at the Hall?
- Does the Hall mean Cirque du Soleil/ 'The Proms'/ Classical Spectacular/ Christmas Festival etc to you? If yes, why? If not, why?
- Which event in the calendar do you most closely associate with the RAH?
- What does the Albert Hall mean to you? (If anything).
- What place does the RAH hold in your critical imagination?
- Can you describe the RAH to me in a few sentences?
- What are your experiences of the RAH? memories etc.
- If you had the opportunity to hear the same piece performed in the RAH and then at a different venue which would you prefer to attend? Do you think that it would make any difference to the performance?

How important is the Albert Hall to London's musical life?

- Where does the Hall stand in terms of London's musical life, for you?
- What external factors do you think have impacted upon the Hall's role within London's musical life? Have the improved RFH's acoustics meant that you might go there instead, for example?
- How do you think that the Hall's role might change in the future?
- How important do YOU feel that that Albert Hall is to London's musical life?
- Do you think that how important the Hall is to London's musical life has changed over the course of its history? / your experience of it?
- Are you aware of Albert's vision for the RAH? If yes, do you think that Albert's vision is being achieved today? If no, explain, then ask the same question.

Albertopolis

- Are you aware of the Albertopolis ethos?
- If so, when you visit the Hall, do you also come to visit Albertopolis?

- Do you visit other institutions in Albertopolis in conjunction with the show which you are seeing at the Hall? For example, an exhibit at the Victoria and Albert Museum which relates to the show or concert which you are about to see.
- Do you think that Albert's vision for Albertopolis is being achieved today?
 - Patrons (If they are not sure, tell them about it, see how they respond).

The RAH during the Second World War:

- Do you have any knowledge of or sense of the musical role of the RAH during the Second World War?

If 'yes' continue with questions.

If 'no', tell them a little and see if it sparks any thoughts or memories.

- Can you talk me through any memories or knowledge you may have of the Royal Albert Hall at this time?
- What sort of music and specifically classical music would you expect to have been performed during the Second World War?
- How big do you think the impact of the Proms coming to the RAH in 1941 was and is?

The Proms and the Royal Albert Hall (Optional questions):

- Have you been to a Prom at the RAH?
- If not, is there any reason why?
- If yes, what was your experience of promming?
- Have you ever held a season ticket for a Proms season?
- What do you enjoy about the Proms?
- What don't you enjoy about the Proms?
- Do you think that it is important that the Proms are held at the RAH?
- Would you still attend the Proms if they were held at another venue?
- How important do you think the Proms are to the RAH?
- How do the Proms compare to other classical concerts?
- If you attend the Proms regularly what other shows do you come to see at the RAH?

Other concert halls/ venue comparison:

- Which other concert halls/ venues do you attend?
- What are their outputs/ audience profile?
- Do they have local, national or international standing?
- How does the RAH compare with other venues?
- What is the same at other venues? What is different?
- Do you think that the Hall has a different role in London compared to other auditoriums?

Staff

- As an _____, what is involved in your job? Talk me through it.
- Could you explain your job to me in terms of skills and remit?
- How do you interact with the other departments? What do you ask of each other?
- Are there certain shows which you like or dislike working on? Names are not necessary – just helpful and unhelpful traits.
- Are there certain kinds of promoters that you like or dislike working with – no names necessary – just helpful and unhelpful traits.
- How do you view your role?
- What is the RAH for you?
- What are you aiming for in your work at the RAH?
- Can you describe a typical day/shift to me?
- Cirque 2013/ TCT 2013/ Proms 2013/ Christmas Festival 2013 – remember any details? Was it typical?
- Working relationships within a shift/ show – whom do you deal with? How do you communicate with each other?
- What makes a happy patron?
- What makes a good show?

- Do you feel that there is a certain classical music audience demographic at the RAH?
- If yes, can you describe it to me?
- Positive and negative aspects of this type of audience?
- Do you ever feel emotional during a show at the Royal Albert Hall? If yes, why?
- What do you think the RAH's role is in the making of a patron's show/ concert experience?
- What is the Hall's patron demographic from your perspective?

Interview Questions for Chief Executive of the RAH

1. How long have you worked at the RAH?
2. How did that come about?
3. What is your favourite part of the Hall's calendar?
4. Could you say three words which describe how you feel about the RAH?
5. Is the Hall 'special' to you? If so, how?
6. Have you worked in any other venues? If yes, in what capacity?
7. How did that venue/ institution compare to the RAH?
8. Do you have a favourite London venue other than the RAH? If yes, why?
9. What has been the proudest moment/ highlight of your RAH career?
10. And likewise, the hardest?
11. Do you see yourself remaining at the RAH?
12. What are the most challenging aspects of your role?
13. Do you have any thoughts you can share with me about the Member's return scheme?
14. Do you think that, in the future, the Hall will remain a charity?
15. Would you describe the Hall as 'iconic'? What iconic mean to you?
16. Do you think that the Members put pressure on the Hall's staff to perform?
17. Does the Hall's longevity and place in history add any pressure to your role?
18. The Hall has expanded and changed hugely over the past five years – is this organic growth? Or the result of a carefully thought out plan?
19. Where do you think the Hall will be in five/ ten years?
20. Do you have a personal aim or vision for the RAH?
21. The Hall has performed consistently well over the past five years, despite the recession. Why do you think this is?
22. Do you think that the LNOP is still the overriding image that the general public associate with the RAH? If not, what do you think is the perception of the Hall today?
23. Who does the RAH want to attract?
24. The Hall has been described as a 'catch-all' venue – would you agree with this?
25. Do you think that any one show or promoter is integral to the success of the RAH today?
26. What would be the ultimate artist/ event which you would like to come to the Hall?

Questions for Chief Operating Officer of the RAH

1. How long have you worked at the RAH?
2. How did that come about?
3. What is your favourite part of the Hall's calendar?
4. Could you say three words which describe how you feel about the RAH?
5. Is the Hall 'special' to you? If so, how?
6. Have you worked in any other venues? If yes, in what capacity?
7. How did that venue/ institution compare to the RAH?
8. Do you have a favourite London venue other than the RAH? If yes, why?
9. What has been the proudest moment/ highlight of your RAH career?
10. And likewise, the hardest?
11. Do you see yourself remaining at the RAH?
12. What are the most challenging aspects of your role?
13. Do you have any thoughts you can share with me about the Members' return scheme?
14. Do you think that, in the future, the Hall will remain a charity?
15. Would you describe the Hall as 'iconic'? What iconic mean to you?
16. Do you think that the Members put pressure on the Hall's staff to perform?
17. Does the Hall's longevity and place in history add any pressure to your role?
18. The Hall has expanded and changed hugely over the past five years – is this organic growth? Or the result of a carefully thought out plan?
19. Where do you think the Hall will be in five/ ten years?
20. Do you have a personal aim or vision for the RAH?
21. The Hall has performed consistently well over the past five years, despite the recession. Why do you think this is?
22. Do you think that the LNOP is still the overriding image that the general public associate with the RAH? If not, what do you think is the perception of the Hall today?
23. Who does the RAH want to attract?
24. The Hall has been described as a 'catch-all' venue – would you agree with this?
25. Do you think that any one show or promoter is integral to the success of the RAH today?
26. What would be the ultimate artist/ event which you would like to come to the Hall?

Questions for Director of Finance and Administration of the RAH

1. How long have you worked at the RAH?
2. How did that come about?
3. What is your favourite part of the Hall's calendar?
4. Could you say three words which describe how you feel about the RAH?
5. Is the Hall 'special' to you? If so, how?
6. Have you worked in any other venues? If yes, in what capacity?
7. How did that venue/ institution compare to the RAH?
8. Do you have a favourite London venue other than the RAH? If yes, why?
9. What has been the proudest moment/ highlight of your RAH career?
10. And likewise, the hardest?
11. Do you see yourself remaining at the RAH?
12. What are the most challenging aspects of your role?
13. Would you describe the Hall as 'iconic'? What iconic mean to you?
14. Does the Hall's longevity and place in history add any pressure to your role?

15. The Hall has expanded and changed hugely over the past five years – is this organic growth? Or the result of a carefully thought out plan?
16. Where do you think the Hall will be in five/ ten years?
17. Do you have a personal aim or vision for the RAH?
18. The Hall has performed consistently well over the past five years, despite the recession. Why do you think this is? How do you think that the Front of House department has contributed to this?
19. Do you think that the LNOP is still the overriding image that the general public associate with the RAH? If not, what do you think is the perception of the Hall today?
20. The Hall has been described as a ‘catch-all’ venue – would you agree with this?
21. What would be the ultimate artist/ event which you would like to come to the Hall?

Questions for Director of Customer Relations of the RAH

1. How long have you worked at the RAH?
2. How did that come about?
3. What is your favourite part of the Hall’s calendar?
4. Could you say three words which describe how you feel about the RAH?
5. Is the Hall ‘special’ to you? If so, how?
6. Have you worked in any other venues? If yes, in what capacity?
7. How did that venue/ institution compare to the RAH?
8. Do you have a favourite London venue other than the RAH? If yes, why?
9. What has been the proudest moment/ highlight of your RAH career?
10. And likewise, the hardest?
11. Do you see yourself remaining at the RAH?
12. What are the most challenging aspects of your role?
13. Would you describe the Hall as ‘iconic’? What iconic mean to you?
14. Does the Hall’s longevity and place in history add any pressure to your role?
15. The Hall has expanded and changed hugely over the past five years – is this organic growth? Or the result of a carefully thought out plan?
16. Where do you think the Hall will be in five/ ten years?
17. Do you have a personal aim or vision for the RAH?
18. The Hall has performed consistently well over the past five years, despite the recession. Why do you think this is? How do you think that the Front of House department has contributed to this?
19. Do you think that the LNOP is still the overriding image that the general public associate with the RAH? If not, what do you think is the perception of the Hall today?
20. The Hall has been described as a ‘catch-all’ venue – would you agree with this?
21. What would be the ultimate artist/ event which you would like to come to the Hall?

Questions for Head of Front of House of the RAH

1. How long have you worked at the RAH?
2. How did that come about?
3. What is your favourite part of the Hall’s calendar?
4. Could you say three words which describe how you feel about the RAH?
5. Is the Hall ‘special’ to you? If so, how?

6. Have you worked in any other venues? If yes, in what capacity?
7. How did that venue/ institution compare to the RAH?
8. Do you have a favourite London venue other than the RAH? If yes, why?
9. What has been the proudest moment/ highlight of your RAH career?
10. And likewise, the hardest?
11. Do you see yourself remaining at the RAH?
12. What are the most challenging aspects of your role?
13. Do you have any thoughts you can share with me about the Members' return scheme?
14. Do you think that, in the future, the Hall will remain a charity?
15. Would you describe the Hall as 'iconic'? What does iconic mean to you?
16. Do you think that the Members put pressure on the Hall's staff to perform?
17. Does the Hall's longevity and place in history add any pressure to your role?
18. The Hall has expanded and changed hugely over the past five years – is this organic growth? Or the result of a carefully thought out plan?
19. Where do you think the Hall will be in five/ ten years?
20. Do you have a personal aim or vision for the RAH?
21. The Hall has performed consistently well over the past five years, despite the recession. Why do you think this is?
22. Do you think that the LNOP is still the overriding image that the general public associate with the RAH? If not, what do you think is the perception of the Hall today?
23. Who does the RAH want to attract?
24. The Hall has been described as a 'catch-all' venue – would you agree with this?
25. Do you think that any one show or promoter is integral to the success of the RAH today?
26. What would be the ultimate artist/ event which you would like to come to the Hall?

3.6 Other interviews: Ex-BBC Proms Directors

Questions for Sir Nicholas Kenyon

1. What is your current perception of the RAH?
2. Did this perception change when you became Director of the Proms in 1996?
3. Do you/ have you visited the Hall for concerts/ events aside from the Proms?
4. Would you describe the RAH as 'iconic'? What does that mean to you?
5. Do you think that it's important that the BBC Proms are held at the RAH?
6. What do you think works well about the Proms being held at the RAH?
7. What are the more challenging aspects of the Hall hosting the BBC Proms?
8. There is the perception amongst some people that the BBC Proms and the RAH are synonymous – do you think that that is the case?
9. The LNOP is still the overriding image many of the Hall's patrons have of the building – do you think that this is beneficial to the BBC Proms?
10. Much has been written historically about the Hall's acoustics – do you think that in general most acoustical problems have been dealt with in regard to classical concerts?
11. Do you have any views on the RAH Members system? Does it create any difficulties for the BBC?
12. What did you enjoy most about working with the BBC Proms?
13. What did you find most challenging about working with the BBC Proms?

14. Do you think that the Proms will remain at the RAH? If they moved, where would they go?
15. Do you have a favourite London venue?
16. The Hall is actively engaging with young people through education as part of its charitable remit – does this make it more attractive to the BBC as a place to host the Proms?
17. When you were Director of the BBC Proms did the Hall's geographical position within Albertopolis affect its relationship with the Proms?

Sir Nicholas Kenyon interview – answers

1. Concert halls are of their time.
RAH is not a classical music hall – it is a mixed hall.
Unique space for classical music. Partly to do with the way that it can be used for promming.
Architecture – makes you aware of other audience members in a way that other venues don't. As aware of audience as of stage.
Round – communal aspect – inclusive.
Not a place which has good acoustics.
Creates a festival atmosphere.
2. No – been to lots of concerts. Understanding of it has changed. When Proms director liked to sit on the west side of the Grand Tier – good view of audience and orchestra.
Perception of the hall has always remained the same.
4. Instantly recognisable – not like any other hall.
Symbol of its time. Victorians – optimistic/ confident period in London's cultural history.
5. They don't have to be held at the RAH for time immemorial but for the time being there is nowhere better. That said, if an acoustically superior hall came along perhaps they would move.
6. The set up – because of promming. At the Proms there is the sense that people want to enjoy themselves. People expect to enjoy themselves.
Cheap.
People prepared to take a risk in terms of programming because the ticket prices are reasonable. Therefore, the programming can be adventurous. Can take more risks at the Proms than at a normal RFH concert.
7. Limited in programming by acoustics. Tricky to bring off some works well. (not necessarily the same stuff). Small-scale late-night Proms can work well.
Also, the limitations of the building. When NK was director the hall was not set up for technology – cameras etc. installing cameras can be disruptive to the audience.
Prommers are getting older. Not being replenished in the same way.
Incredibly challenging to do a different show/ more than one show a day. Cannot do enough rehearsal.
Glyndebourne – adapts a production to one day. Need things that are ready to go. For example, Peter Sellers and Simon Rattle's St John Passion. Would have expected it to

take a lot longer.

It is good for the Proms that the hall doesn't do much classical music (other than Raymond Gubbay's concerts).

8. There is a confusion in people's minds as to who puts the Proms on. 1986 – BBC decided to call them the BBC Proms. Might want to check that date.

Adrian Wood – Henry Wood Promenade Concerts – Henry wood gave the title to the BBC. Should they still be called the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts?

9. Damaging to the Proms that the LNOP is the overriding image associated with the festival. Sends a misleading message. On the other hand, don't knock something that is very successful.

Pros and cons. Pity that the Proms are defined by an image/concert that is not typical of the season.

Air conditioning is bad – always very hot.

10. Mushrooms helped acoustics. Scale model of the hall in Redditch. Acoustical model. Tried flat Perspex roof, but decided that just moving the mushrooms would help. Depends where you're sitting as to how acoustics affect you. Trade-off between balance and immediacy. Also depends on whether programme is orchestral or choral.

11. Frustrating – sold out Proms with empty seats (Members'). During Nick's time things improved.

Proms wanted Members to behave in a certain way.

5 or 6 exclusive lets. If it was not a 'standard' concert could make it an exclusive let anyway.

However, does allow BBC to say that a high percentage of the seats were sold 'of those that were available'.

14. A new facility probably would not be aimed at the Proms audience. Proms audience is 6000, a new venue would not hold that many seats. Proms will remain at the Hall.

12. Having a remarkable degree of artistic freedom. Collaborations possible. Trusted to get on with the job by the BBC.

Digital television – BBC4 and online streaming now started. This is really good.

Fairest Isle – not linked to Olympics.

15. Wigmore Hall favourite venue.

RAH has an aura about it.

Question of cultural moments – RAH gets over that. Ideal mixture of awe and access.

17. Not so much. At the same time, RAH is a little bit separated off – more difficult to access once Exhibition Road development. Not so much collaboration in Nick Kenyon's time. Before - more-Proms talks were held in hall.

RCA - also used for pre-Proms talks. RCM's Britten Theatre, Serpentine Gallery and the V&A lecture theatre were also used for chamber music concerts.

Plenty of use out of Blog.

Questions for Roger Wright

1. What is your current perception of the RAH?
2. Did this perception change when you became Director of the Proms in 2007?
3. Do you/ have you visited the Hall for concerts/ events aside from the Proms?
4. Would you describe the RAH as iconic? What does that mean to you?
5. Do you think that it's important that the BBC Proms are held at the RAH?
6. What do you think works well about the Proms being held at the RAH?
7. What are the more challenging aspects of the Hall hosting the BBC Proms?
8. There is the perception amongst some people that the BBC Proms and the RAH are synonymous – do you think that that is the case?
9. The LNOP is still the overriding image many of the Hall's patrons have of the building – do you think that this is beneficial to the BBC Proms?
10. Much has been written historically about the Hall's acoustics – do you think that in general most acoustical problems have been dealt with in regard to classical concerts?
11. Do you have any views on the RAH Members system? Does it create any difficulties for the BBC?
12. The Hall has changed a lot over the time that I have worked there – especially in the last five years. It is arguably becoming more corporate and there are many more shows – do you think that this has impacted on the Proms?
13. What did you enjoy most about working with the BBC Proms?
14. What did you find most challenging about working with the BBC Proms?
15. Do you think that the Proms will remain at the RAH? If they moved, where would they go?
16. Do you have a favourite London venue?
17. How far in advance does the BBC book the RAH?
18. The Hall is actively engaging with young people through education as part of its charitable remit – does this make it more attractive to the BBC as a place to host the Proms?
19. Does the Hall's geographical position within Albertopolis affect the Proms?

Roger Wright interview – answers

Current perception will always be heavily determined by the Proms – anybody in classical music would understand why that would be the case. Hall is closely associated with the Proms and also Festival of Remembrance. That's where it resides in my mind. The Hall is a fascinating model of an institution and a venue – which is very popular. The range of events – tennis/ Cirque/ Proms/ Christmas/ Pop – is amazing! There is nowhere else like it in the world.

Acoustic music works in the Hall. In larger venues acoustic/ classical music only works when amplified.

You can't separate the Hall from the Proms. The Proms were lucky in 1941 that the Hall was available. Otherwise where would it have ended up? Would the Proms have survived if the Hall hadn't been available or if it hadn't survived the war? I'm not sure it would have.

The size of the RAH allows more income than Queen's Hall would have done. It also

has standing places (nearly 1000) which would have been familiar to those who had been going to the Proms at Queen's Hall.

Nowadays acoustics of the RAH are ok for classical music.

However, if a concert is really good people don't generally talk about the acoustics, so that's what the Proms aim for. Make the concert about something else – big collective engagement. Large forces work really well in the Hall, as does Nigel Kennedy playing solo Bach. Really diverse.

However, the reality is that it's not a great acoustic. It's too big and the wrong shape! It also depends on where you sit. Having said that it is an amazing place.

Designs for the front cover of the Proms programme has the Hall at its centre. Most recent design most successful. BBC not afraid to show that the Hall is at the centre of the Proms.

Think the energy from the Proms flows out of the Hall. This is quite natural when you think about the extra events – Proms Plus and lunchtime concerts at Cadogan Hall etc.

Wouldn't make as much sense for them to be held at the RAM, Guildhall or Trinity.

Festival corridor/ piazza – from Door 12 down the Queen's steps over to the RCM.

Using what we have and don't want to go too far.

The Hall was built the way it was built. The Members sell their tickets on an open market which is fair enough.

RW agrees with my approach – annoying as to how much money the Members can make now but without them the Hall would suffer financially and probably wouldn't still be here! The Council structure is unique as is the building. It is frustrating that the LNOP can't be an exclusive let but the Member's fees help the Hall and that comes with a certain amount of ownership. BBC has got better at knowing which Proms to ask to be exclusive however. The BBC would never want to create problems between the Hall and its Members.

Multi-year (5 year) contract.

It's very clear in terms of the BBC and what it can/ can't be involved with in terms of sponsorship. Have to be careful because of its public service side. Only way it would affect BBC is if the Hall became involved in something that might make difficulties as to the way it is perceived and therefore how the BBC would be perceived working with it.

RAH has its own responsibilities. Education is one that the BBC would support and aligns well with its own values and what its aims are. Makes it more attractive to the BBC.

Audience comes from all over. Many factors come together – size of the Hall, heritage, availability in 1941. Income. National place.

1000 people standing – unusual. Central London location. Not perfect in terms of public transport but still manageable.

Member's seats – privately owned. Organisational issues – but all part of the fun.

Work with it because that is what you have.

Area not surrounded by cafés like Southbank.

But all problems are manageable.

Hall will always have Proms. Where else would they go? Changing venue would

definitely change the character of the Proms dramatically. Very little risk they will go elsewhere.

Queen's Hall – only know what we have been told about it. Hard to find out what it was actually like. Similar to the RAH in that it was a round building but it was much smaller and apparently the acoustics were very good! Have same spirit – round, standing area. Same broad spirit. Now we have grown up thinking that but very few people have actually experienced the Queen's Hall these days.

RAH modernisation also impacted on Proms – better lights and amplification for spoken word or musical theatre. Much better than it was.

Iconic = historic/ unique/ nostalgic/ distinctive.

National landmark – through this it is iconic. Also, an international venue through having events that are broadcast all over the world.

Quintessentially British – so known for British events like the LNOP and the Festival of Remembrance.

Part of Victorian era architecture. Look of those buildings is from that era.

Part of British metropolis.

Trigger a British response to those who see it/ visit it.

Mostly visited for Proms and other classical concerts.

Been to Cirque and for Music for Youth Proms – does pop in.

My association with the Hall – puts it right up there. Albert Hall – can't spend 8 years somewhere without gaining an affection for it.

Intimate and large-scale pieces work in it.

360 degrees listening – in the round. Communal listening.

Also like Wigmore for its acoustics, but an entirely different experience. Also had great experiences in the RFH.

Spoilt in London for concert halls and culture. Although there isn't perhaps one concert hall in London that has got it all completely right.

Magic of the Hall – 5.5 thousand people in rapt attention. Communal experience.

Large, collective experience. In the round makes it special.

3.7 Forms for Participants

Information for respondents

The Royal Albert Hall: A Case Study in Evolving Cultural Practices

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The researcher for this study is Fiona Gibbs, a doctoral student at the Royal College of Music. The aim is to discover how the Royal Albert Hall is perceived by its staff and patrons in 2013. You have been randomly selected to complete the questionnaire, if you are comfortable doing so. If you have any questions during the research process you can contact Fiona on fiona.gibbs@rcm.ac.uk at any time.

Consent

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the process at any time, should you wish to do so. However, by submitting a completed questionnaire Fiona will infer that you have given your informed consent to take part in this research. You do not have to answer any question that you do not wish to answer.

What will we do with your data?

The data you provide will be anonymous - it will be kept separate from your name. Fiona may later publish articles based on her findings, but it will not be possible to identify you from the data. However, if you are happy for your name to be used, please make Fiona aware.

Who should I contact if I have questions about the research?

If you have any questions about the research, you can contact Fiona Gibbs (fiona.gibbs@rcm.ac.uk). The project has been reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Committees of the RNCM and the RCM.

Dissemination

The results of this research will be used primarily within Fiona's doctoral thesis. Later, she may wish to use them within research articles. (Please see 'Interviewee preferences').

Thank you very much for your help.

Interviewee Preferences

Fiona Gibbs

Doctoral Research Student

Royal College of Music, London

Supervisors: Prof. Colin Lawson & Prof. Paul Banks

Contact: fiona.gibbs@rcm.ac.uk

October 2012

Thank you very much for taking the time to speak with me; it was really helpful and I found our conversation most interesting.

As you know, I am doing a PhD about the Royal Albert Hall. Part of my research concerns the Hall today and in recent history and therefore I would like to quote some of what we spoke about. I would like to make sure that you are happy for me to do so.

So far in my writing, I have referred to those I have spoken to by job title. The main question is whether you wish to be acknowledged by name, either in the body of the text or in the footnotes. The choices below allow you to be referenced or remain anonymous, as you prefer.

Therefore, I am writing to ask your permission to use the information you provided as part of my research material for my doctoral project. This would be accessible to the public once completed and it is likely that parts will be published in academic journals or books, or referenced in lectures.

Copyright laws in the context of fair dealing apply in all cases.

Please specify how you would like the content of our conversation to be referenced: (Please tick as appropriate).

Issue	Yes	No
Would you allow me to use your name when quoting or paraphrasing you?		
If yes, would you like to have the opportunity to check any views or quotes that have been explicitly attributed to you before submission?		
Would you prefer me to use a pseudonym or any other indirect form of address when quoting or paraphrasing you?		
If so, would you prefer to remain completely anonymous, or would you like to be named and thanked in the footnote/acknowledgements? (Please circle).	ANON	NAMED
Is it important to you or your institution to be acknowledged in any particular way (please specify below)?		
Would you like to be informed once the thesis is completed?		
Would you like to be informed of any relevant conference paper, journal article, book chapter or other publication that also draws on the interview?		

Please feel free to leave any other comments or requirements:

Signature

Name in print

Place and date

Email (if required)

Participant Consent Forms

The Royal Albert Hall: A Case Study in Evolving Cultural Practices

Fiona Gibbs

Please initial box

- I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 05/02/13 for the project in which I have been asked to take part and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
- I understand that the investigator must adhere to the BPS Code of Human Research Ethics.
- I agree to take part in the above research project.

_____ Name of participant	_____ Date	_____ Signature
_____ Name of person taking consent <i>(if different from lead researcher)</i>	_____ Date	_____ Signature
_____ Researcher	_____ Date	_____ Signature

3.8 Collection of Lionel Bradley's Bulletins

Lionel Bradley Collection (MS 10114-MS 10332)

10155 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London Concerts & Opera. 7/10 to 22/10/1939

10156 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London and Liverpool Concerts & Opera. 24/10 to 16/11/1939

10157 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London Concerts & Opera. 18/11 to 17/12/1939

10158 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London Concerts & Opera. 21/12/1939 to 14/1/1940

10159 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London Concerts & Opera. 20/1 to 14/2/1940

10160 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts. 17/2 to 21/3/1940

10161 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Operas & Concerts. 21/3 to 10/4/1940

10162 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Opera and Concerts. 11/4 to 30/4/1940

10163 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts. 5/5 to 7/5/1940

10164 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Opera and Concerts. 20/5 to 13/6/1940

10165 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts & Opera. 19/6 to 6/7/1940

10166 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London Concerts & Opera. 12/7 to 8/8/1940

10167 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London Concerts & Opera. 13/8 to 5/9/1940

10168 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on London Concerts. 19/9 to 30/12/1940

10169 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts. 11/1 to 8/2/1941

10170 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 12/2 to 25/2/1941

10171 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 6/3 to 29/3/1941

10172 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/4 to 19/4/1941

10173 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 24/4 to 27/5/1940

10174 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/6 to 10/7/1940

10175 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 15/7 to 17/8/1941

10176 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 4/9 to 7/9/1941

10177 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 21/9 to 14/10/1941

10178 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 22/10 to 8/11/1941

10179 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 10/11 to 29/11/1941

10180 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/12 to 22/12/1941

- 10181 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 31/12/1941 to 26/1/1942
- 10182 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 29/1 to 19/2/1942
- 10183 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 21/2 to 6/3/1942
- 10184 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 7/3 to 19/3/1942
- 10185 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 2/5 to 29/5/1942
- 10186 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/6 to 22/6/1942
- 10187 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 25/6 to 22/7/1942
- 10188 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 27/7 to 27/8/1942
- 10189 [S] Lionel Bradley–Retrospection of the Concert Season of 1941 – 42.
4/9/1941 to 27/8/1942
- 10190 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/9 to 8/10/1942
- 10191 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/10 to 9/11/1942
- 10192 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 14/11 to 14/12/1942
- 10193 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 16/12/1942 to 20/1/1943
- 10194 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 22/1 to 15/2/1943
- 10195 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 17/2 to 3/3/1943
- 10196 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 8/3 to 31/3/1943
- 10197 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/4 to 30/4/1943
- 10198 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts & Opera. 1/5 to 13/5/1943
- 10199 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 14/5 to 7/6/1943
- 10200 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/6 to 30/6/1943
- 10201 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 2/7 to 7/8/1943
- 10202 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/8 to 20/8/1943 and Retrospect
1942 – 43
- 10203 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 24/8 to 1/9/1943
- 10204 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 13/9 to 8/10/1943
- 10205 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/10 to 21/10/1943
- 10206 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 25/10 to 10/11/1943
- 10207 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 14/11 to 16/12/1943
- 10208 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 21/12/1943 to 2/2/1944
- 10209 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 10/2 to 3/3/1944

10210 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 6/3 to 4/4/1944

10211 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 6/4 to 3/5/1944

10212 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 4/5 to 6/6/1944

10213 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 8/6 to 6/7/1944

10214 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 12/7 to 6/8/1944 and Retrospect for 1943 – 44

10215 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 7/8 to 6/9/1944

10216 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 11/9 to 9/10/1944

10217 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 12/10 to 15/11/1944

10218 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 16/11 to 24/12/1944

10219 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 1/1 to 6/2/1945

10220 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 8/2 to 8/3/1945

10221 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/3 to 7/4/1945

10222 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 10/4 to 18/5/1945

10223 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 23/5 to 17/6/1945

10224 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 20/6 to 7/8/1945

10225 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 9/8 to 24/8/1945

10226 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 2/9 to 13/19/1945 and Retrospect of season 1944 – 45

10227 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 16/9 to 20/10/1945

10228 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 21/10 to 5/11/1945

10229 [S] Lionel Bradley–Notes on Concerts etc. 6/11 to 28/11/1945

10317 [S] Lionel Bradley–Broadcasts Heard. 4/9/1939 to 2/9/1940

10318 [S] Lionel Bradley–Broadcasts Heard. 4/9/1940 to 4/9/1941

10319 [S] Lionel Bradley–Broadcasts Heard. 7/9/1941 to 19/9/1942

10320 [S] Lionel Bradley–Broadcasts Heard. 20/9/1942 to 31/12/1944

10321 [S] Lionel Bradley–Broadcasts Heard. 3/1/1945 to 23/12/1945

3.9 Participant Observer Journal entries

07.03.13

Ordinary Let

Ron Sexsmith: I was Stalls Head

Three nights out of four and tonight was good! We had Ron Sexsmith who had a rather lovely voice.

Maria (who was Arena Head) was a bit late so I looked after the stalls and arena for the beginning of the shift. During the evening I re-seated two ladies, both of whom were on their own, who were being disturbed by the people around them head-banging.

It was not well sold in general.

I had a chat with a lady on H stalls who had never been to the Hall before – we talked about why she loved Ron Sexsmith's music and she then said 'I'm more excited to be here and seeing him, than just to see him'. The fact that he was performing at the RAH made the evening special for her.

17.03.14

Community Ordinary Let

Camden Music Festival: I was Circle Head

What a busy night! After not having any patron issues yesterday, tonight was the other extreme, calls to every section simultaneously. A lot of the parents of the children performing had been allocated seats by their schools, so I had a lot of vertigo issues.

There were also some drunk patrons and a man threatened to throw another patron over the Circle –charming! However, a woman I spoke with told me how great the Hall was. She had been at the Hall a lot because all four of her children had sung there. She said it was 'the best place to go in London'.

21.02.14

Ordinary Let

Jake Bugg: I was Circle Head

Tonight was my first shift since Cirque. It was great to work a rock and pop event—a really nice change. Jake Bugg was really good—a lot of people commented on his voice and the 'crystal clear sound'. Over the course of the night there were not any problems in the—just a lot of people who had vertigo! I helped the Arena Head with some of her issues, there were a few drunken fights amongst the crowd. The concert finished at about 10pm, when Jake had been playing for about two hours without an interval—not bad for a nineteen-year-old!

01.12.13

Ordinary Let/ Exclusive Let

Messiah from Scratch (2 performances): I was Stalls Head

Today was quite a long shift—12-10pm! It was generally fine—the first performance was for youngsters, and the second was for adults. The 'Scratch' promoter puts on concerts for people who want to sing. The audience are the smallest number of people, the rest all participate. During the evening performance I went inside to watch a bit. I could see why choral works have always been popular at the Hall—the acoustics are perfect for lots of voices and the visual spectacle is quite something too! During the course of the

shift I carried out quite a few admin tasks and gave some performance feedback to a couple of stewards.

08.04.13

Ordinary Let

Alfie Boe 1: I was Circle Head

Another busy night. Aside from people with 'height issues' (people with vertigo) the other problem was sound complaints. In general patrons said that the sound was too loud and that they couldn't understand the words. Hopefully his sound engineers will have resolved the problems by tomorrow.

09.04.13

Exclusive Let

Alfie Boe 2: I was Stalls Head

I was hoping tonight would be easier than last night...apparently not! The stalls were very busy and lots of people were not sitting where they had expected (they had bought their tickets through agencies). The cameras at H and M stalls meant that people asked to move and a couple asked to move away from a man who was constantly sniffing! There were also a number of issues with access patrons: the patrons did not like the view from the seats. Luckily there weren't any sound complaints like last night!

30.12.13

Ordinary Let/ Ordinary Let

'The Artist' 1 and 2: I was Doors and Grand Tier Head (we were a Head down)

The two shows didn't have intervals, which made running them much simpler. I moved some people who were struggling to see the screen as they were at the extremities of the auditorium and I sorted a double booking. At the end of the matinee we couldn't allow egress out of doors 3, 4 or 6 as a building opposite the Hall was unsafe – the scaffolding was loose. Thankfully by the start of the next show it had been fixed. The audience seemed to enjoy the film with live orchestra. I suppose this is positive as there are many more of this type of event coming up in 2014.

28.05.14

Ordinary Let

Gladiator 4: I was Circle Head

Thankfully tonight was a fairly straightforward night. I re-seated a couple because the lady had broken her leg since booking the tickets and helped a pregnant lady who was struggling to get comfortable. The film got an amazing reception, including the orchestra. At the end, the entire audience were on their feet cheering—what a standing ovation! It was really moving!

04.07.14

Exclusive Let

West Side Story 1: I was Tiers Head

Tonight was a quiet night – the Tiers were not busy at all! I put out leaflets advertising the new tours and assisted with latecomers.

The orchestra and the film were great – lots of people seemed very emotional at the end, and came out crying! I think that seeing the film on so large a screen meant that it had quite an impact on people!

21.10.14

Ordinary Let

Valeriya: I was Doors Head

A strange night. Valeriya is a Russian singer who is very popular in Russia, but not so much in this country it turns out! She has aligned herself politically with Putin (homophobic, pro-war with Ukraine etc.) and there was a protest outside the Hall which was attended by the police. The protesters were chanting ‘shame on you Albert Hall’. Looking after the doors stewards was fine, but very cold! The heating wasn’t working. (It is being upgraded). The only difficulty I had with a patron was a Russian man who wanted to take his champagne into the auditorium (alcohol isn’t allowed in the stalls). He said that he had to be with it at all times in case it was poisoned!

26.09.13

Ordinary Let

Classic FM Live: I was Stalls Head

Last night we evacuated the Royal Albert Hall for real! There was a real fire and we had to get everyone out. I was shattered when I got back, which is why I’m writing this the following day—but perhaps the extra hindsight isn’t a bad thing! The night began with a slightly tired heads team – a lot of us had been at work during the day. It was Rob (as Chief), me, Maria, Maciek, Linda and Drew. Rob was having a bad night when we got in – the Piccadilly line was closed so a lot of people were late. The show itself was a bit chaotic as there was so much going on—a catering manager was in to manage each floor of the building as there was so much hospitality taking place. There were also two fire officers in because there was a lot of pyrotechnics in the gallery, ready for the spectacular ending of the show, and post show there was to be a big VIP gallery receptions plus Late-Night Jazz in the Elgar Room. It was going to be a busy night! It was—but in a different way!

As stalls head the start of the doors period went pretty well. I had moved a couple of people to Grand Tier 29 because the lady had a bad leg—they were so happy with the view it was lovely. Then the L stalls steward asked me to bring them an armless chair, which I did. While I was down in the catering corridor/ backstage corridor the beacons went off and the alarm sounded. I bumped into Trevor, who was the building services technician, and he said ‘Wow, what a night, that’s all we need’. I replied, ‘yeah, it’s been pretty busy front of house too’. We exchanged glances and went our separate ways, but when I got upstairs a lot of the lights had gone out—the loggia corridor (the corridor immediately behind the stalls), the porches and apparently, the tiers were all quite dark. Thankfully the big lights stayed on, and when the stewards started radioing about the lights we told them that it was probably something to do with the beacons. The beacons went off for ages, to the extent that Lisa (who was Duty Manager) asked us to wedge the doors open at Door 12 to help keep the flow of people moving. I ran

down to the steward's room to get wedges but by the time I had met Maria in order to wedge them Lisa had called Rob on the radio saying that she needed to speak to him as soon as possible—which didn't bode well. Rob then called the heads to Door 6 where we were told that it was likely that we were going to go to a stage 2 (evacuation) and that we would probably stop admitting shortly! I ran around the stalls as much as I could, telling the stewards but then it became evident that we would need people to assist in other places—so I sent one loggia steward to help at Door 6, another to Door 11, and the K stalls steward to Door 1. I then sent the H and G stalls stewards to block off CD in the Arena—we had to block every exit to the Arena. This happened at a good time as Linda, who was heading the arena, had just realised that two rows were missing and some seats in O stalls too! It was always going to be a difficult night it seems! We stopped admitting and I walked around the west doors to provide support – not all of the stewards had heard the radio calls to stop admitting. Then shortly afterwards Lisa went onstage and announced that we needed to evacuate. The evacuation was very calm and quick. Despite the elderly age of many of the patrons they moved fast and were generally good about having to leave. Lots of people asked what was happening but we didn't really know. Once we had everyone outside, including other staff, the stewards 'swept' for missed patrons, I walked around the doors providing support to the stewards, and collecting wheelchair patrons in lifts. Rob asked me to go to the assembly point to manage the people down there. I did, but before seeing the fire engines and the hundreds of people around the perimeter of the building. They were hoping that the show would go on! When I got to the assembly point I did a roll call and then I liaised with Rob about who was where, thankfully between us everyone was accounted for. We spent the next hour or so listening to the radio and trying to keep calm—it was a dry but chilly night. Eventually, after 9pm we could go back into the building. We had a large debrief then two doors stewards debrief and finally heads debrief. I finished just after 11pm. We also had to do some of the mundane jobs such as putting the scanners away and counting the cloakroom money, normal things that of course hadn't been done. It was slightly difficult though as parts of the Hall were in total darkness. Overall, the procedure had gone smoothly, it was just getting people to leave which had been hard. Many had stayed for an hour hoping that the show would go on. The actual fire had been caused by an electrical fault in the plant room. Some of the press reports online were quite funny, smoke was apparently 'billowing from the basement'—not true but certainly dramatic. Also, apparently, the orchestra was tuning while the smoke was curling around them! Overall, it was a weird, sort of exciting and sort of terrifying night. The adrenaline wasn't as bad as after we had done the live drill, but I still didn't sleep until around 3:30am! Let's hope that we don't have to do that again for a while!