

The Crystal Palace Saturday
Concerts, 1865–1879: A Case
Study of the Nineteenth-Century
Programme Note

Bruno Benjamin Bower

Awarding Institution:
Royal College of Music

PhD

January 2016

Abstract

In recent decades, historical concert programmes have emerged as a fascinating resource for cultural study. As yet, however, little detailed work has been done on the programme notes that these booklets contained. This thesis concentrates on the notes written for the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts between 1865 and 1879. The series held an important place in London concert life during this period, and featured a number of influential authors in the programmes, such as George Grove, August Manns, James William Davison, Edward Dannreuther, and Ebenezer Prout. Grove in particular made use of his notes as part of entries in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Close critical readings of the Saturday Concert booklets illustrate the complex combination of context, content, and function that the programme notes represented. These readings are supported by short histories of the series, the programme note, and the various authors, along with a study of the audience through booklet construction and advertising. A database covering the repertoire performed and programme note provision during the case-study period is included on the attached CD.

Programme notes that outlined pre-existing or newly-invented plots make it clear that one of their functions was to give music a narrative. Even notes that did not contain stories *per se* were filled with material that served a very similar purpose. The most obvious examples were explanations of how the work was created, and its place in history. However, all of the language used to describe a piece could signal wider meanings, which then became part of the story being told. References to gender, families, education, morality, religion, politics, or race imbued the works with a wide variety of pre-existing 'texts' (in the broadest sense of the word), and formed social and cultural narratives for music.

Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Lists of Illustrations and Tables	5
Referencing System for Programme Note Citations	6
Chapter 1: Introduction and Narrative	7
Chapter 2: Contexts	23
Chapter 3: Audience and Advertising	55
Chapter 4: Gender and Families	80
Chapter 5: Education, Morality and Religion	106
Chapter 6: Biography, Literature and History	151
Chapter 7: Politics, Nation, Race and Identity	181
Conclusion	227
Bibliography	234
Digital Appendix	CD

Acknowledgements

This project was made possible by the Royal College of Music's provision of Lucy Ann Jones and Douglas and Hilda Simmons Scholarships, as well as an AHRC Doctoral Studentship. I am very grateful for the huge amount of input and guidance given by my four supervisors: Dr. Paul Banks, Dr. Christina Bashford, Dr. Katy Hamilton, and Dr. Natasha Loges. Family and friends provided much-needed moral support, and special thanks go to my team of proof-readers: Marion Bower, Isobel Clarke, Sam Cook, Becky Dowson, Tim Driscoll, Rhian Holvey, Adam Hotson, Nicole Oppler, Ellie Reed, Jack Ridley, Vera Segal, Alexei Stephenson, Rachel Sweet, and Frances Weightman.

Lists of Illustrations and Tables

Fig. 1: 1884 ground plan of the Crystal Palace	25
Fig. 2: Three banner images for the front covers of the Saturday Concert and Summer Concert booklets	62
Fig. 3: 1879 advertisement for corsets	67
Fig. 4: 1876 advertisement for Balm of Columbia	77
Fig. 5: 1876 advertisement for Waukenphast Boots	78
Table 1: Concerts devoted in whole or part to a single composer	33
Table 2: Frequency of opera excerpt performances	34
Table 3: Programme note provision for smaller vocal works, 1865–1875	40
Table 4: Contributions from other authors	52
Table 5: Ticket price changes	57
Table 6: Season ticket prices	57
Table 7: Performances of works with liturgical texts	131
Table 8: Concerts consisting of a single, complete oratorio	138

Unless otherwise specified, all the tables cover the years 1865–1879.

Referencing System for Programme Note Citations

Citations from the programme notes are referenced as follows:

Location, date, position of the concert in the season (1, 2, 3, etc.): page number.

The location is indicated using RISM sigla (<http://www.rism.info/en/sigla.html#c2487>), with the addition of -B and -L suffixes to indicate loose or bound copies. The four locations of source material have therefore been referenced as follows:

GB-Lcm-B = Royal College of Music, bound volumes.

GB-Lcm-L = Royal College of Music, loose programmes.

GB-Lbl-B = British Library, bound volumes. Catalogue reference: Music Collections c.370.

GB-BROcl-B = Bromley Central Library, bound volumes. Catalogue reference: 780.73 (LCP).

The vast majority of citations come from GB-Lcm-B and GB-Lbl-B. GB-Lcm-L was used primarily for advertising information, and for references to Grove's annotations, which do not appear in any of the bound volumes. GB-BROcl-B is used for a single bound volume of booklets from 1867–1869 with annotations by an audience member.

Of these four collections, only GB-Lcm-B and GB-Lcm-L contain programmes from before 1867, and the coverage for those years is particularly incomplete (omissions are rare after 1868). The conclusions drawn for the earliest years of the case study period must therefore be treated with caution. For a more complete outline of the level of coverage, see the Digital Appendix (on attached CD).

Chapter 1: Introduction and Narrative

The aim of this doctoral project is to investigate nineteenth-century British programme notes for orchestral concerts through looking at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts between 1865 and 1879. These serve as a case study for investigating the place of music in Victorian culture and society and the function of programme notes as texts for text-less music. In the last twenty years, programme booklets have emerged as a fascinating resource for cultural study. Jann Pasler provided an overview of their ideological meanings in a chapter focussing on booklets produced in late nineteenth-century Paris, examining repertoire choices and ordering, advertising, iconography, and providing a brief section on the analytical notes.¹ William Weber explored repertoire and ordering in programme booklets in his book *The Great Transformation in Musical Taste*, drawing very broad conclusions about the changes in concert practice during the nineteenth century.² Catherine Dale used programme notes to inform her study of musical analysis in nineteenth-century Britain.³ Issues of nationalism and gender have been explored by Laurence Poston in an article on the programming choices and the content of the programme notes in the early years of the Proms.⁴

Nonetheless, Christina Bashford's observation in 2008 is still true now: programme notes are an under-used resource.⁵ One feature that most of the existing studies have in common is that they tend not to systematically examine the texts of programme notes for cultural information. Pasler mentions them, but provides only limited discussion of their

-
- 1 Jann Pasler, 'Concert Programs and Their Narratives as Emblems of Ideology', in *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 365–416. The chapter was first published as an article in the *International Journal of Musicology* 2 (1993), 249–308.
 - 2 William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). For a preparatory study for the book, see also 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*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 299–320.
 - 3 Chapter 4, 'The Analytical Concert Programme Note: its Growth and Influence in Nineteenth-Century Britain' in Dale's book represents a culmination of her work in this area: *Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 35–70. This was preceded by two preparatory studies: Catherine Dale, 'Towards a Tradition of Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth Century', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 269–302; and Catherine Dale, 'The "Analytical" Content of the Concert Programme Note Re-Examined: Its Growth and Influence in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Vol. 2*, ed. Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 199–222.
 - 4 Lawrence Poston, 'Henry Wood, the "Proms," and National Identity in Music, 1895–1904', *Victorian Studies* 47, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 397–426.
 - 5 Christina Bashford, 'Writing (British) Concert History: The Blessing and Curse of Ephemera', *Notes*, 2, 64, no. 3 (March 2008): 469–470.

content with no examples. Weber's study did not take them into account at all, and both Dale and Poston used them as a means to support specific points, and were therefore very selective in the passages they considered. The time seems right for an overarching study that takes the content of programme notes as a central object of critical interest, and Bashford herself has laid some key foundations for such work in a number of writings. As well as researching several important authors of early programme notes, and establishing the networks of provision that sustained them across the country, she has also set in place some essential frameworks for understanding their cultural and social function. In particular, she has examined the way in which these texts engaged Victorian audiences in serious, attentive listening, and the way they shaped the emerging attitudes to chamber music.⁶

Bashford herself suggested that the notes provided for the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts are a particularly rich resource for such work.⁷ The series featured an unusually large number of concerts per season (around twenty-six), and the Crystal Palace held a key position in London concert life during the 1860s and 70s as one of the few public venues to host high quality orchestral music. Importantly, audience members were able to buy single tickets on the day, as opposed to the prevailing practice of paying a subscription for the whole season. These concerts were therefore accessible to a much broader demographic. In addition, (Sir) George Grove was responsible for writing many of these notes. They were reprinted for concerts all over the country, and heavily influenced his entries in the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.⁸ They are therefore of central importance for understanding Victorian musical thought and the development of English musicology. Alongside Grove, a large number of authors were involved in writing these notes, including: August Manns (the conductor of the Crystal Palace Band), Charles Ainslie Barry, Edward Dannreuther, Ebenezer Prout, George Macfarren, John Stainer, and

6 For information on programme note networks, see Christina Bashford, 'Educating England: Networks of Programme-Note Provision in the Nineteenth Century', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 349–76. For discussion of John Ella and Henry Hill's notes, see *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007); and 'The Late Beethoven Quartets and the London Press, 1836-ca.1850', *The Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 84–122 respectively. Listening practices are the specific focus of 'Learning to Listen: Audiences for Chamber Music in Early-Victorian London', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 4, no. 1 (1999): 25–51.

7 Most of the information in the following paragraph has been drawn from Christina Bashford, 'Not Just "G": Towards a History of the Programme Note', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 115–43.

8 For detail on the reprinting of Grove's programme notes at other venues, see Bashford, 'Educating England,' 355.

James William Davison. Between them these authors offer a very wide range of Victorian perspectives on music.

There is a substantial range of literature to draw on to support this kind of work. Michael Musgrave's work is particularly important here, alongside the studies by Bashford already mentioned. His book on music making at the Crystal Palace remains a key source of information, especially for the production of the programme booklets.⁹ Musgrave is also a major contributor to the work done on the lives of August Manns and Sir George Grove.¹⁰ His multi-author edited volume on Grove featured Bashford's chapter on the programme notes for the Crystal Palace, itself providing most of the relevant historical data required for this project.¹¹ Her study of programme notes produced outside of London contains most of the remaining relevant information (including whether or not the authors were paid).¹²

Beyond the relatively limited literature examining programme notes and the Crystal Palace, there is a vast body of work on the musical, cultural, and social life of Victorian Britain, providing essential context for the close-reading undertaken in this project. While authors such as Nicholas Temperley perceived a dearth of research into Victorian music in the 1980s, the field has since seen enormous growth, in particular evidenced by the ongoing success of the Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain series of books, edited by Bennett Zon.¹³ Another important precursor to much of this literature is the work of Cyril Ehrlich, and in particular his book *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century*.¹⁴ Both Ehrlich and Temperley were considered influential enough to be worthy of Festschriften; the former co-edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley and

9 Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). See also his published lecture: Michael Musgrave, 'An Audience For Classical Music': *The Achievement of August Manns at the Crystal Palace* (London: Goldsmiths College, 1996).

10 Michael Musgrave, 'Changing Values in Nineteenth-Century Performance: The Work of Michael Costa and August Manns', in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 169–92; Celia Clarke and Michael Musgrave, 'George Grove the Man', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 23–39; Michael Musgrave, 'Describing and Evaluating: Grove on Technology, Geography, Exploration and Literature', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, 40–70.

11 Bashford, 'Not Just "G": Towards a History of the Programme Note'.

12 Bashford, 'Educating England'.

13 Nicholas Temperley, 'The Lost Chord', *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 7–23. The first book of the series was Bennett Zon, ed., *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 1*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). The last general volume was Peter Horton and Bennett Zon, eds., *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 3*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003). The series now consists of over thirty titles on a very wide range of subjects, including both monographs and edited volumes.

14 Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985). Other important studies include: *The Piano: A History*, rev. ed (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1990); and *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1995).

published in 2000, the latter edited by Bennett Zon and published in 2012.¹⁵ Both books in themselves contain many useful chapters examining various different aspects of music in Victorian culture.

Three studies stand out as having provided more direct models. The first is Ruth Solie's chapter on *Macmillan's Magazine* in her 2004 book *Music in Other Words*.¹⁶ Her close-reading of the articles in the magazine for references to the place of music in wider Victorian culture is very similar to the approach taken in the present study. Correspondingly, she uncovers the same kinds of issues, including morality, education, class, race, and gender. Her work is particularly relevant to the Crystal Palace as the period she examines is that of Grove's editorship, providing a direct link to his programme notes for the Saturday Concerts. The second is Charles McGuire's work on the Tonic Sol-Fa movement.¹⁷ McGuire uses a wide range of source material to outline the interaction between the system of musical notation promoted by John and Spencer Curwen and the world of Victorian philanthropy and missionary work.¹⁸ The volume and diversity of available source material allows McGuire to go into greater depth into his chosen areas than will be possible here. However, his approach of closely examining the material for information makes it an important model for this project. Finally, David Gramit's book *Cultivating Music* has formed a general precursor, as it carries out similar cultural and social examinations, though on writings in a different country (Germany), and over a different period (the first half of the nineteenth century rather than the second).¹⁹

The Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts ran from 1856 through to 1904, mounting around twenty-six concerts per season. To avoid an unmanageable glut of material, this project will focus on the programme notes written between the years 1865 and 1879. The start date was chosen as it very broadly represents the beginning of regular inclusion of programme notes in the booklets. The end date was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the conductor Hans Richter began his own annual series, the 'Richter Concerts' at St. James

15 Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Bennett Zon, ed., *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, *Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

16 Ruth A. Solie, 'Music in a Victorian Mirror: *Macmillan's Magazine* in the Grove Years', in *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, *California Studies in 19th-Century Music* 12 (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2004), 44–84.

17 Charles Edward McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-Fa Movement* (Cambridge; London: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

18 McGuire also examines women's suffrage as an example of a cause for which the Curwens avoided providing support, but also to indicate the manner in which the sol-fa method was co-opted by the movement regardless.

19 David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Hall that year. In musical terms, these concerts were the first serious competition the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts had faced, and soon began drawing off audience members who did not want to continue making the journey from London to Sydenham (a suburb roughly six miles to the South East of town). It is from this point onward that the Saturday Concerts began to lose their cultural supremacy.²⁰ Secondly, the first collected volume of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* was published in 1879, marking the transfer of some of his notes into the world of early musicology.

For the purposes of the present study, 'programme notes' are considered to be any kind of text, long or short, printed in a concert programme booklet for the purpose of explaining the music being performed. They were mostly attached to particular pieces, but could occasionally be presented in a more free-standing manner. Within these texts, two kinds of writing that made regular appearances have not been examined in detail: plot summaries for dramatic or quasi-dramatic works, and neutrally-presented musical analysis. The former has been excluded as it represents a different genre of writing, one in which the voice is specifically that of a narrator, rather than the looser and more external position that characterises a programme note. Proper discussion of the latter would require an in-depth examination of Victorian musical hermeneutics, and whether or not the descriptions of music in the programme notes conformed to these ideas, a topic of sufficient size to merit separate study. Indeed, this was the focus of Dale's work, already mentioned.²¹ Further, an examination of musical analyses seems prone to generating questions regarding whether or not they are 'good' or 'useful', diverting the focus onto present-day analytical concerns. However interesting this subject might be, it would not form a helpful part of a project that is more interested in social and cultural issues.

The basic methodology of the project has been to close-read the Saturday Concert booklets, looking for key words or phrases that signal overlaps with contemporary Victorian social or cultural life. The overall aim is to outline the complex combination of context, content, and function that the programme notes represented. To make sense of this approach, it is helpful to think of programme notes as a window. Present-day readers can look through them to gain an insight into Victorian society, culture, and understanding of music. We can also consider what is omitted from the view, alongside what is shown. However, we can also examine the manner in which the window itself is constructed.

²⁰ A telling indication of this shift can be seen in the fact that it was Richter, not Manns, who gave the first British performance of Brahms's Third Symphony, in spite of the Second Symphony having been equivalently premièred at the Crystal Palace. See Christopher Fifield, *True Artist and True Friend: A Biography of Hans Richter* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1993), 205.

²¹ Dale, *Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*.

Where and when was it built? What materials have been used? How does it structure the view it presents? These questions in turn demonstrate the importance of knowing who was responsible for the construction of these windows, as personal tastes would certainly have been involved. Moreover, they also raise the issue of the historical viewers who would have been looking through the window at the time. Knowing what such people wanted to see adds an extra contextual layer to both how the window was constructed and what can be seen through it. The image also allows for dynamic understandings: the construction of one window and the view it shows then shaped the way in which subsequent windows are built, and the expectations of those who build them and look through them.²² Striking a balance between all of these interactions has been a primary consideration behind the close readings that follow.

The next two chapters set up key frameworks for reading these notes. Chapter 2 provides all of the available historical information, including the history of the Crystal Palace and of the Saturday Concerts, an overview of the programming practices and provision of programme notes, a history of the programme note, and outlines of the lives and writing styles of the major authors of the notes at the Crystal Palace. Chapter 3 shifts focus to the audience, laying the foundations for explorations of their role in shaping the content of the programme notes. Information is derived from a detailed examination of the booklets themselves and the full range of their content, including: size, length, formatting, presentation, ticket prices and advertising (both internal and external to the Crystal Palace). The chapter also includes some discussion of the programme notes as promotional material in their own right, illustrating an interesting range of ways in which Grove and Manns were engaging with and attempting to shape the audience.

The remaining chapters deal with the references made to various areas of Victorian culture and society, each one containing its own discussion of the relevant literature. Chapter 4 looks at the gendered vocabulary used to describe music and instruments, and draws on recent work by scholars such as Claudia Nelson and Leonore Davidoff to explain the familial imagery, and in particular the references to siblings.²³ The whole interrelated matrix of ideas relating to education, morality and religion is discussed in Chapter 5, with the latter shown to have particular resonances with Dominic Erdozain's work on

22 Aside from the clarity this image brings to the subject, it seems particularly apt for a study focussing on the Crystal Palace, a structure that was, one might say, made up of nothing but windows.

23 Claudia Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian England*, Victorian Life and Times (Westport: Praeger, 2007); Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

secularisation in Victorian Britain.²⁴ A discussion of the place of programme notes within the literary genres of biography, history and literature is the focus of Chapter 6, showing how these texts embodied all three kinds of writing while also commenting on them as outsiders. References made to contemporary politics are the starting point for Chapter 7, with focus then shifting on to issues of national pride and identity, particularly those relating to Victorian ideas of race and processes of appropriation.

All of the close readings carried out here are supported by a repertoire database, included in the form of an Excel file as a Digital Appendix. This document contains the following information: the pieces performed at every Saturday Concert between 1865 and 1879, which pieces received notes, who wrote the notes, how long they were, and how many musical examples they included. The data have been used to track changes of repertoire, and reprintings and alterations of programme notes, often highlighting a number of shifts in broader attitudes. In addition, the material cited has been deliberately drawn from programme notes for as broad a range of composers as possible, not just those who were most frequently performed. After all, as we will see, all of the music performed at the Crystal Palace had to be treated as though it was unfamiliar. These concerts were being attended by a newly widened audience that might have had very little exposure to orchestral music, at least as played by an orchestra. There was therefore no guarantee that everyone in the audience would already know a piece, no matter how frequently it had been performed before or how high its critical position. The breadth of the extracts in the present study aims to reflect the fact that interesting social or cultural insights can correspondingly be found everywhere.

All of the areas that will be discussed obviously had considerable overlap with each other in the Victorian period, making their treatment in separate chapters potentially misleading. Issues of families, morality, biography, and politics, for example, could easily be seen as all tied up together. To help create a more interwoven picture, each chapter finishes with a connecting passage leading to the next, with Chapter 7 linking back to Chapter 4 to bring the cultural topics full circle. The chapters themselves also make frequent reference to each other, showing that many of the passages discussed have multiple resonances (certain citations crop up in multiple chapters for the same reason).

In spite of their separation, there is an underlying theme to all the more culturally focussed chapters, namely the way in which Grove, Manns, and their colleagues supplied

²⁴ Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation, and the Crisis of Victorian Religion*, Studies in Modern British Religious History, v. 22 (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2010).

narratives for the pieces being performed, especially for instrumental music. A comparison with contemporary attitudes to art is instructive here, as narrative was an equally central concern for Victorian painters. Many works were produced that depicted Biblical, historical or domestic scenes intended to invoke the entirety of the larger story that they were drawn from.²⁵ As with programme notes, this practice was intended to make paintings more engaging and accessible to a new middle-class audience.²⁶ Indeed, scholars working on Victorian narrative art have uncovered a very similar range of social and cultural issues to those tackled in the present study, including gender, national identity, and politics.²⁷ The idea of a common narrative aim for music and art was made clear in Grove's note for Prout's First Symphony from 28th February 1874:

What the historical picture is to the painter, or the epic poem to the poet, such is the Symphony to the musician – if indeed it be not as much greater and more comprehensive than either poem or picture, as the art of Music is greater, more comprehensive, and more expressive than either Painting or Poetry.²⁸

The two genres that Grove chose to compare the symphonic form to are both narrative genres, the historical picture and the epic poem, with the former representing a form of narrative painting that the Victorians valued particularly highly. Whatever we might think now about whether or not instrumental works can sustain a narrative, it is clear from the Saturday Concert programmes that Grove and Manns were essentially of the opinion that they could, and wrote their notes accordingly.²⁹

25 For a general overview of issues relating to Victorian narrative painting see Julia Thomas, *Victorian Narrative Painting* (London: Tate, 2000).

26 Julia Thomas, personal communication.

27 See, respectively: Pamela Fletcher, "'To Wipe a Manly Tear': The Aesthetics of Emotion in Victorian Narrative Painting', *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 3 (2009): 457–69; Julia Thomas, 'Nation and Narration: The Englishness of Victorian Narrative Painting', in *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), 105–24; and Janice Carlisle, *Picturing Reform in Victorian Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 79 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Very little work has been done on the overlaps between Victorian approaches to music and narrative art, though one exception is Thomas Grey, 'Tableaux Vivants: Landscape, History Painting, and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music', *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 1 (July 1997): 38–76. Unfortunately Grey does not discuss issues of narrative in the reception of these works. Bennett Zon has examined some connections between nineteenth-century musicology and art, but does not mention the specific genre of narrative painting, not even in the section entitled 'Music images' that specifically talks about pictorial understandings of music in Victorian Britain. See Bennett Zon, *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), 64–69.

28 GB-Lbl-B, 28/02/1874, 18: 435.

29 The early 1990s saw the emergence of a considerable debate on the subject, with figures such as Jean-Jacques Nattiez, Carolyn Abbate, and Peter Kivy weighing in. See Jean-Jacques Nattiez, 'Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?', trans. Katharine Ellis, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115, no. 2 (1990): 240–57; Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton Studies in Opera (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Peter Kivy,

The Saturday Concert programme notes were most likely to describe a story in cases where there was evidence of a composer's intention to portray one. A classic example is the note given for the Weber *Konzertstück* for piano and orchestra performed on 5th May 1877:

Weber's well-known Concerto – or, as he entitled it, Concert-stück or Concert-piece – is too great a favourite to need an analysis; but as in writing it the composer had a distinct dramatic intention in his mind, it may be well to quote his interpretation as given by Sir Julius Benedict, who, as everybody knows, was one of the few pupils of the illustrious author of *Der Freischütz*.

“The Lady sits in her tower. She gazes sadly into the distance. Her knight has been for years in the Holy Land.”³⁰

The story then continues for a substantial paragraph comprising the rest of the note. No further explanation was considered necessary. The narrative was important to establish, as a composer who did not provide sufficient information for an obviously programmatic work could come in for criticism, as we see in Grove's note on the overture to Macfarren's Oratorio *St. John the Baptist*:

We are informed by the composer, in the too curt and tantalizing remarks which he prefixed to his work in the programme of the Philharmonic Concert of July 7, 1873, that the Overture aims at suggesting the anxious expectancy which pervaded the Hebrew nation during the period prior to the Advent of Christ.³¹

Although Macfarren had provided a narrative for the music, it was evidently not considered to be enough. Given that Grove was referring to the content of a programme note, it is also tempting to infer from this passage his thoughts on what a note ought to contain more generally.

Narratives were also given to works that the composers had not intended a story for, though in these cases some kind of external source was usually still hinted at. This was the case in Grove's note for Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto from 10th April 1869:

It is difficult not to believe that the great musician must have had some actual “programme” in mind, some story or event, when he

Introduction to a Philosophy of Music (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 2002). For a more recent critical overview of these discussions, see Peter J. Rabinowitz, ‘Music, Genre, and Narrative Theory’, in *Narrative Across Media: The Languages of Storytelling*, ed. Marie-Laure Ryan, Frontiers of Narrative (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 305–28.

30 GB-Lbl-B, 05/05/1877, Manns Benefit: 826.

31 GB-Lbl-B, 31/01/1874, 14: 354.

wrote down this most vivid picture. Of course every hearer is free to invent his own interpretation, or to let it alone: but in default of any hint from the composer himself, it would be difficult to find anything more appropriate than the following, which is ascribed to one of the most eminent living musical critics. The story is that a giant has imprisoned a lady in his tower, and is threatening her with instant death.³²

A full outline of this story then follows, involving the maiden singing the giant to sleep, and then joining her lover outside the tower at the beginning of the last movement. There is no mention of who the ‘eminent living critic’ might be, but whoever it was, their word was sufficient to introduce a narrative that had no kind of justification from Beethoven at all. Even looser was the story introduced for the last movement of Schubert’s Ninth Symphony on 27th March 1869:

Nothing is said in any of Schubert’s letters of his intention in this movement, or what picture or image, if any, he had in his mind. But a legend on the subject exists, which, though of somewhat doubtful authenticity, as legends often are, may perhaps be pardoned as not inappropriate to the case. According to the legend then, the *Finale* illustrates the story of Phaeton and the Horses of the Sun.³³

Again, a description of the entire plot ensued. Even if the authority was ‘doubtful’, it was still thought worthy of reproducing regardless, no doubt because it served as an excellent way of helping the audience get a sense of an otherwise long and difficult movement. We have to guess, though, that the composer (and performer) had provided some input when Grove stated that Joachim’s *Notturmo* for violin and orchestra “might have borrowed its inspiration from some lake deep in the woods” on 6th February 1875.³⁴ The three-line note otherwise mentions no source for the idea.

The importance of narrative to Grove is shown in a striking occasion when he set out on his own, with no hint of external authority at all, in an early note for Beethoven’s *Leonore* Overture No. 3 from 21st November 1868. The following very extended passage formed roughly half of the entire note:

The only accusation that can be brought against the Overture (if the writer may with great diffidence be allowed to express his opinion) appears to be that it is too vast for the subject of the story to which it acts as a prelude. Instead of foreshadowing the personal griefs and

32 GB-Lcm-B, 10/04/1869, 25: 11.

33 GB-Lcm-B, 27/03/1869, 23: 11.

34 GB-Lbl-B, 06/12/1875, 15: 418.

joys, however momentous, of Leonora and Florestan, the anxieties of a gaoler, the perplexities of a clownish lover, the sufferings of a few prisoners, and the villainy of a petty commandant – a story which surely owes its vitality more to its connection with Beethoven's music than to any intrinsic force of its own – instead of shadowing forth such comparatively petty occurrences as these, the “Overture to Leonora” always appears to me to be a fitting prelude to any of the most tremendous events or most terrible catastrophes that have occurred in history. Its grief and joy are the grief and joy not of private persons but of whole nations, its conflicts are the “battles of shaking” of the Hebrew Prophet. The Retreat from Moscow, the French Revolution itself contain nothing more sustained, more impetuous, more mournful, more stirring, more pathetic, more triumphant than this wonderful musical picture. As one illustration of what I mean let me refer to the well-known trumpet-call, which being played off the stage, while the whole action of the orchestra is suspended, has so thrilling and mysterious an effect. Who can connect this passage in the Overture with the distant signal of the arrival of the Governor in the opera? No! heard in the Overture, during the sudden pause which succeeds the tremendous hurry and rush of the instruments up the scale, it has all the effect of a summons to a vanquished nation to lay down its arms: there is a forlorn, desolate, *dead-of-night* [sic] effect about it that is overpowering to me, and it seems as I hear it to be one of the beaten wounded soldiers within the walls of the conquered city, trembling between the relief and the dishonour of the approaching surrender. And in the same way the whole Overture appears to me to be lifted far above even the greatness of the opera which follows it – lifted from the particular to the universal, from the individual to the national, from the simple to the complex, from the petty to the tremendous, from a misfortune to a catastrophe.³⁵

Grove openly stated that this grand and noble music did not, in his eyes, fit the plot of the opera it was intended to precede, so he invented one that he deemed more fitting for the sentiment. This passage has been reproduced in full as it shows just how passionate Grove could be, at this particular point in time, about getting the story of the music right.

We can even hear a storytelling impulse whenever we see the word ‘picture’ in the programme notes. The word might suggest something static to modern ears, but as we have already seen, narrative was just as much a part of Victorian conceptions of art. So when the notes described music in terms of its pictorial quality, there may well have been stories in mind. As expected, these references were most likely to appear in notes for works that already had programmatic associations, as we see in the anonymous note for Barnett’s *The Lay of the Last Minstrel, a Descriptive Fantasia for Orchestra*. The piece used the Walter

35 GB-Lcm-B, 21/11/1868, 8: 11-12

Scott poem of the same title as inspiration, and the relevant sections were correspondingly printed in the booklet for guidance. The author summarised the last movement as follows:

The rejoicings consequent on the triumph of Lord Cranstoun over Richard Musgrave are depicted in the “Chant Triomphale,” which forms the *Finale*.³⁶

Knowledge of exactly how and why Cranstoun defeated Musgrave was taken for granted, as none of the relevant parts of the poem were cited, and the earlier movements of the piece did not cover it. Instead the section of poetry for this movement referred to the moment of success, and the subsequent marriage of Cranstoun to Lady Margaret. However, the key word here is ‘depicted’, and in common with Victorian narrative paintings, a single image (in this case of rejoicing and matrimony) stood for a much larger story that the audience were expected to fill in the details of themselves. The language of pictures was not limited to programmatic works: the explicit description given in the note for Prout’s symphony, cited above, reappeared in more implicit form in Grove’s note for Mozart’s Symphony No. 39 from 5th June 1875:

It is a picture of happiness and gaiety throughout – the gaiety of Mozart himself, how different from that of Beethoven in his Second and Fourth, and of Mendelssohn in his “Italian,” Symphonies! [sic]³⁷

The word ‘picture’ here can no longer be seen as a neutral choice, but one that carries with it a set of narrative associations.

All of these examples notwithstanding, there was occasionally a certain degree of ambivalence shown over the issue, as we see in the notes which seem to simultaneously affirm and deny the presence of a narrative in the music. For example, the unsigned note on Henry Gadsby’s *Andromeda* Overture from 22nd February 1873 concluded with the following paragraph:

Which portions of the old Legend Mr. Gadsby has had in his mind when composing his Overture the writer is not able to state. The opening unison *forte* passage must surely be the Dragon, while the graceful second subject must as certainly stand for Andromeda; while the agitations of the middle and close of the work equally interpret the mental and material conflicts of the story. But in such interpretations

³⁶ GB-Lbl-B, 10/04/1875, 24: 688.

³⁷ GB-Lbl-B, 05/06/1875, Third Summer Concert: 83 (840 pencilled over, to bring it into line with rest of volume).

no two hearers will fully agree, and it is therefore needless to suggest them. Enough if we say that as “pure music,” independent of any “programme,” Mr. Gadsby’s bright, spirited, and continuous Overture will fully support his previous reputation.³⁸

The retraction of the narrative suggestions is all the more striking here, as it raises the question of why mention them at all if they are ‘needless’. There is also the suggestion of some anxiety that they might detract from Gadsby’s reputation if taken too seriously. Although Grove was often the author of unsigned contributions, the attitude shown here seems distinctly unlike that of his other notes. It has more in common with (for example) Prout’s writing, as we see in his note on Tchaikovsky’s *Romeo and Juliet* Overture:

The work is evidently programme music throughout; but the mental impression produced by any musical phrase depends so much on the hearer, that as the composer himself has given us no clue to his intentions, it will be better not to hazard conjectures on the subject, but to leave everyone to draw their own conclusions, and confine such remarks as will be made to the purely musical aspect of the work.³⁹

Unlike the Gadsby note, narrative speculation is genuinely absent here, though we might wonder if there was an assumption that an outline of the story was expected in a programme note, prompting a defence of its non-inclusion.

Changes that Grove made to some of his Beethoven notes for reprintings (he re-wrote these more frequently than his notes for any other composer) provide further suggestions that overt story-telling may have been falling out of favour during the 1870s. For most of the performances of the Fourth Piano Concerto through this period, the note preserved the giant and maiden story from 1869. However, this passage was cut on 7th December 1878, and nothing was given to replace it. Even more overtly, the *Leonore* Overture No. 3 note with the great battles was rewritten twice during the 1870s. The first time was for a performance on 23rd January 1875. The entire section of invented plot cited above was removed, and replaced with the following passage:

Taken as pure music – as a piece of concise construction and strict adherence to musical “form” - the “Leonora, No.3” may not perhaps be so remarkable as the same great master's Overture to “Coriolan”... But is there not an interest higher even than musical symmetry? - the interest awakened by variety and complexity, and by wild passion and

38 GB-Lcm-B, 22/02/1873, 17: 348.

39 GB-Lbl-B, 04/11/1876, 6: 198.

longing and suspense and rapture, such as that of which this great composition is so full from beginning to end...⁴⁰

In a sense, the sentiment was the same as the earlier note: the value in the music was its depiction of diverse passions, something which was of equal or even greater value than ‘musical symmetry’. However, there was now a need to qualify this assertion in the context of more abstract concepts, such as ‘pure music’, and ‘musical form’. A defence now needed to be mounted for this music against the concerns of what we might think of as ‘absolute music’ in a way that was not considered necessary when the note was first written.⁴¹ By 22nd February 1879 Grove had completely rewritten the *Leonore* No. 3 note, with the new version omitting any direct mention of a narrative at all; even the original plot had been completely discarded.⁴²

The subsequent chapters will show, though, that while there might have been a move away from telling stories *per se*, Grove and Manns continued to fill their notes with material that served a very similar function. After all, as with paintings, critics and audiences can bring a whole range of external narratives to bear on their understanding of a piece. The most obvious of these is the story of how the work was created, and its place in history more generally. Julie Codell’s work has shown the importance to the Victorians of documenting the lives of artists, and the present study comes to similar conclusions about the biographical material presented at the Saturday Concerts.⁴³ However, a programme note presents an opportunity for us to go even deeper. Here all of the language used to describe a piece, regardless of overt function, can (and could) signal wider meanings, which then become part of the story being told. References to familial connections between pieces, to biblical metaphors, or to racial identity imbued the music with a wide variety of pre-existing ‘texts’ (in the broadest sense of the term). In other words, they formed social and cultural narratives for music. This approach was of crucial importance in engaging a new audience with instrumental works in particular, as the lack of a libretto meant that such pieces did not explain or justify themselves.

The irony is that this development took place over a period that ostensibly saw these works increasingly promoted for their non-referential quality. Examining Victorian

40 GB-Lbl-B, 23/01/1875, 13: 360.

41 Sanna Pederson has shown that the history of this particular term was considerably more complex than many twentieth-century authors recognised, with a variety of shifting meanings throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. See Sanna Pederson, ‘Defining the Term “Absolute Music” Historically’, *Music & Letters* 90, no. 2 (2009): 240–62.

42 GB-Lbl-B, 22/02/1879, 14: 411–413.

43 Julie F. Codell, *The Victorian Artist: Artists’ Lifewritings in Britain, Ca. 1870–1910* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

programme notes forces us to take a step back and realise that, at the same time, ‘absolute’ music was becoming completely surrounded by words and stories. Indeed, we might say that programme notes were heavily involved in this change: in shifting the narratives to an external position, they would have made it easier for critics to see the music itself as non-representational. Moreover, the example of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concert programmes shows that this process happened in Britain much later than we might have expected. Eduard Hanslick’s ‘On the Beautiful in Art’ was published in 1854, a text that modern writers have consistently cited to demonstrate a later nineteenth-century preference for non-referential music.⁴⁴ Almost twenty-five years after Hanslick’s book came out, though, the Crystal Palace Saturday concerts were still printing programme notes that heard a giant and a maiden in Beethoven’s Fourth Piano Concerto. Indeed, this would be consistent with Pederson’s survey, which concludes that ‘absolute’ was not widely thought to be a positive quality for music until the 1880s, a change that was partly generated through misquotations and misunderstandings of Hanslick.⁴⁵ There is evidently a great deal that these kinds of writings can tell us about the understanding of music in Victorian Britain.

One final term that requires definition is ‘Victorian.’ In the early 2000s there was a certain amount of debate in scholarly circles regarding how useful the word was. Objections included the length of time it covers, the historical origins of the term, and the idea that it is used to cover up the class struggles of the period.⁴⁶ The strongest case for its continued usage was made by Martin Hewitt in an article for *Victorian Studies*, where he argued that certain societal structures and trends gave coherence to the whole, even if the boundaries were somewhat fuzzy.⁴⁷ Aside from the fact that Hewitt’s defence seems to have been generally accepted by the academic community, the more limited chronological

44 This status has been asserted as recently as 2012 in Mark Evan Bonds, ‘Aesthetic Amputations: Absolute Music and the Deleted Endings of Hanslick’s Vom Musikalisch-Schönen’, *19th-Century Music* 36, no. 1 (2012): 3–23.

45 See Pederson, ‘Defining the Term “Absolute Music” Historically’.

46 See, for example, John Lucas, ‘Republican versus Victorian: Radical Writing in the Latter Years of the Nineteenth Century’, in *Rethinking Victorian Culture*, ed. Juliet John and Alice Jenkins (Basingstoke; New York: Macmillan Press; St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 28–45; or Joseph Bristow, ‘Why “Victorian”? A Period and Its Problems’, *Literature Compass* 1, no. 1 (1 January 2004), accessed December 20, 2015. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2004.00055.x/full>.

47 Martin Hewitt, ‘Why the Notion of Victorian Britain Does Make Sense’, *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 3 (2006): 395–438. His faith in the idea was no doubt a primary motivation behind the choice of title for his edited volume about the period, *The Victorian World*, The Routledge Worlds (London; New York: Routledge, 2012). Here a number of authors contributed chapters on a diverse range of subjects relating to Victorian culture and society, several of which have been drawn on over the course of the present study.

scope of the case study material used here seems to allow for an easier use of the word.⁴⁸ If nothing else, the years 1865 to 1879 are in the middle of the period, so concerns about the boundaries are less relevant. On a deeper level, the republican sentiments that John Lucas convincingly identifies in certain contexts during the 1870s and 80s seem to have had no support from the pages of the Crystal Palace programmes.⁴⁹ His arguments might suggest that ‘Victorian’ cannot be used unthinkingly to describe everyone who lived through the period, but the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts could well be one context in which it is accurate.⁵⁰ Two further general clarifications are needed. Firstly, the word is used with the additional understanding that it refers exclusively to Britain, rather than to the practices or ideas of any other contemporary cultures. Secondly, the phrase ‘nineteenth century,’ appearing as both noun and adjectival construction, has sometimes been used for linguistic variety. Unless otherwise stated, it is not intended to indicate a broader scope than the word ‘Victorian’.⁵¹ The years of Victoria’s reign and the geographic location of Britain remain the primary arenas for this project.

48 For example, it is cited approvingly in the introduction to Matthew Bradley and Juliet John, eds., *Reading and the Victorians*, The Nineteenth Century Series (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2015).

49 Lucas, ‘Republican versus Victorian’.

50 The outline of the demographic in Chapter 3 and the political references discussed in Chapter 7 suggest that the audience would have probably been relatively monarchist.

51 Nor is it intended to replace the term, as per Bristow’s suggestion. Bristow, ‘Why “Victorian”?’

Chapter 2: Contexts – Histories of the Venue, Programming Practices, Programme Note, and Authors

The blossoming of scholarly literature on music in nineteenth-century Britain that has occurred over the last twenty years has made a critical examination of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts considerably easier. Many important books, articles and chapters have been written on subjects such as London concert life, musical journalism and publishing, significant figures in musical life, and British programme note practices, as well as some of the broader ideologies surrounding music. All of this literature serves as crucial foundations for the present study. The summary of basic factual information that follows is intended to set a contextual framework for the discussion in the subsequent chapters, and much of it has been drawn from several key scholarly works. The account of music making at the Crystal Palace draws on Michael Musgrave's book on the topic, and the discussion of concert order and repertoire makes use of work by Simon McVeigh and William Weber. Christina Bashford and Catherine Dale provide histories of the programme note, with the former particularly important for her outlines of the practices at the Crystal Palace and elsewhere. Biographical information on the various authors of the Saturday Concert programme notes comes from a number of places, though here a greater number of contemporary sources were required to fill out the picture for some of the less-studied figures.

In spite of the impressive array of existing literature, there are still gaps to be filled. The Saturday Concert programme booklets themselves provide a wealth of information about repertoire and concert structure that has not been discussed in detail. New contemporary sources have also come to light that provide a richer picture of the place of the Crystal Palace in London's musical life, or that give new clues about the changes in Grove's programme note practice.

History of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts¹

The Crystal Palace had originally been designed and built for the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in 1851. Over the course of a little over five months, around six million people saw a showcase of raw materials, machinery, luxury goods, and so on, drawn from Britain, its colonies, and a large number of European, Asian and

¹ Most of the information in this section has been drawn from Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

American countries. The event was, eventually, an outstanding financial success, generating enough money to buy the entire area of land that has since become known as Albertopolis, including the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Science Museum, the Natural History Museum, the Imperial Institute, the Albert Hall, and the Royal College of Music.² However, the Exhibition itself was only a temporary event, and after it was finished the Crystal Palace was dismantled. It was then bought by the newly formed Crystal Palace Company, including the original designer Joseph Paxton, and rebuilt and enlarged at a new location in Sydenham, South London.

When the Crystal Palace reopened in 1854, it did not contain any space devoted to musical performance. There was a Court of Musical Instruments, but unlike the equivalent space in the original Great Exhibition of 1851, the contents were to be looked at rather than played or bought. A permanent brass band, directed by Henry Schallehn (1815–1891), was hired to provide functional music and light entertainment inside and out, and this was thought to be sufficient. August Manns was hired as sub-conductor in May 1854, but was dismissed in October after a quarrel with Schallehn. George Grove, secretary of the Crystal Palace Company (from 1852), took Manns's side, and eventually persuaded the directors of the Company to dismiss Schallehn and offer Manns the position of musical director in 1855. As we will see later, Grove would become an increasingly important figure for the music-making at the Palace.

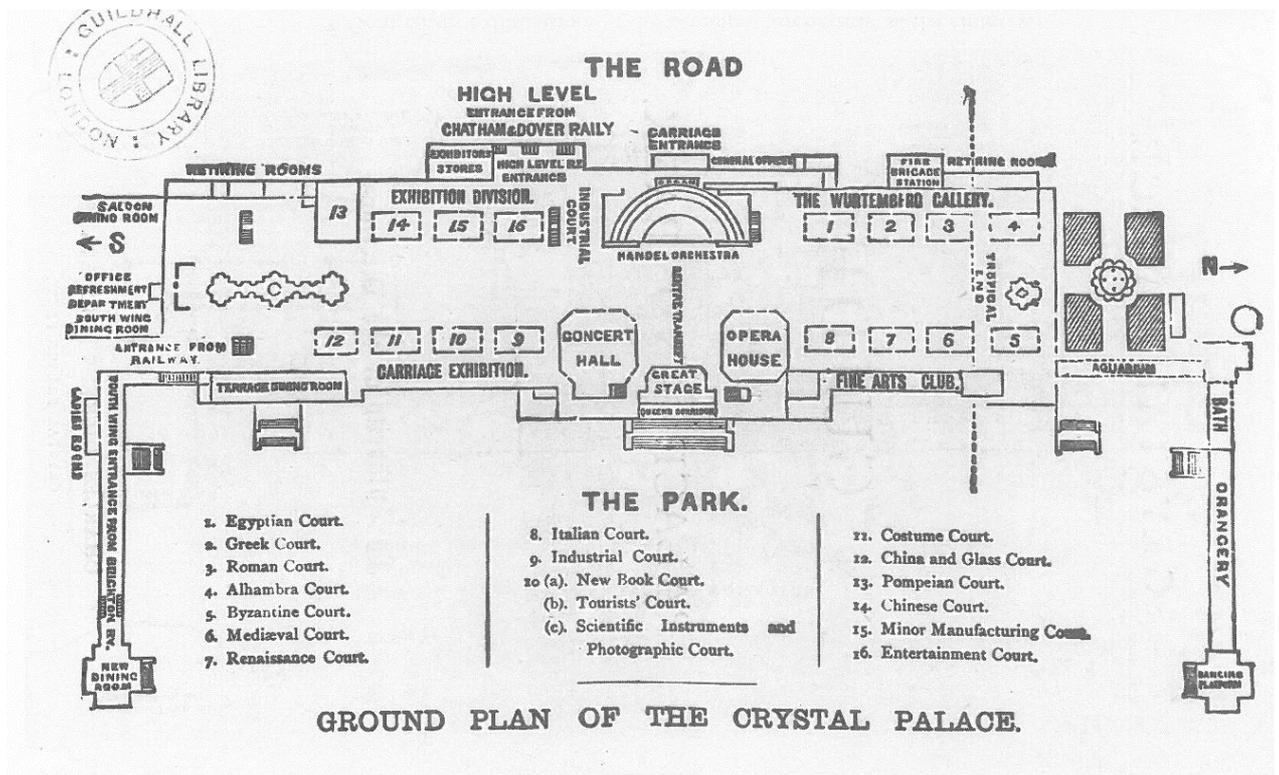
Against his instructions to stick to brass band music, and even to reduce the numbers of performers, Manns devoted half of his first concert to a string ensemble, with the wind and brass playing the second half. For subsequent concerts, Manns combined the two sections to form a full symphony orchestra. Crucially, though, the function of the ensemble changed dramatically in the process: instead of providing background music and light entertainment, it was now providing concerts, a format that demanded much greater attention from the audience. The new group retained the old name, the Crystal Palace Band, but began to perform the symphonic repertoire that Manns was most keen to introduce to the British public. The membership of the orchestra seems to have been very

2 Jeffrey Auerbach's history of the Great Exhibition argues that the event was surrounded by much greater controversy in its creation, execution and aftermath than many historical accounts allow. The summary here has been kept deliberately limited in its assessment of success in keeping with his work. See Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999). He has since gone on to edit a volume of studies on the Crystal Palace with Peter Hoffenberg, which enlarges the point about the diversity of narratives surrounding the Palace further, with a particular focus on the other exhibiting nations. See Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg, eds., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008).

stable, with the same core of wind and string players performing on most of the occasions that required an orchestra at the Crystal Palace, always under the baton of Manns.

As the reputation of this ensemble grew, the question of the location of performances within the Crystal Palace became more pressing. The Court of Musical Instruments had been turned into a performance space, but it quickly proved too small. A few other locations were tried in the first year, but by 1856 the decision was taken to construct a new Concert Room on the garden side of the centre transept (as shown in Fig. 1). All the subsequent regular orchestral performances at the Crystal Palace would take place at this location, though at first the Room was only a temporary structure. It was partially complete by 1859, but it was not until 1865 that the room became fully enclosed, finally blocking out the noise that had been plaguing the performances. An organ was fitted in 1867, and by 1868 further internal remodelling had taken place, expanding the size of the hall and the area of the orchestra platform. An audience of up to four thousand could now be entertained by up to three hundred performers. The new stability, capacity and seclusion provided by the enclosed and enlarged concert room might have been part of the reason behind the greater attention given to the programme note provision from 1865 onwards.

Fig. 1: 1884 ground plan of the Crystal Palace, showing location of the Concert Room. (Source: Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*, 28.)



Although the regularity and high standard of the Saturday Concerts gave them particular prominence over time, they were just one part of the musical life of the Crystal Palace, which had grown enormously by 1865. Every Saturday Concert from 1867 onwards was followed by an hour-long organ recital, with the repertoire listed at the back of the programme booklets. In addition, there were regular performances of orchestral music during the week at events referred to as the ‘Daily Music’. These would happen twice a day, probably in the concert room, and the programme would often include movements of works that were to appear at the following Saturday Concert. The audience could then get to know the works piecemeal, and the band got an extra opportunity to rehearse.³ There were also Grand Operatic concerts, performances of complete operas in the Crystal Palace Theatre (opened in 1870), Summer Concerts, filling the gap between the end of the main season in April and its recommencement in October, and numerous one-off events. The sheer quantity of music-making that Manns and the Crystal Palace Band were engaging in made for an unusually close relationship. Working with the same group of players on an almost daily basis throughout the year meant that Manns was able to ensure a high standard of playing, and that the performers themselves would know both the music and Manns’s conducting style very well indeed. The intensity of Manns’s involvement with his performers was no doubt key to the critical success of the Saturday Concerts, which by 1867 were being described as:

...a succession of orchestral performances without parallel in this country and unsurpassed in any other. Never in England ... have the symphonies of Beethoven been performed as under the direction of Herr Manns at the Crystal Palace.⁴

This summary of the 1866–67 season was given by J.W. Davison, chief critic of the *Times*, and his personal support of Manns means that it cannot be taken as a totally reliable statement of standards at the Palace. Nonetheless, this would have been a very influential opinion, on account of both the reputation of the paper itself and Davison’s seniority among other music critics in London.⁵

3 Details of the daily music programming are outlined in Michael Musgrave, ‘Changing Values in Nineteenth-Century Performance: The Work of Michael Costa and August Manns’, in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 169–92.

4 As cited in H. Saxe Wyndham, *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts: A Memoir and a Retrospect* (London: Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1909), 88.

5 Joseph Bennett described Davison as the head of a ‘central group’ of London critics that included Howard Glover, Desmond Ryan, Henry Sutherland Edwards, and Campbell Clarke. Between them and Bennett himself, they covered a number of publications, making Davison’s critical influence very wide

There are some caveats when considering the critical success of the Saturday Concerts. For one thing, although their regularity ensured a constant stream of press coverage and reviews, the gigantic Triennial Handel Festivals held at the Palace seem to have held the greater cultural prestige. These four-day events started in 1859, and featured complete Handel oratorios performed by a choir and orchestra numbering in the thousands.⁶ Manns shared the conducting of these events with Michael Costa, but the Crystal Palace Band still formed a central component of the huge orchestras that were assembled. An enormous stage was constructed in the Centre Transept of the Palace for the purpose, and became a permanent feature, entitled (confusingly) the Handel Commemoration Orchestra for its primary function. The fact that these events were considered the pinnacle of the Palace's musical achievement (rather than the Saturday Concerts) is demonstrated by the fact that numerous pictures survive of the Handel Festivals, compared to almost none of the Concert Room or the Saturday Concerts. Many of the Handel Festival images were reproduced in a 1911 catalogue for the auction of the Palace. The accompanying text outlining the history of the building refers to these performances, and similarly huge events held on the Handel Commemoration stage, in effusive terms on multiple occasions, particularly in connection with State visits. In contrast, the Saturday Concerts receive a single paragraph, bundled together with the later Ballad Concerts, in which the praise is distinctly more rhetorical:

And then, as for the Saturday and Ballad concerts – what would the people of London have done without them? Who can estimate the influence they have exercised for more than half a century in moulding the musical tastes of the British nation? ... At those musical week-ends some of the greatest musicians and singers of the day appeared.⁷

This is high praise, but compared to the many paragraphs given to the Handel Festivals, it is not much. It is clear that the larger occasions held a much more important place in cultural memory in 1911.

indeed. See Joseph Bennett, *Forty Years of Music, 1865-1905* (London: Methuen & Co., 1908), 17.

6 There is not space to discuss these events in detail here, but it is important to point out that they were surrounded by all kinds of political and national ideologies, not to mention their epitomising of the Victorian love of largeness. See Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music, Second Edition* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 5, 24. Many of these issues had their roots in the eighteenth century, as demonstrated in William Weber's chapter on the Handel Commemoration of 1784. See William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1992), 223–242.

7 Howard Frank and John Roy Lancaster, *The Crystal Palace Sydenham: To Be Sold by Auction on Tuesday 28th Day of November, 1911* (London, 1911).

In addition, any positive feedback for the Saturday Concerts needs to be understood in the context of perceptions of the Palace as a whole, such as we find in a pamphlet from 1874 by Arthur G.E. Heine (1828–1878), entitled *The Past, Present, and Future of the Crystal Palace*.⁸ No mention is made of Heine in any of the recent musicological literature on Victorian Britain, not even that which specifically focusses on the Crystal Palace.⁹ His pamphlet is an important document, not least because of its contemporaneity: it was published in the middle of the period under examination, and specifically discussed the years 1865 to 1873. It is a very unusual kind of source, as it seems to have been commissioned by the Crystal Palace Restoration Committee, a group of shareholders who were evidently unhappy with the way the Palace was being run. A critique of the present state of the Palace is followed by a plan, apparently devised by Mr. Francis Fuller, to turn the operation around. Heine's own position is unclear, but his statement at the end suggests that he was not entirely disinterested:

I can only add to this in conclusion, that if a better plan to revive the fortunes of the Crystal Palace be produced through my having submitted Mr. Fuller's Plan to the scrutiny of the public, I shall consider myself amply rewarded for my present effort. If on the other hand no better Plan should spring out of this effort, then, I sincerely hope that the Plan of Mr. Fuller will receive that confidence of the public which in my humble opinion it so fully merits.¹⁰

If nothing else, the huge amount of detailed information the pamphlet contains, especially in relation to finances, suggests that Heine had access to inside knowledge of the running of the Palace. Unlike newspaper criticism, or something produced in-house, Heine does not show any evidence of concern to appeal to a particular readership or to puff the enterprise.¹¹ These factors seem to suggest that what is on offer here is a relatively unvarnished picture of what the Crystal Palace was actually like in the 1860s and 70s.

After a detailed survey of the Crystal Palace's financial transactions and an overview of its condition, Heine offered the conclusion that the entire business had been thoroughly mismanaged. He cited, among other things: over-expenditure on special attractions, the lack of a dividend paid to shareholders, the poor condition of many prominent features, the

8 A. G. E. Heine, *The Past, Present, and Future of the Crystal Palace* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1874).

9 Outside of musicology, the pamphlet is mentioned in passing in Peter Gurney, "'A Palace for the People'?" *The Crystal Palace and Consumer Culture in Victorian England*, in *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*, ed. James Buzard, Joseph W. Childers, and Eileen Gillooly, Victorian Literature and Culture (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 138–50.

10 Heine, *The Past, Present, and Future of the Crystal Palace*, 22.

11 It certainly could have been a means of persuading the other shareholders to maintain their stake.

proliferation of advertising in place of exhibits, the exorbitant costs to see the attractions and to purchase food, and the low moral value of many of the entertainments provided (with particular disdain for the acrobats Blondin and Romah). In contrast, a whole paragraph was given in praise of the music making, mentioning Manns by name as the person responsible for ensuring both high moral quality and excellent financial management. Heine even stated that people were moving to Sydenham in order to make weekly attendance at the concerts more convenient as proof of their value.¹² Although his support for Manns and the Crystal Palace Band reinforces Davison's high opinion cited above (on page 25), the light it sheds on the context for the Saturday Concerts changes how we see such praise. If nothing else, it shows us that the high quality of the concerts may have been thrown into sharper relief by how awful everything else at the Palace was.

Structure and Repertoire of the Saturday Concerts, 1865–1879

The Saturday Concerts were organised into two half seasons per year. The first started at the beginning of October (or very late September) and ran until the last Saturday before Christmas, and would contain between eleven and twelve performances. The second began in mid-January and ran until late April or early May, and would contain between fourteen and fifteen performances. The performances were numbered across the whole of the year, so the first concert of the new calendar year was usually termed the twelfth or thirteenth Saturday Concert of the season. Most seasons therefore contained between twenty-five and twenty-six concerts, though there were occasional exceptions, for example the twenty-eight concerts in the 1867–68 season.¹³ In addition, from 1871 onwards, every season would conclude with Mr. Manns's Benefit Concert, which functioned as an extra twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh concert of the season, usually with slightly more popular repertoire.¹⁴ One concert per season, usually around the end of November or beginning of December, would be followed by the presentation of prizes to the London Rifle Brigade by the Lady

12 Heine, *The Past, Present, and Future of the Crystal Palace*, 15.

13 The large number of concerts per year was part of the expansion of music making during the London season that has been discussed by, among others, Simon McVeigh. See "An Audience for High-Class Music": Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London', in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 162–82.

14 Manns's Benefit Concerts confirm the continuance of the eighteenth-century tradition observed in Simon McVeigh, 'The Benefit Concert in Nineteenth-Century London: From "Tax on the Nobility" to "Monstrous Nuisance"', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 1999), 242–66. The broader appeal of the repertoire in these end-of-season events fits with the practices at other series, such as John Ella's Musical Union concerts. See Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 128–129.

Mayoress. The programme for that day's concert would look almost identical to that of an ordinary concert, the only difference being an advert at the back of the programme booklet for the ceremony, a parade, and a performance by the Brigade Band.

The performance generally started at 3pm and ran for two hours without an interval, with the recital on the festival organ which followed billed to start at 5pm. Grove's 1855 letter offering Manns the position of music director stipulated that the players could not be kept later than 5pm, as they needed time to get back into London for evening engagements. We might therefore assume that the same necessity motivated the maintenance of this end time into the 1860s and 1870s. The strict time limit meant that it was not always possible to play complete works, and the decision might be taken to perform only a part. Concertos by Beethoven, Chopin, Paganini, Joachim and Spohr were examples of works that were sometimes represented by only one or two movements.¹⁵ Similarly, individual movements from string quartets (played by the whole string section) by Haydn, Mendelssohn, Schubert and Veit appeared on a few occasions. Manns was also happy to mount performances of only two movements of a new symphony, where the composer had yet to finish the remainder, as with the second symphonies of Henry Gadsby on 11th February 1871 and Julius Benedict on 17th April 1875. Interestingly, even after the pieces were finished, neither work received a complete performance during the period under examination, though both composers continued to receive performances of other pieces.¹⁶

The order of pieces within each concert was fairly uniform for most of the fifteen-year case-study period, and is shown below:

Basic Saturday Concert Template

Overture

Solo vocal items with orchestral accompaniment

Concerto, or Symphony/Large-scale choral work (e.g. cantata)

Vocal or choral items

Concerto, or Symphony/Large-scale choral work (whichever had not appeared already)

Solo vocal (with piano accompaniment) or solo instrumental items

Overture

¹⁵ Indeed, Spohr's Sixth and Paganini's First Violin Concerto were never performed complete between 1865 and 1879.

¹⁶ Benedict completed his Second Symphony in 1876, so in principle it could have been performed in full before 1879. Gadsby's entry in the 1906 *Grove Dictionary* implies that the Second Symphony was completed, but also states only that portions of it were given at the Crystal Palace, suggesting that it was never performed in full.

As we can see, the overall aim in programming seems to have been heterogeneity: every orchestral item was immediately followed by a group of vocal items, groups of vocal items are always followed by something instrumental. In this sense, the structure had not fundamentally altered from programming practices in eighteenth-century London, as discussed by scholars such as Simon McVeigh and William Weber.¹⁷ In particular, there is no sign of the more homogeneous programming that Weber observed emerging in the later nineteenth century.¹⁸ If the overall length of the concert was shorter than the earlier models, then this was at least in part due to the specific time constraints. There was of course considerable room for flexibility within this structure, particularly with regard to the placement of the longest work in the programme, usually a symphony. There were several positions in the programme that it could occupy: right at the beginning, just after an opening overture, or at the end, as well as the more common placement in the middle. A very large scale work, such as Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* (itself straddling the genres of symphony and cantata), would often take the place of all of the last three items in the basic template outlined above, forming a shorter programme list. In the other direction, Manns's benefit concerts tended to include many more pieces than the basic template, usually expanded with individual movements of concertos and extra solo vocal and instrumental items. Most seasons would also feature at least one, very occasionally two, concert(s) devoted exclusively to a single large-scale vocal work, usually an oratorio, cantata, or mass. It is also worth noting at this point that the audience were able to come and go in between pieces, as implied by a request printed in the programmes which asked them not to leave between movements so as to avoid disrupting the performance. We therefore cannot assume that they would have definitely heard a performance all the way through.

Manns made the vast majority of decisions over which pieces were played at the Saturday Concerts, though he would occasionally accept input from Grove (as in the case of Schubert). From the general plan for a standard concert given above, and the fact that pieces were generally only played once during the twenty-six to twenty-seven concerts that formed a season, we can quickly deduce that the series went through a huge amount of

17 See 'The musical product: programming' in Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 101–118; and William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

18 Weber's section on London during the second half of the nineteenth century acknowledges that the practices there did not match those happening elsewhere. See Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 266–271.

repertoire in a year. Manns needed to find roughly twenty-six major works, twenty-six concertos, fifty overtures, and even more solo songs and instrumental items to fill all the programming slots. Overtures and symphonies by Beethoven and Mendelssohn helped, as these could be performed again each year, showing that practical considerations were part of the process by which these works become ‘staples’ of the repertoire. However, Manns seems to have been particularly keen on ensuring that every concert had something new in it, rather than simply repeating the same set of pieces each season. The summary of works performed in a year, usually provided in the last booklet of the season, could list up to fifty names, from Abt to Veit via Lemmens, Molique and Randegger. Most of these now unfamiliar names appeared through solo songs or solo instrumental works, in keeping with the fact that more of them were needed to fill a season. Correspondingly, there were fewer performances of new or unknown overtures across a season, and fewer again of unfamiliar concertos. There would only be two or three new or unknown major works performed each year (symphonies or large-scale choral works).

Within the concert structure and basic repertoire outlined above, there are a few details worth highlighting. Firstly, while the vast majority of composers performed were men, there were a few performances of pieces by women. Vocal items by Charlotte Sinton-Dolby (1821–1885) appeared on three occasions, including an extract from her cantata *The Legend of St. Dorothea* (1876). Two orchestral overtures by Alice Mary Smith (1839–1884) also received their premières.

Secondly, almost every season after 1868 seems to have included at least one concert of the ordinary structure devoted in whole or in part to a single composer. The list of composers who received this honour was very selective, as shown in Table 1. Taken by themselves, the number of concerts given exclusively to Beethoven and Mendelssohn shows how important both were to the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts. In addition, the Beethoven concert on 17th December 1870 (Beethoven’s centenary year) and the Mendelssohn Concert on 4th November 1871 were the culmination of half-season-long festivals for each composer, with all their most important works played in chronological or numerical order.¹⁹ The structure of the concert programming did not change during either of the festivals, and works by other composers were still performed, interleaved with the works by the celebrated composer and maintaining a small degree of heterogeneity in programming.

¹⁹ As documented in Wyndham, *August Manns*, 96–98.

Table 1: Concerts devoted in whole or part to a single composer		
Composer	Date of Whole Concert	Date of Part Concert (four or more items in succession)
Rossini	05/12/1868	
Mendelssohn	05/02/1870 04/11/1871 03/02/1876 02/11/1878	03/02/1872
Beethoven	17/12/1870 16/12/1876 24/03/1877	
Mozart		27/01/1872 06/12/1873 05/12/1874
Schubert		01/02/1873
Sterndale Bennett	06/03/1875	
Weber	18/12/1875	
Wagner		07/10/1876
Rubinstein	21/04/1877	

Aside from festival culmination, there were several different motivations behind the decision to devote a concert to one person. Sometimes they were given in honour of a recently deceased composer, such as those for Rossini (1792–1868) and Sterndale Bennett (1816–1875). On others occasions it was because the date of the composer’s birth or death corresponded closely to the date of the concert, though not because a significant number of years had passed. For example, all of the Mendelssohn concerts were given in honour of his birth (February 3rd) or his death (November 4th). However, those for the former happened on the sixty-first, sixty-third, and sixty-seventh anniversaries, and those for the latter on the thirty-fourth and forty-first anniversaries. There does not seem to have been any interest in a significant round number of years passing since the event (say, a fifty- or seventy-year anniversary). Other concerts seem to have had no particular motivation at all, apart from a general wish to honour that composer, as with the Weber concert in 1875. Of this list, only Wagner and Rubinstein were still alive at the time. Indeed, the Rubinstein concert in 1877 was mostly conducted by the composer himself, suggesting that his presence in London was the reason behind it. It is less clear what motivated the Wagner part-concert in 1876, though it might have been inspired by the première of the *Ring Cycle*

Season	Number of Appearances					
	Bellini	Donizetti	Meyerbeer	Mozart	Rossini	Verdi
1865–66*	1	1	0	11	5	3
1866–67*	1	4	2	12	5	2
1867–68	4	2	6	17	10	3
1868–69	0	2	6	15	16 (11 from all-Rossini concert)	1
1869–70	4	3	1	20	9	5
1870–71	2	5	7	18	12	3
1871–72	3	8	6	26	11	10
1872–73	1	6	5	27	3	4
1873–74	1	1	4	21	5	2
1874–75	0	0	0	14	3	0
1875–76	1	2	1	13	8	1
1876–77	1	2	4	8	5	1
1877–78	0	2	1	6	4	1
1878–79	0	0	1	7	3	2

* The information for these years is not complete. See comment in ‘Referencing System for Programme Note Citations,’ page 6.

at Bayreuth two months previously, particularly given the inclusion of ‘Siegfried’s Death’ from *Götterdämmerung*.

Another important detail to note in the Crystal Palace repertoire is the decreasing number of performances of Italian opera excerpts during the 1870s, as shown in Table 2. By the end of the 1878–79 season, all of these composers were largely absent, though it is clear that this represented a much more dramatic decline for Rossini and Mozart than, say, for Bellini. The case of Mozart also makes it apparent that opera excerpts were being targeted in particular, as there was no decline in the number of performances of his instrumental works over this period, just in the performances of excerpts from his Italian operas.²⁰ There was no equivalent drop in the number of performances of excerpts by either

²⁰ Having said that, the number of performances of Mozart’s instrumental works was never especially high either. The decline in performances of Mozart is paralleled in Cyril Ehrlich’s survey of the repertoire patterns at the Philharmonic Society, though here it seems the change came somewhat later. See Appendix 1 in Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1995), 244. As Bernard Shaw’s writings show, this trend was still continuing into the 1890s, when the concerts put on for the centenary of Mozart’s death prompted notice that his music was rarely performed otherwise. See ‘The Mozart Centenary’ and

Weber or Gounod, and the appearance of vocal excerpts from Wagner's operas increased across the period. The decline in the composers outlined above might have been motivated by national concerns, moving away from Italian or French styles to Germanic or English repertoire.²¹ The continuing popularity of Gounod could be explained by his extensive connections with England, not to mention any personal preference that Manns might have had for his music.²² The fact that the biggest changes in repertoire occurred over the years 1872–1875 makes it tempting to think that they were driven by the kinds of objections to the quality of entertainments at the Crystal Palace that Heine voiced in 1874. Although his pamphlet post-dates the changes, we could easily speculate that these opinions had been circulating for some time before Heine put them into print. It is further supported by the fact that this decline is matched by an increasing tendency to programme excerpts from oratorios, a genre that would have been considered morally superior to Italian opera.²³

General History of the Programme Note

Early programme notes seem to have been particularly associated with chamber music. The most enthusiastic exponents of the practice included John Ella and his notes for the Musical Union concerts, and Henry Hill's for the Beethoven Quartet Society. Notes for both of these began in 1845, and seem to have been an important influence on the emergence and development of notes at other chamber-music events. Ella's notes in particular were reprinted in venues around the country, including Hallé's chamber music concerts in Manchester in the 1850s.²⁴ Moreover, Bashford points out that Grove certainly attended at least one Musical Union concert, and therefore would have been aware of Ella's notes and writing style, including the provision of extracts from the music.²⁵ By 1859, the practice of providing notes for chamber music was so well established that J.W. Davison could write notes for every item in the programmes of the Monday Popular Concerts at St. James Hall, including the solo songs. This series would certainly have

²¹ 'Tuneful Little Trifles?' in Eric Bentley, ed., *Shaw on Music* (New York: Applause, 1995), 73–79, 79–81.

²¹ National concerns are discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

²² He was resident in London from 1870–74, and while the first production of *Faust* in England, in 1863, was given in Italian, the second production in 1864 was in English (both at Her Majesty's Theatre). He also composed a cantata, *Gallia*, for the opening of the Royal Albert Hall in 1871. See Steven Huebner, 'Gounod, Charles-François', *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed 9 November 2013.

²³ This aspect of programming will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

²⁴ Christina Bashford, 'Educating England: Networks of Programme-Note Provision in the Nineteenth Century', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 355.

²⁵ Bashford, 'Not Just 'G'', 119.

influenced the programme notes at the Crystal Palace to a certain degree, as some were reprinted in the booklets for the Saturday Concerts.²⁶

In contrast, the emergence of notes for orchestral music was a little earlier and more noticeably haphazard. This was probably related to the fact that, with many more players required, orchestral concerts were more financially precarious, and therefore less common than chamber music events. Catherine Dale, among others, has suggested that the earliest programme notes were produced for the Reid Concerts in Edinburgh in 1841, written by the holder of the new Reid Chair of Music, John Thomson.²⁷ She states that Thomson's notes contained only a bare minimum of biographical information, and were primarily concerned with outlining the technical detail of the work and the historical development of its style and structures. The notes for vocal works also included a discussion of the musical depiction of the text. This practice was very dissimilar to the patterns of note provision and content at the Crystal Palace (as discussed below), so it seems unlikely that Thomson's notes were a significant influence. Rachel Johnson has uncovered extensive notes for orchestral music at the concerts given by the Hargreaves Society in Manchester from 1841, written by the honorary secretary of the society, Charles Sever.²⁸ Again, they were significantly different from those written for the Crystal Palace, with long sections providing a general education on music, and longer notes for oratorios than for instrumental music. Indeed, the lack of influence is unsurprising given that the Hargreaves Society disbanded in 1849, and there is no evidence that their activities were known outside of Manchester. The first programme note for the New York Philharmonic appeared in February 1843, but it took a few years for them to become a consistent feature.²⁹ Moreover, it is not clear whether these were known in England.³⁰ Dale states that the first programme note at the Philharmonic Society in London appeared in 1844, following Mendelssohn's suggestion.³¹ However, the notes thereafter were infrequent and usually minimal, with descriptions of any piece rarely exceeding a paragraph or two. It was not

26 See Table 4, pg. 51.

27 Catherine Dale, 'The "Analytical" Content of the Concert Programme Note Re-Examined: Its Growth and Influence in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, Vol. 2, ed. Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 200. Fiona Donaldson is currently engaged in making an online database of these programmes, which can be found at <http://www.reidconcerts.music.ed.ac.uk/content/reid-concerts-project>.

28 Personal communication.

29 All of the New York Philharmonic programme booklets, dating back to the orchestra's founding in 1842, have been digitised and can be freely consulted at <http://archives.nyphil.org/performancehistory/#program>.

30 Grove did at least know of the orchestra's existence, as it is referenced in his entry for 'Concerts' in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1879), 384.

31 Dale, 'The "Analytical" Content of the Concert Programme Note Re-Examined', 200.

until George Macfarren was hired as the Society's note-writer in 1869 that the booklets began to include regular and extensive commentary on the music,³² and the decision to change the practice seems likely to have been motivated by the Crystal Palace rather than the other way around.

Initially, the Crystal Palace programmes included notes only intermittently, and no more than two or three short ones per programme until the late 1860s. In a letter to George Macfarren from 26th October 1869, Grove said:

I have just returned from abroad and hope to make the programmes in future more like what they ought to be than they have hitherto been this season.³³

This is an important statement of a change in direction, as immediately afterwards we see an expansion of provision to four or five longer notes per programme.³⁴ The main British precedent for Grove's notes would have been those written for the New Philharmonic Society. Founded in 1852, the booklets featured explanatory essays and musical examples (written, as Bashford has shown, by William Pole) in a way that directly prefigured Grove's own practice for the same kind of repertoire.³⁵ Connections are also evident between the Crystal Palace and its contemporaries. As already mentioned, the booklets of the Philharmonic Society concerts included substantial programme notes from 1869 onwards. The Liverpool Philharmonic Society also provided notes from 1867. Grove's first effort at a programme note was "a few words about Mozart himself" for a concert in 1856, pre-dating both of these examples,³⁶ but the provision at the Crystal Palace was only limited until the mid-1860s. Thereafter we can be certain of exchange of influence between the Crystal Palace and the other two institutions, as notes from both appear in the Saturday Concert booklets, and Crystal Palace notes were reprinted in Liverpool. Programme notes for all three seem to settle on a similar balance between biography of the composer, history

32 Bashford, 'Educating England', 358–363.

33 The letter is preserved inside the 1869-1870 volume from GB-Lbl-B, fixed between the booklets for the fourth and fifth concerts of the season. To my knowledge, its contents have never been remarked upon before.

34 Although this passage might give the impression that something on Grove's travels had inspired the change in programme note practice, there is in fact no obvious connection. Graves's very thorough account of the journey in question makes no mention at all of any concerts attended, or indeed any activity that might have related to the presentation of music. Instead, the purpose of the trip was religious, "to witness the miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of S. Januarius," and seems to have primarily consisted of visits to religious sites. See Charles L. Graves, *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903), 175 (175–184).

35 Bashford, 'Not Just 'G'', 119.

36 Wyndham, *August Manns*, 39–40.

of the work, and description of the music. In addition, they all tended to eschew detailed technical analysis of the music in favour of more general descriptions and highlighting signposts.

Another connection between the notes for these institutions is close correlation between the length of the note and the genre of the piece, with particularly sharp distinctions in the Saturday Concert booklets. Symphonies would receive the longest notes, and the biggest number of musical examples. They were followed by concertos, large-scale vocal works (complete cantatas, masses or oratorios), and concert overtures. Opera overtures received the shortest notes, if indeed they received a note at all. This pattern was consistent for all composers, regardless of how well known or important they were. Symphonies by composers such as Goetz, Goldmark, and Raff could easily receive notes that were as long, if not longer, than those written for equivalent works by Beethoven, Haydn, Schubert, and Schumann. Smaller-scale vocal works (such as opera excerpts or solo songs) would generally not receive programme notes. Instead, the libretto or other sung text would be printed in full, sometimes accompanied by a translation if the original language was not English.

These practices seem to have represented a blending of ideological and practical motivations. On the one hand, there was some sense of genre hierarchy, supported by statements in the notes of the supremacy of the symphony, as we see in Grove's note for Prout's First Symphony on 28th February 1874:

Of all the trials to which a writer for the Orchestra can submit, the composition of a Symphony is the most formidable. The most formidable, but surely the most attractive and the most glorious. What the historical picture is to the painter, or the epic poem to the poet, such is the Symphony to the musician – if indeed it be not as much greater and more comprehensive than either poem or picture, as the art of Music is greater, more comprehensive, and more expressive than either Painting or Poetry. From this test Mr. Prout has not shrunk.³⁷

Grove's assertion that the symphony represents the pinnacle of composition achievement contributes to the idea that such works received longer programme notes for ideological reasons. Moreover, the fact that solo instrumental works and vocal music tended not to receive notes at all might suggest that they were not considered important enough to be worth explaining.³⁸ On the other hand, there was clearly also the practical consideration of

³⁷ GB-Lbl-B, 28/02/1874, 18: 435.

³⁸ Practical considerations may also have played a role: if soloists were making their decisions over what

the length of the piece being described. As long as the writer thought a piece worth describing in full, one that is forty to fifty minutes long would have needed a longer note and more musical examples than one that is thirty minutes or fifteen minutes long. Similarly, a work by an unfamiliar composer might have required a longer note in order to fully explain who they are (or were). Solo songs or opera excerpts might only be a few minutes long, and already had a text that explained the meaning of the music in the form of a libretto. In addition, the need to leave space in the booklet for printing the text meant that there might not have been much room to add a note as well.

Having said that, smaller-scale vocal works did very occasionally receive short notes. The patterns of provision for the years 1865–75 are shown in Table 3.³⁹ It is important to stress that the data do not represent the overall provision of smaller-scale vocal music by these composers. For example, Schubert's solo songs were performed much more frequently than those by Beethoven. It is therefore hard to avoid the sense that a hierarchy of composers was being outlined by the provision of notes for vocal music. Beethoven and Mozart are at the top, followed by Schubert, Handel, Mendelssohn, Weber, Haydn and Gounod. In contrast, the practice of giving notes to every composer of symphonic music, regardless of importance, was already well under way by 1875.

The fact that a hierarchy of composers stands out more clearly in the provision of notes for vocal music than instrumental suggests that we need to be cautious about assuming that long notes for orchestral works automatically implied higher status for a composer or the piece. After all, if the provision of notes for a composer's vocal music was the more accurate guide to their eventual status, might it represent an implicit importance for vocal music generally? Such an idea might seem counter-intuitive given the greater attention given to instrumental music; but if we imagine that vocal music was considered self-evidently worthy, then there would have been less need to write a programme note justifying it. The greater attention given to instrumental music might therefore be a reflection of a wish to change its position, i.e. indicating that its popularity or status at that time was perceived to be lower than that of vocal music. This would then be supported by the fact that the notes for symphonies stated an ideological position on their relative value compared to other genres: the case had to be made in order to convince an audience that might have thought otherwise. Vocal music, on the other hand, was thought to stand on its

works to play at relatively short notice then there would not have been time to produce notes for them.
 39 The cut-off date of 1875 was chosen as, into the 1875–76 season, there seems to have been a slight shift towards a more inclusive attitude towards notes for smaller-scale vocal works. The slightly higher rate of provision then remained constant through to the end of the case-study period, never reaching the same consistency of inclusion as notes for instrumental music.

own with only the text to support it until around 1875. The increasing provision of notes for smaller-scale vocal music after that suggests that vocal works were no longer considered inherently worthy, but now needed some explanation and justification.

Composer	Solo Song/ chamber work	Concert Aria	Part Song	Extract from larger work	Total
Beethoven	7	5	-	1	13
Mozart	1	3	-	9	13
Schubert	3	2	2	3	10
Handel	-	-	-	7	7
Mendelssohn	-	4	-	-	4
Weber	-	1	-	2	3
Haydn	1	-	-	1	2
Gounod	-	-	-	2	2
Hagar	-	1	-	-	1
Oakeley	1	-	-	-	1
Hasse	-	-	-	1	1
Pergolesi	-	-	-	1	1
Righini	-	-	-	1	1
Rossini	-	-	-	1	1
Schumann	-	-	-	1	1

Authors of Saturday Concert Programme Notes

By 1865 the analytical programme note already had a twenty-five year history. However, it was still very rare for composers to write notes for their own music. There are only three examples in the Crystal Palace booklets between 1865 and 1879. Sullivan provided a short note for his oratorio *The Prodigal Son* on 11th December 1869; Wagner's note for the *Tannhäuser* Overture was reprinted from the booklets of the Wagner Society Concerts for performances from 14th February 1874 onwards; and Macfarren wrote a preface to his oratorio *St John the Baptist* on 4th December 1875. All other notes were therefore written by other people, and the background, values, and biases of these authors represent a crucial context that must be examined to understand what they wrote. The bulk of the Saturday Concert programme notes between 1865 and 1879 were written by Manns and Grove.

August Manns was born in the Prussian village of Stolzenburg in 1825, the fifth of ten children.⁴⁰ His father, a glassblower, was an amateur violinist, and often played for his children. Manns's interest in music developed at first through playing the flute at home, and later through apprenticeships with Herr Tramp in Torgelow and Herr Urban in Elbing. Between these two teachers, he learned to play flute, clarinet, horn, viola and violin, with extra lessons on the latter from Franz Goss (a pupil of Ferdinand David) while in Elbing. His experience with a broad range of instruments would serve him well as an orchestral conductor later in life. He avoided military duties by enlisting in an infantry band in Danzig as a first clarinet in 1845, and while stationed there played violin in the Danzig Theatre. He was part of the Prussian army for a total of eight years (with a couple of breaks in employment), moving to various different places and regiments. Everywhere he went he played wind in the military context and violin in the local orchestras, and in both arenas began rising up, taking on bandmaster roles for the former and leading the latter. As bandmaster under Albrecht von Roon in Köln, from 1851, he also began making transcriptions of classical works for wind and brass. It was there that Manns met Schallehn in 1854, who invited him to London as an E-flat clarinetist and sub-conductor for the new Crystal Palace Band. Manns took over as Music Director of the Crystal Palace in 1855 (in circumstances outlined above), and thereafter remained firmly tied both to the Palace and to Britain, with very few musical engagements taken outside of either.

The programme notes Manns wrote for the Saturday Concerts were the first to have an identified author, rather than simply being left anonymous. It is possible that he was also responsible for writing some of the unsigned notes, but the fact that his signature initials appear at the end of so many notes suggests that he preferred identifying his work. His levels of contribution varied greatly, ranging from only one note in the 1868–69 season to twelve notes the following season. Generally the figure was between eight and ten per season, though some of these might have been reprints of earlier notes. A number of these notes were on works by Schumann and Handel, composers with whom he seems to have had some affinity. In addition, he generally produced notes for new or unfamiliar works that he felt required special justification, such as those by Berlioz, Bruch, or Saint-Saëns. Stylistically, his earlier notes (up to 1868) have a quite relaxed and generally descriptive tone, with particular attention paid to any narrative or picture that one might expect to hear in the music. Manns also frequently used them to apologise for the substitution of one of

⁴⁰ This information has been gathered from 'August Manns', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39, no. 661 (1 March 1898): 153–59. See also Wyndham, *August Manns*.

the day's pieces, to the extent that one can easily be left with the impression that it was the need for an apology that motivated the production of the rest of the note. His later notes (from 1868 to 1879) became more formal and analytical, featuring thorough descriptions of the music in terms of first and second subjects, transformation of motifs, and so on. He still made sure to highlight narrative and pictorial elements as well, but the language used to present them became somewhat more restrained. This change in writing style might have been partly motivated by the introduction of musical examples: once it became possible to print the music, it would have been easier to discuss it in analytical terms. Since the change also happens around the time that Grove began to consistently sign his contributions, it is also tempting to think that Manns wanted to distance himself from Grove's more elaborate writing style and less formally analytical approach to the music.

One theme that runs through much of Manns's writing is his identity as a practical musician, in all senses of the word. He would often offer very pragmatic justifications for his performance decisions in the programme notes themselves, such as that given for a performance of Mendelssohn's Octet on 30th October 1869. This included a complete open letter from Manns responding to Richter's criticism of his decision to perform the piece with a full string section:

... Mendelssohn himself has indicated, in a note printed on the published parts, that he wishes his work to be rendered in regard to expression, &c., like a Symphony, and not in a style usual for Chamber Music. You will agree that this demand on the part of the author can be realised much more efficiently by sixty-four than eight instruments.⁴¹

He also stated that the larger number of instruments suited the large size of the room better, also forming his justification for adding the double basses as a discretionary double for "the author's own bass wherever it seemed necessary." Suggesting that Richter might ask whether or not the work should be performed at the Crystal Palace at all if it had to be altered to suit the space, Manns pre-emptively replied:

... I have to provide instrumental music for more than 300 days of each year and that novelty has in such a case its peculiar charms, particularly in respect to the productions of our beloved Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, who, were he still amongst the living, would readily forgive me when I explained to him my motives for introducing his Ottetto to the audience of the Crystal Palace Saturday

41 GB-Lcm-B, 30/10/1869, 5: 6.

Concerts, even if my manner of reproducing it should somewhat infringe upon his lofty views of art.⁴²

The combination in these extracts of practicality, pride, and possibly a little defensiveness serves an excellent summary of Manns's style. Similar attitudes, if not necessarily the same outcomes, crop up outside the notes in extra essays on subjects such as 'The Present Musical Pitch of England' and on his decision not to use Wagner's modifications of the instrumentation for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.⁴³ These occasions suggest that, as someone who was not a part of the literary community *per se*, Manns had to use the Crystal Palace programme booklets as an outlet for his opinions.

George Grove was born in London in 1820.⁴⁴ He received a broad education from Charles Pritchard at a new grammar school in Clapham, where interest in music and literature was encouraged alongside classics, divinity, mathematics and natural philosophy. The first of these subjects was being developed with his musical mother at home, through hearing Bach's music played at Holy Trinity, Clapham, and at the Sacred Harmonic Society concerts. His career started off in the direction of civil engineering, working for Alexander Gordon of Westminster, building lighthouses in Jamaica and Bermuda, and later working on the Britannia Bridge as assistant to Edwin Clarke (Robert Stephenson's chief engineer). In 1850 he became Secretary of the Society of Arts after an introduction to John Scott Russell, the previous incumbent, resulting in meetings with those who had been responsible for the Great Exhibition. Over the next few decades his wide interests began to show increasing professional manifestation. He became Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company (1852–1873), assistant editor to William Smith on the *Dictionary of the Bible* (1860–1863), led the founding of the Palestine Exploration Fund (1865), and became editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* (1868–1883).⁴⁵ He contributed many articles on various

42 Ibid., 7. Interestingly, similar justifications are noticeably absent from the notes for full-string section performances of the Beethoven Septet on 10th December 1870, 22nd April 1871 and 28th March 1874, the Schubert Octet on 14th March 1874, and the Verdi String Quartet on 14th April 1877. All of these occasions follow the Mendelssohn Octet precedent, so perhaps Manns felt that the practice had already received sufficient justification.

43 Respectively GB-Lcm-B, 23/01/1869, 14: 11-16 and GB-Lcm-B, 25/04/1874, Manns's Benefit: 683-685.

44 Four sources have been drawn on for information on Grove. There are the two biographies: Graves, *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove*; and Percy M. Young, *George Grove, 1820-1900: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1980). Both authors are also listed as contributors to 'Grove, Sir George', *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed 1 October 2015. Finally there are the chapters by various authors in Michael Musgrave, ed., *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

45 For more specific discussion of Grove's involvement with all of these, see Percy M. Young, "'The Other Dictionary': Grove's Work in Editing Dr Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*", in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 71–85; Michael Musgrave, 'Describing and Evaluating: Grove on Technology, Geography, Exploration and Literature', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, 40–70; and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, 'Grove

topics to *The Times* from 1860 onwards, as well as to other less long-lived publications, such as *The Reader* (which ran from 1863–1867).⁴⁶ He also travelled widely, including visits to the Holy Land in 1858 and 1861, Vienna in 1867 with Arthur Sullivan, and America in 1878 with Dean Stanley.

Of course, throughout all of this activity, Grove was becoming increasingly involved with music through writing programme notes for the Crystal Palace. The first programme note at the Saturday Concerts was written by Grove for a Mozart performance in 1856, at Manns's suggestion. It is likely that Grove was the author of the many unsigned notes that appeared thereafter, as evidenced by those that originally appeared unattributed but which were later reprinted with his initial and vice versa. Certainly, Grove does not seem to have been consistent about identifying his work, unlike Manns. His notes were initially short, and confined to a few relevant biographical facts and some relatively general remarks about the music. As time went on, they expanded to take in a much broader range of information, which could include: the date of composition, the composer's whereabouts, the source of the commission or the inspiration, the compositional genesis, possibly mentioning sketches, the preparations for the first performance, the names of the first performers, the other works performed alongside it, subsequent performances, the amount the composer was paid, the critical reception, and so on. Citations, and sometimes quite extensive ones, from the composer's own letters might also be provided where relevant (and sometimes where not). Grove was also responsible for many of the historical or anecdotal essays that appeared as extras in the booklets from time to time.

All of this demonstrates the thoroughness with which Grove was pursuing his research. Not only did he take the time to update and expand his notes (rather than reprinting them as they stood), but also much of the new information he was including would have been far from straightforward to obtain. The citations from letters were particularly notable, as they were often provided from private collections, and were therefore not publicly available at all. He sought out specialists for help where possible, such as Carl Ferdinand Pohl (1819–1887), archivist of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna and author of books on Mozart and Haydn, or Alexander Wheelock Thayer

as Editor of Macmillan's Magazine, 1868-83', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, 145–67 respectively.

46 Evidence of Grove's contribution comes from letters he wrote to Francis Galton, who was involved in the running of the journal. As yet, these connections have received no mention in any of the literature on Grove. These letters form part of the Galton Papers, which have been digitised by the Wellcome Trust, and can be freely accessed here: <http://wellcomelibrary.org/collections/digital-collections/makers-of-modern-genetics/digitised-archives/francis-galton/>.

(1817–1897), author of one of the first scholarly biographies of Beethoven. If these methods did not prove successful, he went and did his own primary source work. Grove in fact came to occupy a major role in subsequent Schubert reception for having rediscovered several forgotten scores in Vienna, such as the early symphonies and the *Rosamunde* music, as well as for his scholarly writings on the composer.⁴⁷

Aside from the vast quantity of factual information, Grove's notes were also distinguished by the very personal tone, and the huge range of subject matter he drew on to explain music. Indeed, these two features went hand in hand, as it was his personal interest in or involvement with so many different fields that fed into the task of bringing music to an audience who might not already know it. His notes were filled with direct references to poetry, literature, sculpture, and painting, not to mention biblical tropes and structural or architectural vocabulary. All the different facets of his career seem to have provided explanatory images at some point or other, though some appear more frequently than others. These references will be explored in more detail in the chapters that follow, as Grove's personal history is only one part of their context. For now the important thing to note is that, throughout his career as a writer on music, Grove seems to have viewed himself as an amateur writing for other amateurs. Alongside the personal pronouns that many other authors avoided, there is an acknowledged uncertainty regarding the value of his own opinions, and a clear sense of deference to more august authorities. There was little detailed analysis in his notes, with the music mostly described through notable signposts, and therefore very little technical vocabulary. As a result, Grove's notes never come across as talking down to his audience. The engaging and approachable quality of his notes has been noted by all of the scholars who have since studied them, and no doubt contributed to their popularity at the time, both at the Crystal Palace and at the other venues where they were reprinted. All of his research on music then fed into the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, which he first proposed in 1872, and which came out in instalments through the later 1870s, with the first collected volume appearing in 1879.⁴⁸

47 Several scholars have talked about this in detail. See David Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values', *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (Summer 1993): 65–78; Michael Musgrave, 'The Making of a Scholar: Grove's Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 86–114. Of course, it should not be forgotten that Manns's programming of this music was equally important in the revival of Schubert, as pointed out by Leanne Langley in 'Reception and Beyond: New Thoughts on Schubert in 19th-Century England', *The Schubertian* 58 (January 2008): 8–16.

48 For more information, see Leanne Langley, 'Roots of a Tradition: The *First Dictionary of Music and Musicians*', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 168–215.

It seems unlikely that Grove was paid to write programme notes, possibly because the task was considered to be an extension of his role as Secretary of the Crystal Palace Company. It also seems likely that Manns went unremunerated for the task, as it would have been covered by his role as Musical Director.⁴⁹ In this context, it is therefore unsurprising that these two authors dominated the programme note provision at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts: bringing in anyone else would probably have incurred an extra cost. This observation is further supported by the fact that very few other authors of programme notes appeared before Grove's resignation from his role at the Crystal Palace in 1873 to devote more time to the *Dictionary*. From then on, other authors had to be brought in to produce the notes that Grove no longer had time to write himself. The contributions from other authors went up further when, in 1875, the urgency of the work on the *Dictionary* took most of Grove's remaining attention. Even then, Grove still found time to write new notes and modify older notes all the way through to 1879. Of course, notes by both Grove and Manns were reprinted when pieces were performed again, so it was the notes for works that were new to the Crystal Palace that had to be written by other people. The three authors that emerged as the principal contributors after 1873 were Dannreuther, Prout, and Macfarren.

Edward Dannreuther was born in 1844 in Strasburg, and grew up in the highly musical German community in Cincinnati.⁵⁰ In 1859 he left for the Leipzig Conservatoire, where he studied with Moscheles, Plaidy, Hauptmann, E.F. Richter, and David, and met Sullivan, Taylor, Grieg, Rudorff, Bache, Rosa and Willhelmj as fellow pupils. Dannreuther began developing his keen interest in new music during his four years there. Dibble suggests that this was partly precipitated by the conservatism of his primary teacher, Moscheles, who insisted on limiting his repertoire to composers such as Beethoven (but not the late sonatas), Mendelssohn, Hummel, and Weber.⁵¹ In 1863, Henry Chorley arrived in Leipzig, sent by Grove to scout new talent for the Crystal Palace. Impressed with what he heard, Chorley brought Dannreuther to London, and immediately arranged for him to perform at the Saturday Concerts. He quickly became established as a virtuoso and teacher, and in 1871 became a naturalised British subject, the same year as his marriage to

49 Bashford 'Networks of Programme-note Provision', 358.

50 This information has been gathered from 'Edward Dannreuther', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39, no. 668 (1 October 1898): 645–54. See also Jeremy Dibble, 'Edward Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon', in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 275–98.

51 Dibble, 'Edward Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon', 277.

Chariclea Ionides. In 1873 the family moved to a house in Orme Square, which Dannreuther used as a base to develop his music making, organising numerous rehearsals and semi-public chamber concerts with both vocal and instrumental groups. He came to be known as a champion of contemporary music and a total devotee of Wagner, with whom he became close friends. This included Dannreuther's founding the London Wagner Society, that put on nine concerts in 1873 and 1874, and gave all its profits towards the construction of Bayreuth. When Wagner's note for the *Tannhäuser* Overture appeared in the Saturday Concert booklets (as already mentioned), it was undoubtedly procured through Dannreuther, though, interestingly, he did not contribute much in the way of his own programme notes on Wagner to the Crystal Palace. His only note for Wagner was written for the *Rienzi* Overture, appearing on 12th October 1872, and reprinted for every performance thereafter.

All of his other programme notes were for contemporary piano concertos, and were always written for the occasion on which he would be performing the work.⁵² Between 1865 and 1879, he wrote notes for concertos by Liszt (First and Second), Rubinstein (Fourth), Grieg, Tchaikovsky (First), and Scharwenka. If the work was performed again, the note would be reprinted regardless of who the pianist was. For example, von Bülow's performance of Liszt's First Piano Concerto on 13th December 1873 was accompanied by the note that Dannreuther wrote for his own performance a year and a half before, on 27th January 1872. In keeping with his particular interest in new music, Dannreuther would usually begin his notes with a section on what made (or did not make) the concerto in question innovative, as well as with details of the composer if they were unknown. His descriptions of the music rely unusually heavily on musical examples, with only the bare minimum of text to explain the position and relevance of the material, and to connect one example to the next. His note for Liszt's Second Piano Concerto on 21st November 1874 dispenses with the text altogether, simply providing five musical examples as "the main thoughts of the concerto."⁵³ It seems that he preferred to let the score speak for itself than to offer any kind of interpretation, though some notes would contain more adjectives than others. Passages from Liszt's First Piano Concerto were described as "graceful," "passionate," "suave," and so on,⁵⁴ whereas only two descriptive words appear in the

52 Grove's personal dislike of more modernist work, as pointed out by Bashford, may have been the reason that he did not tackle this repertoire himself. See 'Not Just 'G'', 121.

53 GB-Lbl-B, 21/11/1874, 7: 181-2.

54 GB-Lbl-B, 13/12/1873, 11: 252-3.

outline of the Rubinstein Fourth Piano Concerto: “delicate,” and “ingeniously.”⁵⁵ It is clear that he had a closer affinity with the more avant-garde composer.

Ebenezer Prout was born in Oundle, Northamptonshire.⁵⁶ Although early signs of musicality were recognised (including perfect pitch), he was discouraged from pursuing music as a career. He only received a few lessons on the piano while a boy, and was otherwise self-taught. He graduated from the University of London in 1854 and became a school teacher, but with musical activities taking all of his spare time, he eventually decided to enter the profession in 1859. He began his career by teaching several singing classes, and with various organist positions held between 1859 and 1873. Further public notice came when his String Quartet and Piano Quartet won prizes from the Society of British Musicians in 1862 and 1865 respectively, performed by ensembles led by Joachim.⁵⁷ From 1861 to 1885 he became the Professor of Piano at the Crystal Palace School of Art, taking him to Sydenham three days a week, and allowing him to attend the rehearsals and performances of the Crystal Palace Band. Surprisingly, he stated that he “was never on very intimate terms with Manns.”⁵⁸ The connection must have at least been useful, as Manns began to programme Prout’s music in the Saturday Concerts, though the support of Joachim may have also played a part. The Organ Concerto was performed on 19th October 1872, the First Symphony on 28th February 1874, a Magnificat on 15th January 1876, and the Second Symphony on 1st December 1877. He was also an extensive writer on music, beginning as the first editor of the *Monthly Musical Record* from 1871 to 1874, for which he wrote many articles, including several analyses of Wagner’s later music. He then became music critic for *The Academy* from 1874 to 1879, chief music critic of the *Athenaeum* in 1879, and a professor of harmony and composition at the Royal Academy of Music that same year.

Grove made extensive use of Prout as a writer during the 1870s: as well as contributing fifty-three articles to the *Dictionary*, Prout produced many of the programme notes for new or unfamiliar works at the Saturday Concerts that Grove no longer had the

55 GB-Lbl-B, 16/11/1878, 7: 188-9.

56 This information has been gathered from ‘Ebenezer Prout’, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 40, no. 674 (1 April 1899): 225–30. See also Rosemary Williamson, ‘Prout, Ebenezer’, *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed 28 August 2014.

57 Though, as Simon McVeigh has argued, the prizes were given in spite of a noticeable lack of originality, and these events marked the ‘last gasp’ of the society, which disbanded in the same year as Prout’s second win. See Simon McVeigh, ‘The Society of British Musicians (1834-1865) and the Campaign for Native Talent’, in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 168.

58 As cited in Wyndham, *August Manns*, 226.

time to write from 1875 onwards.⁵⁹ Starting with Weber's *Peter Schmoll* Overture and Second Piano Concerto for a concert on 18th December 1875, Prout wrote notes for works by Bronsart, Haydn, Saint-Saëns, Tchaikovsky, Raff, Verdi, and Rubinstein. He wrote notes for works by Wagner on several occasions, presumably drawing on his articles for the *Monthly Musical Record*, but also motivated by a keen interest in the composer's music. According to Bennett, Prout was one of the London critics who attended the first performance of the *Ring* at Bayreuth in 1876, along with Dannreuther.⁶⁰ Both as a writer and, later, as a theorist, Prout was known for the thoroughness of his approach to research (something which Grove must have approved of), and this tendency is clear in his notes for the Saturday Concerts. His descriptions of the music in particular seem determined to outline every part of a piece, including mentioning repetitions of phrases that have just been illustrated with a musical example. His general approach was distinctly objective, with relatively little in the way of adjectives, let alone longer passages on the value of a piece or composer. His historical and biographical passages, accordingly, tended to be shorter than Grove's, though the factual detail was just as scrupulously correct.

George Alexander Macfarren was born in London in 1813, and received his first music lessons from his father, who was primarily a dancing-master and dramatist, though also involved in music.⁶¹ From the age of fourteen he received lessons from Charles Lucas, probably in composition (Banister does not specify). Certainly when he started at the Royal Academy of Music in 1829 his principal study was composition, though he also studied piano with Cipriani Potter and played trombone in the orchestral classes. He helped found the Society of British Musicians in 1834,⁶² and in 1837 he became Professor of Harmony at the RAM. He was also involved in the formation of the Handel Society in 1843, for which he acted as secretary, and it was no doubt through them that he began to produce his own editions of Handel oratorios. He resigned his position at the RAM in 1845 over a disagreement with the rest of the teaching staff, but was invited back by Potter in 1851, and upon the death of Sterndale Bennett in 1875, became principal of the institution. He worked prolifically as a composer, producing works of every type throughout his life, though he seems to have been most interested in stage works and symphonies in the early

59 For detail on Prout's involvement in the *Dictionary*, see Langley, 'Roots of a tradition.'

60 Bennett, *Forty Years of Music*, 286.

61 This information has been gathered from Henry C. Banister, *George Alexander Macfarren: His Life, Works, and Influence* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1891). Confusingly, the dates given by Banister for certain key events, such as the date Macfarren started working at the RAM, are not consistent with his own presentation to the Musical Society four years earlier. See Henry C. Banister, 'The Life and Work of Sir G. A. MacFarren', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 14th Session (1888 1887): 67–88.

62 See McVeigh, 'The Society of British Musicians.'

parts of his career. He moved more into cantatas and oratorios from the 1850s onwards, and developed a particular interest in chamber music at the end of his life. Much of his composition was done through amanuenses, particularly after he became totally blind in 1860 (he had struggled with deteriorating eyesight since the age of ten). He had close connections with the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts, with 1865 to 1879 seeing numerous and regular performances of his works. As a composer and teacher, his musical tastes were distinctly conservative, drawing particularly on Handel, Mozart, and Mendelssohn for inspiration, and actively opposing contemporary developments in harmony and orchestration.

Although notes by Macfarren appeared on a number of occasions from 1870 onwards, he was the only one of the three main authors (after Grove and Manns) who did not write his notes specifically for the Crystal Palace. Almost all of them were reprinted from the Philharmonic Society booklets, the institution for which he was paid to write. The terms of his agreement specifically stated that he wanted to retain the copyright for his notes, which would presumably have allowed him to sell them to the Crystal Palace directly.⁶³ Between 1865 and 1879 there were only two exceptions: a note for Barnett's *Winter's Tale* Overture from 11th October 1873 that came from the British Orchestral Society;⁶⁴ and a note for Joachim's *Elegiac Overture* that came from the Cambridge University Music Society concert at which it was premièred. Manns also used Macfarren's essay on Handel's *Theodora*, printed in Novello's vocal score for the work, as the primary content for a note on 17th February 1874, oddly signed with Manns's name in spite of it being mostly Macfarren's text in quotation marks. Slightly more fairly, Grove credited Macfarren as the author of an analysis of the 'Hungarian style' forming the basis of Joachim's concerto of that title, incorporated into Grove's own fairly extensive note on the work on 16th March 1872. In keeping with the less populist institution for which they were written, Macfarren's notes tend to take for granted a higher level of musical knowledge on the part of his audience. His note for Sterndale Bennett's Fourth Piano Concerto from 10th October 1874 had to be augmented with biographical information provided by another

63 Bashford, 'Networks of Programme-note Provision', 363.

64 While there is no scholarly literature on this institution, some information can be gleaned from references in contemporary music journals. *The Musical Standard* for 7th December 1872 (pg. 358) stated that it was founded by Macfarren and Stanley Lucas, and it gave its first concert in 1872, conducted by George Mount. The intention was to focus on works by British composers (only foreign composers who were dead could be included), and to fill a general lull in orchestral concerts during the winter. An incomplete three seasons-worth of programmes by Macfarren survive, collected together in a bound volume held by the British Library. Thereafter, the society appears to have lapsed, with the 1878 edition *The British Almanac* stating on pg. 188 that it "gave no signs of vitality."

author (probably Grove). He also seems to have been uncomfortable with programmatic music. In notes for such pieces, he would outline the general plot implied by a piece's title, but would also state a refusal to use this information to understand the detail of the music, regardless of the composer's intention. His manner of describing the music itself was similar to Prout: analytical, few adjectives, and a relatively objective presentation. However, he seems to have been more concerned with musical structure. He would pay particular attention to moments of formal relevance rather than obsessively describing the whole piece (as Prout might).

The five authors discussed above contributed most of the notes present in the Saturday Concert programme booklets. That said, there were other voices present as well (excluding the few examples of notes by the composer). Some wrote specifically for the Saturday Concerts, others appeared through the reprinting of their work from other locations. Although the overall number of programme notes by these authors was fairly low, they are important for demonstrating the place of the Saturday Concert programme notes in a wider cultural context. Every extra author gives us the chance to link the Crystal Palace to other educational or literary institutions, and shows that the opinions expressed in the programme notes represent a wider range of opinions than those of just five people. The contributions of these extra authors are summarised in Table 4. Out of this diverse list of names, very few wrote specifically for the Crystal Palace. Aside from the newspaper articles, most of their notes were written for performances at other concerts, in keeping with the patterns outlined by Bashford.⁶⁵ Charles Ainslie Barry's notes for the *Flying Dutchman* Overture and the Field Piano Concerto were written for a Wagner Society concert and a Glasgow Choral Union concert respectively. The Field note was also preceded with a page and half by Grove describing the composer. The note for the Saint-Saëns Piano Concerto came from a Liverpool Philharmonic booklet.⁶⁶ Davison's notes on the Mendelssohn Quintet and the Sterndale Bennett Piano Sonata were both written for the Monday Popular Concerts, and indeed part of the latter was reprinted in the Crystal Palace booklet using the same blocks as the original. (The font and musical examples in the middle of the note are in a completely different style from the rest of the note and the rest

65 She discusses in detail the reappearances, both legitimate and otherwise, of programme notes between booklets for a number of different concerts. See Bashford, 'Networks of Programme-note Provision.'

66 Hence the uncertainty over the author. None of the Liverpool Philharmonic notes were signed, and it is presented anonymously in the Crystal Palace booklet. In the table Julius Benedict is listed as the author on the strength of Henley and McKernan's assertion that he wrote all the programme notes. See Darren Henley and Vincent McKernan, *The Original Liverpool Sound: The Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Story* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 49.

Table 4: Contributions from other authors		
Author	Works	Date
Charles Ainslie Barry	Wagner <i>Der Fliegende Holländer</i> Overture	02/10/75
	Field Third Piano Concerto	12/10/78
	Wagner 'Die Walküren Ritt' from <i>The Walkyrie</i> [sic]	19/10/78
Julius Benedict [?]	Saint-Saëns Second Piano Concerto	15/03/79
Joseph Bennett	Macfarren <i>St. John the Baptist</i>	04/12/75
	Macfarren <i>The Lady of the Lake</i>	16/03/78
Oscar Beringer	Rubinstein Third Piano Concerto	29/01/76
<i>Birmingham Gazette</i> (anonymous)	Barnett, Cantata <i>Paradise and the Peri</i>	04/03/71
James William Davison	Sterndale Bennett Second Piano Concerto	23/03/72
	Mendelssohn String Quintet	14/12/72
	Sterndale Bennett <i>Maid of Orleans</i> Sonata	29/11/73
	Sterndale Bennett Third Piano Concerto	06/03/75 (unsigned) 27/04/78 (signed)
<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> (anonymous)	Sullivan <i>In Memoriam</i> Overture	11/12/69
John South Shedlock (<i>Monthly Musical Record</i>)	Raff Fourth Symphony	06/11/75
[Ethyl Smyth]	Brahms Violin Concerto	22/02/79
John Stainer	Prout Organ Concerto	19/10/72
	Gadsby Organ Concerto	24/01/74
Arthur Sullivan	Sullivan <i>The Prodigal Son</i>	11/12/69
<i>The Times</i> (anonymous)	Mendelssohn <i>Reformation</i> Symphony	09/10/69
	Sullivan <i>Ouverture di Ballo</i>	01/04/71

of the booklet.) Ethel Smyth furnished Grove with an analysis of the Brahms Violin Concerto, printed complete in the note for the 1879 performance, but Grove wrote the part of the note that was specific to the Crystal Palace. Bennett's note for Macfarren's *St John the Baptist* did not come from another programme booklet, but was "reprinted by permission of Messrs. Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co.", though it is not clear what source this is as it does not appear in the vocal score. The case of Bennett's note for Macfarren's *The Lady of the Lake* is also unclear, as it does not contain a credit at all. However, it is arranged in exactly the same unusual format as the note for *St John the Baptist* (explanatory passages and musical examples spread throughout the libretto), so it could have had a similar source.

We can only be certain that Beringer's note, Davison's notes on the Sterndale Bennett piano concertos, and Stainer's notes for the Prout and Gadsby organ concertos were purposely written for the Saturday Concerts. In these cases, the authors must have been chosen because they had both a particular interest in those works and a close connection with the series. Beringer and Stainer were the performers of the pieces they wrote about.⁶⁷ Davison was an enthusiastic supporter of August Manns and the Saturday Concerts, promoting Manns's cause in the falling out with Schallehn and calling publicly for his re-installment at the Palace.⁶⁸ He was also a particular champion of Sterndale Bennett, hence his long and effusive notes for the piano concertos (as well as the *Maid of Orleans* Sonata, albeit for a different series).⁶⁹ Another factor might be that his wife, Arabella Goddard, was the pianist for these performances. It is likely that Davison was also responsible for the two *Times* articles on Mendelssohn's *Reformation* Symphony and Sullivan's *Ouverture di Ballo*, since he was the chief music critic at the paper in those years, not to mention his staunch support of both composers.⁷⁰ Joseph Bennett's description of his own career states that in 1867 he began contributing to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, so it is possible that he was responsible for the note on Sullivan's *In Memoriam* Overture, though it could also have been Davison.⁷¹ At the moment, it does not seem possible to establish the author of the *Birmingham Gazette* article.

The inclusion of the extracts from newspaper articles in lieu of programme notes is interesting for the indication of a perceived overlap between the function of the two genres. However, there are two important reasons why they will not be examined in the work which follows. Firstly, they appear so infrequently (for only four performances in fifteen years) that we must conclude that they were not generally thought to be an acceptable alternative to a programme note. The *Times* articles on Mendelssohn and Sullivan illustrate the point further, as they were not reprinted for subsequent performances. On every other occasion that these works appeared, they were accompanied by a purpose-written programme note. Secondly, these articles were written for a completely different audience: the newspaper reader, rather than the concert goer. One cannot assume that a newspaper

67 It is unlikely that Stainer was included for his authority as a music educator, as his career did not develop substantially in this direction until 1877, three years after he wrote the note for the Prout Concerto.

68 Wyndham, *August Manns*, 24-26.

69 Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press, 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 15.

70 *Ibid.*, 14-17.

71 Bennett, *Forty Years of Music*, 66. Although he then became the critic for *The Telegraph* in 1870, Hughes states that he continued to write elsewhere, so it is possible that he would have continued to write for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. See Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 46.

reader would have actually heard the performance being described; indeed, the nature of critical reviews would suggest the opposite. The concert goer, on the other hand, would have been about to hear (or have just heard) the music live. The two demographics would certainly have overlapped, and indeed Chapter 7 argues that the programme notes took for granted that the audience would be aware of current affairs, implying newspaper readership. Further, as Bashford has pointed out, notes often appeared in newspapers in advance of Hallé's orchestral concerts, suggesting another avenue for potential overlap (albeit one that was not followed anywhere else).⁷² However, the profound difference in function makes newspaper articles unusable for a study of programme notes.

This raises an important issue for the present study: if we want to understand the context behind a programme note, knowing who read it is of equal importance to knowing who wrote it. After all, the authors who wrote notes for the Crystal Palace programme booklets were writing for that particular audience, and would have chosen their material accordingly. Notes that were reprinted from other concerts need to be handled with care, as the social context would have been different at each venue. Unlike newspaper articles, though, the notes from other venues were reprinted for subsequent performances of a work, and still reflect the same basic relationship between the author and the reader. We must therefore construct an outline of who the readers of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concert programme booklets might have been before proceeding with a detailed examination of the notes.

⁷² Bashford, 'Networks of Programme-note Provision', 372.

Chapter 3: Audience and Advertising

When the Crystal Palace was destroyed in a fire in 1936, it took with it much of the documentary evidence that might have been useful for determining the size and nature of the audience of the Saturday Concerts. Although the Heine pamphlet mentioned in Chapter 2 does provide some detail of financial turnover, this information is of no use for trying to determine how many tickets or programme booklets were sold for the events. Further, there are notably few pictures of the inside of the concert room, either in the form of architectural plans or more popular images, shutting off a route to analysing the social hierarchy among those who attended.¹

Luckily, the programme booklets themselves offer a very wide range of approaches to determining this kind of information, much of which has not been closely examined before.² A detailed outline of the changes in ticket prices, including the cost of season tickets, and a comparison with other orchestral concerts in London tells us much about the nature of the audience in 1865 and the changes it went through between then and 1879. These observations can be supported and nuanced by examining the physical construction of the programme booklets, the adverts they contained, and the way in which these shifted across the period. The promotional material that forms part of the programme notes in particular highlights the relationship that Grove and Manns were cultivating with the audience. The one aspect that the advertising does not reveal as clearly as might be expected is any kind of imbalance in the gender of the audience members. All of this forms a crucial framework for the chapters that follow, as it is these people, and their concerns and biases, that the authors of the programme notes were addressing.

Ticket Prices

There are several clues indicating that the organisational structure of the Saturday Concerts was tailored to a wealthy elite. Attending the whole of the series in style would have cost two guineas for a transferable stall seat for every concert, and a two guinea first class season ticket for rail travel (introduced in 1867), on top of entry to the Palace and a total cost of twelve shillings for the programme booklets. This kind of money and the necessary

-
- 1 One of the few pictures is from 1857, prior to the remodelling of the room. It is reproduced in Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 71. Unfortunately, Musgrave does not provide the source of the image.
 - 2 Musgrave's outline of the audience of the Saturday Concerts does not discuss the more detailed changes in ticket prices, instead summarising the entire period from 1854 to 1897 in two paragraphs. He also makes no mention of the season tickets or the advertising. See *Ibid.*, 122–123.

leisure time was obviously the preserve of the upper echelons of society.³ The fact that the concerts were structured around the Season, with eleven or twelve concerts before Christmas, fourteen or fifteen further concerts beginning in January, and stopping for the summer makes it clear that the management were expecting this kind of audience to attend.⁴ Moreover, the fact that the concerts happened on a Saturday excluded any blue-collar workers, regardless of affluence, as they would not have had the day off.⁵

However, this general picture leaves much of the detail between the top and bottom of the social hierarchy unexamined. As an example, those working as clerks, at the bottom end of the middle-class spectrum, would probably have been able to attend in spite of working until 2pm on Saturdays. A railway timetable from 1876 shows that it took only twenty minutes or so to get to the Crystal Palace from London Bridge, and thirty-five from Victoria. Further, the fact that an especially well-timed train, departing London Bridge at 2.30pm and only stopping at Forest Hill before terminating at Crystal Palace at 2.48pm, is marked as “Saturdays Only” suggests that the Saturday Concerts may have been the motivation for the service.⁶ Moreover, as Table 5 shows, there was considerable fluctuation and experimentation with concert ticket pricing between 1865 and 1879. There were, initially, two different places where such information could be found in the programme booklet: a paragraph of text at the front, just before the notes, and the advert for the next week’s concert at the back of the booklet. As we can see, these did not necessarily match, with the front showing the availability of shilling tickets that the advert at the back did not mention. We therefore have no way of knowing if the shilling tickets persisted between the removal of ticket information from the front of the booklet in 1873 and their reintroduction in 1876.

Season tickets were also available, with descriptions buried in the advertising material at the back of the booklets, and change our sense of the cost of attending considerably. Again, the price and value did not remain constant, as shown in Table 6. A ‘Guinea Season Ticket’ did not grant a reserved or transferable seat, hence the need to pay

3 In many ways, this model therefore made the Saturday Concerts rather exceptional for their location. Alan Bartley has shown that most suburban concerts were more specifically targeted at a working class audience, and were subsidised or otherwise supported by a philanthropic middle class. See Alan Bartley, *Far from the Fashionable Crowd: The People’s Concert Society and Music in London’s Suburbs* (Newbury: Whimbrel, 2009).

4 For an outline of ‘the Season’ see Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973).

5 Information on leisure time across classes can be found in H. Cunningham, ‘Leisure and Culture’, in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 279–339.

6 As reprinted in C. T. Goode, *To The Crystal Palace* (Bracknell: Forge Books, 1984), 54.

Date	Price, or change in practice
1865	Transferable seat for whole season: 2 guineas. Single ticket: 2s. 6d.
1868	Concert Room completed, mention of different parts (Area and Gallery). No differentiated ticketing.
1870	Tickets in unnumbered back-row seats made available for 1s.
1871	1s. tickets no longer offered.
1872	Option to pay for a transferable seat for half a season introduced: 1 guinea. 1s. tickets later reinstated, but only for unnumbered seats in Gallery. Advertised on the day at the start of the main body of the booklet above the notes, but not in advance advertising at the back of the booklet.
1873	Ticket information removed from front of the booklet, therefore removing mention of 1s. tickets. Not clear if they are still available or not.
1875	Transferable seat for whole season increased to 2.5 guineas. Single tickets tiered to 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d., though difference not specified.
1876	Prices augmented with statement: "Reserved seat 1s.," unclear if this referred to an independent ticket or an additional charge for single tickets. Removed within a few weeks. 1s. tickets formally reintroduced, still just for unnumbered seats in Gallery. 3s. 6d. tickets removed, leaving single tickets priced at either 2s. 6d. or 1s.
1877	1s. tickets expanded to include unnumbered seats in Area. Ticket prices on the day introduced underneath the list of repertoire (inside front cover). Admission to concert room "for non-Stall holders" offered for 6d.
1878	Brief experimentation with carnet-style booklets of tickets: 10s. for twelve unnumbered reserved seat tickets, 5s. for twelve admissions to the concert room. Clarification statement added confirming that 6d. entry was a ticket in itself, not an additional charge. Carnet booklets dropped later in the year.

Date	Price, or change in practice
1865	Season Ticket: 1 guinea. Grants entry to Palace, and free entry to Saturday Concerts, opera and theatre performances, and many other attractions.
1874	Free entry to Saturday Concerts dropped from season tickets. Advertises for season tickets removed from booklets.
1878	Advertises for season tickets reappear, now priced at 26s. Gave access to park and Palace, and to some attractions (but not concerts, opera or theatre). Some special events organised exclusively for these ticket holders. By start of 1878–79 season price dropped to 15s., and just covered entry to the park and Palace.

an extra two guineas for that privilege; but it would have reduced the cost of attendance enormously for everyone else. Instead of a total of five shillings per concert (half a crown each for entry to the Palace and the concert ticket), not including travel or booklet, the cost would have been less than one shilling per concert, with further value gained by attending everything else on offer at the Palace. One would have needed a guinea of disposable income up front, but this was still a massive reduction in cost. When the offer of free entry with Guinea Season Tickets was dropped for the 1874–75 season (and we know these tickets were still on offer as other events advertised in the back of the booklets mentioned them), the cost actually went up considerably, only partly offset by the permanent introduction of shilling tickets in 1876 and the addition of sixpence entry to the concert room in 1877. This should therefore make us wary of assuming, based on the information in Table 5, that the concerts become straightforwardly cheaper over time. Nonetheless, the decrease in cost of individual tickets would almost certainly have had an impact on the range of people able to attend.

It is also very important to note that the adverts for season tickets provide the strongest evidence within the booklets themselves that the Saturday Concerts were also attended by children, who would have been in bed for an evening event. After all, an afternoon concert would have been an appropriate event to take children. Most incarnations of these tickets were offered at half price for children under twelve and school groups (though this feature was not consistently mentioned). Since the Guinea Season Tickets offered entry to concerts, theatre and opera, it seems probable that the children for whom they were bought were also in attendance at the Saturday Concerts. Concrete proof comes in the form of an anecdote given by Heine in his book on the Crystal Palace. He describes “the case of a gentleman who went with a little girl of about 13 years of age a few days ago to the Crystal Palace.” He then lists the attractions they saw while there, and one of the things they did was attend a concert.⁷

One feature that sets the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts apart was the fact that they did not require a subscription to attend (a payment for all of the season’s concerts at once). Subscription was the practice at the Philharmonic Society concerts until the late 1860s, with the additional requirement that one could only join through the introduction of an existing member (and applications could be denied), ensuring that only the social and musical elite would be admitted. Single tickets were made available, and more widely so

⁷ See A. G. E. Heine, *The Past, Present, and Future of the Crystal Palace* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1874), 17.

from 1868 onwards, but it took time before serious appeals to a wider public got going.⁸ Interestingly, there was a brief period where the Saturday Concerts did attempt to cultivate a similar kind of exclusivity. During the 1874–75 season, a notice appeared as part of the adverts stating that:

The Gallery of the Concert Room will in future be reserved exclusively, at the performances of the Band, for the use of Serial Stall Holders, on presentation of a Stall Ticket.⁹

There must have been some who felt aggrieved at this exclusion, as within a few weeks the description was expanded to include “Adult Season Ticket Holders” as well.¹⁰ The restriction must have been dropped altogether relatively soon, as the notice disappeared for the 1875–76 season, and in any case unnumbered seats in the Gallery were being sold for one shilling by 1876. To be sure, the tiered ticket prices and differences between reserved and unreserved seats ensured that there was still a sense of social hierarchy being maintained at the Saturday Concerts. However, the failure of the plan to separate the Gallery suggests that outright exclusion based on social position was not sustainable.

In summary, all that was needed to attend the Saturday Concerts was the means to get to the Crystal Palace and the money for a ticket. A season ticket was available to those who could afford it, but it was also possible to attend only once or twice a year, as frequently or not as finances and interest allowed. They gave those with disposable time and income but few elite social connections the chance to hear orchestral music.

Booklets and Advertising

The booklets produced for the Saturday Concerts were an integral part of this new ability to acquire culture, as it was notable practice among regular attenders of the series to have their programmes for a season bound into a single hardback volume. This would often be done with such luxury additions as gilt lettering on the spine. Collected together on a bookshelf, these volumes demonstrated that the owner had the time and money to go to many concerts and purchase a booklet at each one, not to mention the investment in binding them. Some of the volumes that have survived also feature handwritten indices, bound into either the front or the back, in which the owner had listed the pages on which

⁸ All of this information has been taken from Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1995), 14, 112.

⁹ GB-Lcm-L, 24/10/1874, 3: 85.

¹⁰ That the addition needed to specify adult ticket holders provides further evidence of children in the Saturday Concert audience.

notes for particular pieces or composers could be found.¹¹ This represents a very high level of engagement with the content of the resulting volume, a testament to its value.

The booklets and, occasionally, the programme notes indicate that their creators were aware of this practice. From the beginning to the 1870–71 season, the booklets were printed with running pagination, a feature which would allow the resulting book to have continuous page numbers. For the 1871–72 season, these page numbers were added to the outer covers, though this feature was dropped for the 1872–73 season, maybe as a result of complaints from audience members who were removing these covers before binding (thereby ruining the page sequence).¹² The earliest surviving Summer Concert booklets, from 1873, also feature running pagination, but were numbered independently from the main Saturday Concert series. Grove himself indicated that he expected the audience to have access to past programmes when he stated in a note for Mendelssohn's *Ruy Blas* Overture from 19th October 1872 that:

The differences between this original score and that afterwards printed have been noticed in detail in the Programme of the Concert of 23rd March, 1872, to which I refer the reader.¹³

Both the date of the note and that of the booklet to which this passage refers post-date the introduction of running pagination, so the idea that there might have been patrons with a collection was not entirely unreasonable. However, this passage is one of only a few that make such an assumption.

The page numbers are only one aspect of the Saturday Concert programme booklets to consider: their physical construction and format also provide useful hints at changes in the nature of the audience. In 1865, the standard booklet size was 19x12cm, with four sheets (producing 8 pages), though the number could vary from week to week depending on how much space was needed. This included a sheet of coloured paper for the outer cover. A wide variety of shades were used, including pink, blue, green, yellow, and violet, with a different colour chosen each week. This booklet cost sixpence, with the price going down to threepence for particularly thin booklets. The front cover was very straightforward in design, presenting only the necessary text to outline the occasion. Inside the booklet, all

11 Such indices appear in, for example, most of the volumes in GB-Lbl-B between 1867 and 1879 (only the volume of booklets from the first half of the 1874–75 season does not include one).

12 The fact that this was a widespread practice has been documented (and lamented) in Edward S. Lauterbach, 'Victorian Advertising and Magazine Stripping', *Victorian Studies* 10, no. 4 (June 1967): 431–34.

13 GB-Lcm-B, 19/10/1872, 3: 58.

of the text was separated from the margins by thin black border lines. Prose would be printed in a fairly small font, and sometimes used the long s (ſ).¹⁴ Short excerpts of music were printed as examples, first appearing in 1867, with numbers increasing over time. Adverts were printed on both sides of the back cover, and consisted solely of announcements for the Crystal Palace's own exhibitions, attractions, and events. As the years passed, these spread into the back pages of the main booklet as well. Where it was mentioned (and at first this did not appear), the printer of the booklets was given as "R.K. Burt & Co., Crystal Palace Printing Office."

A number of changes were then brought in at the start of the 1868–69 season. A banner image was added to the front cover, made up of two Greek masks and vines (see Fig. 2a). The black borders were removed and the font size was increased. These changes seem to have been aimed at making the page seem less crowded while also giving greater prominence to the programme texts, with the increased size making them more legible.

On 5th April 1873, surprisingly close to the end of a season, the printing of the booklets was taken over by "Charles Dickens & Evans, Crystal Palace Press."¹⁵ Initially the only change was to increase the number of adverts for external companies (the first of which had appeared at the beginning of the 1872–73 season), to briefly experiment with (and then drop) a full-page advert on the inside of the front cover, and to massively increase the number of Crystal Palace adverts. More radical changes were brought in for the start of the series of Summer Concerts that year. The booklet size went up to 21.5x14cm; the banner image on the front page was replaced with a darker, more abstract version of the original, removing the masks (see Fig. 2b); the back cover was given over entirely to external adverts; and the Crystal Palace adverts were shifted entirely to the back of the main booklet. The practice of using multiple colours of paper for the outer cover also ended: from then on, summer concert booklets would alternate between pastel green and pastel pink paper, the main series booklets would alternate between blue and orange paper.¹⁶

14 Since programme notes were quite infrequent at this stage, it did not come up often, and in any case had been dropped by 1867.

15 GB-Lcm-L, 05/04/1873, 23: 496. One of the partners was Charles Dickens Junior (1837–1896), the first son of the eponymous author.

16 Interestingly, it is from precisely this point that the binder of the Royal College of Music's collection of Saturday Concert booklets began removing the outer covers. Up until then, they had been preserved. Perhaps the attractive array of colours and absence of external advertising had provided a motivation for keeping them, whereas the more overtly disposable covers produced thereafter were not worth holding on to.

Further changes were then made at the start of the main series in October 1873. The length went up, with 8 sheets (forming 32 pages) becoming the standard. The price remained sixpence, and did not change for the rest of the period, no matter how large the booklet (on some occasions they ran to 56 pages, not including outer cover). The banner on the front page was replaced again, this time with a three-panel image with a woman playing a harp in the middle, possibly St. Cecilia, flanked by depictions of musical instruments among a leaf and berry design (See Fig. 2c).¹⁷ The practice of putting external adverts on the inside of the front cover returned permanently, as did the devotion of the entire back cover to adverts for external companies. Extensive provision of Crystal Palace adverts remained, though from this point on the external adverts would start to make slow but sure inroads into the back pages of the main booklet. From then until 1879, this manner of booklet construction became the standard.

Fig. 2a: 1868–1873 Saturday Concert banner image (Source: GB-Lbl-L)

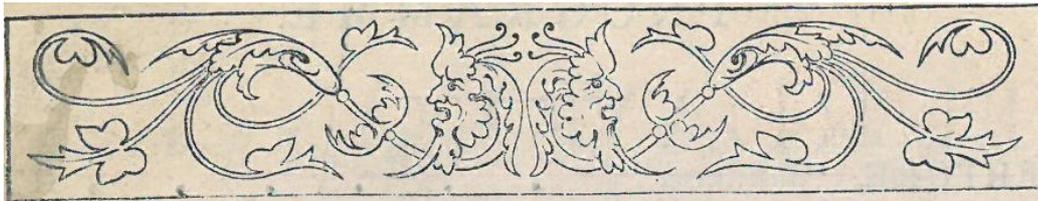


Fig. 2b: 1873–1875 Summer Concert banner image (Source: GB-Lbl-L)



Fig. 2c: 1873–1879 Saturday Concert banner image (Source: GB-Lbl-L)



¹⁷ Though, as Jann Pasler's analysis of the iconography of late nineteenth-century French programmes indicates, it need not necessarily be a specific woman. Working through her earlier examples, considerably more elaborate and racy than the Crystal Palace image, she determines that in 1890s French culture women were generally used as allegorical figures to represent music. See 'Concert Programs and Their Narratives as Emblems of Ideology', in *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 365–416. The darker image (Fig. 2b) was kept for the subsequent Summer Concerts.

These changes give a number of clues about the audience. The increase in font size suggests that the audience were actively engaging in reading these notes, as there would have been no pressure to change the text format otherwise. The change in banner image seems to suggest that these events were being taken increasingly seriously: it was now necessary to have an image that evoked classical, and then subsequently saintly conceptions of music. The decision to bring an external printing company and the change in booklet construction suggests that the audience was increasing in size. In particular, the decision to reduce the number of different colours for the covers suggests that maintaining the necessary paper stock had become too impractical for the numbers of booklets being produced. Only two colours would have been more efficient if printing in greater numbers, though some concession was made in the provision of a different pair of colours for the Summer Concerts.

If we want more detailed information about the audience demographic then we can also examine the changes in the style of advertising. Those for the Crystal Palace's own events and exhibits are the least helpful in this respect, as they were consistently diverse between 1865 and 1879. All that changed was the extent, starting with only a page or two of the booklet, gradually expanding to up to six or seven, depending on how much space was needed. Adverts included, but were by no means limited to: acrobatic shows, operas in English, plays in English, farces, circuses, the reading room and library, the skating hall, exhibits of particular kinds of flower, paintings and engravings, ancient artefacts, new technological inventions, various kinds of animals (exotic, local, and freakish), the aquarium, harvest festivals, military fêtes, pigeon races, billiards matches, velocipede races, restaurant menus and prices, and of course, upcoming Saturday Concert programmes, and the programmes of weekday music. Such is the breadth of entertainments on offer that it is difficult to discern any specific targeting of the audience for the Saturday Concerts. Rather, it seems instead to illustrate the broad scope of the Crystal Palace more generally, an observation supported by Peter Gurney's chapter on Victorian consumer culture. Here he collected together a variety of sources that documented (or parodied) the antagonisms caused by class mixing at the Palace, thereby demonstrating the broad social spectrum of the attendees, and highlighting the complexity of Victorian engagements with consumption.¹⁸

18 Peter Gurney, "'A Palace for the People'?" The Crystal Palace and Consumer Culture in Victorian England', in *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*, ed. James Buzard, Joseph W. Childers, and Eileen Gillooly, Victorian Literature and Culture (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 138–50.

Further, we cannot unthinkingly assume that all aspects of the advertising were motivated by the socio-economic structure of the audience. Adverts that appeared for Macmillan's publications must surely have been a result of Grove's input. Changes in the manner in which adverts were structured and presented mirrored the general trends in marketing practice, as outlined in Thomas Richards's book on Victorian commodity culture.¹⁹ Here he traces the development of adverts from text only productions, albeit with a wide variety of fonts, generally doing no more than naming the company, the product and the purpose, to increasingly spectacular (a key concept for Richards) and sophisticated affairs. The later Crystal Palace adverts bear out his observations, including more extensive descriptions, bringing in pictures of the products (not to mention images of royal insignia), using more innovative ways of presenting text, and so on. These changes certainly reflect developments in printing technology and the pressures of novelty on advertising development, but might not say much about the audience demographic.²⁰

It is the tone of the adverts and the type of products advertised that really seems to have been shaped by the kinds of people that companies were expecting to be at the Saturday Concerts. Indeed, the fact that external advertising was withheld from the booklets for over fifteen years from the start of the series in 1855, in spite of its potential for providing extra income, could well have been the result of upper-class pressure. This group tended towards the opinion that such inclusions lowered the respectability of a publication, wedded to the idea that truly superior offerings needed no such promotion.²¹ When external adverts first appeared, they were correspondingly for relatively high-minded products with a specifically musical audience in mind. One of the earliest examples, appearing on 30th November 1872, was for Novello's *The Hymnary: A Book of Church Song*.²² For those concerned about the morality of advertising, such a product would have been utterly unimpeachable. When Charles Dickens & Evans took over a few months later, the full pages devoted to Macmillan's 'Golden Treasury Series' and 'Six-Shilling Series of Popular Novels' (including Charles Kingsley, Charlotte M. Yonge and

19 Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

20 Richards does attribute some of the advertising developments to class concerns, but as Roy Church points out, this is one of the weaker aspects of the book. In particular, he points out that Richards does not discuss changes in technology or financial systems, notably missing the introduction of credit and hire-purchase schemes for expensive goods. See Roy Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *The Economic History Review* 53, no. 4 (November 2000): 621-45.

21 This point is implied in Diana Hindley and Geoffrey Hindley, *Advertising in Victorian England, 1837-1901* (London: Wayland, 1972). It is stated outright in T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London: Heinemann, 1982), 110-112.

22 GB-Lcm-L, 30/11/1872, 9: no page number, between 194 and 195.

Thomas Hughes, M.P.) were still primarily appealing to a literary audience. The extensive list of Hutchings and Romer's 'Abridged Catalogue' of sheet music, appearing the following week, would have been equally respectable. A noticeable change in tone began with the series of Summer Concerts the same year, with adverts for hair oil, skin cream, and toothpaste from Rowland's, and 'Sudden Mourning Clothes' from Jay's General Mourning Warehouse joining Hutchings and Romer's catalogue excerpt, now limited to just 'New Music'. It is tempting to infer that, with the exodus of 'Society' from London for the summer, the middle-class elements of the Crystal Palace audience became more dominant. Companies would then have responded by advertising a set of products that was more in line with middle- than upper-class desires.²³

Whatever the reason, notices from external companies took a permanent place on the outer covers of the booklets once the new season began in October 1873. Adverts for various Rowland's products, an anti-dandruff pomade for children, Charles Hallé's *Practical Pianoforte School*, miniature steam engines ("Fun, Frolic, Amusement, and Instruction!"), Epps's Cocoa, Vichy Mineral Water, and the Paris Millinery Company appeared across the season. The latter in particular indicates the presence of both the upper class and an aspirational upper-middle class through the statement "by appointment to H.R.H.s Countess of Paris, Duchess of Chartres, and Princess Marguerite of Orleans."²⁴ Literary sensibilities were still catered for through the inclusion of an advert for the Second Edition of the Macmillan publication *Goethe and Mendelssohn (1821–1831)*, "with New Letters."²⁵ From the 1874 summer season through to the end of the 1875 season, even this limited concession was gone, with the vast majority of outer cover external advertising being for medicines (in a very broad sense), pianos, and ladies' clothing, with a distinct emphasis on Parisian fashions. A high-class audience was still being invoked, as shown by the text for the Grand Parisian Show Rooms: "Augustus Ahlborn begs to inform the Nobility and Gentry that he receives day by day from Paris the latest Novelties and Specialties [sic]".²⁶ However, as with the Paris Millinery Company, this statement is just as

23 Berghoff, Scranton and Spiekermann point out in the introduction to their edited volume that serious interest in market research did not begin until the twentieth century. Prior to that, decisions about advertising were "dominated by pragmatic approaches that were usually based on experience. ... Intuition was more important than textbooks and theories." See Hartmut Berghoff, Philip Scranton, and Uwe Spiekermann, eds., *The Rise of Marketing and Market Research*, 1st ed, Worlds of Consumption (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 3. For more specific nineteenth-century case studies, see Roy A. Church and Andrew Godley, eds., *The Emergence of Modern Marketing* (London; Portland: F. Cass, 2003).

24 GB-Lcm-L, 28/02/1874, 18: inside front cover.

25 GB-Lcm-L, 07/02/1874, 15: inside back cover.

26 GB-Lcm-L, 02/05/1874, Summer Concert 1: inside front cover.

indicative of the presence of an aspirational upper-middle class as it is of the ‘Nobility and Gentry’.

The main booklet itself was still reserved for the Crystal Palace’s own events, with an increasingly prominent place given to lectures, particularly those on musical subjects. It is worth noting, though, that the style of the Crystal Palace adverts was beginning to show the influence of more general advertising practices, adopting an increasing variety of fonts and experimenting with more dramatic manners of presenting text. External adverts did begin to move into the main booklet, starting with a full page given to Novello’s Royal Albert Hall Concerts for a few weeks in the 1874–75 season, though there seems to have been a sense that this part of the booklet ought be reserved for more elevated products. As the adverts on the covers diversified even further during the 1875–76 season (expanding to include furniture, sewing machines, a Crystal Palace Hotel, cutlers, insurance, and corn flour), the external products in the main booklet included such books as “*The Sunlight of Song, A Collection of Sacred and Moral Poems, with original music by eminent English composers,*” published by Novello.²⁷ It was not until the 1876–77 season that limitations on where adverts should or should not appear dissolved, with full page adverts accompanied by detailed illustrations given to a drinking fountain and cattle trough charity, Eno’s Fruit Salts, and (later) Izod’s Patent Corsets (see Fig. 3).

By 1879 the huge diversity of external adverts came close to matching the diversity of the Crystal Palace’s own events. We see upper-class tastes catered for through notices of fund-raising events for worthy causes (such as the opening of church schools), crystal chandeliers, and the following passage from an advert for the Holborn Restaurant:

Attractions of the Chief Parisian Establishments, with the quiet and order essential to English Customs ... This Favourite Dinner is accompanied by a Selection of High-Class Instrumental Music.²⁸

At the other end of the spectrum, the adverts for soap, cooking ingredients, and labour saving devices such as sewing and washing machines seem to indicate a more firmly middle and even lower-middle class audience. For every degree of consumer in between, there were adverts for music primers published by both Novello and Macmillan, gas lighting and heating systems, boots, and a huge variety of remedies for invalids, as well the whole range of products already mentioned. Nevett’s work on British advertising suggests that adverts for consumer goods had been present in newspapers since as early as the

²⁷ GB-Lcm-L, 23/10/1875, 4: 108.

²⁸ This first appeared in 1876. GB-Lbl-L, 30/09/1876, 1: outside back cover.

1820s, though became much more widespread after the abolition of the newspaper stamp tax in 1855.²⁹ If adverts for such products did not appear at the Crystal Palace until the mid-1870s it suggests that the change was motivated by a broadening demographic, rather than more general advertising trends.

Fig. 3: 1879 advertisement for corsets (Source: GB-Lbl-L)

IZOD'S PATENT CORSETS.

PEAR BUSK

Upon the shape of the Corset entirely depends the accurate fit of a Lady's Dress or Costume. The Patent Corsets of Messrs. Izod & Son are cut in exquisite proportions, made of the best materials, and finished by their Patent Steam-moulding Process, so that the fabric and bones are adapted with marvellous accuracy to every curve and undulation of the finest type of figure. These Corsets also give great support, and they fit so accurately and comfortably that a very small size can be worn without the slightest injury to the figure.

The variations in fashion are vigilantly watched, and every necessary alteration is made to adapt these Corsets to the prevailing style of dress. The quality of the materials used, and the accuracy in fit of each Corset, is maintained through every change of fashion.

The Patentees desire to call special attention to their Trade Mark.

These Corsets may be had of all respectable Drapers and Ladies' Outfitters, at various prices, and in a variety of material, viz. White, Dove, and Grey Coutil, Single or Double; White and Dove Satteen; also in Scarlet Lasting and Black Italian Cloths.

They are made with either Plain or Pear-shaped Buses. The Belted Corset is also produced.

IZOD'S PATENT MOULDED SEWN CORSETS. TRADE MARK.

Only such Corsets as bear our Trade Mark Stamped on them are Genuine and Warranted.

"The Steam-moulded Corsets of Messrs. Izod & Son have obtained a justly-merited place in public estimation. These Corsets are composed of the best materials, are cut in exquisite proportion, are finished by steam-moulding, and are acknowledged model types of female form. Thus manufactured, it is by no means surprising that the feminine portion of the public inquire for these admirable Corsets of Draper and Milliner, and that the demand for these Corsets is increasing daily."—*The Milliner and Dressmaker.*

"Lay figures or models have been constructed in exact accordance with Hogarth's Line of Beauty. Ample space is secured for the play of the chest and lungs, thus at the same time preserving health and improving the contour of the figure of the wearer."—*The Queen.*

Any Corsets not bearing this Trade Mark are not genuine, and only imitations.

For two musical products, Dr. Stolberg's Voice Lozenges and Steinway Pianos, there was also a shift in the nature of the appeal made to the audience.³⁰ Rather than highlighting the patronage of the nobility, as had been prominent before, these companies drew on the testimonies of eminent musicians (Patti, Grisi and Santley for the former, Rubinstein, Goddard, Essipoff and Krebs for the latter). At the same time, direct appeals to those of the upper classes, for any product, generally disappeared. This represented a significant change in the position of the performer in the marketplace. Previously the name of a musician simply had to be famous enough in order to sell a product, no matter how disconnected that product was (such as 'Liszt' biscuits, or 'Jenny Lind' gloves). Now performers were being called on for their authority. As respected specialists, their word of endorsement carried a weight that equalled the crests or coat-of-arms of the social elite. Surprisingly, there does not appear to be any literature on the cultural significance of using performers to endorse

²⁹ Nevett, *Advertising in Britain*, 36, 67.

³⁰ Respectively: GB-Lcm-L, 02/10/1875, 1: inside front cover; GB-Lcm-L, 06/10/1877, 1: 31.

musical products.³¹ From the evidence here, the change seems to have had two sides. The most obvious is the rise in the status of musicians, as has been documented by several scholars.³² In the other direction, there is a sense of democratisation through the fact that commercial clout was becoming less tied to the highest echelons of society and more aligned with professional ability. In other words, the middle-classes were gaining selling power. If nothing else, these few hints reinforce the sense of a broader audience in 1879 than there had been in 1865.

Programme Notes

Adverts *per se* may have been confined to the outer pages of the booklet, but that does not mean that the programme notes, at the heart, were devoid of advertising material. Grove's essay on 'Musical Books for the Holidays' from 14th December 1878 is only the most overt example:

If the lovers of music are deprived of Concerts during the Christmas holidays, there is at least no want of musical literature with which to stimulate their appetites for the moment when the performances of the Monday Popular or the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts shall recommence.³³

Three books are outlined in detail: *Die Familie Mendelssohn (1729–1847)*, written by Sebastian Hensel, "the only child of Felix's eldest sister, the well known "Fanny" of the composer's too delightful letters"; *Correspondance inédite de Hector Berlioz* ("The price of this precious little volume is only three shillings"); and the third volume of the *Life of Beethoven* by Alexander W. Thayer.³⁴ Each one is furnished with an extensive description

31 Much has been written about the piano and specifically about the history of Steinway, but none of it tackles the advertising in detail. See, as examples, Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History*, rev. ed (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1990); and Richard K. Lieberman, *Steinway & Sons* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). David Suisman's work on the commercialisation of music in America focusses on songs and recordings rather than instruments. See *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). On the singer side, George Biddlecombe has discussed the commercialisation of Jenny Lind's image, but he does not discuss what these changes might mean for the position of performers in the marketplace more generally. See George Biddlecombe, 'The Construction of a Cultural Icon: The Case of Jenny Lind', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 3*, ed. Peter Horton and Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 45–61.

32 The classic text here is Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985). Tim Blanning discusses similar issues, but his discussion mentions very few nineteenth-century performers, and in any case does not connect this with trends in advertising. See Tim Blanning, *The Triumph of Music* (London: Allen Lane, 2008).

33 GB-Lbl-B, 14/12/1878, 11: 330.

34 Grove's selection indicates, importantly, that he expected his audience to be familiar with both French and German, an accomplishment that only the higher ranks of society would have been able to afford.

of the merits of both the subject matter and the content of the book, and in the case of Thayer, the author as well. The essay concludes with the following statement:

The three books mentioned may all be obtained from Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, or from other foreign booksellers. Interesting and engrossing as they are, it is not for me to suggest that they should exclude a home production; and I trust that before bringing these remarks to a close I may without impropriety mention that the fifth Part of the “Dictionary of Music and Musicians” (“Ferrarese del Bene” to “Guitar”), written by the most eminent musical authors of the day, and edited by a writer whose initial and name are not unfamiliar to readers of the Saturday Concert Programmes, will be published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. before Christmas.³⁵

Grove was obviously not about to pass up a promotional opportunity for his own project.³⁶ Adverts for the *Dictionary* had already appeared in the back pages of the booklets from 23rd February 1878, but clearly a location alongside the programme notes, where the attention of the audience was perhaps more certain, was ideal for marketing material. The other books in the list might have been familiar to regular attendees of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts, if only by reputation, since they were the sorts of publications that Grove promoted in the programme notes themselves.

This kind of advertising appeared in two forms. Most obviously, there were the references in the main body of the text, as with an endorsement of Thayer’s work in a note for Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony from 25th January 1868:

Mr. Thayer’s researches, embodied in his accurate and interesting work, indispensable to the Beethoven-student, *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der Werke Beethovens*, give no support to the doubt expressed by Berlioz in his interesting remarks on this Symphony, that it was composed as early as the Eroica.³⁷

The use of positive adjectives and praise for the author makes it clear that this was not simply a scholarly reference, but also an exhortation for the reader to go and acquire the book for themselves. The other forum for advertising for these books were the footnotes

³⁵ Ibid., 334.

³⁶ Leanne Langley has outlined the full publication schedule of the serial sections of the *Dictionary*, from which we can tell that the fifth part that Grove mentions here did not in fact make it out before Christmas, instead appearing in January. See Leanne Langley, ‘Roots of a Tradition: The *First Dictionary of Music and Musicians*’, in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 190.

³⁷ GB-Lcm-B, 25/01/1868, 15: 4.

that Grove increasingly used to cite his source material, which would sometimes contain directions for purchasing, such as in the note for Beethoven's Second Symphony on 19th October 1872: "*Ein Skizzenbuch von Beethoven, beschrieben und dargestellt von G. Nottebohm &c.*, London: Williams and Norgate, price 2s."³⁸ A footnote in the Mendelssohn *Lobgesang* note from 4th April 1874 is more obviously self-serving, in that it refers to the publication that Grove himself edited: "'Mendelssohn, by Ferdinand Hiller": now publishing in *Macmillan's Magazine*."³⁹

In the context of these examples, it then becomes difficult not to see all of the seemingly neutral scholarly footnotes as part of the same pattern. Providing a reference and page number might not simply have been a matter of academic accountability for Grove, it could also have carried the suggestion that the readers should go and look the book up for themselves, implying the necessity of owning it. The promotional nature of footnotes is further reinforced by the fact that they could be used to advertise relevant products, as with the note on Gadsby's new Overture, *Andromeda*, performed on 24th November 1877: "'Andromeda" can now be obtained as a Pianoforte Duet from Messrs. Stanley Lucas, Weber, and Co., 84, New Bond Street."⁴⁰ Though, of course, such products were sometimes advertised at the end of the main body of the text as well: "Cartes de Visites of Schubert's Tomb and of the Bust may be obtained from Messrs. Negretti and Zambra, in the Nave. Price sixpence each."⁴¹ It might be easy to assume that Grove's use of footnotes across the period represented the emergence of a scholarly framework and an increasing sense of professionalism in his writing. These examples make it clear, though, that additional agendas could have been in play.⁴²

Even if the books were not ones that he was likely to make any money from (either as author or as publisher), they were written by people whom Grove might have considered

38 GB-Lcm-B, 19/10/1872, 3: 53.

39 GB-Lbl-B, 04/04/1874, 23: 569.

40 GB-Lbl-B, 25/11/1877, 8: 235.

41 Unsigned note from the première performance of Schubert's Fourth Symphony. GB-Lcm-B, 29/02/1868, 20: 9.

42 At present, two books in English have been published on the history of the footnote: Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997); and Chuck Zerby, *The Devil's Details: A History of Footnotes* (Vermont: Invisible Cities Press, 2002). Both seem to agree that the modern scholarly form of the practice became settled around the middle of the nineteenth century, though they come to quite different conclusions about whether or not this was a positive development. Of the two, only Zerby is alert to the fact that footnotes could be (and were) used outside of scholarship and for non-scholarly purposes throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Neither author seems to be aware of the advertising potential for footnotes, a feature which would be entirely appropriate to the commercialism of Grove's historical context. Grafton is only concerned with the emergence of the practice, and therefore does not discuss Victorian England. Zerby pays very little attention to historical context at all, in keeping with his more journalistic approach to the subject.

friends. Particularly notable is Grove's unswerving loyalty to the work of Carl Ferdinand Pohl, who serves as an example of most of the types of scholarly promotion outlined above. Referring to the idea of a history of Haydn's works in a note from 23rd January 1869, Grove states that:

Until very lately this difficult and tedious task, involving endless research in Libraries, and in the Palaces and Chapels in which Haydn passed the greater portion of the earlier years of his uneventful and industrious life, had not been attempted. It is however now in progress by Mr. Pohl, of Vienna, a gentleman fully competent for the task, and before many months are over its publication may be expected. It can hardly fail to be one of the most important and useful works in musical history that have appeared during this century.⁴³

Pohl is then referenced as a source of information in many of Grove's notes on Haydn thereafter, as is his book. For example, there is the footnote for Symphony No. 88 in G from 16th November 1872:

For this information I am indebted to my ever kind friend Mr. C.F. Pohl, of Vienna, whose Life of Haydn, I am glad to hear, is at last approaching completion.⁴⁴

Apparently this estimation was optimistic, since the next reference to the book appears almost three years later, on 9th October 1875, in a note on Symphony No. 84 in E flat:

I am informed by Mr. Pohl – the first volume of whose long-expected work on Haydn is on the point of publication – that it was the production of the year 1786, when Haydn was at the very height of his powers.⁴⁵

When the first volume did become available shortly after, it was deemed an important enough occasion to merit a short essay on the subject at the back of the booklet for 13th November 1875.

The first portion of a book of which my readers have often heard has at last appeared – the Life of Haydn, by Mr. C.F. Pohl, of Vienna. It is published at Berlin by Glucksberg, and may be obtained from the foreign booksellers in London, price 9s. ... His work on "Haydn and Mozart in London" placed him in the first rank of conscientious and accurate investigators, and he appears to have maintained these

43 GB-Lcm-B, 23/01/1869, 14: 6.

44 GB-Lcm-B, 16/11/1872, 7: 129.

45 GB-Lbl-B, 09/10/1875, 2: 35.

qualities in his new book, while he has considerably improved his literary style. Pohl's Haydn bids fair to take rank with Otto Jahn's Mozart, and higher praise could scarcely be given it. ... I wish Mr. Pohl all success in completing his arduous and important task, and recommend his book to the notice of all students of music.⁴⁶

After publication, almost every one of Grove's notes on Haydn mentions Pohl's book. The only exception was a note for Symphony No. 78 in C minor from 23rd November 1878, which contained a scholarly-looking footnote that provides no more than a page reference for Pohl's other book on Mozart and Haydn in London.⁴⁷ With all of the above examples in mind, we can no longer see this reference as purely academic diligence on Grove's part, but rather as one of the subtler examples of advocacy for the work of his friend.

One could further argue that a programme note was itself a kind of promotional device, even when there were no adverts for specific products. These texts still had the overall aim of 'selling', in a figurative sense, the music being played to the audience. Grove's texts were, along with many other things, an attempt to convince an audience that the music being performed was worth their patronage and attention. Grove's note for Hermann Goetz's Symphony in F Op.9 from 5th April 1879 is a classic example:

Hermann Goetz furnishes a remarkable and distressing instance of a true artist achieving success after great difficulties and drawbacks, and dying just as fame and honour were within his grasp. [He died at the age of 34] ... The [Symphony in F] was introduced to England by Madame Viard Louis, who performed it at her Orchestral Concerts on the 17th Dec., 1878, and again on 21st Jan., 1879, and it is not too much to say that it took everyone by surprise, for the beauty of its themes, the clearness and freedom from labour in the way they are worked, and generally the air of experienced musicianship which pervades the entire composition, and is all the more remarkable in a man whose very name, until some twelve months since, was hardly known on this side of the water.⁴⁸

Extra persuasive effort was clearly required for a composer who would have been completely unknown to the audience.

46 GB-Lbl-B, 13/11/1875, 7: 193.

47 GB-Lbl-B, 23/11/1878, 8: 215.

48 GB-Lbl-B, 05/04/1879, 20: 599-600. Very little information is available about the French pianist Madame Jenny Viard-Louis, though some details appear in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (out of sequence, on pg. 342). Born in 1831, she specialised in performances of Beethoven and Brahms, and organised her own series of concerts at St. James Hall around the end of the 1870s and early 1880s, for which she played a number of solo items (the orchestra was conducted by Thomas Weist-Hill, 1828–1891). She also produced a book entitled *Music and the Piano*, translated into English by Mrs. W. Smith, and published in 1884.

Promotional material was especially needed to justify works that might not have had universal appeal. An excellent example is Grove's note for Beethoven's *Weihe des Hauses* Overture Op.124 from 25th October 1873, which concludes:

The Overture Op.124 makes little attempt, like its *confrères* Leonore, Egmont or Coriolan, to be dramatic, or to portray the deep and terrible emotions which are depicted in those astonishing compositions. But as a piece of lofty magnificent music, composed for a grand and festive occasion, it fully answers its purpose.⁴⁹

This passage serves the dual purpose of making the present Overture seem worthy of consideration, while also promoting the value of Beethoven's other overtures. It is almost needless to say that notes for those works contain very high praise indeed, as we see in that for the *Coriolan* Overture from 15th March 1873:

The inspiration which fills every bar of the Overture Beethoven must have got from the subject, and not from Collin's play – from Shakespeare, or his favourite Plutarch. It is indeed a work at once of Roman grandeur and Roman conciseness, though containing also passages of pure noble beauty amply sufficient to reveal the well-spring of grace and sweetness which was always playing between the stern exterior of the great composer.⁵⁰

Although the *Coriolan* Overture was already a very popular work at the Crystal Palace, having received performances throughout the 1860s, passages like this treated the music as though it was unfamiliar. Indeed, given the broad range of audience indicated by the tickets and the advertising, Grove and Manns would have probably been working on the assumption that people who did not know the music could be present at any performance. Even pieces that were central parts of the repertoire as performed at the Crystal Palace might still have been unknown to audiences who had not been to an orchestral concert before.

Such promotional texts could not have been part of the advertising effort for the Saturday Concerts more generally, as it seems unlikely that these booklets would have been available in advance. Aside from the fact that they were able to advertise relatively last-minute changes of programme, there is also one occasion on which Grove dated his writing. At the end of the note on Beethoven's Ninth Symphony given on 22nd May 1875 (the second Summer Concert), and before the additional passage that Grove added on this

⁴⁹ GB-Lbl-B, 08/11/1873, 4: 81.

⁵⁰ GB-Lcm-B, 15/03/1873, 20: 403.

occasion to update some of the information, Grove gave the date “April 23rd 1874” to indicate when the earlier version of the note had been completed.⁵¹ This was two days before Manns’s Benefit Concert on 25th April 1874, the previous occasion on which the work had been performed. If Grove had only completed that note a few days before concert itself,⁵² it seems unlikely that the booklet could have been released quickly enough to serve as advertising. We therefore have to assume that these booklets could only have been acquired once one was already at the Crystal Palace on the day of the concert itself. We might also speculate that they were unlikely to be purchased unless one had already bought a ticket. In strictly economic terms, advocacy for the music should not have been necessary, since all the financial transactions had already taken place. That it is still there anyway, alongside more neutrally descriptive passages, makes it clear that understanding was not enough on its own: Grove wanted the audience to *value* this music.

As well as wanting to bring music to the audience, Grove and Manns wanted them to be ready to receive it, eschewing overt discussions of class, and instead appealing to particular modes of listening and appreciation. There is the unsigned note on Hiller’s *Dramatic Fantasia* from 22nd March 1873 which refers to “an audience so well versed in classical music as the subscribers to the Saturday Concerts.”⁵³ Grove’s note on Raff’s *Leonore* Symphony from 14th November 1874 refers to “the great musical public of England.”⁵⁴ All kinds of assumptions are made in the following passage from Grove’s note for the ‘Entr’acte’ in B minor from Schubert’s *Rosamunde* music from 1st November 1873:

Those who heard this very piece of music when performed in the Crystal Palace Theatre as an entr’acte between the first and second Acts of Hamlet will not forget the effect of the chord of B minor as the curtain falls on the scene with the Ghost, or have failed to notice how much the music itself gained by being played in so perfectly appropriate a position.⁵⁵

Grove was apparently very certain that his audience had been attending the full array of entertainments at the Crystal Palace, as well as of their musical discrimination. In an even more proprietorial vein, Manns ended his 1877 note on the ‘Vorspiel’ to Bruch’s *Lorelei* on the following statement:

51 GB-Lbl-B, 22/05/1875, Second Summer Concert: 64 (851 written over).

52 Or rather, finished re-writing the version from 19th April 1873.

53 GB-Lcm-B, 22/03/1873, 21: 445.

54 GB-Lbl-B, 14/11/1874, 6: 156.

55 GB-Lbl-B, 01/11/1873, 5: 110-111.

... the very artistically contrived return to E major, in which the principal melody is afterwards reintroduced with the whole force of a full modern orchestra, complete a little tone-picture which cannot fail to interest a musical audience, which, like that of our Saturday Concerts, listens with an unprejudiced ear to new works.⁵⁶

As musical director of the Saturday Concerts, it had been Manns's policy to introduce new works as often as possible right from the start of the series. Twenty years later, he may well have been taking personal responsibility for having generated the audience's 'unprejudiced ear'. Praise of the audience could also be used to nudge them away from certain opinions. In Grove's note for Wagner's *Faust* Overture from 10th October 1874, he follows a citation of extremely effusive praise for the work by von Bülow with a critique of his approach and the following statement: "How far Wagner's Overture can maintain its equality with those great works [by Beethoven], it will be for a thoughtful audience to decide."⁵⁷ Apparently Grove wanted the audience to disagree with von Bülow's assessment.

Statements suggesting that all of the audience present had excellent aesthetic judgement means that these passages can easily be read as flattery. This would be a potent marketing device, as a boost to the self-esteem of the audience simply through their presence would no doubt have been an important mechanism for ensuring continued attendance. It is worth highlighting, though, that these passages go beyond flattery: they also represent an active effort on the part of Grove to shape the attitudes of concert goers. After all, not all such comments were directly flattering, as with the footnote for Schumann's Second Symphony from 24th October 1874:

For a full analysis of this fine symphony by an able professional hand, I refer the reader to the *Monthly Musical Record* of May, 1872. But to amateurs who desire to understand these great works – and to understand them is to love them – I venture to recommend that they should follow the performance score in hand. There is no other way.⁵⁸

Rather than simply presenting a mirror of the existing audience, this passage offered an image of the idealised audience member. As well as flattering regular attendees (and regular score-readers), it provided a goal for those readers who felt that they were not yet in that position. We could also think of Manns's note on Bruch cited earlier. In describing the 'unprejudiced ear' of the Saturday Concert audience, he was also attempting to ensure

56 GB-Lbl-B, 13/10/1877, 2: 37-38.

57 GB-Lbl-B, 10/10/1874, 1: 20.

58 GB-Lbl-B, 24/10/1874, 3: 69.

that they all indeed behaved that way, especially those who had not attended before. Note also that his statement refers to ‘our’ Saturday Concerts. Grove and Manns were drawing all those who read these notes into a club for those who truly appreciated music and the live performance of it. This collective identity would have reinforced the importance of ‘high quality’ music in Victorian society. In other words, these passages can also be seen as a kind of promotional material, figuratively selling a cultural ideal that would ensure the high status of classical music and, by association, the institutions that promoted it.

Whatever it was that Grove and Manns intended, it seems likely that audiences were very much engaging with the texts they produced. Bashford has collected together a number of contemporary journalistic sources (including *The Graphic*, *The Athenaeum*, and the *Musical Times*) that all, one way or another, discuss audiences following various kinds of performance with the booklets in hand.⁵⁹ Unfortunately it seems that there is no direct evidence for the practices at the Crystal Palace, so we have to determine them from sources relating to other venues. Moreover, it is even harder without sources to assess the extent to which booklets were read at home, i.e. away from the public forums that were discussed in the press, leaving much room for speculation. For example, parents could well have been making use of the musical examples as part of piano lessons for their children, the bite-sized single-stave chunks being ideal for smaller hands.⁶⁰ Certainly we can be sure that the booklets were not always being used for their strictly intended purpose: a collection of programmes from the 1867–68 and 1868–69 seasons held by Bromley Central Library features pencilled annotations next to many of the pieces stating what the owner (presumably) of the volume thought about each of the pieces and the performances, usually just a few words.⁶¹ This example suggests that there might have been many ways for the audience to engage with these booklets beyond simply reading them.

Gender

One aspect of the audience demographic that has not been discussed so far is gender, on account of the difficulty in drawing definite conclusions. In fact, both the external advertising and the internal Crystal Palace notices seem to suggest nothing more than the fact that both men and women were present, with no sense of an imbalance towards one or the other. The external advertising might seem more weighted towards women, but we

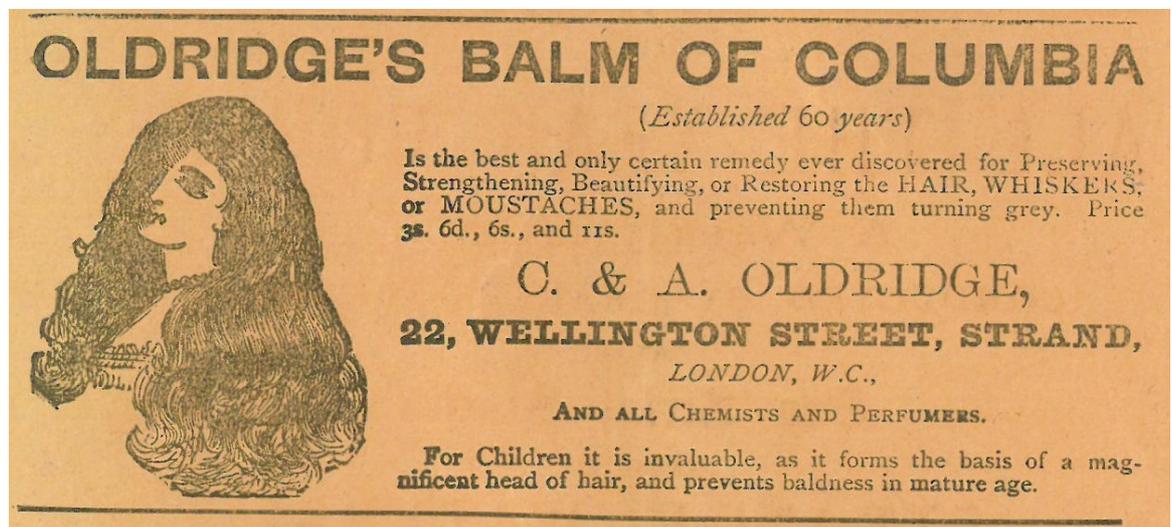
⁵⁹ Christina Bashford, ‘Not Just “G”’: Towards a History of the Programme Note’, in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 132, n. 68.

⁶⁰ I am indebted to Katherine Ellis for pointing this out to me.

⁶¹ This is the source referred to here as GB-BROcl-B.

know that Victorian advertisers tended to assume that women were more susceptible to advertising than men, and were therefore the target of most advertising more generally.⁶² This is particularly clear in some of the specific adverts in the Saturday Concert booklets. For example, the text in the advert for Oldridge's Balm of Columbia, a hair restorative, suggests that it was marketed to both men and women, specifically mentioning bristles and moustaches (see Fig. 4). However the picture chosen to illustrate the efficacy of the product is a woman with a luxuriant head of hair. No doubt this image could have appealed to either gender, but it is nonetheless a distinctly feminised presentation for a product that was, in principle, unisex. Once it is understood that most Victorian advertising was targeted at women, when adverts do appear that were unequivocally aimed at men, they strongly indicate a substantial male component of the audience. After all, there would have to have been enough of them there to be advertised to. Examples include Waukenphast & Co's Boots for Gentlemen (see Fig. 5),⁶³ and the advert for the Crystal Palace Hotel, which stated that "It has excellent accommodation for Families, Single Gentlemen, and Visitors."⁶⁴

Fig. 4: 1876 advertisement for Balm of Columbia (Source: GB-Lbl-L)



62 This point is implied in Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and Christopher P. Hosgood, 'Mrs Pooter's Purchase: Lower-Middle-Class Consumerism and the Sales, 1870-1914.', in *Gender, Civic Culture, and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940*, ed. Alan J. Kidd and David Nicholls (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 146-63.

63 Puns very much stand out among the Crystal Palace advertising on account of their relatively rarity.

64 GB-Lcm-L, 02/10/1875, 1: inside back cover.

Fig. 5: 1876 advertisement for Waukenphast Boots (Source: GB-Lcm-L)



The Crystal Palace's notices for its forthcoming events seem to carry a similarly balanced message. Superficially, adverts for classes in the Ladies' Division of the Crystal Palace Schools were more frequent and covered a broader range of subjects than the classes for gentlemen. However, the picture becomes more complicated when we observe that these classes were heavily tied up with the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate.⁶⁵ Run by Cambridge University and marked by the dons, these examinations were taken by children between the ages of fourteen and eighteen (with seventeen being the dividing age between senior and junior). If the early Crystal Palace adverts did not make this connection clear, it certainly had become explicit by 1875: the Ladies' Division class listings were appended with an advert stating that Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations could be taken at the Palace, under the supervision of the local secretary, Charles Ainslie Barry. Cambridge then took over the 'University Education' at the Crystal Palace altogether, according to the Ladies' Classes adverts from the 1877–78 season, which also announced the new availability of 'Free Scholarships' to study at the Palace. We therefore ought to infer that the classes at the Crystal Palace Schools were also aimed at the

⁶⁵ All of the information here is drawn from the chapter by Andrew Watts, 'Cambridge Local Examinations 1858-1945', in *Examining the World: A History of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate*, ed. Sandra Raban (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 36–71.

fourteen to eighteen year-olds who were eligible for the Cambridge Local Exams. If classes for women were more common than those for men, then, it may have been nothing to do with the audience demographic (not least on account of the age of the pupils). Rather, it might reflect the fact that this kind of education and the qualifications that resulted were already far more accessible for boys than for girls.

By contrast, no gender imbalance appears at all in adverts for educational events outside of the sections devoted to the Crystal Palace Schools and the Ladies' Classes. Drawing on the evidence above, it therefore seems more likely that these attractions were targeted at adults rather than adolescents. Notices for free lectures on, for example, 'China and the Chinese' from 17th March 1866, or 'The Arctic Expedition' from 22nd May 1875, make no mention of their intended audience.⁶⁶ Indeed, in a very early example, the advert for Mr Henry Leslie's Class for Part Singing and Choral Practice from 14th March 1863 stated directly that it was aimed at both genders: "Any Ladies or Gentlemen wishing to join are requested to inscribe their names at the Office of the Literary Department..."⁶⁷

The only aspect that might indicate the gender balance within the audience for the Saturday Concerts was the timing. Adrienne Fried Block's study of *matinée* concerts in nineteenth-century New York suggested that afternoon performances allowed women to attend without the need for a chaperone, as would be the case in the evening, resulting in a greater female contingent.⁶⁸ In theory, the 3pm start time of the Saturday Concerts could have had a similar effect on the audience demographic there. However, as Deborah Nord's work has shown, women in London do not seem to have been as much at liberty as their American counterparts, still inviting suspicion if unaccompanied until as late as the 1880s.⁶⁹ Attending alone might have been possible, but it would not have been respectable; and if the Saturday Concert audience was as upper- and middle-class as the evidence outlined here suggests, then it seems likely that there would have been plenty of male chaperones present.

None of this is to say, though, that gendered language was absent from the Crystal Palace programme notes. As the next chapter will show, they were an important component in the discussion of the music performed at the Saturday Concerts.

66 Respectively: GB-Lcm-L, 17/03/1866, 19: outside back cover; GB-Lcm-L, 22/05/1875, Summer Concert 2: 71.

67 GB-Lcm-L, 14/03/1863, 12: 11.

68 Adrienne Fried Block, 'Matinee Mania, of the Regendering of Nineteenth-Century Audiences in New York City', *19th-Century Music* 31, no. 3 (Spring 2008): 193–216.

69 Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 181.

Chapter 4: Gender and Families

If the advertising in the Crystal Palace Saturday Concert programme booklets gives us only partial information about the men and women in the audience, the notes provide much more to work with. The lengthier essays contained a number of different kinds of references to gender. These included: the narratives attached to works, the social resonances and tonal qualities of instruments, the discussions of musical material and works, and metaphorical descriptions anthropomorphising whole pieces. As diverse as these approaches to music are, some of the frameworks needed to understand them are already in place. Indeed, the critical examination of gendered discourses surrounding music and musicology has become a staple of academia over the last thirty years. In the early 1990s, several highly influential books were published examining issues of female gender in music, among musicians, and within the discipline of musicology.¹ There has been an explosion of interest in gender issues since these books were written, with an increasingly diverse range of topics being considered for inclusion.

One notable feature has been the emergence of the discipline of masculinity studies, intended to complement and balance the work being done on women and LGBT issues. At present it seems to be generally regarded as a separate discipline, though the authors working within the field seem to expect that the distinction will soon be abandoned in favour of presenting such work under an all-inclusive Gender Studies banner.² Accordingly, this discussion of gender in the Crystal Palace Saturday Concert programme notes will examine material that relates to Victorian perceptions of both masculinity and femininity. After all, as an article by Derek B. Scott illustrates, the issues of sexual politics in the Victorian era can only be discussed in terms of the relation these two genders were thought to have to each other.³

However, as we will see, it is not enough to examine just the Victorian discourses surrounding gender: the images discussed are often overlaid with familial roles as well.

1 Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Ruth A. Solie, ed., *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

2 Introductions to the field and to the kinds of work undertaken within it can be found in Rachel Adams and David Savran, eds., *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, Keyworks in Cultural Studies 5 (Malden: Blackwell, 2002); and Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and Raewyn Connell, eds., *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005).

3 Derek B. Scott, 'The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119, no. 1 (1994): 91–114.

The scholarly literature on the subject (developing alongside the work on gender) suggests that the growing size of the family was of critical importance to the Victorians' understanding of their cultural products. Recently there has been a particularly intense interest surrounding sibling relationships, with several authors exploring their relevance for literature and for the development of European society in the nineteenth-century.⁴ The impact that ideas of family might have had on the understanding of music has as yet received very little scholarly attention.⁵ The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that familial connections, especially between siblings, played a significant role in shaping contemporary perceptions of both music and music history.

One aspect that will not be covered in depth is repertoire. In an article on women pianists in mid-nineteenth-century Paris, Katherine Ellis has argued that certain kinds of piano repertoire were gendered as feminine. These works were considered easier, lighter, and more suitable for women to play, and were therefore not given serious critical consideration. Earlier 'classical' composers were a particular component of this feminised repertoire, including solo piano works by Scarlatti, Haydn and Mozart.⁶ Ellis deals with a somewhat earlier time period and a very different cultural context, but there is a certain degree of overlap between her observations and the programming practice at the Crystal Palace. The vast majority of the solo keyboard items played between the larger orchestral works fit into the 'masculine' category that Ellis identified: relatively recent virtuoso works, rather than earlier repertoire. Haydn and Mozart were also both comparatively under-represented in the orchestral works, with the latter far more popular for opera excerpts until the mid-1870s.⁷ The programme notes provide no clear evidence that these patterns were a result of a gendered perception of the repertoire, not least because of the absence of notes for solo pieces. Indeed, as we will see, Grove's descriptions of Haydn tended towards a masculine presentation. However, the notes also do not offer much

4 For a whole range of potential approaches to the study of siblings in literature, see Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean, eds., *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300-1900* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); and JoAnna Stephens Mink and Janet Doubler Ward, eds., *The Significance of Sibling Relationships in Literature* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993).

5 As an example, Richard Leppert's discussion of music and the eighteenth century family discusses the role that music played in shaping perceptions of family relations, but not the other way round. Further, he gives much more attention to the husband/wife relationship than to any other familial connections. See Chapter 8, 'Music in domestic space: domination, compensation and the family' in Richard D. Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

6 This point is only part of an extended study on the way in which female pianists negotiated the professional sphere. See Katharine Ellis, 'Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1997): 353-85.

7 See Table 2, pg. 33.f

explanation as to why solo keyboard works by Haydn and Mozart were less fashionable, leaving room for speculation about a gender-based bias against this particular repertoire.

The narratives that Grove and Manns outlined for pieces were often couched in gendered terms. For example, Grove's note from 10th April 1869 for Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto presented a story with a female protagonist for the second movement:

The story is that a giant has imprisoned a lady in his tower, and is threatening her with instant death. The monster is furious; the lady beseeches. The conversation proceeds and becomes more impassioned, the phrases are shorter, and the lady interrupts her tyrant more frequently. It is evident at length that her beauty and her lovely voice have produced an effect even on this brutal creature. At last she sings and he sleeps – sleeps and snores. But the lady has a lover, who is waiting outside the window of the tower, and while the monster lies unconscious she crosses the chamber, singing as she goes, and her heart fluttering as she sings, till at length the window is gained, the leap is taken, and with the first notes of the Rondo she is clasped in her lover's arms!⁸

It is difficult to perform a close analysis on this passage in terms of gender and Victorian fairy tales, as it lacks much of the paraphernalia of a complete story. Missing elements include where the protagonist has come from, what her status is (not to mention that of her lover), how she came to be in the tower, and so on. It is also not clear who the original creator of the story is, as Grove ascribes it to “one of the most eminent living musical critics” without saying exactly who it is.⁹ However, there is at least a musical clue to the gendering process: the slow movement of this concerto has often been noted for its dialogic structure, and in that context it becomes clear that the female protagonist in the story is most heavily associated with the music played by the piano.

Similarly, the anonymous author of a note on Weber's *Concertstück* [sic] from 5th March 1877 cites Weber's own female-centred narrative, as related by his pupil Julius Benedict:

The lady sits in her tower. She gazes sadly into the distance. Her knight has been for years in the Holy Land. Shall she ever see him

⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 10/04/1869, 25: 11.

⁹ These missing elements make it difficult to follow the model presented by, for example, U. C. Knoepfelmacher, *Ventures into Childland: Victorians, Fairy Tales, and Femininity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), which relies both on the full story being available and a known author for its analytical approach.

again? Battles have been fought, but no news of him who is so dear to her. In vain have been all her prayers. A fearful vision rises to her mind. Her knight is lying on the battle-field deserted and alone – his heart's blood is ebbing fast away. Could she but be by his side – could she but die with him. She falls exhausted and senseless. But hark! What is that distant sound? What glimmers in the sunlight from the wood? What are those forms approaching? Knights and squires with the cross of the Crusades – banners waving – acclamations of the people – and there – it is he! She sinks into his arms. Love is triumphant. Happiness without end. The very woods and waves sing the song of love. A thousand voices proclaim its victory.¹⁰

The narrative offered here is ostensibly more historical than the one given for the Beethoven concerto, but the vocabulary of knights and ladies in towers offers intriguing overlaps with fairy tales. We should be careful not to search too closely for Victorian ideas in it, as the story was created in early nineteenth-century Berlin rather than late nineteenth-century London. However, the idea that fairy-tale narratives might have shaped Victorian perceptions of the Crusades might still be worth exploring.¹¹ For now, the important observation is the same as the note for the Beethoven concerto: the female protagonist seems to be represented by the piano.

The social context for these narratives becomes even clearer when we look at the more realistic story offered for Beethoven's *Choral Fantasia* on 14th November 1868:

A pleasant legend is told of this Fantasia (which, whether authentic or not, may be repeated) that it represents a lady trying a new Piano in the presence of musical friends. She sits down and extemporises, and by degrees her friends are so carried away by her inspiration as to join her, first those who play and then those who sing.¹²

Although Grove's image for this particular piece is clearly idealised, it represents a kind of situation in which Victorian women could easily have found themselves. We are very much in the world of the 'female pianist', a figure who has received considerable scholarly attention. Judith Tick's chapter on female pianists in nineteenth-century America was one

10 GB-Lbl-B, 05/05/1877, Manns Benefit: 826.

11 As yet the influence fairy tales might have had on Victorian constructions of history seems to have received no scholarly attention at all. However, some precedent has been set in Caroline Sumpter, *The Victorian Press and the Fairy Tale*, Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Laurence Talairach-Vielmas, *Fairy Tales, Natural History and Victorian Culture*, Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Both of these books consider the influence of fairy tales on areas of Victorian culture and society.

12 GB-Lcm-B, 14/11/1868, 7: 8.

of the pioneering texts.¹³ Since then, Victorian fiction has become a particularly popular source for information about female musicians, with studies carried out by Phyllis Weliver, Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, and Jodi Lustig, all of whom mention the particular importance of the piano.¹⁴ Looking beyond fiction, Ruth Solie has drawn on a wide range of sources in a chapter on female pianists and domestic music making.¹⁵

The consistent association of the piano with women seems to have had the further effect of gendering the instrument as female, as we see in Grove's note for Beethoven's Fifth Piano Concerto from 6th November 1875:

Thus the piano at once makes itself felt as the mistress of the situation; and whatever may occur afterwards, no one can forget that he is listening to a Concerto for the Pianoforte.¹⁶

The key word here is 'mistress', suggesting that the piano itself is a woman. The 'he' makes the listener into a man, lending some support to Solie's observations of the societal role of female pianists as a source of support for those around them, in particular fathers or husbands.¹⁷ The sense of a piano as somehow being inherently female could have been further intensified on the few occasions when the soloist for the performance was a woman. Although male piano soloists were considerably more common, notable female luminaries who appeared at the Crystal Palace included Clara Schumann, Arabella Goddard, Anna Mehlig, and Marie Krebs. There is some tension here, though. Grove's image of the piano as 'mistress of the situation' potentially gives the gendered instrument more power and control than it would have done in a domestic situation. It suggests, if nothing else, that a difference in approach to performance was expected from public performers compared to their private counterparts, as supported by the recent literature that examines the lives of professional female pianists.¹⁸

13 Judith Tick, 'Passed Away Is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870-1900', in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, ed. Jane M. Bowers and Judith. Tick (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 325-48.

14 Phyllis Weliver, *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900: Representations of Music, Science, and Gender in the Leisured Home*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000); Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002); Jodi Lustig, 'The Piano's Progress: The Piano in Play in the Victorian Novel', in *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, ed. Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 83-104.

15 "'Girling" at the Parlour Piano' in Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, California Studies in 19th-Century Music 12 (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2004), 85-117.

16 GB-Lbl-B, 06/11/1875, 6: 154.

17 Solie, "'Girling" at the Parlour Piano.'

18 See chapters by Therese Ellsworth, 'Victorian Pianists as Concert Artists: The Case of Arabella Goddard' and Dorothy de Val, 'Fanny Davies: 'A messenger for Schumann and Brahms'?' in Therese Marie

The piano might have been gendered female by association, but for other instruments the issue was one of register. A key example here is Grove's note for a performance of the Mendelssohn *Konzertstück* for Clarinet and Bass Horn on 12th December 1868: "The "Corno di Bassetto" or "Basset-horn" is a kind of male Clarinet, a fifth lower in scale than the regular instrument."¹⁹ The lower-voiced instrument is given an explicit gender of male, implying that the higher-pitched instrument is female. This image has a clear origin in the human voice, which Grove took as a yardstick by which to measure the gender of an instrument. There was a practical dimension to this understanding of instruments as well: Arnold Myers's work on the ballad or vocal horn has shown that its register allowed it to be specifically marketed as an instrument that could fill in male voice parts in ensemble singing.²⁰

An anthropomorphic understanding of instrumental register appears to have informed Grove's choices of imagery when describing musical passages. Within a single note on Beethoven's Eighth Symphony from 29th January 1870 Grove describes the second subject of the last movement, played first by the violins and then by the oboe, as "one of those "soft Lydian airs" which truly "melt the soul" and "bring all heaven before the eyes."²¹ When the same theme reappears in the cellos and basses, it is "like some prodigiously stout man vainly labouring to be graceful."²² While the former is not explicitly characterised as feminine, the adjectives chosen carry a distinct gender bias, particularly in comparison to the directly masculine description of the music when in a low register.²³ In addition, the opening recitative for cellos and double basses (not to mention the later solo for bass singer) may well have motivated Grove's choice to characterise the whole of the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as masculine in a note from 17th April 1869:

...the singular succession of recitative fragments from the preceding movements and anticipations of the great final melody (quoted

Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg, eds., *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), 149-170 and 217-238 respectively.

19 GB-Lcm-B, 12/12/1868, 11: 7.

20 For an early outline of the instruments in existence and their manufacturers, see John Webb, 'Notes on the Ballad Horn', *The Galpin Society Journal* 37 (March 1984): 57-61. Myers gave a paper entitled 'Brass Instruments for Victorian Domestic Music' at the 2015 Biennial Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain Conference, discussing the marketing material for the instrument.

21 GB-Lcm-B, 29/01/1870, 15: 36.

22 Ibid.: 37.

23 For a full discussion of the gendering of the cello in the Victorian period, see George Kennaway, *Playing the Cello, 1780-1930* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), in particular Chapter 7, 'The Manly Cello?', 171-206.

above), which at length, like the sun in his strength, arises as a bridegroom out of his chamber, rejoicing as a giant to run his course...²⁴

Three images are treated as essentially equivalent here: a bridegroom, the sun, and a giant, the latter two with a ‘his’ attached to ensure a gender identity for otherwise neutral nouns. Although these similes are not explicitly connected with the double bass and bass singer, the overlap through register is hard to avoid.

The observation that register influences the gender assigned to the instrument might seem obvious, but it is rarely discussed in the scholarly literature (George Kennaway’s work on the cello being a notable exception).²⁵ For those writing on western art music, it seems to have been too obvious to mention. As an example, James Hepokoski’s analysis of Verdi’s ‘Addio Del Passato’ from *La Traviata* discusses the tendency of opera composers to pair solo sopranos with a solo oboe or cor anglais without ever mentioning register.²⁶ An equivalence between register and gender is nonetheless a cultural construct, and the tacit acceptance of it in the scholarly literature makes it easier to forget that alternatives are possible. Indeed, many of the examples Veronica Doubleday discusses in her ethnomusicological study on instruments and gender are assigned in ways that do not obviously match their register.²⁷ If the Victorians were gendering instruments other than the piano along registral lines, then it suggests that they were more systematic in their approach to anthropomorphism than other world cultures might have been at the time.

Gendered descriptions of thematic material appear to have had a more abstract ideological motivation, broadly supporting the conclusions that have been drawn by the existing scholarship. In particular Susan McClary’s and Marcia Citron’s assertions of a widespread gendered approach to thematic material during the nineteenth century are supported by notes which presented a feminised second subject in a sonata form movement.²⁸ For example, Grove’s note for Schubert’s *Unfinished* Symphony from 26th April 1873 describes the second subject of the first movement as follows:

This artless and charming theme is played with and brought back again and again, and interrupted by bursts of wild savage modulation,

24 GB-Lcm-B, 17/04/1869, 26: 15.

25 Kennaway, *Playing the Cello*.

26 James Hepokoski, ‘Genre and Content in Mid-Century Verdi: “Addio, Del Passato” (“La Traviata”, Act III)’, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1, no. 3 (November 1989): 249–76.

27 Correspondingly, Doubleday does not discuss register in her study. See Veronica Doubleday, “‘Sounds of Power’: Musical Instruments and Gender”, *Ethnomusicology Forum* 17, no. 1 (June 2008): 3–39.

28 See McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 12–17; and Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 134–137.

through which its simple familiar grace passes unscathed like some pure innocent Christian martyr through the fires of her heathen prosecutors.²⁹

Similarly, Grove describes the second subject of Beethoven's *Coriolan* Overture as being "simply and grandly beautiful as the greatest Roman lady" on 15th January 1870.³⁰ This example is particularly interesting as it is one of the few occasions for which we have Grove's own working draft of the note. His alterations are written over the previous version, directly into the booklet for the concert on 17th October 1868 in which it is printed. When it comes to this particular passage, his first draft reads: "as simply and grandly beautiful as an Ionic capital or a", after which there is a gap left before the sentence continues.³¹ In between drafting his revisions and the final printing, Grove must have actively chosen to replace the ostensibly gender-neutral image of an Ionic capital with that of a Roman lady.

Thematic material that was considered more masculine in character (often, though not always, a first subject) was never explicitly gendered, and in fact would often be left without any kind of description. Where adjectives did appear, they were generally telling choices. The word 'vigorous' (or the noun 'vigour') is a good example, used by Grove to describe the 'principal subject' of Schumann's Symphony No. 3, the coda in the first movement of Mendelssohn Symphony No. 3, and "every bar" of Beethoven Symphony No. 7.³² Similarly, 'energetic' or 'energy' were used for the first subject of Beethoven's *Coriolan* Overture, the coda of the first movement of Verdi's String Quartet in E minor, and the finale of Louis Brassin's Piano Concerto No. 1.³³ It is not possible to survey exhaustively all the places where these words and their synonyms appear, since they were essentially used whenever the music was loud (often involving the brass), fast, or both. However, it is interesting to note that 'masculine' music tended to be gendered through loaded vocabulary alone, if at all. Descriptive metaphors appeared more frequently for 'feminine' material, though of course vocabulary was also important here ('charming', for example). We might speculate that this indicates a Victorian perception of masculinity as being more normative than femininity, requiring less description and explanation.³⁴

29 GB-Lbl-B, 26/04/1873, Manns' Benefit: 564.

30 GB-Lcm-B, 15/01/1870, 13: 2.

31 GB-Lcm-L, 17/10/1868, 3: 4.

32 Respectively: GB-Lbl-B, 22/01/1876, 14: 380, GB-Lbl-B, 24/04/1875, Manns' Benefit: 756, and GB-Lbl-B, 08/03/1873, 19: 391.

33 Respectively: GB-Lbl-B, 14/11/1874, 6: 140, GB-Lbl-B, 14/04/1877, 23: 739, and GB-Lbl-B, 06/11/1878, 6: 155.

34 Simone de Beauvoir was the first to propose a masculine dimension to 'objectivity' in *The Second Sex*,

If different sections of the same piece might have been gendered as either masculine or feminine, complete works and overall styles were generally assigned adjectives with masculine associations. For example, Grove's description of Joachim's music in a note for the latter's Violin Concerto on 13th March 1875 states that:

... his style is eminently his own, full of force and individuality, at once healthy, manly, and graceful, with no trace of any desire for effect beyond that which arises naturally out of the subjects and their treatment.³⁵

Similarly, on 31st October 1874, the last movement of Haydn Symphony No. 97 in C draws the following praise from Grove:

...what admirable effects out of what small means! What an absence of noise! What an opportunity for each instrument to be heard in its turn, and in its own most characteristic way! In short, what a contrast to the pervading din which seems to be too often the chief aim of modern orchestral writers! Such pure, manly, healthy, cheerful music, deserves to live for ever.³⁶

These examples offer more concrete evidence than those given for musical material, as their lists of adjectives actually include the word 'manly', which never appeared in descriptions of the music. By themselves the other words in these lists (healthy, cheerful, pure, graceful) might seem more neutral; but the fact that they are all given as equivalent qualities mean that we can begin to see them as masculine references even when the notes do not specifically state it. For example, Grove's note for Cusins's Overture *Love's Labour's Lost* on 9th October 1875 states that: "it seems to us to be a hearty, healthy, characteristic piece of work, with no trace either of "idleness" or of "affectation.""³⁷ With the Haydn example in mind, we can now hear this note as reinforcing the work's manliness.

Synonyms and context broaden the range of gendered adjectives further, as we see in an anonymous note from 24th April 1875 on Raff's C minor Piano Concerto:

trans. Howard Madison Paishley (London: New England Library, 1962). However, it has also been observed in more recent and more historically or geographically specific studies of nineteenth century culture. See, for example, David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*, Studies on the History of Society and Culture 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); or Karen Henson, 'Introduction: Divo Worship', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, no. 1 (March 2007): 1-9.

35 GB-Lbl-B, 13/03/1875, 20: 566.

36 GB-Lbl-B, 31/10/1874, 4: 99.

37 GB-Lbl-B, 09/10/1875, 2: 42.

It will be found remarkable for clearness and symmetry of form, for unflagging vigour and energy, for astonishing wealth and originality of contrapuntal treatment, and for consummate mastery over all technicalities as regards the treatment of both the solo instrument and the orchestra.³⁸

Here ‘clearness’ and ‘symmetry’ stand as synonyms for the word ‘pure’ from the Haydn example. The additional context of the words ‘vigour’ and ‘energy’ (already discussed) throws the masculine gendering of these works into even stronger relief. Sometimes the descriptions of composers could take on a distinctly physical quality, as we see in Grove’s description of the variation form as “the school in which the great athlete [Beethoven] trained his mighty sinews.”³⁹ On these occasions, we see particularly clearly the influence of what Mangan and Walvin describe as:

... that excessive commitment to physical activity which was an unquestionable feature of middle class [sic] male society in Britain and the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

Grove might not have been referring to Beethoven’s literal strength, but the image he used was clearly designed to resonate with a masculine ideal of physical power.

These statements are all undoubtedly motivated by a Victorian anxiety over justifying male participation in music. Derek Scott’s work was pioneering in this area, outlining pitfalls that male musicians faced as part of an overarching survey of several aspects of Victorian sexual politics and music.⁴¹ More recently, Christina Bashford has argued that these ideas were one of the factors that made amateur string quartets ‘invisible’ during the nineteenth century.⁴² Music’s associations as a feminine activity may well have made it necessary for programme note authors to expend extra energy defending the masculinity of composers. These observations are broadly in line with those made by scholars of Victorian masculinity, particularly in connection with its expression in literature. In outlining the social context for the authors he examines, Eli Adams states that:

38 GB-Lbl-B, 24/04/1875, Manns’s Benefit: 737.

39 GB-Lbl-B, 24/03/1877, 20: 658.

40 J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 3. Crucially, they and the authors included in their book connect the focus on physicality with the movement that became known as ‘muscular Christianity,’ adding a religious dimension to this kind of image.

41 Scott, ‘The Sexual Politics of Victorian Music Aesthetics.’ As with all pioneers, there are weaknesses to Scott’s work, including his tendency to use sources from a much wider geographical and temporal range than we would now consider appropriate for a study of a single country and period. However, his broad arguments have generally been supported by the more detailed work carried out by subsequent scholars.

42 Christina Bashford, ‘Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (August 2010): 291–360.

... the sense of vulnerability that prompts increasingly elaborate and guarded forms of self presentation to an imagined audience also animates a deep mistrust of such strategies in others... This complex of anxieties helped to solidify in England by midcentury a norm of “manliness” that identified above all with honest, straightforward speech and action, shorn of any hint of subtlety or equivocation.⁴³

He then goes on to examine the strategies adopted by authors to masculinise their endeavours in the potentially effeminate world of literature. Other authors, such as Herbert Sussman and Norman Vance, have come to similar conclusions.⁴⁴

Although the vast majority of composers and works were gendered masculine in the notes (overtly or implicitly), there were, of course, exceptions. The most obvious case is that of the small number of works by women: Charlotte Sinton-Dolby and Alice Mary Smith. The former was mainly represented by vocal works, and so did not receive any programme notes that we can analyse for gendered vocabulary. However, the latter had two orchestral overtures performed, and both received notes written by Grove. Fascinatingly, he completely avoided any reference to gender whatsoever on both occasions. Taking as an example the note for the *Masque of Pandora* Overture, performed on 9th November 1878: there is no biographical material given, and the description of the themes and their development includes virtually no adjectives at all, aside from those derived from the Longfellow poem that the overture is based on. Instead we have very dry description, such as the following:

The second subject, contrasted with the first, recalls the phrase for Flutes and Clarinets accompanied by the Harp in the introduction, but it is more developed. It is suggested by the passages to the words with which the Graces welcome and admire the newly-created Pandora, in the workshop of Hephaestus.⁴⁵

This is the most description that any of the musical material receives. The whole note is so at odds with Grove’s normal effusive practice that it naturally invites speculation about the reason. A coded form of criticism (via absence of praise) seems unlikely, as Grove

43 James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 13–14.

44 Herbert L. Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art*, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 3 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

45 GB-Lbl-B, 09/11/1878, 6: 171.

normally had no problem with stating negative opinions directly, and he expressed none here. The removal of any reference to gender seems more like an attempt to protect the composer from criticism, and if so it might have been motivated by a request from Smith herself.

The absence of any feminising language for female composers is even more surprising in the context of Grove's note for Schubert's Octet, printed on 14th March 1874:

Schubert's relation to Beethoven has been well compared to that of a woman to a man... Schubert is more impulsive, more communicative, more diffuse, more plastic, perhaps more tender – or oftener tender – than Beethoven; while he is less on his guard, less reserved, less economical of means to ends, less sternly determined to reach the one end in view.⁴⁶

For all the notes written between 1865 and 1879, this is the only passage to explicitly construct a feminine image for a composer, unsurprising given the risk this would pose for the respectability of the person under discussion. As a major figure in the revival of Schubert in England, Grove's assessments of Schubert's character as feminine were highly influential on the authors that followed him, as has been explored by David Gramit.⁴⁷

The only other occasion on which Grove directly likened a composer to a woman was, ironically, in a note for Beethoven: a passage in the note for the Ninth Symphony from 19th April 1873 states:

But Beethoven is still too restless to remain even in this noble and dignified frame of mind, and he brings it to an end as he did the prologue, with impatient sforzandos – this time in C minor – and again introduces his four semiquavers, which he seems to love, as a mother sometimes loves a puny child, almost in inverse proportion to their insignificance.⁴⁸

Unlike Schubert, though, the image of a mother is not integrated into Beethoven's overall character, personal or musical. He is not described as though he is a woman, he is merely presented as behaving like one in a single, very specific case.

Comparisons to women could perhaps crop up more frequently in coded forms, as we see in Grove's note for Raff's *Leonore* Symphony from 14th November 1874. If we

⁴⁶ GB-Lbl-B, 14/03/1874, 20: 485.

⁴⁷ David Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values', *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (Summer 1993): 65–78. Also noteworthy is Leanne Langley's work on Schubert reception in 'Reception and Beyond: New Thoughts on Schubert in 19th-Century England', *The Schubertian* 58 (January 2008): 8–16.

⁴⁸ GB-Lbl-B, 19/04/1873, 25: 531.

consider the list of attributes that Grove felt made Schubert akin to a woman, then his description of Raff also seems at least partially feminising:

On the writer the Symphony makes a similar impression to that made by Victor Hugo's poetry. There is the same originality in both, the same exuberance, the same force and picturesqueness, the same love of effect, and also it must be admitted the same tendency to exaggeration, and the same occasional want of refinement, not to use a harsher word.⁴⁹

The words 'exuberance' and 'force' on their own fit more with the masculine adjectives already examined, but the phrase 'tendency to exaggeration' resonates with the assessment of Schubert's music as 'less reserved, less economical of means to ends'. The 'love of effect' also stands in opposition to the passages on Haydn and Joachim, cited earlier, stating that their manliness derives from an absence of effect.

As with composers, so with their works: the few that are overtly feminised tend to stand out all the more sharply. Grove's description of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony from 7th November 1868 is a good example:

It stands between the Eroica (No.3) and the C minor (No.5) like a graceful Greek maiden between two enormous Norse or Scandinavian heroes – like Minerva between Thor and Odin ...⁵⁰

Grove's decision to personify the work as a maiden or as a goddess is certainly startling, and it is difficult to know what to make of this image, particularly as it is undermined by some of the vocabulary used to discuss the musical material. For example, the last movement is described as "the very soul of spirit and irrepressible vigour."⁵¹ If nothing else, Grove's feminising of the Fourth Symphony serves to heighten the sense of masculinity of the Third and Fifth Symphonies.⁵²

Even more startling are the feminine descriptions of groups of symphonies and piano concertos that appear in the early notes. In Manns's note for a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on 29th April 1865 (one of the earliest notes), he states his wish for the piece to become as popular as "its eight lovely and majestic sisters already are."⁵³ His note for Schumann's Second Symphony on 27th October 1866 makes a very similar statement,

49 GB-Lbl-B, 14/11/1874, 6: 155.

50 GB-Lcm-B, 07/11/1868, 6: 6.

51 GB-Lcm-B, 07/11/1868, 6: 9.

52 The fact that Scandinavian gods were chosen was almost certainly motivated by the kinds of racial concerns that are discussed in Chapter 7.

53 GB-Lcm-B, 29/04/1865, 25: 6.

hoping that it will become a permanent fixture “like its blooming sisters No. 1 and No. 4, in B Flat and D Minor.”⁵⁴ Grove then picked up on this metaphor, questioning the source of the popularity of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony compared to that of its “sisters” in a note from 27th February 1869.⁵⁵ In an anonymous note (probably also by Grove) for the Mozart Piano Concerto in E flat performed on 6th December 1873, the slow movement is compared to “the *Andante* to the sister concerto in A.”⁵⁶ Previously he had also developed the image in a striking note for Beethoven’s Fifth Piano Concerto from 23rd February 1867.

These two noble sisters are in the keys of G and E flat. Sisters they truly are: though rarely were two sisters so noble and so lovely, and yet so unlike in their loveliness. The elder has perhaps a more winning grace and charm, with a tender sentiment and romance peculiarly her own; but the younger is loftier stature, with a mien and a front like that of Juno, and a grand serene beauty hardly of this world -
 “A daughter of the gods, divinely tall,
 And most divinely fair.”⁵⁷

The metaphor is so highly developed, including a citation from Tennyson’s *A Dream of Fair Women*, that there can be no doubt of Grove’s female associations with these works. The Fourth Piano Concerto received the maiden and the giant narrative cited above, and in the same note was also described as having: “the beauty of Venus Victrix as compared to the grandeur of the Venus of Milo (for which I refer my readers to the Greek Court).”⁵⁸ One thing that is interesting about these excerpts is that they do not come across as feminising their composers. Indeed, Grove precedes his image of the two Beethoven piano concerto sisters in the 1867 note with the observation that the Third Piano Concerto is “the bridge from the Concertos of his immature age to those of his full manhood.”⁵⁹

Unlike the case of female composers or a feminised Schubert, the personification of symphonies and concertos appears frequently enough that it cannot be treated as simply an interesting anomaly. Instead, it invites a more involved attempt to understand the function of this image, and there are a few possible explanations we could consider.⁶⁰ Grove might have been attempting to appeal to the female members of the audience, though admittedly

54 GB-Lcm-B, 27/10/1866, 4: 4.

55 GB-Lcm-B, 27/02/1869, 19: 6.

56 GB-Lbl-B, 06/12/1873, 10: 231.

57 GB-Lcm-B, 23/02/1867, 17: 6.

58 GB-Lcm-B, 10/04/1869, 25: 10.

59 GB-Lcm-B, 23/02/1867, 17: 6.

60 Several people with whom I discussed these notes suggested that the fact that the word ‘symphony’ is gendered female in languages that Grove was familiar with might have played a role. However, this makes little sense when one considers that Grove develops the feminine metaphor most heavily in the notes for the concertos, and this word is masculine in French and Italian, and neutral in German.

this would have been a very low-key approach. There certainly is very little of the kind of explicit appeal to women that Nancy Newman identified as part of the marketing material for the Germania Orchestra in nineteenth-century Boston.⁶¹ Another possibility is that it represents a kind of male objectification of music. As with the tendency to give cars, boats and trains a female identity in twentieth-century Britain, a feminine personification of musical works might indicate that they were being presented as an object of desire in the Victorian period. Surprisingly, there is very little literature available which discusses the issue of objects (literal or abstract) being assigned a gender.⁶² An important exception is the work of Alfred Gell, whose book *Art and Agency* outlines the way in which inanimate objects become social agents, implying that they can therefore also have a gender.⁶³ Another key text is Doubleday's work on instruments, already mentioned.⁶⁴ It is therefore tempting to wonder if the presentation of music as an object of desire is connected with the increasing commodification of music in the Victorian period, particularly given the promotional nature of the notes themselves (as discussed in the previous chapter).

If these explanations seem on the weak side, it is possibly because they are based solely on gender, when in fact the excerpts above frequently refer to familial roles as well. The concertos and symphonies by Schumann, Beethoven and Mozart were not just female, they are 'sisters', a word with a set of associations that goes beyond gender on its own. As several recent scholars have shown, family ties were an incredibly important part of Victorian social fabric, with the relations between siblings being particularly intense. To summarise, a high birth rate and the beginning of a decline in rate of infant mortality (due to improvements in healthcare and sanitation) led to families going through an unprecedented expansion in size. In poor families, elder siblings were often required to help with the raising of younger children. In upper and middle class families, there would also have been the economic ability to provide for a nanny and a separate nursery room for the children. As a result, a Victorian child was likely to spend their time primarily in the

61 The specific appeals included marketing material that stated (falsely) that all the members had vowed to remain unmarried as a gesture of comradeship, leaving space for the women in the audience to imagine romantic attachments. See Nancy Newman, 'Gender and the Germanians: "Art-Loving Ladies" in Nineteenth-Century Concert Life', in *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Spitzer (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 289–309.

62 Cultural studies literature that does discuss gender and objects seems to be exclusively concerned with the ways that objects gender their owner, rather than their being assigned a gender of their own. See, for example, Pat Kirkham, ed., *The Gendered Object* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996); and Katharine Martinez and Kenneth L. Ames, eds., *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture* (Winterthur; Hanover: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997).

63 Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), 17–21.

64 Doubleday, "Sounds of Power," in particular pg.15, where she mentions a Spanish guitar-maker's description of the wood for his instruments as like "two beautiful sisters."

company of siblings, rather than with their parents. Early childhood was also the only period of life in which there was little gender segregation, at least until the boys (in wealthier families) were sent away to school. Even then, regular returns in school holidays gave plenty of opportunities to renew connections. Bonds formed in childhood could continue into adulthood, with friendship between brothers and sisters being one of the few socially acceptable avenues for both inter- and intra-gender relations. Indeed, one of the only ways for women to live independently was to form a household with their sisters.⁶⁵

In this context, it makes sense that family metaphors would form a primary part of the Victorian understanding of music, with a particular focus on sibling connections. Some of the practical truth of the importance of family to the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts can be seen in the fact that the performer of John Barnett's D minor Piano Concerto on 19th February 1876 was Miss Emma Barnett, described by the anonymous note as "sister and pupil of the composer." It also comes through Grove's decision to print Mendelssohn's letters to his siblings (among other people) as extra items, especially in a section entitled 'To his Brother and Sisters' in the booklet for 2nd February 1870. We might also add that Grove himself was the eighth of eleven children, and therefore would have had personal experience of the images he drew on.

Alongside gender, then, it is important to consider the familial roles implicated in the Crystal Palace notes. Brothers and sisters have already been mentioned, and the presence of both implies that the composer was a father to his music, a figure taken directly from Victorian conceptions of patriarchy. The point is even made directly in Manns's notes from 14th March 1874 for Bennett's Overture *The Woodnymph*:

In the hearty welcome which he gave it in his musical journal, Schumann suggests that some such general title as "Pastoral Overture" would be more appropriate than the special use of "The Woodnymph" - but it is impossible to interfere with a composer on

65 The most focussed recent study is Claudia Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian England*, Victorian Life and Times (Westport: Praeger, 2007). Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987) is a classic text, though for a slightly earlier period. Excellent summaries can also be found in K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886*, The New Oxford History of England (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998); and Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012). For works which focus more exclusively on sibling relations, see Leila Silvana May, *Disorderly Sisters: Sibling Relations and Sororal Resistance in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (Lewisburg; London; Cranbury: Bucknell University Press; Associated University Presses, 2001); Valerie Sanders, *The Brother-Sister Culture in Nineteenth-Century Literature: From Austen to Woolf* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave, 2002); and Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

such a point as the name of his offspring, and we shall not quarrel with the *name* as long as we possess the *work*.⁶⁶

Similarly, Grove refers to Bach as the “parent” of a Prelude in E Flat and a Fugue on “St. Ann’s Tune” in a note on 15th January 1870.⁶⁷ Grove’s note for a performance of Beethoven’s 32 Variations in C minor on 24th March 1877 presented an anecdote of Beethoven criticising his own music when performed by someone else, followed by the observation: “So do the tastes of authors change towards their offspring!”⁶⁸

It is interesting that the familial role of mother is conspicuously absent. The passage cited above, of Beethoven compared to the mother who loves a puny child, is the only example. Since all the composers who received this kind of imagery were men, it is perhaps not surprising that the image of a father is more common; but mothers do not appear as an explanatory device in any other context either. We might infer the idea of motherhood from Grove’s references to Britain as ‘giving birth’ to pieces written there. However, this image seems to have less to do with a familial understanding of the music and more to do with nationalistic concerns.⁶⁹

The family metaphor also encompassed the anthropomorphising of instruments outlined above, as the following addition to Grove’s note for Schubert’s Ninth Symphony from 25th November 1876 makes clear:

Formerly they [the trombones] were used for effect, to deepen a shadow here, or to bring out a spot of bright colour there; but he has released them from that exclusively subordinate position, and given them independent parts of their own, and a new office in the great family of the Orchestra.⁷⁰

Composers could even be directly involved with the orchestral family, as shown by Grove’s note for Beethoven’s Violin Concerto, performed only a few weeks previously, on 28th October 1876:

This movement [the finale] furnishes among other beauties, a good example of the care with which Beethoven provides for his dear children of the orchestra. In the *Larghetto* the Horns were his chief

⁶⁶ GB-Lbl-B, 14/03/1874, 20: 494.

⁶⁷ GB-Lcm-B, 15/01/1870, 13: 8.

⁶⁸ GB-Lbl-B, 24/03/1877, 20: 659.

⁶⁹ This is discussed further in Chapter 7.

⁷⁰ GB-Lbl-B, 25/11/1876, 9: 277.

favourites; here, perhaps, it is the Bassoon which is taken into his especial confidence.⁷¹

To a modern mind this is a somewhat confusing image, as it is hard to imagine in what sense Beethoven might have been a father to the bassoon, or indeed the person playing it. Possibly the intended image here was that of a teacher, a less literal kind of father figure, with the instruments as pupils rather than offspring.⁷² Either way, these passages indicate how all-encompassing Victorian patriarchal ideas could be, covering the artistic medium (the orchestra) as well as the end product (the concerto).

There is even some evidence to suggest that the familial connection was of greater significance than gender in the fact that Grove switches the gender of the symphonic siblings for a note on Beethoven's First Symphony from 9th March 1867:

Except, however, for the fact that it is Beethoven's first – the dawn of so mighty a sun – this Symphony is hardly of any special interest. The first-born of the family has none of the strong character and overmastering passions which distinguish his younger brothers. He takes more after his elder cousins of the Haydn and Mozart families.⁷³

Similarly, Mozart's Symphony in D major K.504 was referred to as having "all the spirit and charm of its elder brothers, with more mastery over the forms and difficulties of the art" in Grove's note for a performance on 4th December 1869.⁷⁴ While it was certainly more common to refer to these sets as 'sisters', the fact that 'brothers' was interchangeable suggests that it was the relationship between works, rather than their gender, that really interested the Victorians.⁷⁵ Claudia Nelson's book on family connections comes to similar conclusions when examining sentimental and children's literature featuring siblings.⁷⁶

The 1867 excerpt on Beethoven is worth further examination, as it implies a number of different familial roles. As well as providing additional support for the notion of the composer as father to musical offspring, it more directly presents pieces by different

71 GB-Lbl-B, 28/10/1876, 5: 150.

72 This would overlap with the educational context outlined in Chapter 5.

73 GB-Lcm-B, 09/03/1867, 19: 4.

74 GB-Lbl-B, 04/02/1869, 10: 6.

75 Though it should also be noted that a review of that concert, from *Sunday Times* on March 17th 1867 (reprinted in the Crystal Palace Programme on 23rd March) reverted to the description of the pieces as "sisters." It is not clear whether or not the reviewer had read Grove's programme note, though the fact that it includes a sibling description at all suggests that they might have done.

76 "But in sentimental and children's fiction, the question of whether the characters in question are boys, girls, or both does not appear to matter much. The emphasis is rather on the possibilities for selfless love when both parties are innocent of the promptings of sexuality and/or the desire for financial and social gain." Nelson, *Family Ties*, 104.

composers as part of families that have a cousin relationship to each other. In the social context of many siblings outlined above, there will be even more aunts, uncles and cousins, further reinforcing a familial conception of music. For the image to make any sense, though, the connection between the three composers must be that of brothers. It is the sibling connection that makes their offspring cousins to each other. The fact that the relationship between composers of wildly different ages was presented in fraternal terms has important implications for the Victorian conception of music, and for the emerging discipline of music history. On a literal level, we can see the contemporary expectations for brotherly behaviour shaping the interactions of these composers as presented in history. Brothers in the nineteenth century were expected to help each other in ‘the enterprise’:

Brothers were not only partners but were often in related occupations where services, customers, goods, expertise and credit were constantly exchanged.⁷⁷

Brothers would give each other contributions towards business or finance, and take steps to help their younger siblings up the career ladder.

In this context, we can begin to see passages in which composers meet and help each other taking on overtones of brotherly interaction:

...Gade soon wrote his first Symphony, which was produced at Leipsic in 1843 under the direction of Mendelssohn, who took the most lively interest in the work and wrote its author one of those genial sympathetic letters which do so much honour to his generous heart. When Mendelssohn retired from the direction of the Gewandhaus Concerts his place was taken by Gade...

Manns on Gade's *Michel Angelo* Overture, 12th March 1870⁷⁸

In 1853, Brahms visited Düsseldorf, where Schumann was at that time residing; the two met at Schumann's house, and a very intimate friendship was the immediate result. Schumann at once discovered the great qualities of the new comer, welcomed him to the glorious company of composers with all the warmth and eager unselfish generosity of his nature...

Grove on Brahms' *Serenade* Op.11, 15th February 1873⁷⁹

Struggling on with the true perseverance of a genuine artist, in the latter part of 1843 he was most favourably introduced by Mendelssohn to Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel, the well known

⁷⁷ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 352.

⁷⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 12/03/1870, 21: 125.

⁷⁹ GB-Lbl-B, 15/02/1873, 16: 330.

publishers of Leipsic, all the more favourably because the motive of the act arose from no personal knowledge, but from the impression which his compositions had made on that great and genial master.

Grove on Raff's *Leonore* Symphony, 14th November 1874⁸⁰

To this list we might add some of the familiar stories that do not necessarily appear in the notes, such as the (probably apocryphal) meetings of Mozart with Beethoven and Beethoven with Schubert.

A present-day reader might be inclined to see these various interactions as fatherly, particularly given that in all of these cases one composer was noticeably older than the other. However, we should note that the words Grove tends to use for these relationships are 'friend' and 'friendship', which represent exactly the kind of interaction that brothers were expected to have, not so much fathers and sons. In addition, siblings were often required to take on supportive roles in large Victorian families, as argued by Leonore Davidoff:

Elder siblings, particularly girls, were called upon to provide at least some care and attention for younger brothers and sisters even where other adults and servants were present. The younger children would be expected to obey their elder siblings' authority. ... A father's death or default could also lay charges on the shoulders of elder brothers to take his place. Even when they were too junior to make financial contributions, young men were expected to help in finding posts for younger brothers or to overlook their sisters' activities.⁸¹

If we see older composers helping younger ones with their career development, this could easily have been modelled on Victorian expectations of siblings.⁸² On a more general level, fraternal connections between composers would mesh very closely with a "widespread Victorian fascination with brotherhoods," as proposed by Adams. Indeed, he devotes an entire chapter of his book to the anxieties surrounding homosocial organisations.⁸³ Similarly, an underlying theme of Sussmann's discussion of Victorian masculinity is the place of monks and monasticism (another kind of 'brotherhood') in defining interactions between men.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ GB-Lbl-B, 14/11/1874, 6: 154.

⁸¹ Davidoff, *Thicker Than Water*, 94-96.

⁸² Simon McVeigh's work on the close ties between music, musicians and Freemasonry in the eighteenth century shows that the fraternal connections outlined here might have had older roots as well. See Simon McVeigh, 'Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the Late Eighteenth Century', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), 72-100.

⁸³ "'A Sort of Masonry": Secrecy and "Manliness" in Early Victorian Brotherhoods' in Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints*, 61-106.

⁸⁴ Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities*, summarised on 5.

An emphasis on brotherly relations would explain one of the odder aspects of Beethoven's presentation in the Crystal Palace programme notes: his personal connection with Haydn is mostly absent, and even downplayed. Beethoven's lessons with 'Papa Haydn' could easily have been modelled on a fatherly relation, in keeping with James Garrett's observation that this was a common view even during Haydn's lifetime.⁸⁵ Grove even referred to him in exactly these terms, as "Father Haydn," albeit only once.⁸⁶ However, the connection between Haydn and Beethoven was almost never mentioned. It appears in passing in an essay by Grove entitled 'Beethoven at 22' in the programme for 9th April 1870. However, the point of this anecdote is to connect Beethoven to Johann Baptist Schenck (1753–1836), an older composer already living in Vienna when Beethoven arrived in 1792.⁸⁷ Grove outlines their first meeting, and then describes Schenck's first visit to Beethoven's quarters:

On the table were some exercises in counterpoint, in which Schenck, as he hastily ran his eyes over them, found a blunder or two. Beethoven had a grievance, which the discovery brought out; and he was not unwilling to confide it to his new friend. He had come all the way from Bonn to put himself under a great master, and yet he seemed to make no progress! Haydn was often absent, eaten up with engagements, and seemed never to have time to give his pupil any exact instruction. Gelinek had suggested that Schenck might help him: could it be done? Schenck thought it might; ... Schenck was knowing enough to see the kind of man he had to deal with, and a friendship began from that moment which lasted without interruption till the death of Schenck, and throughout which he always treated Beethoven with greatest respect, as a man whom it was an honour to serve.⁸⁸

Haydn is stated as absent, and Schenck is ascribed a much greater role in Beethoven's development by comparison. Again, the key word in this passage is 'friendship', in keeping with the passages cited above.

In addition, a fraternal construction of connections between composers would resolve some tensions we might perceive in Victorian construction of Mozart. Maynard Solomon first examined the origins of literary tropes that painted Mozart as a 'divine child'

⁸⁵ This observation is in the context of a study examining all the complex overtones behind the assignation of 'Papa' to Haydn's name. See James Garrett, 'Haydn and Posterity: The Long Nineteenth Century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. Caryl Leslie Clark (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 203–25.

⁸⁶ This was in a note by Grove for a performance of the 'Oxford' Symphony in G major. GB-Lcm-B, 13/11/1869, 7: 6.

⁸⁷ The spelling adopted here is that used by Grove, but the name is more usually spelled 'Schenk'. See Peter Branscombe, 'Schenk, Johann Baptist', *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed 9 December 2015.

⁸⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 09/04/1870, 25: 200.

in an article from 1991, with some consideration given to the afterlife these ideas had in the nineteenth century.⁸⁹ Solomon's work was later picked up and developed further by Christina Bashford, who analysed John Ella's use of Mozart at musical parties for children in the Victorian period.⁹⁰ The vocabulary Solomon and Bashford highlight does occasionally crop up in the Crystal Palace notes. For example, Grove's note for the Piano Concerto no. 18 K.456 describes Mozart's appearance at a performance in 1785:

Through a letter of his father's we are happily able to get a glimpse of the concert, and can see with our own eyes the slim boyish figure with the bright eyes, sweet smile, and profusion of fair hair (of which he was somewhat proud) ... Leopold Mozart was growing old by this time, and we may discern the anxious father in his box leaning forward with glistening eyes, watching every sound and movement of his darling son.⁹¹

These were distinctly child-like terms, particularly given that he would have been twenty nine at the time, reinforced by the presence of Leopold. If music history had been wholly paternally constructed at the time, this kind of image might have caused certain ideological problems: a child cannot easily be considered a father figure for subsequent generations. If the connections between composers were considered in brotherly terms instead, it would not matter that Mozart's image was too young to for a paternal role. He could easily be a brother to any composer regardless of his age (actual or otherwise).

Having said that, the references to Mozart as a child are rare in the Crystal Palace notes. In fact, they were as likely to explicitly portray him as an adult, as we see in Grove's note for a performance of the 'Paris' Symphony, K.297:

Mozart had already visited the French capital twice, in 1763 and 1766, as an infant prodigy, under his father's care. Now he was alone, a man of two-and-twenty, and in full possession of his powers.⁹²

The presentation of Mozart as mature in 1778 is particularly puzzling given the previous passage describing him in terms of a child in spite of his being seven years older. It suggests that Mozart's Victorian image was rather flexible, which would explain why he

⁸⁹ Maynard Solomon, 'Mozart: The Myth of the Eternal Child', *19th-Century Music* 15, no. 2 (Autumn 1991): 94–106.

⁹⁰ Christina Bashford, 'Varieties of Childhood: John Ella and the Construction of a Victorian Mozart', in *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 193–210.

⁹¹ GB-Lbl-B, 28/01/1871, 14:215.

⁹² GB-Lbl-B, 15/03/1873, 20: 411.

could be presented as a child for children's events but also (sometimes) as an adult for more grown-up contexts.

During the 1870s Grove rewrote many of his existing notes, and removed references to siblings in favour of neutral imagery or factual information. The reference to sisters in the note for Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, and to brothers in the note for the First Symphony were cut on 29th October 1870 and 14th October 1871 respectively. Grove had removed the entire passage referring to sisters and to Juno from his note for the Beethoven Fifth Piano Concerto when the note was re-printed on 20th January 1872. The section which replaced it contained the following statement:

There are some works in which the poet, the painter, or the sculptor has by common consent reached the very summit of his art, and on which there is only one universal verdict of applause. Such are the Madonna di San Sisto, the Venus of Milo, Milton's Lycidas, or Wordsworth's Ode on the Intimations of Immortality. And such is the E flat Concerto of Beethoven.⁹³

Although two female images still make it through, the overall impression is clearly intended to be more neutral than the passage it replaced. The comparison Grove made between the Fourth Piano Concerto and 'Venus Victrix' was also eliminated, for 22nd March 1873, though the passage containing the maiden and the giant remained until 1875. The force of the comparison between Beethoven's Fourth Symphony and a 'graceful Greek maiden' was toned down by the removal of specific names on 12th March 1870, leaving behind only the more neutral comparisons to 'the Parthenon' and to 'an idyl of Theocritus.'⁹⁴

These changes corresponded with Grove's development of more serious aspirations. The period saw his developing interest in the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and a parallel increase in the involvement of professional scholarship and factual accuracy in his writing. Fanciful family metaphors were an obvious target for removal when they did not have any previous history of inclusion and did not derive any authority from the composer.⁹⁵ Sibling language did occasionally re-emerge: the anonymous note on Henry Holmes' Violin Concerto from 11th December 1875 described the second subject of the first

⁹³ GB-Lcm-B, 20/01/1872, 13: 206.

⁹⁴ GB-Lcm-B, 12/03/1870, 21: 128. The more neutral comparisons had been present in the original version of the note from 1868.

⁹⁵ Many of the narratives offered for works also did not necessarily have authority, but were often justified on the basis that they were pre-existing ideas that could be cited from others. Grove seems to have been less inclined to preserve his own interpretative efforts. See the discussion on pages 14–19 in Chapter 1.

movement as “a sister link to the opening of the movement.”⁹⁶ Nonetheless, the vocabulary had been dropped entirely by 1879.

This is not to say, though, that a familial understanding of music vanished altogether. The importance of sibling connections might have diminished, in keeping with the decline in family size during the 1870s and 1880s. However, this left more space for interest in parent-child connections to develop. The tendency of later biographies to drop Schenck from Beethoven’s biography in favour of ‘Papa Haydn’ would be an excellent example of this process. More overtly, increasing use was made of specifically paternal references at the Saturday Concerts, as we see in Grove’s note for Brahms’s *Haydn Variations* from 7th March 1874:

It has happily been styled a *Hommage à Haydn* [sic], since the theme is taken from the works of the father of the modern orchestra, by one who is in every sense of the word his loyal descendant.⁹⁷

A similar focus on parental lineage appeared when Grove described Mendelssohn as “Beethoven’s successor” in a note on the former’s *Athalia* Overture on 27th March 1875.⁹⁸ In addition, the notes regarding orchestral families, cited above, were first printed from 1875 onwards, and were couched in distinctly fatherly terms.⁹⁹

For an even more subtle sign, we could look at Grove’s note for the Crystal Palace première of Brahms’ First Symphony on 31st March 1877:

And thus ends a work which is assuredly destined to take its place in the golden chain of compositions of the highest class, a chain which, springing from the hand of Haydn, has been prolonged link by link, and age by age, by his great successors, and which, as long as the human soul and intellect remain what they are, will inevitably never want some worthy musician to carry it forward into the future.¹⁰⁰

Grove seems to have liked this particular image, as he repeated it in a note for the première of Brahms’ Second Symphony on 5th October 1878:

Writing in 1835, Schumann expresses his “fear that the name of Symphony will henceforth belong to history only.” ... But his

96 GB-Lbl-B, 11/12/1875, 11: 297.

97 GB-Lbl-B, 07/03/1874, 19: 462.

98 GB-Lbl-B, 27/03/1875, 22: 631.

99 It may well have been around this time that the ‘sequence of great men’ model of history began to take on the paternal (rather than fraternal) overtones that we are now more likely to associate with the trope, a discussion of which appears in Chapter 6.

100 GB-Lbl-B, 31/03/1877, 21: 693.

forebodings provoke a smile when we remember his own five great orchestral works, produced between 1841 and 1851, the two Symphonies of Mendelssohn (1833 and 1842), and the two noble and solid links which within the past two years have been added to the golden chain by the musician whose early promise he was, with true prophetic instinct, the first and most eager to proclaim.¹⁰¹

This is a fascinating passage for a number of reasons, but for the purposes of the present discussion the important point is that the image of a ‘golden chain’ appears in several early Victorian references to family. In Mary Ann Hedges’ book *My Own Fireside*, the narrator states:

Perhaps there is not a more agonising feeling of the soul, than that sense of desolation and of loneliness in the midst of society, which is produced by having survived all our early connections and endearing relations; of being the only remaining link in the golden chain, which bound in sweetest, firmest union the charities of parent, child, and brother – comprising within its bound the tender interchanges of love, duty and affection.¹⁰²

In John Tosh’s book on Victorian masculinity, he cites the diary of Charles Kingsley describing his first child: “My little baby, the next link in the golden chain of generations, begotten of our bliss.”¹⁰³ There is also an early Tennyson poem, *The Hesperides* (suppressed after publication in 1832), which includes lines describing Hesperus and his daughters in the grove of Hera’s golden apple trees:

Five links, a golden chain, are we,
Hesper, the dragon, and sisters three,
Bound about the golden tree.¹⁰⁴

The diversity of these three documents in terms of type of writing and intended audience suggests that the image of a golden chain as uniting members of a family (and, in the case of Tennyson, specifically the sibling members) would have been widely understood.¹⁰⁵ We might therefore speculate that the appearance of the image here suggests a continuation of

101 GB-Lbl-B, 05/10/1878, 1: 13.

102 Mary Ann Hedges, *My Own Fireside* (Colchester, 1832), 126. The book also includes a similar reference in the introduction, this time from a male perspective: “for can anything be trifling that strengthens the golden link of holy affection [between father and daughter]”, xv.

103 John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 80.

104 The dragon is Ladon, a hundred-headed never-sleeping beast who was also placed in the grove by Hera, ensuring the Hesperides did not steal any of the golden apples.

105 Although these references are not contemporary with Grove’s notes (they all date from 1832), it is not unreasonable to think that the idea would still have had similar resonances in the 1870s.

the familial idea, sublimated into an abstract image rather than directly stated, in keeping with Grove's new preference for more scholarly vocabulary. Further, in keeping with shrinking family sizes, Grove's image is now paternalistic in tone, rather than fraternal. A vertical, linear progression stretching through the ages resonates much more with father-child relationships than brotherhoods.

Before leaving the topic, it is worth highlighting the fact that the golden chain metaphor seems to have had religious significance for the Victorians as well. Hedges' book (mentioned previously) consists entirely of first-person descriptions of intensely personal spiritual experiences or of the same narrator relating stories of the salvation or conversion of others.¹⁰⁶ As the opening gambit of one of these chapters, the golden chain that Hedges describes as linking family therefore has a distinctly religious aura to it. More recently, scholars have noted the deeply religious nature of the ideology surrounding the Victorian family, in addition to further work that examines the importance of gender to Victorian spirituality.¹⁰⁷ As Nelson states:

Since the family was frequently perceived as analogous to the Christian community and/or as the most natural environment in which to learn about God's love for humankind, fiction that illustrated how siblings should feel and behave toward one another was teaching an important moral lesson.¹⁰⁸

If we see a familial dimension to the manner in which the Crystal Palace notes treat music history, then it suggests that there are also religious and moral elements to be explored as well.

106 Hall and Davidoff's references to this book present it as an essentially autobiographical work. However, in the opening section of *My Own Fireside*, a man relates how he found the book in a desk he bought for his daughter. This seems distinctly like an authorial framing device, particularly given the name the man gives as the author is not Mary Ann Hedges, the name on the title page. Despite the intensely personal first-person writing, then, we must treat the book as fiction rather than a direct statement of Hedges' own opinions or experience.

107 Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit*; Andrew Bradstock, ed., *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

108 Nelson, *Family Ties*, 106.

Chapter 5: Education, Morality and Religion

When considering education, morality, and religion in the programme notes for the Saturday Concerts, it is important to remember that all of these concerns were exemplified by the Crystal Palace itself. The wide range of historical and cultural exhibits on offer to the public provided an informal education on many different subjects. On a more formal level, the Crystal Palace Schools offered boys and girls instruction and qualifications (through the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examination system) on a wide range of subjects. Adults could also receive some kind of education through the exhibitions and numerous lectures put on at the Palace, both as one-off events and as parts of series, again on very diverse topics.¹ The overall experience of a day out in Sydenham was the epitome of ‘rational recreation’ (as discussed by scholars such as Peter Bailey²), an idea that emphasised the importance of using leisure time for moral benefit. This was in fact the stated aim at the outset, as summarised by Samuel Phillips in an 1854 guide to the newly opened Palace:

They [the company directors] decided that the building ... should form a palace for the multitude, where, at all times, protected from the inclement varieties of our climate, healthful exercise and wholesome recreation should be easily attainable.³

The morality of the Crystal Palace did not just cover the content, but also the setting.⁴ The vast park surrounding the building contained much opportunity for edification through exposure to nature and educational exhibits (such as the dinosaur sculptures⁵), and enhanced the moral project. In addition, there were religious overtones in the scale and shape of the building. Its design was described using words such as ‘nave’ and ‘transept’,

1 A detailed outline of all three aspects appears in ‘Exhibitions; the School of Art, Science and Literature; the Theatre’ in Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161–180.

2 Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London; Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul; University of Toronto Press, 1978).

3 Samuel Phillips, *Crystal Palace: A Guide to the Palace and Park* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854), 13.

4 In addition, Simon Gunn’s argument about Victorian ideas of morality in architecture, drawing support from Ruskin, suggests that the structure of the Crystal Palace in itself may well have carried a moral message. See Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 40–42.

5 A concise and entertaining summary of the history of the Crystal Palace dinosaurs is given by William A. S. Sarjeant, ‘Crystal Palace’, in *Encyclopedia of Dinosaurs*, ed. Kevin Padian and Philip J. Currie (San Diego: Academic Press, 1997), 161–64.

terms drawn from religious architecture, and the scale of the building invited comparisons with cathedrals.⁶ This vocabulary makes it clear that the Crystal Palace participated in the nineteenth-century sacralization of culture identified by historians such as Timothy Blanning.⁷

As an important part of the enterprise, the Saturday Concerts embodied the same constellation of ideas (education, morality and religion) as their host structure. Indeed, Manns's statement of purpose in a note for a performance of Handel's *Theodora* has distinct echoes of the Company statement:

I cannot refrain from stating that it is most gratifying to me to be able to add this noble work to the *répertoire* of our Saturday Concerts, inasmuch as by doing so I advance a step nearer towards the completion of that *life-work* which I laid out for myself when, nearly nineteen years ago, the Musical Department was confided to my care, namely, *so as to direct the musical affairs of the Crystal Palace, that in due time all the noblest features of musical art should be represented worthily.* [Italics in source]⁸

The programme notes for the Saturday Concerts followed suit. These were educational texts, containing resonances with both formal education in Victorian Britain and the looser practices around self-improvement. They conveyed moral messages, attached to their consumption as well as to their content, and both their educational tone and moral values were fundamentally underpinned by religious ideas.⁹ However, there was another feature which the programme notes had in common with their institutional context: they both show signs of a secularising tendency in Victorian society, an issue which has been heavily debated by a number of scholars.¹⁰ Dominic Erdozain in particular hints at the idea that the

6 A separate section is given to 'The Nave and Transepts' in Samuel Philips, *Crystal Palace*, 104-120.

7 T. C. W. Blanning, 'The Commercialization and Sacralization of European Culture in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, ed. T. C. W. Blanning (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 120-47; see also Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, The William E. Massey, Sr. Lectures in the History of American Civilization 1986 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

8 GB-Lbl-B, 07/02/1874, 15: 364.

9 The terms surrounding religious ideas in this chapter are defined as follows: 'religion' is used to refer to institutions and denominations, such as Christianity or Catholicism; 'religious' is used for anything that refers to practices, texts or thought of those institutions, even if the connection is not overtly stated, but not for actual faith; 'spiritual' or 'spirituality' are used to refer to issues of faith.

10 Writing in 1996, Peter Green cited a number of authors, including Phillip E. Hammond, Steve Bruce, and Callum G. Brown, who had all rejected 'the secularisation thesis' outright. He then went on to outline and problematise four alternative models. See S. J. D. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8-21. Since then it seems that the idea has retained a certain degree of currency. See, for example, the recent work by a wide range of authors in Callum G. Brown and M. F. Snape, eds., *Secularisation in the Christian World: Essays in Honour of Hugh McLeod* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010). Equally, the topic has continued to attract critics. See David Nash, *Christian Ideals in*

Crystal Palace was a part of a process by which the avoidance of sinful behaviour became more important than belief in God or Jesus.¹¹ As we shall see, these fundamental parts of Christian spirituality were also absent from the Saturday Concert programme notes. Indeed, Manns's note for *Theodora* cited above makes no mention of them, with the references to religion confined solely to a plot summary quoted from Macfarren's preface to the vocal score.¹² Such observations have important implications for how we understand the performances of religious music and the references to religion in the notes.

The idea of 'education', in the broadest sense of the word, was at the very heart of programme note writing. The purpose of these texts was to increase the knowledge and understanding of the reader, specifically about the piece being performed, its composer, and other relevant aspects of music history. Any fact given in a programme note serves as evidence that the author did not believe the audience could be guaranteed to know it already. Moreover, it demonstrates a perception, both on the part of the author and of the audience, that there would be some benefit in acquiring that knowledge. Similarly, any description of the music was clearly intended to help an audience understand what they were hearing, implying that at least some members were thought not to understand already. The particularly strong sense of this kind of education in the Crystal Palace programme notes might have come partly from the fact that Grove conceived of his own efforts to get to know music in precisely these terms. He summarised this perspective in an 1883 letter to George Henschel, responding to a request for information on the history of his forthcoming book, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies*.¹³ After explaining that their origins lay in the programme notes written for the Crystal Palace, Grove states that:

They are not written for musicians, or for those who are familiar with the structure of orchestral pieces. They are written by an ignoramus for those of his own stamp; and they attempt to put his readers into possession of the facts about the music as they have been gradually revealed to him. Their aim is to enable my readers to appreciate what I have learned more quickly than I was able to learn it, because I had no guide, but was forced to find out for myself.¹⁴

British Culture: Stories of Belief in the Twentieth Century (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

11 Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation, and the Crisis of Victorian Religion*, *Studies in Modern British Religious History*, v. 22 (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2010) plate 3.

12 GB-Lbl-B, 07/02/1874, 15: 362-363.

13 Henschel used the information to help write the book's preface.

14 George S. Bozarth, *Johannes Brahms & George Henschel: An Enduring Friendship* (Sterling Heights: Harmonie Park Press, 2008), 170.

Grove's efforts were intended to educate himself in areas where he felt himself to be deficient. In turn, he then became a source of that information for the Saturday Concert audiences, providing them with the education that he had provided for himself.

Within this general framework some passages in the notes come across as more obviously educational in tone than others. Generally, they present technical terms or more obscure kinds of information. The examples given below are a representative selection:

The composer was usually present at the performance, at the harpsichord (the piano of those days) ...¹⁵

The Introduction *Langsam* (i.e. *Adagio*) consists chiefly of a long melody...¹⁶

This portion of the Overture is very sonorous and effective, the score containing three trombones and a "Serpent" - a military instrument of great power not usually found in the orchestra.¹⁷

The secret of the effect is the change (technically called "enharmonie" [sic]) of the A flat into G sharp, with E natural in the bass; whereby the hearer is suddenly transported into a region quite remote from that in which he had before been residing.¹⁸

The word Serenade is not used in music as in ordinary parlance, for a song sung [sic] under a lady's casement, though the term was doubtless employed originally for a performance in the open air - (*It. sereno*). During the eighteenth century the name was given both to vocal and instrumental compositions of several movements.¹⁹

Unlike the more neutral presentation given to ordinary facts (such as "[Composer] was born in [year] in [country]"), these pieces of information were phrased in ways that actively made it clear that the author did not expect the audience to know them already. The technical terms in particular illustrate the idea that an author felt it was worthwhile for the audience members to have such information at their disposal. These passages made the educational intention explicit in a way that the more neutral descriptions did not.

The broad educational attitude behind these notes has clear overlaps with the Victorian attitudes surrounding schools and universities, institutions with education as their specific purpose. Schools in particular were an area of great development and reform

¹⁵ GB-Lcm-B, 21/10/1865, 3: 2.

¹⁶ GB-Lcm-B, 01/03/1873, 18, 368.

¹⁷ GB-Lcm-B, 30/11/1872, 9: 179.

¹⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 06/04/1867, 23: 9.

¹⁹ GB-Lcm-B, 15/02/1873, 16: 324.

throughout the nineteenth century, as W.B. Stephens's history of education in Britain makes clear.²⁰ The 1870 Elementary Education Act was especially important in this respect, as it established a legal framework for the education of all children between the ages of five and thirteen. Where there was a shortfall in education in a given district, a school board would be created to take responsibility for the children who were missing out, leading to the foundation of numerous 'Board Schools.' Several scholars have charted the increasing importance of music within this context, the most prominent of these being Gordon Cox and Bernarr Rainbow. These two authors have provided particularly detailed accounts of the spread of Tonic Sol-fa methods for teaching singing in schools, and their place in the development of a standardised school music curriculum.²¹ Rosemary Golding's recent book on music and academia makes it clear that reforms were also taking place in the context of higher education, specifically in relation to music.²² Her work is especially relevant to the programme notes at the Crystal Palace, as many of the authors went on to hold positions of authority at such institutions, including Stainer (Oxford) and Macfarren (Cambridge). The Cambridge connection in particular was further reinforced by the involvement of the Local Examinations syndicate in the Crystal Palace Schools, as discussed at the end of Chapter 3. Finally, it is important to note the increasing use of examination as part of the Victorian informal educational environment, as David Wright has explored in his work on the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM).²³ Examining institutions were important for formalising qualifications for the teaching profession and ensuring some standardisation in the quality of musical education. With so many contemporary institutions bringing together music and formal education, including the Crystal Palace's own Schools, one might assume that the educational content of the Saturday Concert programme notes was intimately affiliated with these developments.

However, it seems more likely that, in practice, the Crystal Palace programme notes were only loosely influenced by this particular cultural context. For one thing, the overall

20 W. B. Stephens, *Education in Britain, 1750-1914*, Social History in Perspective (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

21 Gordon Cox, *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928* (Aldershot; Burlington: Scolar Press, 1993); Bernarr Rainbow and Gordon Cox, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: A Survey from 800 BC* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006).

22 Rosemary Golding, *Music and Academia in Victorian Britain*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

23 David C. H. Wright, 'The Music Exams of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 1859-1919', in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul Rodmell, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 161-80; David C. H. Wright, *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013).

perception of formal education systems was not universally positive, as has been demonstrated by Elizabeth Gargano.²⁴ Her work on schoolrooms in Victorian literature shows that there were considerable negative feelings towards new laws intending to get all children into school and, crucially, away from home.²⁵ Aside from the complexities of mood surrounding formal education, the particular environment of concert performances generated some important differences in the approach to learning. Certainly these texts did not represent anything like the systematic kind of education that a school or a university was meant to provide. The information presented was much more haphazard, and in any case was not a compulsory part of the concert experience (an audience member did not *have* to buy or read a programme). The notes also tended to address themselves to adults as equals, rather than the more top-down education that would have been given to school-children or university students. Most importantly, the developments in Victorian schools were generally aimed at working-class children, a very different social group from those who were expected to attend the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts. This is particularly evident in the musical examples present in the programme booklets: all of them are in conventional staff notation rather than in the tonic sol-fa notation that was taught to children at the kinds of school targeted or created by the 1870 Education Act.²⁶ Rainbow and Cox make this point in their book on educational thought:

... a combination of professional prejudice and social snobbery was enough to prevent Tonic Sol-fa finding a place in schools whose teachers had received an orthodox musical education. Far from encouraging emulation, in such cases the Board School was scornfully dismissed as irrelevant.²⁷

If all of the musical examples in the Crystal Palace programmes were in staff notation, then, we can assume that the intended audience was one that had received a more socially exclusive musical education.

24 Elizabeth Gargano, *Reading Victorian Schoolrooms: Childhood and Education in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Children's Literature and Culture (New York: Routledge, 2008).

25 She points out that this upset the traditional notion that a father had exclusive right to decide upon the manner in which his children were educated, and stirred anxieties around whether a school was really the best place for developing young minds. Practically speaking, this would have had more of an impact on working-class parents (children in school could not contribute to the family income) than on the kinds of people attending the Saturday Concerts; but concern over the issue could have been felt by all classes.

26 For an in-depth study of the ideologies surrounding the tonic sol-fa movement, see Charles Edward McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-Fa Movement* (Cambridge; London: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

27 Rainbow and Cox, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice*, 243.

On a related note, the kind of music that children would have been learning in government-funded schools was exclusively vocal. No doubt financial concerns provided some motivation, as instruments were more expensive than just using the voice. However, Rainbow's work on popular music education suggests that this was true even of upper-class boys' schools where (presumably) the teaching was based on more orthodox notation, and where instruments could have been afforded if desired.²⁸ The point is made particularly strongly by David Golby in his book on instrumental tuition:

The vocal art and the training associated with it retained its superior position relative to instrumental performance and enjoyed (albeit mainly moral rather than financial) support from the state for its practice among adults and children.²⁹

This observation is supported by the observation in Chapter 2 that the provision of notes for vocal music at the Crystal Palace was the more accurate guide to the status of its composer. If the Saturday Concerts had really been intended for a formal educational purpose then we would expect to see much more focus on vocal music than what was actually happening, namely precedence being given to orchestral works.

If we do see a general educational tone in the Crystal Palace programme notes, it might have been less to do with formal education practices and more closely connected to the Victorian self-help movement. As the name implies, this was a much more individualistic approach to learning and education, centred on one's own personal efforts to improve (and, as Alex Tyrell points out, a part of the general political environment of voluntarism³⁰). As we have already seen, Grove parsed his own efforts in precisely these terms. Samuel Smiles's book *Self-Help* was particularly influential in this respect, perhaps more through ease of readability and a talent for producing memorable maxims than originality.³¹ Of course Smiles's work still had some overlap with formal education, particularly of adults, as is made clear by the work of Stephens and Roderick.³² However,

28 Bernarr Rainbow, 'The Rise of Popular Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 25–49.

29 David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 31.

30 Alex Tyrell, 'Voluntarism and Self-Help', in *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt, The Routledge Worlds (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 346–61.

31 Asa Briggs, 'Samuel Smiles: The Gospel of Self-Help', in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. Gordon Marsden (London; New York: Longman, 1990), 85–96. Briggs points out that Smiles thought the fact that his work embodied long-standing common sense principles, rather than original notions, was its primary strength.

32 Michael D. Stephens and Gordon W. Roderick, eds., *Samuel Smiles and Nineteenth Century Self-Help in Education*, Nottingham Studies in the History of Adult Education (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1983).

the diversity of projects inspired by self-help, very few of which could be called ‘formal education’ gave the movement a very different tone. Jonathan Rose’s account of ‘Self-Culture’, for example, mentions Sunday schools, mechanics’ institutes, mutual improvement societies, reading rooms, and libraries, as well as adult schools, all of which had different kinds of audience and organisational structures (and a great deal of variability in success and longevity).³³

Further, as the recent work of Anne Rodrick shows, self-help was more than just an educational project; it also had implications for the development of civic culture and the emergence of a personal ‘citizen’ identity.³⁴ Her book makes a number of important points about the influence of self-help in the founding of buildings and the design of cities, as well as in the definition of social ‘caste,’ a term distinct from and considerably more flexible than ‘class.’

Although caste was embedded within class, it served a different function altogether: class served as a broad description of economic place, while caste described cultural situation and aspiration.³⁵

In this context, Rodrick argues that the ideology behind self-help allowed people from across the social spectrum to come together to participate in projects of civic improvement. She also makes the observation that:

... the pursuit of culture was often virtually inseparable from the pleasures of sociability. Not only did self-improvement foster intellectual achievement, it also encouraged – even demanded – new models of individual and group behaviour that translated private pursuits into public undertakings.³⁶

In other words, there was considerable tension between the demand that self-help be pursued on one’s own, and the natural human desire to form social groups. All of this was very much in evidence at the Crystal Palace, a place where people of many different social classes gathered to engage in collective cultural activities, often on a massive scale (such as the Handel Festivals).

33 Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001), 62–70.

34 Anne B. Rodrick, *Self-Help and Civic Culture: Citizenship in Victorian Birmingham*, Historical Urban Studies (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

35 *Ibid.*, 10.

36 *Ibid.*, 7.

Rodrick's ideas are also a useful model for understanding the Saturday Concert programme notes. As texts for individual appreciation, and which addressed the reader as an equal, they clearly had much in common with the kinds of writings that formed the self-help movement. However, they were also produced for a social event: a concert at which there would be many other listeners engaging in the same process of self-improvement. In consulting the same texts for the purpose, those in the audience could gain membership to the collective caste of programme-note readers, all aspiring to the same improving goal. On this basis, one might argue that a fundamental function of programme notes was to help mediate between the private and social demands of self-improvement.

The affinity of the Crystal Palace programmes with other kinds of self-improvement text is also made clear through the moral messages they transmitted, many of which come through in the descriptions of composers' lives. In these cases, descriptions of good moral behaviour were clearly meant to be exemplary. Indeed, they seem to represent Smiles's own opinion on the matter: "Biographies of great, but especially of good men, are nevertheless most instructive and useful, as helps, guides and incentives to others."³⁷ Sometimes these exemplary descriptions could be very brief, such as Grove's passing observation in a note on Litolff's *Concerto-Symphonie* that Moscheles "with his usual kindness gave him [Litolff] lessons for nothing,"³⁸ or Macfarren's single sentence describing Cusins as "a striking example of how much may be done with perseverance and enthusiasm."³⁹ Other observations made their way into the essays provided as filler material, where the anecdotal nature of the material naturally morphed into moral lessons. For example, an essay entitled 'Mendelssohn and the Toll-Keeper' described the greater value Mendelssohn attached to the approval of a humble toll-keeper than to his receipt of the 'Ordre pour le Mérite' from the King of Prussia. The overall message seems to be that one should not be seduced by power and glory when honest, ordinary praise is worth more. In another example, an account is reprinted from Bombet's *Life of Haydn* of the composer being commissioned to write a march by a ship's captain.⁴⁰ Feeling the amount paid was too much for the little effort required, Haydn proceeded to write three marches, but, being unable to persuade the captain in question to listen to more than one, went to extreme

37 Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance. New Edition.* (London: John Murray, 1859), 6.

38 GB-Lbl-B, 28/03/1874, 22: 544.

39 GB-Lbl-B, 13/03/1875, 20: 565.

40 The book Grove is referring to here is L. A. C. Bombet, *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart, with Observations on Metastasio, and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy*, trans. Robert Brewin (London: John Murray, 1817). The section on Haydn was in fact mostly plagiarised from Guiseppe Carpani *Le Haydine* (Milan, 1812), and most of the rest of the book is equally unoriginal.

lengths to make sure the man acquired the music.⁴¹ The eventual failure notwithstanding, the overall message is clearly meant to be one of generosity, of Haydn providing more music than asked for rather than unquestioningly accepting the high fee.

The more extended passages in the notes themselves were particularly prone to emphasising industrious hard work, especially in the face of difficulty, in a way that shows a strong influence of Smiles's *Self-Help*. All of these tropes are present in, for example, Grove's note for Prout's Second Symphony:

In returning to the highest class of orchestral composition, Mr. Prout not only shows his enthusiasm for his art, but he affords a practical proof of what may be done by determination and devotion in the teeth of an amount of engagements which would be enough of themselves to exhaust the energy of most people, without adding to them the time necessary to conceive and elaborate, and the labour involved in committing to paper, a work so long, complicated, and engrossing as a Grand Orchestral Symphony.⁴²

In this case, busyness of schedule had to be invoked as the primary difficulty against which Prout struggled and (only by implication) succeeded. For composers with physical impairments, the case was much more straightforward, to the extent that it could sometimes be left unsaid. For example, Grove's note on Macfarren's Violin Concerto summarises his various achievements as:

...so thoroughly earned by half-a-century of labour against difficulties which would have daunted any spirit and any temper but the very highest.⁴³

The context for these comments was Macfarren's blindness, which severely hindered his composition, and provided an obvious example of the 'difficulty' that Smiles encouraged his readers to overcome. An even more classic example in this respect was Beethoven, as we can see in Grove's early note for the Ninth Symphony:

If even Beethoven was compelled, and was content, thus to erase, to repeat, and to improve his ideas, and by a slow laborious process of elaboration and polish, to bring them to that pitch of perfection in which we possess them, it must be a great consolation and encouragement to all inferior intellects to persevere in the same path, and not be disappointed if their conceptions do not flow with that

41 GB-Lbl-B, 12/02/1876, 17: 459-461.

42 GB-Lbl-B, 01/12/1877, 9: 281.

43 GB-Lbl-B, 03/04/1875, 23: 647.

spontaneity which is too often most incorrectly assumed to be the property of genius.⁴⁴

Beethoven's continuous hard work on his pieces was a regularly-given moral lesson, emphasised further in later notes that more actively brought in the issue of his deafness. (In later versions of the note on the Ninth Symphony, for example, Grove would use the anecdote of the first performance, at which Beethoven had to be turned round to acknowledge the applause that he could not hear.) The fact that hard work and perseverance were such important moral lessons meant that extra effort had to be made for composers such as Mozart, who were perceived to be less hard-working:

People talk as if he [Mozart] composed his music as it came to him, almost unconsciously. Nothing can be more false. If music consisted of melody alone there might be some ground for such a notion; but music, and especially the music of Mozart, contains an amount of contrivance, and combination, and mechanical arrangement, which no inspiration can supply – which can only be acquired and kept up by long and unremitting labour. No doubt Mozart was wonderfully gifted – but he was also wonderfully educated as far as music went – and much better in other departments than is generally believed.⁴⁵

Here Grove was making sure that Mozart embodied the moral ideal of hard work required in a great composer, as well as taking an implied swipe at perceptions that he was not intelligent (which would in themselves have carried implications of a moral failing).

In all of these cases, the decision to highlight the morally upstanding aspects of a composer's character was clearly not a neutral decision. For one thing, it had clear implications for understanding the music, as demonstrated by the note Grove gave for Mendelssohn's Octet on 30th October 1869:

It is impossible to hear these early works of Mendelssohn without being struck with their freshness and fire, their gay irrepressible vivacity and the unmistakable tone of wholesome cheerfulness which pervades them. ... It is absurd to suppose that moral qualities such as these cannot show themselves in music. The mind and the heart will manifest themselves, whatever be the outward vehicle – whether words, tones, or forms – and where they be good and sound, there the poem or the symphony or the picture will be good and sound too.⁴⁶

44 GB-Lcm-B, 21/12/1867, 14: 10.

45 GB-Lcm-B, 04/12/1869, 10: 8.

46 GB-Lcm-B, 30/10/1869, 5: 12.

When this was what was at stake, it is no wonder that the negative sides of these composers were being omitted, or at least presented in the most positive light possible. On a deeper level, the suggestion seems to have been that these behaviours ought to be emulated, or at the very least aspired towards. After all, it was also made clear on a few occasions that these heights of achievement and, by inference, moral standing, might not be easily obtainable by ordinary people. For example, Grove's note on Beethoven's Fifth Piano Concerto suggests that the work was so self-evidently the greatest concerto possible that the composer himself was obliged to give up on writing any others:

But in the department of the Concerto he stopped short, and the inference is almost obvious – that he had done his very best, and that best the greatest effect that could be obtained, and that he said to himself, “I have done all I can, and I will attempt no more.”⁴⁷

As well as indicating that Beethoven had reached a pinnacle of achievement beyond the ordinary, the story is accompanied by a (clumsily phrased) moral lesson about knowing one's limits. Even ideas of limitation, though, would vanish when Grove turned his attention to Mendelssohn:

... when he is removed from the world, and takes his seat among the Immortals ... It becomes then a duty to discover, to cherish, and to study everything that he has left behind him. Every step in the ascent leading to that pinnacle of fame, from which he took his final upward flight, has its special interest and its peculiar lesson. ... [Publication of his immature compositions] would rather assist his humbler brethren to comprehend the secrets of that delicate fancy, that perfect knowledge, that unwearied labour, that consummate tact, and that exquisite taste which have enriched the world with the Hebrides Overture, the Scotch Symphony, the C Minor Trio, and the Oratorio of Elijah.⁴⁸

Compared to a man who embodies every positive trait in the superlative, everyone else becomes ‘humbler brethren’. When all aspects of Mendelssohn's character were presented as exemplary, it is clear that the reader was not expected to follow him to ‘that pinnacle of fame’, but merely to garner all of the ‘special interest and peculiar lesson[s]’ that could be obtained from studying his personality and music.

It is important to note that not every composer was referred to as having a completely unblemished character. Although they appeared relatively rarely, flaws could

47 GB-Lcm-B, 23/02/1867, 17: 9.

48 GB-Lcm-B, 30/11/1867, 11: 8.

also be mentioned. In the context of the moral imperative towards hard work and unceasing labour, Macfarren's note on Sterndale Bennett's Symphony in G minor seems to include a veiled criticism:

The world has great cause for regret in the long intervals of silence in our composer's career, which one may suppose to have been the consequence of want of incitement to constant production ...⁴⁹

Bennett's production of only one symphony was clearly a source of 'great regret', and indeed might have almost been an embarrassment when moral virtue would have demanded a greater output.⁵⁰ Much more overt and sternly-worded criticisms were given of Weber by Grove, in a note on Beethoven's Third Symphony from 1868:

It is not difficult to imagine that so serious an innovation on the old school as the Eroica was not received without opposition from the constituted authorities of the musical world. Carl Maria von Weber, the author of *Der Freischütz* and *Oberon*, who ought to have known better, tries a snarl or two at its instrumentation, because it is not that of the ancient artists Gluck, Handel, and Mozart! As if the world could stand still; as if Weber himself had ever hesitated to step beyond the boundaries of Handel and Mozart when his genius told him to do so! But Weber had always a soreness against Beethoven, and we all remember how he advised his being put into a lunatic asylum for writing the Seventh Symphony. Where Weber transgressed smaller men may be pardoned.⁵¹

Not only is Weber presented as holding an irrational grudge against Beethoven, he is also portrayed as closed-minded and hypocritical, criticising Beethoven for things that he himself would happily do. This passage is particularly interesting on account of the tension that emerges in last sentence: he is clearly still a great musician (in comparison with 'smaller men'), but that greatness also means that his faults are more difficult to pardon.

The impact that a perception of poor moral character could have on a composer's reception is clear from the example of Louis Spohr, whom both Grove and Manns, in varying degrees, seem to have taken a dislike to. Grove was initially at the milder end of the spectrum, as can be seen from the (almost damning) faint praise offered in his note for a performance of the *Historical* Symphony in 1870:

49 GB-Lcm-B, 05/03/1870, 20: 111.

50 Macfarren's presentation of Bennett may well have also been inflected by self-comparison: Macfarren's output was much greater, including eight symphonies by 1870, all written through increasing physical impairment.

51 GB-Lcm-B, 10/10/1868, 2: 8.

And if Spohr was denied that aspiring, spiritual temper, that insight into hidden depths which characterise the younger master [Mendelssohn], he has his own solid, graceful, tender, domestic gifts which have as fully their own place in the world as the others.⁵²

The negative characteristics of Spohr's character were alluded to by inference, through pointing out Mendelssohn's superiority. Grove also chose the word 'domestic' to describe Spohr's abilities, bringing in a rather patronising element. No composer that the Victorians considered to be truly 'great' would ever be described with a word that implied smallness, limited aspirations, effeminacy, and so on. Overall, the passage makes a negative opinion clear in spite of the attempt to suggest that Spohr's qualities 'have as fully their own place in the world.' By 1874, Grove's opinion had clearly hardened, with a note for the Seventh Violin Concerto offering much more overt disapproval:

No greater contrast could possibly be found than that which existed between the coarse, heavy, churlish appearance and manners of Spohr, and the sweetness and grace of his music. ... It should be a warning for ever against any attempt to connect a man's appearance and person with his works.⁵³

The work was still defensible, but the fact that the man himself was unpleasant was clearly a problem for Grove. Manns was even more briskly dismissive, suggesting in a note for the Ninth Violin Concerto from 1877 that Spohr's autobiography contains "particulars which will easily suggest themselves to those who are familiar with Spohr's simple self-worship."⁵⁴

In some sense, these opinions are part of the backlash that Spohr's music suffered after his death, as outlined in the biography by Clive Brown. Hyperbolically celebrated during his lifetime, the fall afterwards was always going to be more dramatic.⁵⁵ The case of the Crystal Palace, though, seems more complicated. In the early years of the Saturday Concerts, Spohr's music was undoubtedly popular among the audience. His death prompted a whole concert devoted to his music on November 5th 1859. Until 1875 around four works of his were performed per season, one of which would usually be a symphony,

52 GB-Lcm-B, 12/02/1870, 17: 68.

53 GB-Lbl-B, 14/02/1874, 16: 390.

54 GB-Lbl-B, 24/02/1877, 16: 519. The discomfort with Weber and Spohr might also be connected with their German origins, as discussed in Chapter 7.

55 Brown does not suggest that the decline in Spohr's popularity had anything to do with perceptions of the composer's personality. He instead attributes the change to a contemporary sense that Spohr's music had become outdated. See chapter 13, 'Reaction and neglect' in Clive Brown, *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 340–344.

long after he had fallen out of favour elsewhere. In this context, the passages in which Grove and Manns criticise Spohr seem to represent some tension between the kinds of music the audience wanted to hear and the kinds of composer thought worthy of performing. The dislike they expressed might have been an attempt to discredit Spohr, and to direct the preferences of the audience away from his music. Certainly there was a shift: after 1875, there were no further performances of his symphonies, and by the 1878–79 season the only piece of his to appear was the Aria ‘Rose Softly Blooming’ from *Zemira e Azor* (a perennially favourite song). Whether the change was directed by Manns and Grove or by changing audience tastes is not clear, but in either case the criticism of Spohr’s moral character and his music in the notes could well have been a factor.

On a subtler level, elements of morality seem to have pervaded the discussion of the music itself. A recurring theme in the Crystal Palace programme notes is the idea of musical ‘laws’, often represented through the word ‘legitimate’ (i.e. sanctioned by the law). Grove’s early note for Beethoven’s Fifth Piano Concerto is a good example:

The piano is as much one of the instruments of the orchestra as the violins or oboes, and although it has its passages for display – and most brilliant and effective ones they are – yet they all arise legitimately out of the themes of the movement, and bear their due relation to the proportions of the whole.⁵⁶

This passage highlights in particular the fact that, by implication, it would not be acceptable for a piece to be somehow ‘illegitimate’, as would be the case if the ‘passages for display’ had no basis in the whole. It also brings to light a sense of overall structure to a movement as having a basis in ‘laws’, something expressed even more explicitly in a later note by Grove on a Mendelssohn Organ Sonata:

The “form” of this latter class of composition [the piano sonata] – that is to say the framework of its construction – is the same as that of the Symphony and Quartett, a framework at once so highly artificial that it took more than a century to shape into the elaborate form which it at last attained under the hands of Haydn; and yet so natural – so strictly in accordance with the secret laws which govern the art of music – that no innovation of any moment has been made upon it during the last eighty years of constant production and constant rebellion against prescription: while no attempt to forsake it and to substitute for the old form a freer and less formal framework, can as yet be said to have been successful.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ GB-Lcm-B, 23/02/1867, 17: 7.

⁵⁷ GB-Lcm-B, 26/02/1870, 19: 95-96.

Again, we are with the impression that to break these ‘secret laws’ would produce a problematic or unsuccessful result. Manns seems to have had a similar perspective to Grove, as is clear from his note for Bruch’s Second Violin Concerto from 1877:

Free as the form of this Concerto appears, it may yet be pointed out that the two principal movements, the *Adagio* and the *Finale*, are planned and developed in conformity with the acknowledged rules of classical instrumental music, and that the whole structure rests upon the firm foundations laid by the great masters.⁵⁸

Although the word ‘rules’ is perhaps less legally charged, it is clear that Manns is referring to the same immutable principles as Grove. If these rules had not been met, then Manns would doubtless have been less comfortable referring to the piece as having a ‘firm foundation’.

Musical structures were the most common recipient of such descriptions, but other musical features were also occasionally ‘legalised’. One of these was the idea of a person’s profession being ‘legitimately’ that of a composer or performer. For example, an anonymous author of a note on Viotti stated that in the latter part of his life he was in London playing with the Philharmonic Orchestra, “but only in a desultory manner pursuing his legitimate profession”, alluding to the fact that he had apparently spent a number of years as a wine merchant instead.⁵⁹ Similarly, Hummel was described as “one of the greatest and most legitimate Pianoforte players of his time” in a note from 1877.⁶⁰ The tendency to describe musical professionals as ‘legitimate’ was no doubt connected to the increasing respect and social status for musicians during the Victorian period, as Cyril Ehrlich and others have demonstrated.⁶¹

In a different direction, ‘legitimacy’ cropped up in relation to works that were being performed in arrangements or transcriptions not made by their author. An anonymous note on a *Largo* by Handel (the celebrated ‘Ombra mai fu’ from *Serse*) summarises the concern well: “Mr Hellmesberger, the clever *chef d’orchestre* at Vienna, has treated it in a way which, if not legitimate, is at least attractive to the public.”⁶² In describing Joseph Hellmesberger’s (1828–1893) transcription as ‘not legitimate’, the author of this note is

58 GB-Lbl-B, 03/11/1877, 5: 139.

59 GB-Lbl-B, 20/03/1875, 21: 605.

60 GB-Lbl-B, 14/04/1877, 23: 736.

61 Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985). David Wright’s work on examinations and Rosemary Golding’s work on academia are two examples of scholarship that illustrates the mechanisms behind this increase in social status for musicians. See Wright, *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music* and Golding, *Music and Academia in Victorian Britain*.

62 GB-Lbl-B, 02/03/1878, 15: 507.

essentially saying that it is, in some sense, illegal.⁶³ Although these particular terms do not necessarily appear in earlier notes that wrestle with the problem of legitimacy, the language chosen still seems distinctly legalistic, as we see in the note for Liszt's transcription of the Schubert *Fantasia in C*:

Whether one musician has a right to take the completed works of another and deal with them as he pleases, is a question which may not be discussed here. Admitting that the act is excusable under any circumstances, a good deal may be pleaded in excuse of the example before us.⁶⁴

It is unclear exactly what it was about Liszt's transcriptions that raised concerns here. The repertoire in question was no different in type from that being transcribed in bulk for four-hand piano or for military band.⁶⁵ Whatever the reason, the vocabulary of rights and of acts being excusable almost seems like it could be taken from a courtroom setting, no doubt overlapping with contemporary debates leading up to the Copyright Acts for Musical Compositions in 1882 and 1888.⁶⁶ None of the examples cited above, whether to do with musical structures, musical profession, or transcription contain any direct statement of moral attitudes; but the words 'law', 'legitimate', and their synonyms are heavily loaded with moral baggage. After all, Victorian legal systems were founded on contemporary moral attitudes. If a musical structure or profession was described as 'legal', even if only implicitly, there must surely have been an underlying assumption that the structure or profession was in some way morally correct.

There seems to have been a certain amount of tension between these two expressions of morality (composer biography and musical rules) in the Crystal Palace programme

63 The music was long out of copyright, so the passage was presumably not referring to legality in the more literal sense.

64 GB-Lbl-B, 10/02/1877, 14: 455.

65 See Thomas Christensen, 'Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 255–98; and Trevor Herbert, 'Repertoire' in Trevor Herbert, ed., *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 2000), 53–62. Robert Macfarlane has suggested that there was considerably more contestation between different models of creativity than we might expect during the later Victorian period, so perhaps this programme note author had that debate in mind. See Robert Macfarlane, *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). We might also speculate that the context was more of an issue than the repertoire: transcriptions could appear in domestic or popular contexts without concern, but perhaps a more serious occasion demanded the 'original' form.

66 The context for these Acts is mentioned in Cyril Ehrlich, *Harmonious Alliance: A History of the Performing Right Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 1–3. For more detailed discussions of Victorian ideas of intellectual property, albeit from a literary angle, see Paul K. Saint-Amour, *The Copywrights: Intellectual Property and the Literary Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); and Clare Pettitt, *Patent Inventions: Intellectual Property and the Victorian Novel* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

notes. Based on the examples above, one would think that following the rules of musical structure and harmony must have been morally exemplary behaviour for a composer, if only by association. Indeed, the connection was often fairly clear. To take an example already cited, we could look at Grove's note for Prout's Second Symphony. Here we are told that "Mr. Prout not only shows his enthusiasm for his art, but he affords a practical proof of what may be done by determination and devotion," in a clear statement of his personal moral virtues. The note then finishes with the following statement:

His symphony shows that it is possible to be enthusiastic for Wagner, and yet, when composing, to throw off such revolutionary proclivities and be as pellucid and obedient to form and symmetry as Mozart himself.⁶⁷

Grove's assessment of Prout's moral character is of a piece with his assessment of the music, that formal obedience follows naturally from sound moral character. Similarly, Beethoven's Third Symphony was justified in the following terms:

But it is in the Sinfonia Eroica that Beethoven first shows himself in his true colossal proportions, and reveals that extraordinary union of power and tenderness, strength and beauty, humour and pathos, irregularity like the wildness of nature herself, and obedience no less strict than hers to the finest laws, which have made him so very great, and given him a place beside Shakespeare in the world of men.⁶⁸

Although Beethoven's structures contain 'irregularity', they nonetheless follow the most important fundamental rules. Grove could therefore have had no qualms in suggesting that they prove Beethoven's Shakespearean greatness.

However, the programme notes could sometimes praise the exact opposite behaviour: breaking the rules. Grove's notes for Haydn would often include mention of musical indiscretions, but would usually justify them with a statement such as the following: "It is probably to such admirable licenses as this that Haydn referred when he said that "the rules were all his obedient humble servants.""⁶⁹ Unlike the impression we might get from the note on Prout, here Haydn's musical faults are 'admirable licenses', entirely acceptable given his position as master over the rules. Admittedly these faults usually lie in the realm of detail rather than overall structure, but Grove seems to have felt that even individual musical details could carry moral import. For example, in a later

⁶⁷ GB-Lbl-B, 01/12/1877, 9: 285.

⁶⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 10/10/1868, 2: 4.

⁶⁹ GB-Lbl-B, 07/10/1876, 2: 42.

version of the note for the *Eroica*, he described the ‘wrong’ second horn entry prior to the recapitulation in the first movement in the following terms:

All of the rules of harmony are against it; it is absolutely wrong - as wrong as stealing or lying – and yet how perfectly right and proper it is in its place! And how intensely poetical!⁷⁰

This is a particularly interesting passage as it paradoxically demonstrates both the intensity of moral thought behind musical rules and the fact that it was morally good for certain important composers to break these rules. Moreover, it was not just dead composers who occupied this position, as an anonymous author on ‘Isolde’s Death’ from *Tristan und Isolde* made clear in a note from 1877:

According to his own assertion, Wagner wrote it with the full concentrated power of his inspiration, freed at last from the fetters of conventional operatic forms, with which has broken here definitely and irrevocably.⁷¹

The language here is perhaps a little more ambiguous, but overall the decision of the author to use the phrase ‘freed at last’ seems to indicate that Wagner’s decision was thought to be a positive one. Granted, the rules of opera were a very different kind of consideration from the rules of orchestral music for the Victorians, but this passage still articulates the same contradictory position in relation to musical rules as those relating to Beethoven.

In these examples it is not just that breaking the morality-laden rules was excusable, or something to be glossed over, but something that was actively worthy of admiration. Indeed, the force of the rhetoric in these examples seems to hint at the authors’ awareness of this tension. One could argue that this was another example of the kind of moral height that ordinary people might never reach. None of these composers was presented as ‘disobeying’ the rules: all of them were presented as in some way standing above, or perhaps transcending the rules. When Grove describes the “enharmonic modulations” in Beethoven’s Fifth Piano concerto having “an indescribable charm, and seem to lift one above music into another world”,⁷² it is definitely a world in which Beethoven is not bound by ordinary strictures. Part of the moral acceptability of this image may have come from the fact that this was the position that the aristocracy traditionally held in relation to the law. A number of social historians have pointed out that the aristocracy and gentry held the

⁷⁰ GB-Lbl-B, 11/10/1873, 2,: 37.

⁷¹ GB-Lbl-B, 17/11/1877, 7: 218.

⁷² GB-Lcm-B, 23/02/1867, 17: 7.

vast majority of economic and political power for most of the Victorian period, notwithstanding measures intended to widen the franchise (such as the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867).⁷³ As J.F.C. Harrison has pointed out, the ability of the elites to “withstand challenges to their hegemony” was in part due to the fact that “their rivals aspired not to overthrow but to join them.”⁷⁴ It is less often observed that this must have had consequences for the manner in which the elites engaged with the law. Susie Steinbach points out that the introduction of credit systems during the nineteenth-century meant that convicted debtors were increasingly working class, and that new laws allowed wealthier investors to declare bankruptcy rather than face prison.⁷⁵ However, she does not connect this differentiated treatment with either the political and economic power of the elite or a common perception that the aristocracy were able to put themselves above such things. Even the frequent references in scholarship to middle-class perceptions of aristocratic immorality rarely point out that this idea reinforces the idea of the elites being above the law.⁷⁶ After all, moral censure was the only thing middle-class observers could do when, practically-speaking, the law was unlikely to act against the ruling class.

If some composers held a position that was above the laws of music, their place in music history may therefore have been essentially equivalent to that of the aristocracy. Or perhaps one might say an idealised aristocracy, since these musical superiors were not presented with any moral faults in the way that the actual Victorian aristocracy might have been. These resonances have interesting implications for our understandings of the Victorian musical canon, as a canon by definition is very much concerned with distinguishing ‘good’ composers from ‘bad’ ones (note the moral overtones in those words), and presenting the former as exemplary. Scholars who have tackled the idea of the canon tend not to have noticed overlaps with social class. Marcia Citron argues that “[Canons] represent certain sets of values or ideologies, which in turn represent certain segments of society,”⁷⁷ but does not examine the impact that different social groups have

73 This is taken as a given by any historian undertaking a general survey of the period. See Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History, 1750-2011* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 135, 138–9; and Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 128.

74 J. F. C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain, 1875-1901* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 30.

75 Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians*, 170.

76 Such references appear in the following: *Ibid.*, 38. Barbara Thaden, *The Maternal Voice in Victorian Fiction: Rewriting the Patriarchal Family* (New York: Garland, 1997), 112; Christoph Houswitschka, ‘Family, Crime, and the Public Sphere: “Incest” in Eighteenth-Century England’, in *Sites of Discourse, Public and Private Spheres, Legal Culture: Papers from a Conference Held at the Technical University of Dresden, December 2001*, ed. Uwe Böker and Julie A. Hibbard (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 168.

77 Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 15.

on the canon. Katherine Bergeron's summary of the canon describes the composers inscribed on the walls of the Paine Concert Hall at Harvard as "The Great Men" and "the chosen ones," but does not connect these descriptions to any particular social group.⁷⁸ William Weber describes the emergence of a canon in eighteenth-century Britain as "rooted in social class," but does not examine the social overtones within the canon itself.⁷⁹ His later work on the history of the canon does not mention social structures at all.⁸⁰ If the Saturday Concert programme notes were describing composers in terms of an aristocracy, then it suggests that class could have been a significant underlay to the development of a musical canon in Victorian Britain.

Whatever a Victorian reader might think of the composer, programme note writers could always justify a piece independently of the author through a description of its positive qualities and the health benefits of listening to it. Grove's description of Haydn Symphony No. 97 in C from 1874 clearly summarises the set of beneficial musical features most valued by the Victorians:

In short, what a contrast to the pervading din which seems to be too often the chief aim of modern orchestral writers! Such pure, manly, healthy, cheerful music, deserves to live forever.⁸¹

There can be no doubt that, in listing these qualities, Grove was expecting the audience to experience these kinds of benefits through listening to the music. If there is any doubt, we can see a more direct statement in a note on Mozart's Symphony No. 40 in G minor:

With these humble means has the great master produced some of the greatest effects possible – effects not of noise but of real music, and of influence on the heart and intellect. The score as it stands is a perfect gem. May no vandal ever add a note or an instrument to it!⁸²

This music is 'of influence on the heart and intellect', and therefore able to convey to the listener the benefits of both the 'humble means' and the 'greatest effects'. These statements were often presented in a form that blended abstract moral benefits with those provided by nature, as we see in Grove's note on Mendelssohn's First Piano Concerto:

78 Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 2.

79 William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1992).

80 William Weber, 'The History of Musical Canon', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 336–55.

81 GB-Lbl-B, 31/10/1874, 4: 99.

82 GB-Lcm-B, 24/02/1877, 16: 526.

There is an air of freshness brightness and elasticity pervading the whole akin to that which animates the Italian Symphony ... which (if we must have a comparison) inspires the hearer with the same delicious feeling as the fresh sparkling dew on the lawns and shrubs in the dawn of a fine May morning.⁸³

Unsurprisingly, we see almost exactly the same kind of language, developed even further, in Grove's note for the first movement of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony*:

I believe that the delicious, natural, May-day, out-of-doors feeling of this movement arises in great measure from this repetition. It causes a monotony (which, however, is never monotonous), and which, though no *imitation*, is akin to the constant sounds of nature – the monotony of rustling leaves and swaying trees, and running brooks, and blowing wind, of the call of birds and the hum of insects. ... To hear one of his great compositions is like contemplating, not a work of art or man's device, but a mountain, or a forest, or other immense product of nature, - at once so complex and so simple – the whole so great and overpowering – the parts so minute, so lovely, and so consistent – the effect so inspiring, so beneficial, and so elevating.⁸⁴

Here, the last sentence makes it clear that all of this natural imagery was expected to have a specifically positive moral effect on the listener.⁸⁵

It is in the language of health and nature that we find the strongest overlap with the ideas presented in one of the most important Victorian books on this topic: Reverend Hugh Reginald Haweis's *Music and Morals*:

But as a man is not a unit, but a member of society, his activity has to be judged, not only with a reference to himself, but also with reference to his fellows; and here the word *healthful* supplies us with a keynote, for what is really morally healthful for the individual will be found as a general rule healthful to society at large.⁸⁶

Note that in Haweis's writing and in the 'healthy' examples cited above, the associations were predominantly gendered male.⁸⁷ Haweis's book was incredibly popular, going through sixteen editions between its publication in 1871 and the end of the century.⁸⁸ A

83 GB-Lcm-B, 02/04/1870, 24: 183.

84 GB-Lcm-B, 13/04/1867, 24: 7-8, 12.

85 This would correspond with the equivalent moral force that landscape painting was thought to have. For summary of this idea, with particular reference to Ruskin, see 'Ruskin's Moral Interpretation of Landscape and its Sentimentalisation' in Edward Relph, *Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography*, Croom Helm Series in Geography and Environment (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 38–41.

86 Hugh Reginald Haweis, *Music and Morals* (London: Strahan & Co., 1871), 42.

87 See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the gendering of these adjectives.

88 For a fuller discussion of Haweis's approach to music, see Edward Green, 'Music and the Victorian

book with such broad popular appeal could easily have influenced the approach to morality seen in the Crystal Palace notes. Having said that, there are plenty of examples of such language in these notes that pre-date Haweis's book, including the example of Mendelssohn's Fourth Symphony cited above. We therefore must assume that *Music and Morals* represented a set of pre-existing opinions, rather than offering a new perspective. After all, a number of the drawing-room ballads that Derek Scott examines for moral messages pre-date Haweis's book.⁸⁹ Moreover, the moral benefits of natural environments were already an inherent part of the ideology surrounding 'rational recreation'. Visiting a park (such as that which surrounded the Crystal Palace) to appreciate natural beauty was a classic example of the kind of activity that the Victorians would have thought an acceptable use of leisure time. As Gary Cross put it in his *History of Leisure*, which focussed particularly on "rational recreation:"-

This experience [of visiting a park] was supposed to stimulate a wholesome love of nature and to raise the strollers to new heights of sobriety and familial respectability.⁹⁰

For London in particular, James Winter has shown that the creation of new parks during the Victorian period was often conceived in terms of moral and health benefits.⁹¹

Haweis is nonetheless an important source to consider, as his clerical background reminds us that many of the moral judgements made in the Crystal Palace programmes had substantial religious underpinning. Many of the developments in formal education were motivated by Christian concerns, and the vocal music that was taught to children in all varieties of school often consisted of hymns and songs with sacred lyrics. Bible study was generally a key component of any attempt at self-improvement among adult learners and urban citizens. The moral values epitomised by composers, such as humility and diligence, were grounded in Christian principles, as was the benefit of presenting their biography at all. As Smiles himself said, "Some of the best [biographies] are almost equivalent to gospels – teaching high living, high thinking, and energetic action for their own and the

Mind: The Music Aesthetics of the Rev. H.R. Haweis', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 39, no. 2 (December 2008): 239–56.

89 Derek B. Scott, 'Music, Morality and Rational Amusement at the Victorian Middle-Class Soirée', in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 83–101.

90 Gary Cross, *A Social History of Leisure since 1600* (State College: Venture Publishing, 1990), 97.

91 See Chapter 6, 'Breathing' in James H. Winter, *London's Teeming Streets: 1830-1914* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 153–172.

world's good."⁹² Ideas of physical health and masculinity found extensive joint expression in the movement around Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes that became known as 'muscular Christianity.'⁹³ We can even find an almost direct statement of Grove's belief in the religious foundations of morality in the note for Haydn Symphony No. 97 in C from October 31st 1874:

He used to say that in his Symphonies he had often endeavoured to depict moral ideas. In one of the early ones – he did not state definitively which – his intention was to represent God addressing a hardened sinner and inviting him to repent, while the sinner in his thoughtlessness neglected the warning.⁹⁴

It is clear from this passage that, to Grove, a 'moral idea' is inherently religious; one slips into the other with no distinction.

The kinds of legal systems that are obliquely referred to in the descriptions of the rules of music also had foundations in Victorian religious attitudes. This is a point that has been made by Casper Sylvest in his work on the foundations of international law:

Scholarship in this period [1835–60] was to a large extent characterised by an attempt to legitimate the existence and explain the growing acceptance of international law by reference to religion. This approach posited a strong connection between law and morality, and the morality in question was ultimately derived from religion, whether this was made explicit or not. ... Theology and jurisprudence were conjoined – God willed international law and therefore it *had* to exist.⁹⁵

Barbara Gates makes a similar point in relation to the law surrounding suicide in Victorian Britain:

If life was a gift from God, the taking of it was God's prerogative only. This later belief died hard, and the 1823 law contained punitive clauses.⁹⁶

⁹² Smiles, *Self-Help*, 6.

⁹³ Outlines of many of the most important figures in the movement can be found in Edward R. Norman, *The Victorian Christian Socialists* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Interpreting the work of these 'muscular Christians' in cultural terms has been done by Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and by the various authors in Donald E. Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 2 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The latter in particular focusses on the bodily aspects of 'muscular Christianity' that Vance's study avoids.

⁹⁴ GB-Lbl-B, 31/10/1874, 4: 101.

⁹⁵ Caspar Sylvest, 'The Foundations of Victorian International Law', in *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Duncan Bell (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 51.

⁹⁶ Barbara T. Gates, *Victorian Suicide: Mad Crimes and Sad Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 6. Other works on Victorian suicide do not make this point quite as directly, but the idea is

Suzy Anger has also developed a more general approach to understanding Victorian legal practice by examining the use of interpretive methods derived from biblical exegesis, adding further religious underpinning to contemporary law.⁹⁷ Although these scholars refer to specific aspects of law rather than to overall practice, it seems more than likely that religion held the same kind of fundamental position in the outlines of musical legality. After all, if composers were thought to be ‘transcending’ the rules, that specific process has considerable resonances with religious thought.

As well as all the general religious underpinning to the moral messages, there were also direct references to religion in the Crystal Palace programme notes. These appeared in three different ways: firstly, there were the pieces with liturgical texts, and the programme notes discussing them; secondly, the pieces with a religious subject, and, again, the attendant discussion; and thirdly, the references to religion made in notes for non-religious works.

Between 1865 and 1879 there were several performances of pieces with texts that could have been used as part of the liturgy; these are listed in Table 7. A certain amount of tension over the presence of Masses in these concerts is evident from a prefatory section in the notes for examples by Rossini, Schubert, and William Crowther-Alwyn:

Some persons are perhaps hardly aware of the intimate connection which exists between the “Mass” of the Roman Church and the “Communion Service” of the Church of England; and it may not be inappropriate to say a few words on the subject. They may tend to remove an impression which exists in the minds of some good Protestants, that there is something “popish” in the words of a musical Mass, and therefore that such compositions are to be avoided by Protestant amateurs. This can only be true when some hymn or extra piece is interpolated; which is but seldom the case – in the Masses of Mozart, Haydn, or Beethoven rarely or never. The words of the musical portion of the Mass itself are, as will be seen, identical with those in the English Prayer Book.⁹⁸

Although Grove is making it clear that there was nothing to worry about with these pieces, his use of the word ‘popish’ and the need to justify the decision to perform these works suggests that he expected a certain degree of antipathy. Given the state of anti-Catholicism

taken to be implicit. See Olive Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1987); and Victor Bailey, *This Rash Act: Suicide Across the Life Cycle in the Victorian City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

97 Suzy Anger, *Victorian Interpretation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). Of particular relevance is ‘Intertext One: Victorian Legal Interpretation’, 49-60.

98 This passage is identical in GB-Lcm-B, 27/11/1869, 9: 3 (Rossini), GB-Lcm-B, 29/03/1873, 22: 458-459 (Crowther-Alwyn) and GB-Lbl-B, 29/03/1879, 19: 579 (Schubert).

Table 7: Performances of works with liturgical texts		
Composer	Work	Dates
Mendelssohn	<i>Lauda Sion</i> [Op.73]	06/04/1867
	Hymn: <i>Hear my prayer</i> [WoO 15]	21/12/1867, 06/03/1869, 05/02/1870, 03/02/1872
	Hymn for Contralto solo, Chorus and Orchestra (Op.96)	18/10/1873
	Motet: <i>Surrexit Pastor</i> [Op.39]	21/02/1874
Rossini	<i>Stabat Mater</i> (various extracts)	17/03/1866, 28/03/1868, 07/11/1868, 05/12/1868, 06/11/1869, 17/02/1872, 22/04/1876
	<i>Petit Messe Solennelle</i>	Complete: 27/11/1869 Extract ('Qui tollis'): 29/01/1870
Beethoven	Mass in C	05/11/1870, 30/01/1875
Sullivan	<i>Festival Te Deum and Domine Salvum Fac</i>	01/03/1873
Crowther-Alwyn	Mass in F	29/03/1873
Bach	Cantata: <i>My spirit was in heaviness</i> [BWV 21]	27/03/1875
	Cantata: <i>God's time is the best</i> [BWV 106]	16/12/1875
Prout	<i>Magnificat</i>	15/01/1876
Verdi	Requiem	26/11/1878
Schubert	Hymn: <i>Oh Lord our God</i> [D.948]	01/02/1873
	Grand Mass in E flat [D.950]	29/03/1879

in Victorian Britain, as outlined by scholars such as Denis Paz, Grove's concern may well have been justified:

They [Catholics] were physically shunned; and the mass media of the day produced a torrent of tracts, books, magazines, and newspaper stories that reviled their beliefs, challenged their political loyalties, and depicted them as the deluded dupes of men who lusted for sex, money, and power.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Denis G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 1–2.

The Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, passed in 1829, gave Catholics some new rights, such as the ability to vote or hold government office, but left many other anti-Catholic laws in place.

This makes it all the more surprising that liturgical works by overtly Catholic composers such as Rossini and Verdi were included at all. In fact, excerpts from Rossini's *Stabat Mater* were very popular up until 1870.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, concern over Catholic music might explain why most of these pieces, including what Grove considered the 'safe' masses, were performed only once. Even Sullivan's use of a single line normally associated with Catholic practice in his *Festival Te Deum* had to be carefully justified:

It has been the custom in the Roman Church, on occasions of more than usual importance or interest, to add to the Te Deum the words 'Domine salvum fac regem nostrum et exaudi nos in die quâ invocamus Te.' On the recent occasion this was adopted as the only means at hand of including Her Majesty the Queen with the Prince of Wales in the thanksgiving to which the Directors of the Company desired to give expression.¹⁰¹

The line was translated in the booklet as "O Lord save the Queen, and mercifully hear us when we call upon thee."¹⁰² Although the reasoning behind the inclusion was perfectly logical, it was still evidently necessary to distance the performance from Roman associations. It is also worth pointing out that, in spite of Grove and Manns's desire to promote English composers, the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts did not include a single liturgical work by any of the numerous native composers who were writing Catholic masses between 1865 and 1879.¹⁰³

The issue of Catholic versus Protestant works seems to have been particularly complicated in the case of Mendelssohn. On the one hand, all of the works by Mendelssohn entitled 'Hymn' were based on psalm texts, and could potentially have been used for the Anglican liturgy. *Hear my prayer* in particular was popular enough to merit four performances. On the other hand, Mendelssohn's pre-eminence also seems to have obliged Grove and Manns to mount performances of works that he wrote for Catholic contexts, even if these works appeared only once. These include the *Lauda Sion* (based on

¹⁰⁰ They disappear along with the general decline in number of performances of Rossini, as outlined in Table 2, pg. 33.

¹⁰¹ GB-Lcm-B, 01/03/1873, 18, 372.

¹⁰² GB-Lcm-B, 01/03/1873, 18, 374.

¹⁰³ A history of such works and of the composers who produced them can be found in T. E. Muir, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008).

a Catholic liturgical text) and the Motet *Surrexit pastor bonus*. Of these two works, the latter was the only one to receive a programme note, and here Grove seems to have been at some pains to keep its dedicatees, the French nuns at the Trinità de' Monti in Rome, at arm's length:

... few who ever went to Vespers there on a Sunday evening are likely to forget the impression they received as they surrendered themselves to the sentiment of the place, and joined, as far as possible, in the singing and such other parts of the worship as they could follow. The nuns who play the organ and sing are in a high gallery at the end of the church, opposite the altar, behind a thick *grille*; the voices float over your head, and partly from that, partly – or, perhaps, mostly – because they are nuns, and behind a screen, the music, bad as it is, sounds charming.¹⁰⁴

Although Grove was doing his best to present a positive image, he could not help disapproving of the music (though it is hard to tell whether he was referring to the music itself or the performance). It is certainly not clear that his assessment was disconnected from the fact that he was writing about a Catholic place of worship. Moreover, he makes it clear that he himself, a good Protestant, could not follow the whole of the unfamiliar service. Later on, he states that Mendelssohn's letters do not say whether or not the nuns ever sang the motets written for them; "Possibly they found them rather difficult."¹⁰⁵ Even if the work was written for Catholics, perhaps something could still have been salvaged in the idea that the nuns never performed it. The fact that this piece was only performed once at the Saturday Concerts suggests that this justification was not sufficient. However, it is interesting to note that the inextricably Catholic nature of the work would probably have barred it from performance at the Crystal Palace had the composer not been Mendelssohn.

Unsurprisingly, the notes reveal less anxiety over works that were for, or that could at least be connected to, the Anglican liturgy. This is evident in Grove's notes for the two performances of Bach's sacred cantatas, where he states that:

These pieces are somewhat in the nature of the "Verse Anthems" of the Anglican Cathedral Service... The chief difference is a characteristic one, and consists in the fact that the German "Church Cantata" is usually grounded on one of the Chorale-tunes, while the "Anthem" is left free from any such obligation.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ GB-Lbl-B, 21/02/1874, 17: 412-413.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ The passage is identical in GB-Lbl-B, 27/03/1875, 22: 623 and GB-Lbl-B, 16/10/1875, 3: 54.

Grove's expectation that the audience would be unfamiliar with Bach's cantatas meant that the Lutheran practice had to be explained through a comparison to an Anglican equivalent. However, the Protestant kinship of the two denominations seems to have allowed the connection to be drawn without any evidence of discomfort. A more overtly positive position could be taken for works that were actually written for the Anglican liturgy, such as in Grove's note for Prout's *Magnificat*, performed on 15th January 1876.¹⁰⁷ However, he also had to go to some lengths to make the genre Anglican in the first place, starting with a statement that: "The Magnificat is in a peculiar degree the property of the English school of church music." After allowing that "foreigners have composed this hymn," including Bach and Palestrina, he goes on to say:

But notwithstanding these it remains true that the Magnificat is not so familiar and characteristic a hymn in the Roman Church as it is in ours, where there is not a cathedral in the country into which you may not go for the afternoon service, six days out of the seven, and hear its familiar words, sung to almost as familiar music.

With the genre claimed for the Church of England, Grove then goes on to praise Prout's place in a national tradition:

His treatment of it will be found to have a strong relation to that of the English Cathedral-School. No one would now imitate the musicians of a century and a century and a half ago – Rogers and Greene, Croft and Weldon. . . . But these great men had a strong and unmistakeable style and idiom of their own (as the English Church architects had); and it is pleasant to welcome traces of it in English composers of the present day.¹⁰⁸

There are many things one could question about Grove's argument here, not least the Englishness of the Magnificat text. For now, the important point is the intensity of promotion that a piece specifically written for the Anglican liturgy could receive. It is also worth noting the connection Grove drew between musical and architectural style in this note, with the choice of cathedrals invoking the same kind of architectural morality that might have been applied to the Palace itself.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ GB-Lbl-B, 15/01/1876, 13: 355-6.

¹⁰⁸ The nationalistic implications of this passage will be explored further in Chapter 7.

¹⁰⁹ We might also add that it conveniently ignores the fact most of the English Cathedral architects were Catholic.

When we turn to Victorian pieces with a religious subject but that were not produced specifically for use in the liturgy, there is one genre that clearly stands out: the oratorio.¹¹⁰ Howard Smither's work on its history in England contains an entire section devoted to 'Oratorio as Religious Experience', in which he argues that:

The religious homogeneity effected by an oratorio performance resulted from the feelings of devotion engendered by the work - and by the locale, if the oratorio were performed in a cathedral or church.¹¹¹

He cites numerous extracts from contemporary sources to support his point, ranging from the 1830s to the 1880s, including a discussion in the *Musical Times* of the practice of choral festivals:

... where Handel, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Spohr, and many other priests of music periodically preach their eloquent sermons in the most appropriate temple that can be selected ...¹¹²

In this case, the 'most appropriate temple' was a cathedral, further emphasising (along with all of the other religious images) the perceived connection between oratorio performances and institutional Christianity.

Smither also argues that the widespread enthusiasm for oratorios in Victorian Britain was derived from the fact that they cut across denominational boundaries: whether High Anglican, Broad Church, or Non-conformist, everyone could appreciate the religious atmosphere of an oratorio performance. Here we might wish to be a bit more careful: after all, performances in cathedrals would have carried resonances of High or Broad denominations; non-conformist groups tended to meet in buildings designated as chapels.¹¹³ In addition, the treatment of works that were named 'oratorio' from countries other than England illustrates that doctrinal issues were never far away. At the Crystal Palace, such concerns appeared in Grove's note for Beethoven's *Mount of Olives*:

110 Of course, the genre carried moral as well as religious resonances, not least with ideas of health and 'muscular Christianity'. Maria McHale provides a summary of these ideas in her doctoral thesis on the English choral tradition. See *'A Singing People': English Vocal Music and Nationalist Debate, 1880-1920* (PhD Diss, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2003), 106-114.

111 Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 262.

112 'The Gloucester Music Festival', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 21, no. 452 (1 October 1880): 498.

113 Jeffrey Cox, 'Worlds of Victorian Religion', in *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt, The Routledge Worlds (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 433-48.

In the original text the three solo personages of the drama are the Saviour, St. Peter, and an Angel, each of whom has his part. In the English version however a necessary concession has been made to English taste, by putting the part of the first named of the three into the mouth of another speaker (sometimes named St. John), who relates the narrative in the third person, what in the original is spoken in the first.¹¹⁴

He then goes on to describe the creation of a completely new libretto, based on the story of Saul and David and titled *Engedi*, written by “Dr. Henry Hudson, of Dublin” to replace the original words by Franz Xaver Huber. Grove states that Hudson was motivated by the “objection felt to the performance of the original story at all.” As Barbara Mohn states in her chapter on the English oratorio:

The English public considered it an unpardonable impropriety that not only was the Saviour included among the dramatis personae [of Beethoven’s *Christus am Oelberge*] but that Christ also expressed the agony of his death in an extended monologue and that he even engaged in a duet with an angel.¹¹⁵

The objection was no doubt partly due to the Anglican belief that personifying Christ was blasphemous. As Mohn points out, it was also due to the perception of opera singers as immoral, and therefore unsuited to any performance involving biblical words, let alone those of Christ himself.¹¹⁶

Smither argues that the objection to the personification of Christ had been dropped by 1877, citing a performance of *Christus am Oelberge* with an unmodified translation of the original libretto at the Leeds Festival that year and an approving review.¹¹⁷ However, his suggestion that the matter had been laid to rest by this time is undermined by the review itself. After all, the author would not have thought it worthy of drawing attention to the libretto if it really had been of no concern. Certainly the Crystal Palace programme notes provide some evidence that anxiety continued to simmer below the surface during the 1860s and 70s.¹¹⁸ Equal caution was taken with William Sterndale Bennett’s *The*

114 GB-Lcm-B, 26/02/1870, 19: 103.

115 Barbara Mohn, “‘Personifying the Saviour?’: English Oratorio and the Representation of the Words of Christ”, in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 1*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 228–229.

116 Ibid., 232. It is also worth noting that similar objections about the morality of the venue and performers motivated the banning of all religious subjects from plays during the Victorian period. See John Russell Stephens, *The Censorship of English Drama, 1824-1901* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 93.

117 Smither, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 308–309.

118 Mohn suggests that this was also the case for the 1877 Leeds Festival performance of *Christus am Oelberge*, pointing out that the organising committee felt the need to justify the decision in the

Woman of Samaria, with a complete performance on 20th March 1869 accompanied by a note stating:

The Words attributed to Our Saviour are, with one exception, assigned to the bass voice, the greatest care being taken that the singer who recites this portion of the text shall appear only as a narrator, and in no degree attempt to personate a character.¹¹⁹

The same concerns appear in a note for a performance of Mendelssohn's *St Paul* in 1872:

A feature in the work which excited much controversy in the early days of the oratorio was the employment of a chorus of Trebles and Altos, accompanied by the wind instruments only, for the embodiment of the voice of the Saviour (no. 14). It exercised the ancient critics considerably. No one now doubts its propriety or its effectiveness, but it may not be out of place to quote the remarks of two great musicians of the time who shewed [sic] their kindred with Mendelssohn by recognising the fitness of his treatment of so difficult a point.¹²⁰

The two 'great' musicians in question were Schumann and Hauptmann ("successor of Sebastian Bach at Leipzig"). Although Mendelssohn was clearly thought to have handled the issue well, it was still described as a 'difficult point'. Eminent external authorities had to be invoked to justify the solution. On a more subtle level, we could look at the treatment of Sullivan's 1873 oratorio *The Light of the World*. Sullivan was a popular, native composer, and his earlier oratorio, *The Prodigal Son*, had been presented complete. In addition, Ian Bradley has pointed out that Grove himself had been involved in selecting the Bible verses that made up the libretto of *The Light of the World*.¹²¹ However, Manns only ever programmed the instrumental sections. Perhaps the fact that Christ's words were sung by a baritone throughout, flouting the principle of non-representation, explains why none of the vocal portions were performed at the Saturday Concerts during the 1870s.¹²²

Manns did devote a few concerts exclusively to a single complete oratorio. These performances are shown in Table 8. On these specific occasions, it is possible that a

programme note for the performance. See Mohn, "Personifying the Saviour?", 237.

119 GB-Lbl-B, 20/03/1869, 22: 6.

120 GB-Lcm-B, 30/11/1872, 9: 179-180.

121 Ian C. Bradley, *Lost Chords and Christian Soldiers: The Sacred Music of Sir Arthur Sullivan* (London: SCM Press, 2013), 122.

122 Mohn identifies this work as the first in the Victorian period to break with the principle of not portraying Jesus as a character. See Mohn, "Personifying the Saviour?", 235. Its lack of a complete performance at the Crystal Palace was even more striking on account of its evident popularity elsewhere, receiving many performances around the country in the years after its composition. See Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician* (Aldershot; Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1992), 77-78.

Table 8: Concerts consisting of a single, complete oratorio

Composer	Work	Date
Handel	<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	17/11/1866, 15/12/1866
	<i>Theodora</i>	07/02/1874
Sullivan	<i>The Prodigal Son</i>	11/12/1869
Mendelssohn	<i>Elijah</i>	16/12/1871
	<i>St. Paul</i>	30/11/1872
Ouseley	<i>Hagar</i>	19/12/1874
Macfarren	<i>St. John the Baptist</i>	04/12/1875
Hatton	<i>Hezekiah</i>	15/12/1877

religious tone would have prevailed for the entire concert, and might have engendered the kind of devotional atmosphere that Smither proposes for oratorio performances generally. On the whole, though, it was evidently rare to present oratorios complete. Performances of overtures and vocal excerpts from a large number of oratorios were given throughout the period.¹²³ However, even excerpts could have certain kinds of religious overtones, as illustrated by Grove's note on the overture to Handel's *Esther*:

It has always been one of Handel's most favourite instrumental works, and for many years was played annually at the "festival for the Sons of the Clergy," in St. Paul's, and with reason, for it is a noble composition, especially when judged by the standards of the Orchestral music of that day.¹²⁴

If just the overture on its own could hold these kinds of associations, then there is no reason that it could not have helped create religious feeling in its performance at the Crystal Palace.

Oratorios were not the only kind of non-liturgical music with a religious subject that were performed at the Crystal Palace. Once again, works by Mendelssohn were particularly important in this regard, with his Symphony No. 2 (never referred to as such, instead presented as *Lobgesang* or *Hymn of Praise*) and his *Reformation* Symphony No. 5 receiving regular performances. The latter, written to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Confession of Augsburg (a key document in defining Lutheranism), was well received on account of its Protestant inspiration. Both works appeared in roughly every other season

¹²³ For an illustration of this point, see the Digital Appendix.

¹²⁴ GB-Lbl-B, 28/11/1874, 8: 195.

between 1865 and 1879. One might also mention George Macfarren's *Christmas Cantata*, performed on 22nd December 1866, and Henry Holmes' 'Dramatic Symphony', *Jeanne d'Arc*, performed on 27th February 1875. Once again, such notes as appear for these works generally show a preference for Protestantism, as we see in Grove's note for Raff's *Overture to a Drama of the Thirty Years' War*:

One thing is certain, that if a contest is intended, the protestant side triumphs as unmistakeably in this composition as it does in the "Reformation Symphony" of Mendelssohn, which as my readers may not have forgotten, is founded on the same old hymn [*Ein feste Burg*].¹²⁵

When taken together with the liturgical pieces outlined above, it seems that most concerts contained some music with a religious subject. Although religious elements might be represented by only one or two items per programme, they were clearly thought to be an important part of programming practice.

Surprisingly, Christianity was not the only religion to receive mention in the notes, though references to others were very rare indeed. Judaism makes a few appearances as part of the biographies of the relevant composers: Grove observed that Goldmark "is, like so many eminent musicians, of Jewish origin",¹²⁶ though it is unclear whether he was referring to religion or race. There were also a few pieces performed with some connection to Judaism, such as the Ouseley and Hatton oratorios on the Old Testament subjects of *Hagar* and *Hezekiah* (respectively), not to mention excerpts from Handel's *Esther*; although, as Mohn points out, the choice of Old Testament stories was more likely to have been motivated by the need to avoid any personification of Jesus.¹²⁷ Generally, Judaism as a subject was not discussed in the programme notes. Tellingly, the notes made very little reference to Mendelssohn's Jewish background, and none suggest any Jewish character in his music. The overall scarcity of such references might have had some roots in the anti-Semitism of Victorian Britain.¹²⁸ The evasions surrounding Mendelssohn could imply that his image needed protecting from Jewish associations.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ GB-Lbl-B, 18/11/1876, 8: 247.

¹²⁶ GB-Lbl-B, 02/03/1878, 15: 498.

¹²⁷ See Mohn, "'Personifying the Saviour?'" , 232-233.

¹²⁸ Anthony Julius' account of the anti-Semitism Benjamin Disraeli received during his premiership in the 1870s is particularly relevant for being almost exactly contemporaneous with these programme notes. See Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 263–268.

¹²⁹ Colin Eatock suggests that anti-Semitism in relation to Mendelssohn was influenced by Wagner and by other developments on the continent. See Colin Eatock, 'Fragmentation and Legacy', in *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 133–50. For greater detail on the

Even more unexpected is a single reference to Islam, which appears in Grove's note for Mendelssohn's *Italian* Symphony on October 17th 1874:

[The second movement] is in D minor, and begins with the following loud call to prayer or meditation, like the cry of the muezzin from minaret.¹³⁰

It is difficult to know what to make of this image. Practically speaking, it seems connected to the personal experience that Grove would surely have had of Islamic culture as a result of his travels in Palestine.¹³¹ Further, it was not completely impossible that some members of the audience would have heard muezzins themselves. After all, as Timothy Larsen points out, the first Thomas Cook tour of the Holy Land was organised in 1869, and was specifically aimed at the middle classes.¹³² These were precisely the kind of people who were increasingly in evidence at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts, and Grove might have been aware that this was an area of increasing knowledge in his audience through the 1870s.

Still, it is a baffling choice of image to explain Mendelssohn's Fourth Symphony, as it had nothing to with the 'Italian' subtitle of the piece. The earlier part of the note does provide a certain amount of context. Drawing on Mendelssohn's letters for evidence, Grove states:

... the *Andante*, if anything, is Mendelssohn's visit to Naples. It is difficult to realise this, and to find in that grave, beautiful, regretful strain, a reflection of the streets and quays of the noisiest and most brilliant city in the world. It is not like the protest of an earnest-minded man against the frivolity and recklessness of the "great sinful streets of Naples," which roused so powerfully the indignation of a poet of our own days. It would seem to have been more appropriately the production, or rather the suggestion, of some solemn evening hour

continental attitudes, see Donald Mintz, '1848, Anti-Semitism, and the Mendelssohn Reception', in *Mendelssohn Studies*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 200–239. However, given the anti-Semitism that Julius outlines for 1870s England, it seems just as plausible that negative attitudes towards Mendelssohn's heritage were home-grown. On a related note, it is worth mentioning Jeffrey Sposato's work, which argues that Mendelssohn, as a convert, may have held negative attitudes towards Judaism himself, at least in the early parts of his life. See Jeffrey S. Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

130 GB-Lbl-B, 17/10/1874, 2: 36.

131 Grove's travels have been outlined by Michael Musgrave, 'Describing and Evaluating: Grove on Technology, Geography, Exploration and Literature', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 46–53.

132 See Chapter 3, 'Spiritual Exploration: Thomas Cook, Victorian Tourists, and the Holy Land' in Timothy Larsen, *Contested Christianity: The Political and Social Context of Victorian Theology* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2004), 29–39.

in Rome, in the gathering shade of St. Peter's, or in the mouldering quaint grandeur of the Vatican Gardens.¹³³

Although Grove seems to have wanted to remove the movement from Naples (his disavowal of Arthur Clough notwithstanding), the alternative association with Rome was apparently equally problematic. Aside from the fact that it had no support from Mendelssohn, we can see Grove's discomfort in his choice of images that lie outside of Rome's churches (rather than inside them), and in his description of the Vatican Gardens as 'mouldering' and 'quaint'. By the time Grove got to writing about the music itself four pages later, he may have found it preferable to ditch the Italian connection and reach for a completely different culture. Anything would have been better than associating 'one of the most favourite orchestral pieces in the whole repertoire of music' with Catholicism.

As well as religious institutions, we also see elements of specifically Christian thought underpinning the approach to music in notes by Grove and his colleagues. Sometimes this consisted of merely a description of the music as sounding religious. For example, Grove describes the opening of Schubert's *Unfinished* Symphony as having "an ecclesiastical character."¹³⁴ Similarly, an unknown author describes Wingham's *Festal* Overture in C as containing "a movement in slow time and of a religious character",¹³⁵ and Stainer states that the second movement of Prout's Organ Concerto "might almost be called an *Andante religioso*."¹³⁶

In other cases, one can detect a looser sense of religious influence on the notes through the choice of language and imagery used to describe the music, often drawing directly on the Bible. Timothy Larsen's work on the widespread use of biblical language shows that this was a feature common to all writings in the Victorian period. He points out that the fact that the Bible was the primary text used for teaching literacy skills to children across the whole social spectrum meant that everyone knew their Scripture, and that therefore references appeared everywhere:

Pick up any annotated edition of any Victorian novel and the notes will include biblical allusions that it never occurred to the author would ever need explaining. The Bible provided an essential set of metaphors and symbols.¹³⁷

133 GB-Lbl-B, 17/10/1874, 2: 32.

134 GB-Lcm-B, 06/04/1867, 23: 5.

135 GB-Lcm-B, 02/11/1872, 5: 83.

136 GB-Lcm-B, 19/10/1872, 3: 49.

137 Timothy Larsen, *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.

The programme notes for the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts were no exception. For example, Grove described the second movement of Schubert's Fourth Symphony as follows:

One hardly dares speak of art in connexion with such strains – even of skilful concealment of art. The music is too spontaneous, too native, and would seem rather to have come direct to us from its own original heavenly fount, than to have flowed through any earthly channel.¹³⁸

The use of the word 'heavenly' and its contrast with the word "earthly" is clearly a religious reference, regardless of whether or not a specific biblical image was intended. Similarly, Manns used language with biblical overtones in his note for Meyerbeer's Overture to *The Tragedy of Struensee*:

This is as magical in its effect as a bright sun breaking suddenly through a dark sky, and by degrees lighting up the whole firmament.¹³⁹

The choice of the word 'firmament' here makes the image especially suggestive of salvation (perhaps after the Flood, or possibly the Creation), as rays of sunlight pierce dark clouds.

Grove's very first programme notes, written for a concert commemorating Mozart's birthday in 1856, show that this same language could apply to the composers as well as the music. In a passage on the Symphony in E flat No. 39, Grove states:

It seems equally true in Art and in Morals, that it is not by indulgence and favour, but by difficulty and trouble, that the spirit is formed; and in all ages of the world our Davids, Shakespeares, Dantes, Mozarts, and Beethovens must submit to processes which none but their great spirits could survive – to a fiery trial of poverty, ill-health, neglect, and misunderstanding – and be 'tried as silver is tried,' that they may become the teachers of their fellow-men to all time, and shine, like stars in the firmament, for ever and ever.¹⁴⁰

Amen. In addition to the overtones of the Lord's Prayer in the last phrase, the religious allusions in this passage include the citation from Psalm 66:10 ("tried as silver is tried"), the use of the word 'firmament', and the description of these artists as 'teachers of their

¹³⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 22/01/1870, 14: 20.

¹³⁹ GB-Lbl-B, 02/12/1876, 10: 298.

¹⁴⁰ The original booklet from this concert appears to have been lost. This passage is reproduced, with a description of its provenance, in Charles L. Graves, *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903), 53.

fellow-men.¹⁴¹ This kind of writing was fairly exceptional; his later notes were much less dense in their use of religious imagery. Grove might have felt that his first attempt at a programme note had overdone it.

One thing that did persist was Grove's citations of passages from the Bible to explain the music, such as a quote from Psalm 42:7 ("Deep calls unto deep") for the slow movement of Mendelssohn's *Italian Symphony*.¹⁴² Even more extended biblical reference might be made to describe a composer. In a summary of Mozart's life printed for a concert on the anniversary of his death, the list of his works is followed by an excerpt in Latin from Ecclesiastes, and another in English from *The Wisdom of Solomon* (part of the original version of the King James Bible):

He, being made perfect, in a short time fulfilled a long time, for his soul pleased the Lord; wherefore He hastened to take him away.-
Wisdom, iv. 13.¹⁴³

Similarly, Grove cited Philippians 4:8 in a note from February 3rd 1877 for an Adagio in E flat in order to explain the meaning of Mendelssohn's life:

Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report – if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.¹⁴⁴

These quotes are fascinating for the fact that they directly connect both Mozart and Mendelssohn not just to Christian principles but to the very Bible itself, as well as implying perfect spiritual purity for both.

There were also very occasional hints at a composer's belief in God. This seems to be the implication behind the description of Haydn's personal markings on the score of Symphony No. 96 in D, performed on 8th November 1873:

"In nomine Domini. di me Giuseppe Haydn mpia. 791 in Londra," is the inscription which heads the first page of the autograph score, now

141 Although it is not impossible that 'Davids' refers to the biblical figure, the company the name is placed in suggest that it might instead be the artist Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), famous for his paintings of Napoleon. Grove's familiarity with French painters is indicated by his reference to Paul Delaroche in a note for Beethoven's Third Symphony from 11th October 1873.

142 GB-Lbl-B, 17/10/1874, 2: 37.

143 GB-Lbl-B, 06/12/1873, 10: 225.

144 GB-Lbl-B, 03/02/1877, 13: 428. Interestingly, this is actually a slight misquote from the King James Bible, omitting "whatsoever things are just".

in the possession of the Philharmonic Society. A similar pious ejaculation closes the work “Fine. Laus Deo. 238.”¹⁴⁵

Haydn’s belief is implicit in his dedications to God, but Grove does not discuss these inscriptions beyond what is cited here. He may not have wanted to labour the point: Haydn was deeply Catholic, and as has already been established, this would have been a point of some discomfort to Anglican audiences. However, Grove’s treatment of Haydn is in many respects consistent with that of other composers. Faith in God *per se* was only implied, if it was mentioned at all. It was never mentioned in any programme notes for living composers. This point will be discussed further later.

At the most fundamental level, it is possible to see the hermeneutic approaches taken by the authors of the Crystal Palace programme notes as being derived from the practices behind biblical exegesis. A key work in this respect (already mentioned) is Suzie Anger’s book *Victorian Interpretation*. Here, she argues that:

Methods of analysis developed in disciplines such as classics and philology entered into theological exegesis, and conversely, approaches developed for interpreting scripture would eventually be extended to literary hermeneutics.¹⁴⁶

Although Anger’s focus is on the impact this shift had on literature and literary scholarship, her arguments would work just as well for describing the Victorian practices of interpreting music. For example, her second chapter outlines two competing interpretive strategies within Victorian theology. One is that of Benjamin Jowett, as outlined in his essay ‘On the Interpretation of Scripture’, published in the 1860 book *Essays and Reviews*, edited by John William Parker.¹⁴⁷ Jowett’s aim was to read the Bible as a historical document with particular authors from specific times and places, suggesting that all of this information was necessary for interpreting the text. These ideas have clear parallels with some of the Crystal Palace notes, particularly whenever an author expresses interest in a composer’s intentions. Grove took this approach very frequently, and to take one example from many, we could look at his note for Haydn Symphony No. 97 in C:

It would be interesting to know the circumstances or events on which Haydn based his compositions, and the sentiments and ideas which

¹⁴⁵ GB-Lbl-B, 08/11/1873, 6: 127-128.

¹⁴⁶ Anger, *Victorian Interpretation*, 23.

¹⁴⁷ John William Parker, *Essays and Reviews* (London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1860). Anger’s discussion of Jowett’s ideas appears in *Victorian Interpretation*, 23-28.

passed through his mind while writing, and which he endeavoured to express.¹⁴⁸

Grove was arguing that finding the answer to this question required delving into the history surrounding a work, in a similar way to Jowett's approach to biblical texts.

The other perspective that Anger summarises is that of John Henry Newman:

Interpretations inevitably vary both diachronically and from person to person. Variety in interpretation does not necessarily entail error, but instead shows that no interpretation can be entirely adequate to an utterance or idea.¹⁴⁹

Newman's ideas are of course related to biblical utterances, but again there are plenty of examples of a similar approach in some of the programme notes at the Crystal Palace. Such passages are more common in authors besides Grove (though this is not to say that Grove avoids the trope entirely). For example, Manns's note for Schumann's *Manfred* Overture makes the following argument:

Some of Schumann's critics have sought to discover in the overture some of the occurrences and circumstances of the play, - the interview with the spirits, the death of the hero, &c. On a point like this, where the composer has not indicated any such intention, no two persons will be found to agree. I regard it rather as an embodiment of the wild unearthly spirit of the play, and of the daring, almost superhuman character of Manfred himself ...¹⁵⁰

An acknowledgement of the diversity of interpretive possibility, (mostly) detached from the intention of the author, has clear roots in Newman's approach to interpreting biblical texts. It is difficult to be sure whether Manns would have been familiar with the debates surrounding biblical exegesis, and indeed Newman's Catholic faith could easily have ruled out a direct influence on most Crystal Palace note authors. However, our knowledge of Grove's religious background and professional interests means that the case is more certain. His travels in Palestine and extensive involvement with *The Dictionary of the Bible* would have given him an excellent basis on which to make theological arguments.¹⁵¹

148 GB-Lbl-B, 31/10/1874, 4: 100.

149 Anger, *Victorian Interpretation*, 29.

150 GB-Lcm-B, 03/03/1866, 17: 9.

151 For detailed account of Grove's approach to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, see Percy M. Young, "The Other Dictionary": Grove's Work in Editing Dr Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 71–85.

Indeed, one of the letters from Kingsley to Newman that sparked the latter's *Apologia pro Vita Sua* was published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1864, immediately bringing the entire discussion within Grove's professional orbit, albeit a few years before he became editor of the magazine in 1868. The fact that his approach tended to resemble Jowett's more than Newman's may have been influenced by the latter's Catholicism. The overall presence of interpretive methods drawn from exegesis would validate Anger's argument that "the boundaries between biblical and other texts began to dissolve" through the Victorian period.¹⁵² It would therefore not be surprising if Grove adopted some of these methods for interpreting music.

Based on the evidence here, religions and religious thought clearly occupied a fundamental place in the Victorian understanding of music, receiving diverse expression in the notes for the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts. However, it is also important to note that, conversely, all of this material could easily be read as part of an overall cultural trend of secularisation. Particularly important work in this regard has been done by Dominic Erdozain in a book on Victorian ideas surrounding sport.¹⁵³ Here he argues against those who have placed the secularisation of English cultural life in the twentieth century, and against those who have suggested that it was motivated by external pressures (such as developments in scientific thought, industrialisation, or urbanisation).¹⁵⁴ Instead, he argues that secularisation began within the church, and specifically within the Evangelical Movement's attitudes towards pleasure. His book constructs a narrative in which the Evangelical campaigns against Sunday trade and entertainment and against alcohol had led to a mid-century perception of the movement as dry and fun-hating. Erdozain suggests that, to combat this poor image, Evangelicals began to change their strategy in ways that sowed seeds of broader societal secularisation:

... as sin was increasingly understood in terms of a detailed inventory of urban 'vices', salvation was increasingly reduced to methods of avoiding them. So at the height of the churches' enthusiasm for recreation we can see the danger of secularisation.¹⁵⁵

... the heirs of Wesley and Baxter had decided that 'pleasure' was not only no longer sinful but essential to their mission. Such was the

¹⁵² Anger, *Victorian Interpretation*, 3.

¹⁵³ Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*.

¹⁵⁴ One book that comes in for especially strong criticism in this regard is Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*, Christianity and Society in the Modern World (London; New York: Routledge, 2001). Similar arguments are also advanced in a more recent edited volume. See Brown and Snape, *Secularisation in the Christian World*.

¹⁵⁵ Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, 39.

ongoing preoccupation with the *wrong* sorts of pleasure, a new quest for the *right* sort came very close to being the one thing needful of late-Victorian Christianity.¹⁵⁶

Erdozain's argument is that if avoidance of sin constituted the only real requirement for salvation by the end of the nineteenth century, certain key aspects of Christian spirituality became subsidiary or even negated, namely belief in God and in the divinity of Jesus. With the focus increasingly on practice rather than actual faith, Christian beliefs lost their central place in defining how to live a good life, and society as a whole began to adopt more secular attitudes to behaviour. Erdozain backs up this thesis with citations from several contemporary commentators who identified these trends as the start of secularisation.

Erdozain's overall narrative arc is focussed on changing attitudes towards sport, but it has clear affinities with other areas of culture. This would surely include the development of 'rational recreation' as discussed earlier. Moreover, the fact that this idea served as moral justification for the entertainments provided at the Crystal Palace means that we can begin to see the entire enterprise as part of an increasingly secular culture. If pursuing the right kind of pleasure was an end in itself, it was an end that (Heine's criticisms notwithstanding¹⁵⁷) the Palace served very well. Belief in God or Jesus was irrelevant. With this perspective in mind, it becomes more understandable that the religious aspects of the Saturday Concert programme notes lacked an overtly spiritual dimension. The authors tended not to make much reference to their own belief in God or Jesus; nor do they appear to have been interested in encouraging such beliefs in their audience. The absence is particularly striking in Grove's notes. The pattern of his life suggests a deep personal faith, from his early attendance at the Holy Trinity Church in Clapham,¹⁵⁸ to his extensive editorship and contributions to the *Dictionary of the Bible*. Yet if he did sincerely believe in God, he never mentioned it. No doubt the absence of God or Jesus from the text of the programme notes was partly a result of the broadening demographic of the audience at the Saturday Concerts. With a wider range of people expected to attend, there was a greater risk that overtly spiritual statements would cause offence to someone of a differing denomination. Nonetheless, it is still a telling absence.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 155.

¹⁵⁷ Heine criticised the poor moral quality of the entertainments and the overwhelming presence of advertising (as discussed in Chapter 2), but did not mention any religious or spiritual justifications for his opinions. Instead, his complaints relate primarily to the financial burden placed on patrons. See Heine, *The Past, Present, and Future of the Crystal Palace*.

¹⁵⁸ This was the spiritual home of a group of Anglican Evangelical activists that later became known as the 'Clapham Sect.' For a full history of this network of influential figures, see Stephen Tomkins, *Clapham Sect: How Wilberforce's Circle Transformed Britain* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2010).

The idea that the Crystal Palace was becoming an inherently secular environment also changes how we see the performances of pieces with religious texts at the Saturday Concerts. While Smither argues that the experience of listening to oratorios was inherently spiritual for the Victorians, the only sources he cites are for performances in churches, a very different environment.¹⁵⁹ Even then, many of his citations focus on religious paraphernalia: we see mentions of ‘priests’ and ‘prayers’, but nothing about actual faith. One of his sources in fact tells us that performances of these works were met with a distinctly secular response outside of churches:

... as a rule, the vocalists in sacred music, when in a concert room, are received with as much applause and with as strenuous a demand for repetitions as if they were singing at the Opera.¹⁶⁰

The comment forms part of an argument that religious pieces ought to be met with reverent silence in any context, rather than just in churches (where applause was apparently checked by the nature of the building rather than that of the work). However, the fact that the anonymous author was moved to complain suggests that these works were already beginning to hold a more secular place among the general public. The practice of performing excerpts from oratorios at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts was in fact identical to the treatment of operas, so we can safely assume that enthusiastic applause would have been just as prevalent there, the religious character (or otherwise) of the music notwithstanding.¹⁶¹ If nothing else, it seems unlikely that an overture or a single aria from an oratorio would have been expected to evoke the same degree of religious feeling as for the whole work.

One might also add that a secular atmosphere at the Saturday Concerts offers some explanation for the few performances of music for the Catholic liturgy, sacred works by Catholic composers, and Mendelssohn’s works for Catholic contexts. If no-one was expecting a religious experience in such a venue, it might have been easier to allay anti-Catholic fears that such music might corrupt a Protestant audience. Maria LaMonaca has also argued that anti-Catholic sentiment in Victorian Britain was often expressing a much deeper concern over secularisation, exploring the idea that those who declared themselves

¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, Smither’s otherwise extremely comprehensive account includes no discussion of changes in types of venue for complete oratorio performances, so it is difficult to tell how exceptional the Crystal Palace practices were.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Occasional Notes’, *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 24, no. 488 (1 October 1883): 539–40.

¹⁶¹ The strict time constraints at the Saturday Concerts would probably have limited the possibilities of encoring an excerpt.

Catholics were thought to be privately atheists.¹⁶² If secularisation was already evident and accepted in the context and presentation of music at the Crystal Palace, then LaMonaca's work suggests anti-Catholic sentiment might not have been as evident there as it would otherwise have been.

Erdozain's argument for secularisation during the later nineteenth century and from within Christian practice is paralleled in the work of several other scholars working on different cultural areas, though often the links between these studies go unacknowledged on either side. For example, Timothy Larsen's review of Erdozain's book points out that the author could have made reference to Charles Cashdollar's book *A Spiritual Home*,¹⁶³ in which we find the following argument:

A simple change in the meaning of the word "Social" is indicative. In 1830 it was an adjective applied to the congregation's mid-week prayer meeting; by 1900 a church social implied tea and sandwiches, strawberries and ice cream.¹⁶⁴

The change in practice Cashdollar is outlining, from sacred to secular, certainly does seem to overlap with Erdozain's project. Similarly, Suzy Anger's overall project in *Victorian Interpretation* is to show how the hermeneutic methods applied to the Bible at the beginning of the Victorian period had moved out into the secular realm by the end of the century.¹⁶⁵ The same trend is also identified by Devon Fisher in his book on the Victorian approach to Roman Catholic saints, with a final chapter on Tennyson's *In Memoriam*:

Despite his awareness that religion itself would not be the glue that held the nation together, Tennyson recognized the tremendous power of religious rhetoric. Accordingly, he frames the new narrative of civic duty in the old form of religion, casting Arthur Hallam as, among other things, a saint whose life exemplifies civic virtues and a love of freedom constrained within the appropriate bounds of the English state – in short, as a saint who provides something in which all could believe in an increasingly secular age.¹⁶⁶

162 Maria LaMonaca, *Masked Atheism: Catholicism and the Secular Victorian Home* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008).

163 Timothy Larsen, 'Review: *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion*, by Dominic Erdozain.', *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 1 (Autumn 2010): 128–29; Charles D. Cashdollar, *A Spiritual Home: Life in British and American Reformed Congregations, 1830-1915* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

164 Cashdollar, *A Spiritual Home*, 11.

165 Anger, *Victorian Interpretation*. Though it is important to note Linda Peterson's argument that some of the trends identified by Anger happened earlier than the book would suggest. See Linda H. Peterson, 'Review of Suzy Anger, *Victorian Interpretation*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 61, no. 4 (March 2007): 524–30.

166 Devon Fisher, *Roman Catholic Saints and Early Victorian Literature: Conservatism, Liberalism, and the*

Fisher's work here seems particularly appropriate in relation to the discussion of the composers presented above. Grove's descriptions of the morally exemplary life of, say, Mendelssohn seem to have had as deep roots in hagiography as Tennyson's depiction of Arthur Hallam, with a similarly secular subject. Critical scrutiny of the life-writing contained in the Saturday Concert programme notes will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Biography, Literature, History

Since 2000 there has been a notable increase in scholarly interest in the emergence and professionalisation of academic disciplines during the Victorian period. Edited volumes have been produced by Amanda Anderson and Joseph Valente, and by Martin Daunton, examining the issue from theoretical and historical perspectives.¹ The numerous contributing authors discuss the ways in which a wide variety of disciplines separated themselves off from their intellectual neighbours, and began creating institutions and qualifications that would confer respectability on their practitioners. All this literature was able to build on work that had been done in the 1980s and early 90s that discussed such issues as the rise of a class of ‘intellectuals’ and new divisions between amateurs and professionals over the course of the nineteenth century.² One thing that all of these studies have in common is that, in examining the ways in which disciplines became independent, they only implicitly suggest what Victorian writing looked like prior to such divisions. Moreover, they tend not to examine texts for the ways in which they merged several different kinds of writing.

A particularly important text in this regard is David Amigoni’s *Victorian Biography*.³ Here he outlined the importance of biography for the creation of both ‘History’ and ‘Literature’ as disciplines. Part of what made Amigoni’s work so unusual was the fact that he approached the question of disciplinary emergence by charting the relationship of several disciplines to each other, rather examining each one individually, an approach that more recent scholarship has been slow to take up.⁴ His study makes it clear that Victorian writings prior to disciplinary divisions could be a thorough blend of biography, literature and history, and indeed these three areas dominate the kind of writing we see in the Crystal

1 Amanda Anderson and Joseph Valente, eds., *Disciplinary at the Fin de Siècle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); M. J. Daunton, ed., *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, British Academy Centenary Monographs (Oxford; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2005).

2 Respectively: Thomas William Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*, Croom Helm Studies in Society and History (London: Croom Helm, 1982); and Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

3 David Amigoni, *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993). Amigoni has also produced a more recent edited volume on the range of issues surrounding Victorian life writing: David Amigoni, ed., *Life Writing and Victorian Culture* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).

4 In contrast, each discipline receives its own chapter in Daunton’s essay volume. A more overarching and interdisciplinary narrative, showing the involvement of science in the emergence of professional history, is outlined in Ian Hesketh, *The Science of History in Victorian Britain: Making the Past Speak*, Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century v.12 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011).

Palace Saturday Concert programme notes. Discussions of composers' lives were blended with a literary style and citations of poetry, and a number of historical narratives were outlined in relation to both composers and their music. These texts could easily slip from one mode into another, even when the terminology used seemed to indicate the presence of just one.

The end point of the narrative outlined in recent research is the divided disciplinary field we have today, so it is not surprising that most of the recent scholars who have discussed Victorian writings about music have approached it from only one area at a time, and with a set of questions unique to their field. Those who have looked at Victorian musical biography have been primarily concerned with questioning the genre and its implied values. Jolanta Pekacz has been particularly critical of a structural approach to biography that she sees as deriving from nineteenth-century novels.⁵ In a similar vein, Christopher Wiley's work on the Master Musicians series of biographies from the beginning of the twentieth century has focussed on the persistence of an overarching set of narrative tropes applied to all composers. These include: 'The (Creative) Genius as Precocious Child'; 'Greatness as Exemplified by the Overcoming of Obstructions to Success (and Corresponding Determination)'; 'Tension Between Notions of Spontaneity and Intellect as the Source for Great Composition'; and 'Great Composers' Final Period as Apotheosis of Their Genius Prior to Death'.⁶ He places the development of these tropes primarily in the Victorian period (though he also outlines some of their prior history), and it is certainly true that all of these 'clichés' make appearances in the biographical writing in the Saturday Concert programme notes. However, the scholarship that Wiley and Pekacz draw on often suggests that narrative tropes may be endemic to the biographical endeavour, something that Wiley concedes when he states: "it would seem to be biography's prerogative to perpetuate such 'unbelievable' stories."⁷ Rather than attempting to assess the

5 Jolanta T. Pekacz, 'Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and Its Discontents', *Journal of Musicological Research* 23, no. 1 (January 2004): 39–80. She has since produced an edited volume that explores alternative approaches to musical biography: Jolanta T. Pekacz, ed., *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).

6 Christopher Wiley, 'Re-Writing Composers' Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography' (PhD Diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008).

7 *Ibid.*, 176. The kinds of study that have looked critically at the form and its reliance on myths and narrative tropes include: Ira Bruce Nadel, *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form* (London: Macmillan, 1984); and William H. Epstein, *Recognizing Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987). The more recent literature tends to take this aspect of biography as a given, and instead looks at the issue from personal, practical, or historical angles. See, respectively, David Ellis, *Literary Lives: Biography and the Search for Understanding* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000); Paula R. Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Elinor S. Shaffer, 'Shaping Victorian Biography: From Anecdote to *Bildungsroman*', in *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography*, ed. Peter France and William St. Clair (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the

validity or accuracy of the biographical writing seen at the Crystal Palace, the present study is closer to the kind of scholarship that Juliette Atkinson described as addressing “the social role of biography.”⁸ There will be less focus on the biographical content of the notes in and of itself; instead, there will be more attention given to how their authors were using this information for interpretive purposes.

In the case of music and literature, the existing scholarship is almost exclusively about ways in which references were made to music in Victorian novels and in poetry, with Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff’s edited volume an example of the former, and Phyllis Welliver tackling the latter.⁹ More recently, Michael Allis has also made a turn in the opposite direction, towards examining the influences that a literary context had on the output of several British composers.¹⁰ However, in the light of Amigoni’s work, it becomes clear that there has been very little engagement with the kinds of writing that we might describe as ‘music literature’. As a result, there has been no consideration of the literary qualities of texts that do not fall under the conventional headings of ‘fiction’ and ‘poetry’. As the following discussion will show, the programme notes of the Crystal Palace had a distinctly literary dimension, especially in the descriptions of the music itself.

Studies that discuss the intersection of music and history in the Victorian period are as yet relatively rare. Rosemary Golding’s work on the development of music and academia necessarily touches on the subjects being taught, with music history shown to be an increasingly important component.¹¹ However, it is not within the remit of her work to show how these engaged with pre-existing historical works or to chart the development of music history in itself. Bennett Zon has frequently touched on nineteenth-century English histories of music, but always as part of larger writings with specific remits relating to

British Academy, 2002), 115–34.

- 8 Juliette Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century ‘Hidden’ Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 7. Her examples include work by David Amigoni, discussed above, and Trev Lynn Broughton’s work on gender in late-Victorian biographies, *Men of Letters, Writing Lives: Masculinity and Literary Auto/Biography in the Late-Victorian Period* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999).
- 9 Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff, eds., *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004); Phyllis Welliver, ed., *The Figure of Music in Nineteenth-Century British Poetry* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2005). Welliver’s earlier work was also in the question of music in fiction, though from the perspective of female engagement. See Phyllis Welliver, *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900: Representations of Music, Science, and Gender in the Leisured Home*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000).
- 10 Michael Allis, *British Music and Literary Context: Artistic Connections in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Music in Britain, 1600-1900 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012).
- 11 Rosemary Golding, *Music and Academia in Victorian Britain*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

nationalism, constructions of non-Western music, or evolutionary thought.¹² He does not discuss Victorian music history as a topic in its own right. The form and content of the historical writing seen in the Saturday Concert programme notes will be the focus here, with particular emphasis on narrative tropes.

Biography, literature and history may have blended into one another, but it is important to point out that the Saturday Concert programme notes did not in fact represent any of these genres. They were not works of biography, literature or history *per se*, a position which allowed for a number of interesting interactions. References to pre-existing works of biography and literature demonstrate the attitudes held towards them, and particularly the ways in which such attitudes could shift. Moreover, these notes illustrate important points about the value placed on partisan presentations, as opposed to objectivity. In addition, the historical narratives point to the emergence of music history as an object of study, and suggest that the authors at the Crystal Palace may have been involved in such developments. These programme notes also serve as excellent reminders of how contingent the early versions of music history could be.

Biographical facts about a composer's life and about the composition of specific works were a staple component of the Crystal Palace programmes. Grove's notes in particular were loaded with copious details, but most programme notes authors would use biography to some extent. The information included might refer to: the birth and death dates of the composer, who they studied with, their whereabouts at the time of composition, the source of the commission or the inspiration, the compositional genesis, possibly mentioning sketches, the preparations for the first performance, the names of the first performers, the other works performed alongside it, subsequent performances, the amount the composer was paid, the critical reception, and so on. Citations, and sometimes quite extensive ones, from the composer's own letters might also be provided where relevant, and sometimes where not. For composers who had not been heard at the Crystal Palace before, a short

12 References to music histories by Hogarth, Stafford and Hullah appear in Bennett Zon, *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Eastman Studies in Music, v. 48 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007); Bennett Zon, 'Histories of British Music and the Land Without Music: National Identity and the Idea of the Hero', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. Emma Hornby and David Nicholas Maw (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2010), 311–24; and Bennett Zon, 'Recapitulation and the Musical Education of Victorian Children: *The Child's Pianoforte Book* (1882) by H. Keatley Moore.', in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 299–321.

outline of their whole life (to date, if still alive) would sometimes be provided.¹³ Examples of these appear for Gaspare Spontini (1774–1851) on 5th October 1872, Henry Litolff (1818–1891) on 28th March 1874, and Charles Horsley (1822–1876) on 25th March 1876.¹⁴ The importance of these summaries is illustrated by Manns’s statement in a note for the *Lustspiel* Overture by Julius Rietz (1812–1877) from 8th March 1873: “The mere outline of Herr Rietz’s life is sufficient evidence of his capacity and reputation.”¹⁵ Clearly, the point of the biographical information was not just to paint a picture of the composer, but also to affirm their worthiness.

The biographical information was also used as an explanation for the music via the ‘Expressive Theory of Art’. This idea was first outlined by M.H. Abrams in his 1953 book *The Mirror and the Lamp*.¹⁶ It has since been summarised by Andrew Bennett as follows:

The author, as he or she is increasingly conceived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has ideas, feelings, intentions, and desires which emerge in the act of composition and result in a linguistic artefact. The act of composition is seen as a way of representing in language an original, pre-linguistic work, an idea of a work that is constituted in – and as – the author’s consciousness.¹⁷

Bennett’s serendipitous use of the word ‘composition’ highlights the fact that this change in perceptions of authorship was just as applicable to musicians as poets. His further suggestion that the idea “reached its apotheosis in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries” does not, however, appear to hold true for the writing about music we see at the Crystal Palace.¹⁸ Not only did the idea underpin many of the programme notes, its scope was considerably enlarged through a combination with biography. Indeed, if a piece was treated as an autobiographical statement by the composer, then biography would in fact have been essential for understanding it. Grove in particular sought out knowledge of all the events in a composer’s life and of the content of their letters specifically in order to establish the thoughts they must have been attempting to express in their compositions. His

13 Of course, if that first appearance consisted of a song or vocal item, then it would often not receive a note at all, leaving no opportunity to announce who they were.

14 Respectively: GB-Lcm-B, 05/10/1872, 1: 3-4; GB-Lbl-B, 28/03/1874, 22: 544-545; and GB-Lbl-B, 25/03/1876, 23: 640.

15 GB-Lcm-B, 08/03/1873, 19: 394.

16 M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953).

17 Andrew Bennett, ‘Expressivity: The Romantic Theory of Authorship’, in *Literary Theory and Criticism: An Oxford Guide*, ed. Patricia Waugh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 49. For a more in-depth philosophical discussion of the emergence of the expressive model, see Andrew Bennett, *The Author, The New Critical Idiom* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005).

18 *Ibid.*, 48.

presumption of an expressive approach to composition is clear from a note on Haydn Symphony No. 97 in C from 31st October 1874:

It would be interesting to know the circumstances or events on which Haydn based his compositions, and the sentiments and ideas which passed through his mind while writing, and which he endeavoured to express.¹⁹

There is no question in Grove's mind that Haydn would have been attempting to express his immediate thoughts through his music.

These kinds of connections were most likely to be outlined in cases where it was known that the composer specifically intended to express a particular sentiment through their music. One example, albeit only anecdotally presented, is given in Manns's note for a performance of Meyerbeer's *Struensee* Overture on 2nd December 1876:

Meyerbeer undertook the composition of the music to the Play shortly after his brother's death, with the intention, it is said, of interesting his mother, and diverting her thoughts from her recent loss.²⁰

This kind of biographical background would immediately give the audience an interpretative lens through which to understand the music. The more expressive kind of biographical connection was offered in Grove's note for Schumann's Second Symphony on 23rd November 1872:

The composer has given us a clue to the general intention of his work by stating that he sketched it during a period of great physical suffering and severe mental conflict, in the endeavour to combat the difficulties of his circumstances, a conflict which, he says, left its traces behind it, and which in fact led at last to his unhappy death. And this character of obstinate conflict and determination we shall find strongly impressed on the greater portion of the Symphony.²¹

The music is presented as being expressive of the composer's emotional state at the time of composition, and takes the authority of Schumann himself.

This is not to say that composer authorisation was necessary, as biographical and expressive connections were also drawn even where there was nothing to indicate them. No doubt taking his cue from the more overt statements cited earlier, Grove was happy to

19 GB-Lbl-B, 31/10/1874, 4: 100.

20 GB-Lbl-B, 02/12/1876, 10: 294.

21 GB-Lcm-B, 23/11/1872, 8: 153.

make similar connections between biography and music in a note for Schumann's First Symphony on 30th January 1869:

It was written at the most happy period in his life, when the long continued obstacles to his marriage had been overcome, and he found himself in possession of a high and recognised position as a composer and authority in music. And this state of things the Symphony reflects very faithfully. It is not only throughout bright and cheerful, and free from those clouds of melancholy which sadden and obscure many of his later works, but there is a confidence and assurance about it, which express his settled satisfaction in life.²²

In this example, Grove's knowledge of the good things that were happening to Schumann at this time led him to draw conclusions about the music. In his note from 2nd November 1872 for Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 27 in B flat, we can see his train of thought going in the opposite direction. After citing the opening melody of the last movement, he stated:

We know what Mozart had in his mind, and what he intended by this delicious tune. It was his embodiment of Spring. Fine days, the harbingers of April or May, sometimes come in January in Vienna as elsewhere, and we may hope that it was one of such that inspired Mozart on the day that he sat down to write his Finale. For on the 14th, when it is quite possible that he was still engaged on the last movement, he wrote three little "German songs," two of them all about the Spring - "Sehnsucht nach dem Frühlinge," and "Im Frühlings Anfang," and the melody of the first of these is almost identical with the air of the Finale.²³

The knowledge that the music was taken from a song about spring led Grove to a biographical speculation, namely that it could have been written on a day with fine weather. Even the lack of any obvious connection between life and work could be made into a biographical and expressive explanation for the music, no doubt motivated in part by the threat to the 'expressive theory' that such omissions represented. Grove's note on Beethoven's Second Symphony from 2nd October 1869 represents a good example:

... the 6th of October in that year [1802] is the date of the remarkable letter to his brothers, usually known as "Beethoven's Will," which alludes so affectingly to his deafness, and was evidently written under the influence of one of those fits of depression to which, as his life advanced, he so often became prey. No such feeling however can be traced in the Symphony: he probably escaped from the demon of low

22 GB-Lcm-B, 30/01/1869, 15: 6.

23 GB-Lcm-B, 02/11/1872, 5: 88.

spirits as soon as he began to compose; the inward voice calling so loudly and sweetly as to make him forget his deafness to the outer world ...²⁴

The contradiction between the events in the composer's life and the mood of the music from that time was itself treated as expressive through the suggestion that the symphony served to cheer the composer up.

Biographical inferences were not just given to whole pieces or movements, but could even be attributed to specific passages of the music, as we see in a note for Mendelssohn's String Quintet in A from 14th December 1872, reprinted from the programmes of the Monday Popular Concerts. Here the "pensive melody" at the start of the second movement was described as "not impossibly prompted by the recent death of Mendelssohn's fondly attached friend, Edward Rietz", a surprising suggestion on account of the movement in question being in F major, rather than a more overtly funereal key.²⁵ Grove's descriptions of particular passages could become especially entangled with the composer's immediate mood, as we see in the note for Beethoven's Ninth Symphony from 19th April 1873. This note was twenty-seven pages long, expanded from five and a half pages previously, and most of the new length was taken up with a close account of the music itself, including statements such as:

An indication of the restlessness of Beethoven's mind at this time is seen here again in the change of the phrase in the last four bars of the quotation, and the more rapid repetition of the arpeggios in the accompaniment.²⁶

Grove was here attributing four bars of music alone with the ability to convey the specific emotional state of the composer at the time of their composition. Similarly, the opening six bars of the second movement were given a biographical origin: "This phrase is said to have come suddenly into Beethoven's mind as he stepped out of his house into the night brilliant with stars."²⁷ Overall, Grove's note for this work suggests that the greater part of it could be understood by reference either to events in the composer's life or his emotional state as he was writing it.

Grove drew particularly heavily on this whole matrix of ideas in his notes on Schubert, many of which would have contributed to the dissemination of the 'Poor

24 GB-Lcm-B, 02/10/1869, 1: 4.

25 GB-Lcm-B, 14/12/1872, 11: 228.

26 GB-Lcm-B, 19/04/1873, 25: 529.

27 Ibid., 536.

Schubert's image outlined by Christopher Gibbs.²⁸ On 29th February 1868, writing about Schubert's 'Tragic' Fourth Symphony, Grove speculatively brought in biography to explain the work's subtitle:

But beyond the title there is nothing in the Symphony to indicate that it was inspired by any specially tragic theme, or was the result of any severe private misfortune. Possibly it is the record of some passing love affair, which though "tragical" enough at the moment was soon forgotten (as one forgets at 19), and may even have melted away as the Symphony occupied his brain and his fingers: or it is some pang of poverty, like that which dictated the letter to his brother, in which he begs for wherewithal to buy "a penny loaf and a few apples," and signs himself "your loving, poor hopeful, but still poor brother Franz" - a frame of mind which would fly before the first few kreutzers that chance or kindness put in his way.²⁹

Whatever it was, the important thing for Grove is that there must have been some reason for Schubert's decision to express these particular sentiments. As time went on, Grove's developing research interests gave him more details about Schubert's life to draw on. By 1873 and the first Crystal Palace performance of the Fifth Symphony, his speculation regarding the inspiration for the Fourth Symphony had clearly been updated with new information:

In the "Tragic Symphony" Schubert probably entombed the anxieties and disappointment attending his attempt and his failure to obtain the modest post of Teacher to the Music School at Laibach. By the end of September, however, he had worked off all recollections of disappointment, and not a trace of any such feeling is to be found in the Symphony.³⁰

Once the Fourth Symphony had been adequately explained, Grove brought in further speculative biographical ideas to form a smooth narrative transition to the composition of the Fifth. As with the Beethoven example above, the assumption of a direct link between the composer's emotional state and the mood of the music meant that the absence of an obvious connection had to be carefully handled. The note for a performance of the Octet on

28 Christopher Howard Gibbs, "'Poor Schubert': Images and Legends of the Composer", in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher Howard Gibbs, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 36–55. Gibbs mainly discusses German sources, so does not mention Grove's writing. David Gramit does discuss Grove's role in Schubert reception, but does not mention the 'Poor Schubert' image specifically. David Gramit, 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values', *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (Summer 1993): 65–78.

29 GB-Lcm-B, 29/02/1868, 20: 5-6.

30 GB-Lcm-B, 01/02/1873, 14: 285-286.

14th March 1874 is a particularly interesting example. After quoting a letter that Schubert sent around the time of its composition Grove stated:

The Octett, with all its earnestness and depth of feeling, can hardly be said to reflect so forlorn a state of mind as this letter does. Probably Schubert, like other people of sensibility, found relief in the confession of his misery, and felt it less after having unburdened himself; and when dealing with the vaguer images called up by his music he may have forgotten the more definite distresses which too often found vent in his letters.³¹

Grove had clearly been forced to adopt a completely speculative approach to understanding the disjunction of mood and music in the face of conflicting biographical information. In light of passages like these, it is not surprising that scholars who have studied nineteenth-century musical biography have generally come to the conclusion that they are founded on myths, illusions, and narrative tropes drawn from fiction.³²

For the present study, though, the important thing to observe is that this kind of writing served several important functions. While the content would have provided moral exemplars to follow, as discussed in Chapter 5, its presence at all would have helped the audience make sense of the music they were listening to. Programme note authors who drew on fictional models would have allowed readers to place their listening experience within the kinds of literature that they would have already been familiar with. Alongside the efforts made to embed the composer in biographical tropes, literary language was just as important for the descriptions of the music itself. Grove stands out in this respect, as his use of poetic imagery and imaginative metaphors to describe music, not to mention the frequent citation of existing poetry, went far beyond the basic requirements of programme note writing. An excellent example of this is his note for Haydn Symphony No. 102 in B flat, performed on 4th February 1871:

But the Finale is the crown of the whole Symphony – and all that the other movements possess of freshness and gaiety and ingenuity is surpassed in this truly delicious *Presto*, which is literally overflowing with fancy and wit, expressed in the prettiest, most delicate, and most amusing forms, and with constant variety.³³

31 GB-Lbl-B, 14/03/1874, 20: 485.

32 See Pekacz, 'Memory, History and Meaning'; Pekacz, *Musical Biography*; and Wiley, 'Re-Writing Composers' Lives'.

33 GB-Lcm-B, 04/02/1871, 15: 233.

A profusion of descriptive and metaphorical language is brought into play to describe the music. Similarly, over the course of Grove's note on Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony from 5th December 1874, all of the following adjectives appear (sometimes multiple times) specifically to describe the music: bold, eager, soft, questioning, stiff, pompous, suave, gay, charming, bright, exhilarating, exquisite, beautiful, delicious, lovely, lively, ingenious, sweet, and flowing.³⁴ This kind of vocabulary seems to destabilise a distinction we might be tempted to see between programme notes and works of literature.

Further, the narratives that appeared in the Saturday Concert programme notes often tipped the writing into the slightly different genre of music history, unsurprising given the Victorian fascination with the past.³⁵ Of course biography played a key role here, in keeping with the very famous statement made by Thomas Carlyle in 1840:

Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here.³⁶

Knowing the detail of the life of these 'Great Men' was therefore tantamount to knowing history itself, a principle that is now a commonplace assertion about the Victorian approach to history more generally.³⁷ It is important to handle Carlyle's statement carefully: Atkinson's work has demonstrated that, although very widespread in historical thought, the phrase 'Great Men' was used very loosely, and was subject to considerable contestation.³⁸ Nonetheless, the adulatory descriptions of composers at the Crystal Palace clearly shows that they were being presented unambiguously as 'Great Men', suggesting that any description of biography was serving an historical function.

Moreover, we can see the idea serving a narrative purpose whenever the meetings between composers were described. Alongside the familial resonances discussed in Chapter 4, these encounters served to place composers in a music-historical sequence in

34 GB-Lbl-B, 05/12/1874, 9: 229-241.

35 For a recent overview of Victorian ideas of and engagement with the past, see Billie Melman, 'The Power of the Past: History and Modernity in the Victorian World', in *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt, The Routledge Worlds (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 466–83.

36 Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1840), 3.

37 See, for example, Simon Heffer's assertion that "Following Carlyle's example, much subsequent Victorian narrative history is told through great men," a throwaway comment at the beginning of a chapter on the memorialisation of Prince Albert. Simon Heffer, *High Minds: The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain* (London: Random House, 2013), 340.

38 See in particular 'Chapter 2: Victorian Hero Worship' in Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered*, 46–72.

which a composer's place was determined by who he influenced and was influenced by.³⁹ They almost always took the form of an accepted master, such as Mendelssohn or Schumann, promoting the work of a younger composer who was still relatively unknown, such as Niels Gade, Joachim Raff, or Henry Litolf. In turn, of course, these descriptions reinforced the status of the more senior composer as a respectable authority, implying that they were capable judges of talent. An example is vividly portrayed in Grove's note on Brahms' Serenade Op.11, performed on 15th February 1873:

In 1853, Brahms visited Düsseldorf, where Schumann was at that time residing; the two met at Schumann's house, and a very intimate friendship was the immediate result. Schumann at once discovered the great qualities of the new comer, welcomed him to the glorious company of composers with all the warmth and eager unselfish generosity of his nature...⁴⁰

The event described here was clearly thought to be crucially important to the formation of Brahms's musical career. It would have been only a small leap to infer historical significance from this kind of passage.

As well as actual historical meetings or correspondence, a less literal type of influence was also in evidence. Again, the treatment of Brahms serves a good example, as we see in a note for the performance of his First Symphony on 31st March 1877. Here Grove made the following statement regarding the second movement:

It is full at once of beauty and passion, and is instinct [sic] with the spirit of that great Viennese master [Schubert] of whom Mr. Brahms is in many respects the true successor.

It opens with the following theme – at once beautiful, passionate, and original – of the melody and harmony of which Schubert himself might be proud ...⁴¹

A little later, still describing the second movement, Grove says:

The opening melody then returns in its original key, but is prolonged into a passage for the Oboe, with an answer from the Clarinet, the sound of which shows how deeply Mr. Brahms has imbibed

³⁹ The scholarly literature on this historical sequence has primarily been written through the conceptual lens of the 'canon', and has therefore not necessarily focussed on narrative aspects. See, for example, Joseph Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (1983): 107–25; Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); or Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman, *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁴⁰ GB-Lcm-B, 15/02/1873, 16: 330.

⁴¹ GB-Lbl-B, 31/03/1877, 21: 684.

Schubert's spirit in the combination of his darling Wind instruments. When the Clarinet enters, it is almost as if we saw the author of the "Unfinished Symphony in B minor" standing in the orchestra, and saying, "So would I have it."⁴²

And thus Brahms takes his place in the musical pantheon as a successor of Schubert. The fact that the two could not have ever met was irrelevant, since it would have been the 'spiritual' influence that assured Brahms's place in the historical sequence.

The histories that the notes were beginning to tell did not spring exclusively from biography. Some of them seem to cover the social history of a composition more generally, as we see in Grove's note for Beethoven's Second Symphony from 19th October 1872:

Such changes of key and tone [in the Scherzo] were too abrupt for the older composers. People who were the domestic servants of archbishops and princes, as the musicians of the 18th century commonly were, and wore powder, and pigtails, and swords, and court dresses, and gold lace, and were always bowing and waiting in ante-rooms, and regulated their conduct by etiquette, and habitually kept down their passions under decorous rules and forms, could not suddenly change all their habits when they came to make their music, and could not give their thoughts and emotions the free and natural vent which they would have had, but for the habit engendered by the perpetual curb of such restraints. In this light one can understand the jovial life of Mozart. It was his only outlet, and it must have been necessary to him – vital. But Beethoven set these rules and restrictions at naught.⁴³

Although the picture Grove painted of the past had a somewhat caricature-ish quality, this kind of passage is still a fascinating attempt to locate both Beethoven and Mozart's music in a social context. It comes across very differently from the more biographically motivated historical tropes cited above on account of its use of general terms rather than something more focussed on an individual.

Some of the historical discussion we see in the Saturday Concert programme notes was not even directly related to composers. A good example is Manns's note for Spontini's *Nurmahal* Overture on 4th October 1873:

The overture is strongly marked with all its author's individualities – the strongest possible contrast of *nuance* [sic], forcible accentuation, long crescendos and diminuendos, and that richly coloured instrumentation which foreshadows largely the dramatic elements of

42 Ibid., 685.

43 GB-Lcm-B, 19/10/1872, 3: 55.

the orchestra of Richard Wagner, Gounod, and other leading composers of our day.⁴⁴

While the passage is ostensibly about the music and the composer, it is the orchestration that is really being historicised, treated as a precursor for the modern variety. Looking backwards instead of forwards, a song in Sullivan's incidental music for *Henry VIII* was described as being "accompanied only by the Strings, Flutes, Clarinets and Bassoons, in character with the scanty instrumentation of that early date", presumably referring to the sixteenth century. It seems that Sullivan (and/or Grove) were conscious of a past to orchestration practices, even if the dubious accuracy of the claim suggests that they had only limited information to go on. In a similar vein, a history of conducting appeared in Grove's note for Haydn Symphony No. 93 in D from 29th January 1876:

When we say "direction" we mean that Haydn sat at a Pianoforte or Harpsichord in front of the orchestra – what to do it is difficult to understand ... Spohr was the first to break through this strange method, or want of method, and to introduce into England the practice of an independent conductor beating time with a baton, and devoting his whole care to the entire orchestra.⁴⁵

The narrative outlined here was still very personality driven (Spohr is credited with the change), but the development was nonetheless treated independently.⁴⁶

The musical structures themselves were equally prone to historicisation. The anonymous author of a note for John Francis Barnett's Piano Concerto, performed on 19th February 1876, placed the work in a narrative arc based on its opening:

In the old Concerto form, as followed by Mozart and Hummel and by Beethoven in his earlier works, the first movement opened with a Tutti for orchestra of considerable length, in which both the first and second subjects were introduced, and it was not until the first part of the movement had been fully developed by the orchestra that the Piano was allowed to be heard. Beethoven was the first to break through this rule in his G major and E flat Concertos, and his example has been followed by Mendelssohn and Schumann and by most modern composers.⁴⁷

44 GB-Lbl-B, 04/10/1873, 1: 6.

45 GB-Lbl-B, 29/01/1876, 15: 408.

46 According to José Antonio Bowen, Spohr only adopted the method of standing at the front with a baton as he was unable to play the piano well enough to lead from the keyboard. See José Antonio Bowen, ed., 'The Rise of Conducting', in *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

47 GB-Lbl-B, 19/02/1876, 18: 476-477.

This passage represents, in essence, a potted part-history of the concerto form. Bach seems to have been a particular magnet for these kinds of historical narratives about musical features. An unsigned note on the “Pianoforte” Concerto in F minor from 4th October 1873 states:

The Concerto consists of the same number and succession of movements as those of the later composers for the Pianoforte ... The “form” of each movement had not, however, been fixed as it was later by Haydn and Mozart; and the regular succession of keys and subjects to which we are familiar in the compositions of those great composers are not to be found here, but indications are not wanting that Bach felt the want of some such scheme, which had escaped his great intellect and immense practice, though in the fulness [sic] of time it was revealed to his successors.⁴⁸

Contemporary musical structures were clearly felt to have distinct historical origins, and Bach himself would have used them if he had only known how. Grove’s note on the Suite in C from 6th February 1875 makes it clear that musical genres could be treated historically as well:

It would occupy too much space to trace the progress of the Suite, and show how it partly developed, and was partly condensed into the modern Sonata and Symphony; but the subject is full of interest to the student, and would well repay examination. One important superiority in the modern forms will strike every one – the variety in the keys of the successive movements. Was this one of the strokes of Haydn’s Genius?⁴⁹

The process Grove was outlining here is one of musical modernisation, so it is not surprising that the resulting product was taken to be superior. A certain anxiety behind these statements suggests that, correspondingly, there was a risk of Bach’s music being seen as outmoded or obsolete. Special defences were therefore necessary to protect his reputation.

All of these citations make it clear that ideas of progress formed the background to the historical narratives that appeared in the programme notes. Building on the seminal work of J.B. Bury,⁵⁰ Robert Nisbet summarised ‘progress’ as follows:

48 GB-Lbl-B, 04/10/1873, 1: 7.

49 GB-Lbl-B, 06/02/1875, 15: 408-409.

50 J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920).

Simply stated, *the idea of progress holds that mankind has advanced in the past – from some aboriginal condition of primitiveness, barbarism, or even nullity – is now advancing, and will continue to advance through the foreseeable future.* [Italics in original.]⁵¹

He later argued that the highpoint of belief in this idea came during the nineteenth century. His work has since been challenged on its detail by scholars who have proposed its existence both earlier and considerably later.⁵² Nonetheless, its presence in and importance for Victorian historical thinking is now generally undisputed, and as we have seen the histories contained in the Saturday Concert programme notes were no exception.

It is useful to note, though, that although progress might have been thought of as inevitable and beneficial, it was not necessarily held to be an exclusively positive phenomenon. We can see this complicated attitude in Grove's note on Haydn Symphony No. 96 in D from 8th November 1873:

The Finale is built almost entirely on one theme, and is an astonishing instance of the power which this great master – more perhaps than any other musician who ever lived – possessed, of making a thoroughly interesting movement, in which the spirit and interest are maintained to the last, out of almost nothing. It is one of the lost arts. Since Beethoven enlarged and deepened the realm of music there may be wider aims and more elaborate expression, greater passion, keener feeling, and grander sentiment, but the freshness and naïf gaiety of Haydn's Finales is gone, never to return:-

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”⁵³

The lines of poetry at the end are from Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. The loss of certain happy moods from music might have been lamentable, but in keeping with the one-directional nature of the notion of progress, the change was deemed to be irreversible. Grove's feeling that his own time was worse for the lack of these expressive possibilities corresponds very closely to a description of nostalgia offered by Malcolm Chase and Christopher Shaw:

51 Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (London: Heinemann, 1980), 4.

52 See David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Yale Historical Publications (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Bruce McPherson, *Between Two Worlds: Victorian Ambivalence About Progress* (Washington: University Press of America, 1983); and Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York: Norton, 1991). The latter two discuss writers who criticised or attempted to refute the idea of Progress throughout its history, with McPherson's focus being more exclusively on the Victorians themselves. Lasch's scope is broader, attempting to explain the persistence of the idea through the twentieth century in spite of its critics.

53 GB-Lbl-B, 08/11/1873, 6: 130.

Nostalgia is experienced when some elements of the present are felt to be defective and when there is no public sense of redeemability through a belief in progress.⁵⁴

Several of the papers in their edited volume outline the Victorian nostalgia for the English medieval past and rural idylls.⁵⁵ However, the interesting thing about Grove's nostalgia is that it was for a relatively recent past (the late eighteenth century) and a distinctly foreign place (the Austro-Hungarian Empire). It suggests that Victorian nostalgia could have had an even broader range of targets than previously thought.⁵⁶

As well as the biographical foundations to the 'Great Men' narratives outlined above, these notes occasionally showed some slippage between history and biography, as we see in Grove's note for a complete performance of Mendelssohn's *St Paul* on 30th November 1872:

The music of *St. Paul* speaks for itself, and except in a very few cases requires no elucidation; but some account of the history of Mendelssohn's first Oratorio may be useful to my readers.⁵⁷

What followed was so heavily built upon a very detailed outline of Mendelssohn's activities and compositional process, supported by citations from his letters, that the distinction between history and biography seems unclear. A sense of anteriority was even undermined by the fairly consistent use of the present tense, in keeping with the focus on the letters as a source of information. The following passage serves as an example:

In the following January it is still postponed – his E flat Rondo (Op. 29) and his Scena, "Infelice," have to be finished; his three Concert Overtures have to be corrected for press; another Trio or Symphony has to be composed; "and then comes *St. Paul*." No wonder that six months later he is still corresponding about the book of words. But the music has made much progress ...⁵⁸

54 Christopher Shaw and Malcolm Chase, eds., *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1989), 15. However, it is important to acknowledge David Lowenthal's earlier work (cited by Shaw and Chase), which points out that this definition of 'nostalgia' is a modern one. The definition that persisted through most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was in fact a medical one, referring to a psychological condition. See David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 10–11.

55 William Stafford, 'This once happy country': nostalgia for pre-modern society' and Paul Street, 'Painting deepest England: the late landscapes of John Linnell and the uses of nostalgia' in Shaw and Chase, *The Imagined Past*, 33-46 and 68-80 respectively.

56 Ann Colley has examined an alternative set of targets, including homeland (from exile) and childhood in various Victorian literary sources. See *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

57 GB-Lcm-B, 30/11/1872, 9: 175.

58 Ibid.

Grove's idea of what 'history' should look like was clearly rather fluid, freely drawing on both biography, historical information, and unusual narrative styles.

In terms of the writing itself, it is clear that the programme notes at the Saturday Concerts were a very thorough blend of biography, literature and history. However, it is also important to observe that they were never intended to be or thought of as works of history or biography, no matter how much historical or biographical information they contained. As a result, the Crystal Palace programme notes were able to interact with these newly-emerging disciplines in much more complicated ways, with influences potentially able to travel in both directions. Moreover, they can give us insights into the practices and values of these three discourses.

The latter point is especially clear in the case of biography, as the programme notes made frequent references to a number of existing biographies. These included many of the major texts of the day including: Johann Nikolaus Forkel on Bach (1802), Anton Schindler on Beethoven (1840), Edward Holmes on Mozart (1845), Otto Jahn on Mozart (1856), Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski on Schumann (1858), Friedrich Chrysander on Handel (1858-67), Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn on Schubert (1865), Alexander Wheelock Thayer on Beethoven (1866-1879), Eduard Devrient on Mendelssohn (1869), Carl Friedrich Pohl on Mozart and Haydn (1867, 1878-1882), and Charlotte Moscheles on Ignaz Moscheles (1873). In a similar vein autobiographies by Berlioz and Spohr were also mentioned. The references appeared both as part of the main body of the notes and in the form of footnotes, the latter becoming common from the 1869-70 season onwards. Biographical references were most common in Grove's articles. His status as an amateur writer might have been one motivation behind the greater use of such references than other authors, feeling that his writing needed external authority to support it. References to biography in notes by authors beside Grove include Manns and the unnamed author (probably Davison) of a programme note on movements from a Bach solo violin sonata from 19th February 1870, reprinted from the programmes of the Monday Popular Concerts.

It was in the context of these references to existing works that Grove made his strongest statements on what he felt the ideal biography ought to look like, as we see in an early note on Haydn's Symphony No. 92 in G from 16th November 1867. Here he describes Pohl's book about Mozart and Haydn in London as

...an admirable specimen of the accurate and exhaustive works in musical biography which are constantly issuing from the press of Germany, and which, like Jahn's Mozart, Chrysander's Handel, and

Thayer's Beethoven, contain everything that bears, directly or indirectly, on the person who forms their subject. In two small volumes Mr. Pohl has collected a mass of information on the musical life of England at the end of the last century, which is at once most curious and instructive, and cannot fail to interest the musical reader.⁵⁹

Certainly we can be sure that the approach Grove identified in these works was very influential on his own writing, as evidenced by the copious amounts of detail he included in his programme notes. Beyond that, though, his description of what made a worthy book provides a clear insight into the values surrounding Victorian biography.⁶⁰

Grove also offered assessments of other authors, as we see in his note on Cherubini's *Lodoïska* Overture from 22nd March 1873, where he refers to the description of the opera in "M. Clement's *Dictionnaire Lyrique*" as being "well meant, but too vague."⁶¹ Given that he was already well into work on his own dictionary at this point, Grove may well have been taking a swipe at the competition. His note for Beethoven's Seventh Symphony from 26th February 1876 is also striking for the fact that the two authors included are given very different treatments. He states that the idea that melody of the 'Trio' in the third movement might be a quote of a "religious *Volkslied*... has been communicated to Mr. Thayer, and it is therefore sure to be well investigated."⁶² In contrast, he then used the suggestion as an opportunity to put down Adolf Bernhard Marx:

The only other instance of the adoption by Beethoven of an existing melody is the Scherzo in the Eroica, the theme of which is said by Marx, though on very doubtful authority, to be a soldier's song.⁶³

These kinds of judgements offer a clear view of who Grove thought worth paying attention to, and who needed to be treated with suspicion. On top of this, the distance of programme notes from actual biographical works was something that Grove was able to exploit as a way of claiming authority for his own writing. By describing his sources as 'accurate and exhaustive', he could tacitly suggest that the programme notes based on them would be equally worthwhile. Statements about who the best biographers were also suggested that he was in a position to know.

The frequency of these references to biographies means that it is occasionally possible to track changes in attitudes to specific biographers. As an example, we could look

59 GB-Lcm-B, 16/11/1867, 9: 5.

60 The promotional aspect of these kinds of passages are discussed in Chapter 3.

61 GB-Lcm-B, 22/03/1873, 21: 428.

62 GB-Lbl-B, 26/02/1876, 19: 517.

63 Ibid.

at the manner in which Schindler's work on Beethoven was used. The first reference appeared in an anonymous note, possibly by Manns, for Beethoven's *Die Weihe des Hauses* (27th February 1864), and was distinctly disparaging:

... it is formed on the model of a school of two generations before his [Beethoven's] own – the school of the Italian Church writers of the seventeenth century. How this happened we shall probably never know. Schindler has an explanation of it in his “Biographie Beethoven's,” which may be true, but has a very apocryphal air. His story is that Beethoven conceived two themes for his overture – one adapted for treatment in his own style, and the other in that of Handel, and that on Schindler's advice he chose the latter.

Now if this little story – so pleasant to Schindler's vanity to remember – be true, seeing that Beethoven was approaching the end of his life, and that any work in his own free style composed then ... could not fail to have been highly important – we have little reason to thank Schindler for his advice.⁶⁴

Not only was Schindler's accuracy brought into question, his influence on Beethoven was also condemned if it were indeed true. This would seem to fit with the later fate of Schindler's writing in the twentieth century.⁶⁵

However, by 13th April 1867 he was cited by an anonymous author (later reprints of this note are signed by Grove) in a note on Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony in more gently disapproving tones:

He is said by Schindler to have intended to imitate the note of the yellowhammer by a passage in the flute earlier in the movement, and to have asked, after a certain performance of the Symphony (in 1823), whether the yellowhammer had sung as well as the one in the Grinzing meadows; but this is mere tradition, there is nothing in the score to support it, and we shall do well to follow the example of Beethoven himself, who “disliked such detailed interpretations of his works, and had a special horror of them (*perhorreszirte dergleichen*).”⁶⁶

Although the audience was discouraged from believing the anecdote (raising the question of why it was mentioned at all), the fault was not specifically attributed to Schindler himself. There was no suggestion that it affected the trustworthiness of anything else he

⁶⁴ GB-Lcm-B, 27/02/1864, 13: 7.

⁶⁵ Articles began appearing in the 1970s suggesting that various documents connecting Schindler to Beethoven were forgeries. See, for example, Peter Stadlen, ‘Schindler's Beethoven Forgeries’, *The Musical Times* 118, no. 1613 (1 July 1977): 549–52; or Standley Howell, ‘Beethoven's Maelzel Canon. Another Schindler Forgery?’, *The Musical Times* 120, no. 1642 (1 December 1979): 987–90.

⁶⁶ GB-Lcm-B, 13/04/1867, 24: 9.

said. By 5th November 1870 Schindler's anecdotes could be cited by an unsigned (and perhaps different author) without any qualification as to the accuracy, here referring to the Mass in C:

In 1823 a new German text was composed to the music by a musician named Scholz of Warmbrunn in Silesia; and a touching anecdote is told by Beethoven's biographer Schindler ... The mass with its new text was brought to him ... He eagerly opened the manuscript and glanced through it. When he came to the "Qui tollis" the tears started to his eyes and he laid down the book saying "Yes! Just so I felt when I wrote that." It was the first time and only time says Schindler, "that I ever saw him in tears."⁶⁷

All further references to Schindler from this point on treated him as an entirely reliable source. Indeed, Grove's note for the *Weihe des Hauses* Overture from 25th October 1873 mentioned the Schindler anecdote that Manns disparaged in 1864 without any suggestion of it being problematic.⁶⁸ It seems that a more sustained discrediting of his writing would not come until later.

In the other direction, Wasielewski's biography of Robert Schumann seems to have fallen subtly out of favour. In a way this might seem surprising, as the author's own mission statement seems, on the surface, impeccable:

It is in many respects desirable to determine the facts of Schumann's life. Already, all sorts of inexact and erroneous reports concerning his history have been spread abroad, both verbally and in writing; therefore an impartial statement, founded on carefully-sifted oral and documentary accounts, seems necessary ... I have abstained from all controversy in this account: the facts speak for themselves.⁶⁹

The overlaps between this passage and Grove's own statement of an ideal biography, cited above, suggest that Wasielewski's approach could have been a direct influence. Both Manns and Grove would refer to his work by name in their early notes, as we see in a note for Schumann's Fourth Symphony from 23rd February 1867. Here an unnamed author (later revealed to be Manns in a reprint) cited Wasielewski's book, albeit mainly as corroborative evidence:

⁶⁷ GB-Lcm-B, 05/11/1870, 6: 90.

⁶⁸ GB-Lbl-B, 25/10/1873, 4: 79-80.

⁶⁹ Wilhelm Joseph von Wasielewski, *Life of Robert Schumann (1858)*, trans. A. L. Alger (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1975), 7.

This Symphony, though published and numbered as the fourth, is really Schumann's second, since, as we learn partly from a note prefixed to the score, and partly from his biography by Wasielewski, it was written in the year 1841, shortly after the completion of the first, though laid by and not finally revised until 1851.⁷⁰

Although there is no specific praise, there is no doubt that Wasielewski's authority was unquestioned. A similar reference appears in Grove's note for the Piano Concerto on 8th February 1868.⁷¹

However, notes that were written later referred to his book in more veiled terms. Manns's note for the Third Symphony from 2nd April 1870 made reference to "Schumann's biographer" for the source of inspiration for the last movement, but did not give the name.⁷² The same anonymous phrase was used by Grove in his note for the Second Symphony from 23rd November 1872, but with a note of caution sounded:

This use of the introduction becomes more remarkable, if we accept the statement of Schumann's biographer, that it has been composed with another purpose before the Symphony was resolved upon ...⁷³

The use of the conditional "if" suggests that the source might not have been thought completely trustworthy. These references to Wasielewski were never accompanied by footnotes, unlike Grove's treatment of favoured writers, and he was not cited in notes for any other Schumann works. Hans Lenneberg's study of Wasielewski's work offers some explanation.⁷⁴ He summarises the generally negative German responses to the book, stating that the more scathing critics "virtually dismissed his biography, calling it cold and unsympathetic, musically naïve or worse, and generally disappointing."⁷⁵ However, he also argues that what Wasielewski was attempting was an objective picture, a difficult task on account of his personal acquaintance with the composer. This approach did not go down well with Schumann's supporters, particularly Clara Schumann and Brahms, who wanted a portrayal of his genius. Indeed, Madame Schumann's dislike of the book (possibly in spite

70 GB-Lcm-B, 23/02/1867, 17: 3.

71 GB-Lcm-B, 08/02/1868, 17: 8.

72 GB-Lcm-B, 02/04/1870, 24: 180. This note is particularly unusual in that, although signed by Manns in 1870 and 1873, the exact same note appeared with Grove's initial in 1876 and 1877. The earlier versions were expanded from an original, shorter version from 1868, which was unsigned, possibly suggesting that it was by Grove. Further, the writing style and the fact that the note was rewritten at all suggest Grove's authorship. However, it is not clear why Manns's initials appear on it for two performances.

73 GB-Lcm-B, 23/11/1872, 8, 154.

74 'Around Wasielewski and his Schumann Biography' in Hans Lenneberg, *Witnesses and Scholars: Studies in Musical Biography* (New York; London: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 138–149.

75 *Ibid.*, 139.

of not having read it) may well have been communicated to Grove and Manns after the concert on 8th February 1868, where she performed her husband's Piano Concerto, and which saw Grove's initial authoritative reference to Wasielewski.⁷⁶ We can imagine that seeing this reference in the booklet might have prompted her to express disapproval, limiting Grove and Manns's inclination to refer to Wasielewski in subsequent notes.⁷⁷

As well offering a rare opportunity to see changing attitudes to specific biographies, the treatment of Schindler and Wasielewski in the Crystal Palace programmes highlights an interesting facet of contemporary approaches to accuracy. At the time these notes were produced, facts were taking on a primary importance in biography. As Nadel put it:

Research and investigation soon became the *sine qua non* for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century biography which relied more heavily on fact than on the identification of values between biographer and subject, or the interpretation of character and narrative presentation.⁷⁸

In spite of this context, the anecdotal writings of Schindler do not seem to have suffered in the same way as Wasielewski's more neutral study. Moreover, Grove's stated preference for reliable sources and accurate facts belies the profusion of material that we would now think of as questionable, with the speculations about the composer's expressive intentions, outlined above, as a case in point.

It seems that although accurate facts and thorough research were highly valued, objective presentation of this information was not. In other words, there was a preference for writing that actively promoted or denigrated its subject over that which attempted a balanced assessment, regardless of the means. This would be consistent with the increasingly didactic role of biography, as identified by Atkinson:

However sparse the biographer's commentary within the work, readers clung to the device of a final chapter, or couple of paragraphs, in which the biographer would summarize the lessons of the life just depicted and deliver a verdict on the subject.⁷⁹

As an example in wider cultural debates, we could consider the criticisms John Anthony Froude received for his biographies of Carlyle (1882 and 1884). Elinor Shaffer has pointed

⁷⁶ GB-Lcm-B, 08/02/1868, 17: 8.

⁷⁷ If she did not spot the reference on this occasion, her performances of the same concerto on 20th February 1869 and 5th March 1870 with an identical programme note would have provided further opportunities.

⁷⁸ Nadel, *Biography*, 6.

⁷⁹ Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered*, 26.

out that different readers took exception to either his inclusion of material that threw negative light on his subject or to the fact that he said less than he knew about these aspects: “He should have said less; or he should have said more.”⁸⁰ Neutrality was apparently not considered to be a viable alternative.

In some ways, the task of handling the difficult aspects of a composer’s life was much easier for the authors at the Crystal Palace than for the author of a full-length biography. They could simply not mention biography at all in a note, or even avoid writing programme notes for the works of that composer. A telling example in this regard is Rossini, since biographically speaking, he did not fit the idea of what a ‘great’ composer ought to look like. As Philip Gossett has noted: “As a man he most often appeared the indolent raconteur, the gourmet, the spirit of an elegant Second Empire salon.”⁸¹ In spite of this, his music was evidently very popular. An all-Rossini programme was performed on 5th December 1868 to honour his death the previous month, and overtures and arias from his operas featured regularly at concerts both before and after this occasion.⁸² The notes for other whole-concert-worthy composers generally made extensive use of biography, the most obvious examples being Beethoven and Mendelssohn.⁸³ However, while the special concert did reprint an obituary from *The Sunday Times*, notes on Rossini tended to leave out biography. Even a relatively extended note, such as the two and a half pages written by Grove for a performance of the *Petite Messe Solonelle* on 27th November 1869 (the only work in the concert), there was no detail from Rossini’s life beyond a description of the first performance. Such treatment was still better than that given to other Italian composers primarily known for opera; Donizetti and Bellini, also regularly featured, did not receive notes at all let alone any mention of their lives. Given that Rossini was evidently important enough to merit programme notes, though, the absence of biographical material in them implies some unease over a life that did not serve as a good example for others to follow.

In terms of the relation of the programme notes to imaginative literature, we can once again see issues of authority. Here it is essential to recognise the central importance of reading for the Victorians. The enormous expansion of print culture followed from an insatiable demand for reading material at all levels of society.⁸⁴ However, as Patrick

80 Shaffer, ‘Shaping Victorian Biography’, 127. Shaffer presents a number of other objections to Froude’s biography, including questions over his rights to the papers and over his approach to history more generally.

81 Philip Gossett, ‘Rossini, Gioachino’, *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed 21 October 2015.

82 Though, as we saw from the Table 2, pg. 33, the frequency of performances of his music had dropped dramatically by 1879.

83 See Table 1, pg. 32.

84 Pioneering work in this area was done by Richard Altick in *The English Common Reader: A Social*

Brantlinger has shown, this was an area surrounded by considerable anxiety, particularly among the authors themselves:

Who could predict, moreover, what the actual impact of even the most serious, most moral work of fiction might be on the ever-increasing millions of readers ... the practice of authorial commentary perhaps does little more than register the nervousness of authors about how their stories may be *misinterpreted* by readers whom they have no way of knowing, much less controlling.⁸⁵

Alongside these concerns, Brantlinger also outlines the intense debates surrounding universal literacy, with those opposed to it arguing that it would open the masses up to a torrent of morally damaging material.⁸⁶ What was being read and how it was being understood were clearly highly significant questions for the Victorians.

It is therefore not surprising that the references to literature that crop up in the Saturday Concert programme notes were often couched in language that made it absolutely clear whether or not the work in question was fit for consideration. An excellent example of both positions can be found in Grove's note for Cusins's *Love's Labour's Lost* Overture, performed on 9th October 1875:

“Love's Labour's Lost” is of course Shakespeare's comedy of that name, and what fitter or more suggestive subject could be found for a programme Overture? More so, we venture to think, than the extravagant French romance on which Mr. Cusins last work was founded ...⁸⁷

On the one hand, Shakespeare is held up as an excellent subject. On the other hand, Victor Hugo's *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, the subject of an overture performed earlier that year, was held in such contempt that it was not even directly named. Similarly, two sides were presented in a note for Joachim Raff's *Leonore* Symphony from 14th November 1874:

History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1957). More recently, Altick's work was taken up and expanded in Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001). For a general summary, see John Strachan, 'Satirical Print Culture', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. Francis O'Gorman, Cambridge Companions to Culture (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 156–76. Most current scholarship takes the phenomenon for granted, and instead attempts to probe the Victorian experience of reading in more detail. See, for example, Rachel Ablow, ed., *The Feeling of Reading: Affective Experience and Victorian Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010); and Matthew Bradley and Juliet John, eds., *Reading and the Victorians*, The Nineteenth Century Series (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2015).

85 Patrick Morgan Brantlinger, *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 19.

86 *Ibid.*, 18–24.

87 GB-Lbl-B, 09/10/1875, 2: 38.

[Leonore] is the heroine of a Ballad of Bürger's, which was well known to our grandfathers and grandmothers, through Walter Scott's spirited version – or rather paraphrase, for it is hardly closer to the original than that ... It is a dreadful story, which, stripped of the genius with which Bürger has told it, is morbid and immoral, and only possible at a time like that at which it was written, when all Europe was quivering with the approaching throes of the French Revolution, and moonlight and murder and madness seemed the material of the highest poetry.⁸⁸

Walter Scott's 'spirited' version was carefully distanced from the original, which was condemned in no uncertain terms (though with an explanation drawn from its historical context).⁸⁹

Direct statements might not have always been necessary: references to a literary work could sometimes imply its cultural value through the citation alone. This was particularly the case with Grove's use of poetry excerpts, which were always presented as inherently worthwhile, as we see in his note for Mendelssohn's Third Symphony from 4th October 1873. Here the 'second subject' of the third movement was described as follows:

This theme is as martial as the other is passionate; and the combination suggests that its author may have had the same thought in his mind as Sir Walter Scott, when he calls on the "Harp of the North"

"To bid a warrior smile or teach a maid to weep."⁹⁰

The citation here comes from the first canto of Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*. Grove did not directly state the value of Scott's poetry, but the way the excerpt is presented implies that it would be a useful resource to draw on. Collectively, the relatively frequent citations add up to a general message that reading poetry is a worthwhile activity.

A reinforcement of the importance of literature had the additional effect of improving the position of composers on the few occasions when the notes referred to their literary interests, as we see in Grove's note for Beethoven's *Coriolan* Overture from 15th March 1873:

The inspiration which fills every bar of the Overture Beethoven must have got from the subject, and not from Collin's play – from Shakespeare, or his favourite Plutarch.⁹¹

⁸⁸ GB-Lbl-B, 14/11/1874, 6: 144-145.

⁸⁹ The national implications of these passages are discussed in Chapter 7.

⁹⁰ GB-Lbl-B, 04/10/1873, 1: 18.

⁹¹ GB-Lcm-B, 15/03/1873, 20: 403.

In a culture that placed a high moral value on the correct sort of reading, stating that composers were involved in reading exactly the same literature would have been a way of asserting their status as exemplars. We might also add that, as with the references to biographies, this would have been a source of authority for Grove himself. In referring to a wide range of literary material and making moral judgements of its quality, he was demonstrating his credentials as a prolific reader and asserting a critical authority.

The historical discussions in the Saturday Concert programme notes seem to have occupied a slightly different place from that of biography or literature. Whereas references to those two areas drew on a large number of existing works, the constructions of a specifically musical history made less overt use of the fewer pre-existing models.⁹² Books on the general history of music had been written, including those by William C. Stafford, George Hogarth, and John Hullah.⁹³ Grove must have known of Hogarth personally, as his annotation to a booklet from 1863 states that a copy had been sent to Hogarth “for Philharmonic.”⁹⁴ This presumably referred to the author’s much later book on the history of the Philharmonic Society, which Grove mentioned in a note for Mendelssohn’s Third Symphony (cited earlier).⁹⁵ However, lack of references in the programme notes makes it impossible to tell whether or not Grove knew of the earlier history book. Certainly Hogarth’s focus on biographies of individual composers, with very occasional and brief digressions into, for example, the history of the violin, could have easily formed a model for the Saturday Concert programme notes.⁹⁶ However, Grove touched on a much broader range of topics, including the history of forms, genres and performance practices. In this sense, his notes were closer to the history written by Hullah, which was never cited. However, in Hullah’s book general subjects such as ‘the orchestral symphony’ were still blended seamlessly into biographical sections on the representative composer (in this case, Beethoven), whereas Grove would hint at treating them as an independent subject.⁹⁷ Moreover, his use of such speculative phrases as ‘it would be interesting to know’ and ‘the

92 Only one reference to a non-musical history book appeared between 1865 and 1879, in Manns’s note for Meyerbeer’s *Struensee* Overture from 2nd December 1876. Here, he reproduced an extended extract from Emilie C. Otté, *Scandinavian History* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), with a footnote providing the page reference. GB-Lbl-B, 02/12/1876, 10: 293-294.

93 William C. Stafford, *A History of Music* (Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1830); George Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism: Being a General Survey of Music from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (London: John W. Parker, 1835); John Hullah, *The History of Modern Music* (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1862).

94 GB-Lcm-L, 28/02/1863, 11: front cover.

95 George Hogarth, *The Philharmonic Society of London: From Its Foundation, 1813, to Its Fiftieth Year, 1862* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1862). GB-Lbl-B, 04/10/1873, 1: 11.

96 Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism*, 109.

97 Hullah, *The History of Modern Music*, 178–181.

subject is full of interest' suggests that Grove felt that these were not yet mainstream areas of study.

These were exactly the kinds of topics that were beginning to appear in the final exams for the Oxford music degree, as discussed by Rosemary Golding.⁹⁸ She suggests that they were not regular inclusions until the 1880s, though, putting Grove's 1870s notes a little ahead of that particular curve. Certainly his remarks may well have reflected conversations with Frederick Ouseley (1825–1889), who was Heather Professor of Music at Oxford from 1855, and whose works were being performed at the Saturday Concerts. Further, the extensive articles on these subjects that were starting to appear in the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* would have provided a new reference source for those who wished to study them. Indeed, we might imagine Oxford students turning to the *Dictionary* for help with answering the new questions on the final historical exams. All of this gives Grove's programme notes a particularly interesting place in the emergence of music history as an object of academic study.

Whatever part Grove played, his notes allow us to see just how contingent this early version of music history was, with many nuances to the 'grand narratives' that might otherwise go unrecorded. Grove's sadness over the loss of past musical styles in the face of progress that he otherwise perceived to be beneficial and inevitable is a case in point. As another example, we could look at the descriptions of interactions between composers. These may well have helped to shape the sequence of Great Men, but which composers were included and which connections were important seems to have been in considerable flux. Mendelssohn's promotion of Niels Gade and Joachim Raff was an integral part of the biographical presentation of the two junior composers. These passages have the same resonances of an attempt to fit them into the sequence as we see in the passage on Schumann and Brahms (cited on page 161). However, neither Gade nor Raff would ultimately achieve anything like the same kind of place in the musical histories of the period. At the other end of the spectrum, there is the overall lack of a connection outlined between Beethoven and Haydn, as discussed in Chapter 4. The attempt to replace the latter with Johann Schenk in fact carries overtones of the Victorian interest in 'hidden lives', biographical works about people with little claim to fame, as discussed by Atkinson.⁹⁹ In attempting to bring a person who was otherwise completely unknown into history, Grove might have been responding to a similar impulse. If nothing else, it suggests that the now-

⁹⁸ Golding, *Music and Academia in Victorian Britain*, 66.

⁹⁹ Atkinson, *Victorian Biography Reconsidered*.

familiar trinitarian connections between Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven were not yet as concrete a part of music history as they would later become.

The same unpredictability is true of particular pieces, as well as composers. Many pieces being performed for the first time were forecasted much greater success than they actually achieved. For example, on 8th December 1877 Grove stated of Raff's Violin Concerto in B minor (Op. 161) that: "we trust the result may be to enrich us with a worthy companion to the Concertos of Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Joachim."¹⁰⁰ Not only has Raff's concerto fared badly, the Joachim concerto that was already being presented as an authority has also fallen by the wayside. There was even some room for error on pieces that demonstrated greater longevity. Later on in the note on Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, cited earlier, Grove made the following statement:

The opening movement is almost always the most important portion of a symphony. It gives the key to the work, in every sense of the word, and is usually the representative member of the entire composition. The opening Allegro of the ninth Symphony is no exception to this rule. Great as are the beauties of the second and third movements – and it is impossible to exaggerate them – and original, interesting, and impressive as are various portions of the Finale, it is still the opening Allegro that one thinks of when the "ninth Symphony" is mentioned.¹⁰¹

If the first movement really was thought to be the 'key to the work' at this time, it was an opinion that receded as the 'Ode to Joy' grew in importance.

Overall there was a complex set of interactions between biography, literature and history in the Crystal Palace Saturday Concert programme notes. These kinds of writing appeared throughout the texts themselves, slipping seamlessly from one to the other, but the notes themselves maintained a critical distance from all three, occupying a space that had no clear generic definition. This liminal position allowed them to define values, offer criticism, and participate in intricate exchanges of authority with their source material. Further, it was the functionality of these programme notes that allowed such an integrated approach to the three genres. Since their purpose was not to write biography, literature or history, but instead to explain music (with all the attendant educational and moral benefits outlined in Chapter 5), they were able to draw freely on the whole range of writing styles. As long as the information served to help an audience understand what they were listening to, there would have been no need to choose just one generic framework to work within.

¹⁰⁰ GB-Lbl-B, 08/12/1877, 10: 310.

¹⁰¹ GB-Lcm-B, 19/04/1873, 25: 535.

As a final point, it is interesting to note that Philippa Levine's early work on the professionalisation of history argued that the historical thought emerging in the Victorian period had distinctly Teutonist roots. In other words, narratives of history were being constructed along racial lines.¹⁰² Race, and specifically Teutonism, was an important component of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concert programme notes as well, and will be discussed further as part of the next chapter.

¹⁰² Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional*, 79–83.

Chapter 7: Politics, Nation, Race and Identity

The Crystal Palace at Sydenham seems to have been as embedded in politics as its Hyde Park predecessor.¹ For example, it was the location of Benjamin Disraeli's 1872 speech to the National Meeting of Conservative Unions, an event that is often credited with key importance for the subsequent victory of the Conservative Party in the 1874 general election.² On the international front, the Palace saw visits from figures such as Napoleon III and Giuseppe Garibaldi, in 1855 and 1864 respectively.³ The former was personally escorted by Victoria and Albert, as would be expected for the visit of a head of state. This political aspect of the Palace is neatly illustrated by two adverts in the Saturday Concert booklets from 1868. It announced the public display of a map of England showing returns from each constituency following the general election that year, of special interest as the first to be held following the 1867 Reform Act.⁴ In a similar vein, a display of "The New Imperial Map of France, at Three Epochs" was also offered.⁵ The fact that it was included in the programme suggests that the printers were expecting a degree of political interest on the part of the Saturday Concert audience.

Given this background, there were surprisingly few overt references to contemporary politics in the Saturday Concert programme notes. There were one or two references to events of dynastic significance, especially if the concert itself was devoted to that celebration, and there were performances of a small handful of pieces on the subject of the Franco-Prussian war. Practical and ideological motivations lay behind the decision to avoid such musical works, but there were also hints of a political reason too, visible in the very few notes that used words such as 'radical' or 'conservative.' Ostensibly these terms were employed to describe schools of composition, but the vocabulary had strong resonances of political affiliations. The way they were used suggests both an anti-radical bias in the audience and a certain suspicion of foreigners, a feature which came out particularly

1 For a range of studies on the politics of the Great Exhibition, see James Buzard, Joseph W. Childers, and Eileen Gillooly, eds., *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*, Victorian Literature and Culture (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007).

2 Ian St John, *Disraeli and the Art of Victorian Politics*, Anthem Nineteenth Century Studies (London: Anthem Press, 2005).

3 Napoleon's visit tends not to be discussed in his biographies, but is generally mentioned in passing. See, for example, David Baguley, *Napoleon III and His Regime: An Extravaganza*, Modernist Studies (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 126. Detailed discussion of Garibaldi's visit to London can be found in Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 334–344.

4 GB-Lcm-L, 28/11/1868, 9: 14.

5 GB-Lcm-L, 14/11/1868, 7: 12.

clearly in the notes for pieces inspired by Shakespeare. Patriotic statements were very rare, with English music nowhere near as heavily promoted as modern histories of the ‘English Musical Renaissance’ might suggest.⁶

Instead, descriptions of composers were often couched in terms that came from peculiarly Victorian ideas of race (discussed further later), a subject that has unfortunately received very little scholarly attention. Some of the first studies to focus on Victorian racial ideas only discussed attitudes to non-white people, specifically those in Britain’s colonies.⁷ As crucial as this work was at the time, it often carried the subconscious assumption that race is something that does not apply to white people. Even recent history texts can suffer from the same problem, and many leave the subject out altogether.⁸ The Victorians certainly did think of themselves and other Europeans in racial terms, drawing on a whole range of different categories, including the Anglo-Saxon or Teuton (the British seem to have used these terms synonymously), the Celt, and the Slav. The Crystal Palace programme notes seem to have drawn heavily on contemporary Anglo-Saxonism in their descriptions of English composers, and also to have brought race into the discussion of both Tchaikovsky and Grieg. Dannreuther’s notes for these occasions are particularly important, as they would have been some of the earliest public writings on Grieg and Tchaikovsky in Britain. His racial presentations might therefore have played a key role in shaping Victorian perceptions of the two composers, something that has yet to receive any examination from musicologists.⁹ With these ideas in mind, the deliberate avoidance of race in the notes for composers such as Sullivan and Rubinstein stands out more clearly.¹⁰

6 The words ‘British’ and ‘English’ are used interchangeably over the course of this chapter in keeping with the fluidity of usage among the sources cited.

7 See, for example, Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, Studies in Social History (London: Routledge; Kegan Paul, 1971).

8 For an example of the former, see Alan Lester, ‘Race and Citizenship: Colonial Inclusions and Exclusions’, in *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt, The Routledge Worlds (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 381–97. An example of the latter is Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012). There is also a third way, of authors that mention it in passing but do not actively discuss it. See John R. Davis, *The Victorians and Germany* (Bern; New York: P. Lang, 2007), 20. The source of choice in this situation is usually Maïke Oergel, ‘The Redeeming Teuton: Nineteenth-Century Notions of the “Germanic” in England and Germany’, in *Imagining Nations*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt, York Studies in Cultural History (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1998), 75–91. However, Oergel’s article is mainly concerned with analysing German nationalism, a task she carries out through comparisons with British Teutonism.

9 There is as yet no detailed examination of how Tchaikovsky’s works were critically received in England prior to Rosa Newmarch’s late-1890s writings. Full outlines of Tchaikovsky’s visits to London can be found in Gerald Norris, *Stanford, the Cambridge Jubilee, and Tchaikovsky* (Newton Abbot; North Pomfret: David & Charles, 1980) especially 288–387.

10 In the ensuing discussion, there will be no consideration given to the performances of composer-less folk songs. Issues of race might have been implied by the national adjectives in the titles (Irish, Swedish, Danish, etc.), but since these pieces tended not to receive programme notes, we cannot assess this.

As important as race was to Victorian thought, there were plenty of programme notes that made no reference to it. Indeed, as Peter Mandler has argued, race was only one of several approaches the Victorians had at their disposal for understanding people.¹¹ Composers who were not treated nationally or racially were often discussed in ways that suggest an attempt to appropriate them for Britain, with several strategies in evidence. These included: explanations drawing on ancient classical culture, descriptions of historical interactions with England, citations of English poetry, and connections drawn with Shakespeare. Appropriation might seem a contentious word to use; after all, the authors of the Crystal Palace notes (unsurprisingly) never state that this is their intention. There can be no doubt that, if directly asked, they would not have said that they wanted to make British icons out of continental composers. Further, Grove's detailed biographical writing offered, in principle, all the necessary information to work out where the composer actually came from. The task of demonstrating this kind of appropriation is made more difficult by the lack of theorisation in more general arenas, such as cultural studies or literary theory. James O. Young has written several works on cultural appropriation, but his frameworks do not cover the cases here. For example, in his article on 'Profound Offense', the only one of his three categories that might cover composer appropriation is 'Object Appropriation,' referring to the removal of an object from one culture and made part of another. However, he takes his title literally, only referring to physical objects, rather than more abstract concepts, such as cultural icons. He then states that the rest of the article will not discuss this particular category anyway.¹²

There are some models to draw on, though. Within musicology, there is work by scholars such as Richard Taruskin, who has argued that the ideology of neoclassicism was used to appropriate Bach in early twentieth-century France. His method of close reading the source material to find these resonances has been broadly followed here.¹³ Outside of musicology, but perhaps more pertinent to the present study, there is the extensive literature

11 Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 60.

12 James O. Young, 'Profound Offense and Cultural Appropriation', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 63, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 135–46. He has since produced a monograph and an edited volume on the topic, neither of which contain any discussion of this kind of appropriation. James O. Young, *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts*, *New Directions in Aesthetics* 6 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); James O. Young and Conrad G. Brunk, eds., *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation* (Chichester; Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

13 Richard Taruskin, 'Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology', *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 3 (1993): 286–302.

on nineteenth-century engagement with ancient classical culture, all of which broadly argues that the Victorians were treating it as part of their own heritage.

All of these observations have important consequences for our understanding of Victorian attitudes towards Germanic culture. However, it should be noted that the conclusions drawn here are from the perspective of musicology rather than history. Where the former has taken Germanophilia as read, the latter has done the same for Germanophobia. Within historical studies, the idea of Victorian Germanophobia is now being countered by studies arguing for more positive or ambivalent attitudes, based on cultural studies.¹⁴ Musicology, on the other hand, has obviously been more aware of the positive cultural attitudes, to the extent that the work presented here is intended to push in the other direction.

In spite of the numerous ties the Crystal Palace had to British political events, there were virtually no references to them in the programmes of the Saturday concerts. Between 1865 and 1879 the sole exception was a performance in 1867 of the Max Bruch ballad *Fair Ellen (An Incident of the Siege of Lucknow)*, setting a poem by Emanuel von Geibel. It referred to an episode during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, a set of civilian and military uprisings occurring across northern India against the rule of the British East India Company, taking over a year to quell. It was a major shock to the British, and prompted the dissolution of the East India Company, with the Crown taking over its ruling powers in India. The siege itself was certainly still within living memory in 1868, and an odd choice of topic for the two German artists. In keeping with the usual treatment of vocal works, the piece did not receive a programme note, removing any opportunity for discussion of the political significance of the event. However, we do have some audience feedback in the form of an annotation made in the margin of a copy of the programme booklet, presumably made by the attending owner. It consists of a single word: “stupid.”¹⁵ It is hard to tell

¹⁴ One example is Davis, *The Victorians and Germany*. However, his section on music is deeply flawed by a lack of in-depth engagement with the existing literature on music in nineteenth-century Britain, citing very little secondary material besides a single edited volume by Bennett Zon (it is impossible to work out which one, as it is not given its full title in the footnote and does not appear in the bibliography). Indeed, a number of sections on other topics are marred by a reliance on just one secondary source. Moreover, he fails to make any mention of the issue of race. Much better work in the same direction, albeit without any discussion of music, appears in Richard Scully, *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860-1914*, Britain and the World (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

¹⁵ The only surviving copy of the programme containing this work is, unfortunately, undated. It is preserved in GB-BROcl-B. This particular concert appears to have been in the 1867-1868 season, and could be either the second or seventh concert (based on the gaps in the Digital Appendix), but it is impossible to tell which one. The annotation for the Bruch *Ballad* appears on page 7 of the booklet, and

whether this referred to the musical treatment or the choice of subject matter, but either way it had clearly not gone down well.

The programme notes at the Crystal Palace did make overt references to two events that certainly held national significance, but probably more for dynastic than political reasons.¹⁶ The first is the concert of 14th March 1863. An opening paragraph announced that the programme would be entirely devoted to music celebrating the recent marriage of Edward, the Prince of Wales to Princess Alexandra of Denmark. The notes given in the booklet, all of which are unsigned but probably by Manns, were primarily intended to explain (directly or indirectly) the connection between the music and the event. The note for Niels Gade's Fourth Symphony highlighted the Danish origin of the composer and stated that "his music is somewhat Mendelssohnian in character, but has a distinct Scandinavian sentiment of its own." The first of two Danish songs received a line remarking on its popularity in Denmark, stating that "scarcely a regiment marches to a parade without it being played." A *Processional March* by Sullivan was given a line explaining that it was composed especially for the wedding itself. The concert also featured two new works by Manns: *Echoes of Denmark*, and *Festival Overture*, both composed for the occasion. Accordingly, Manns's notes for these works contain the heaviest stress on the Danish connection, as we see in the note for the former:

These pieces have been composed with especial reference to the union between England and Denmark, which we are now celebrating. ... A peculiar interest lies in the first of the three, from the fact that it is known in the Court of Copenhagen to be the favourite Air of Her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales; and certainly there can hardly be a more charming tune.¹⁷

The note for the *Festival Overture* highlights the fact that the piece closes with two verses of *God Save the Queen*, though with new lyrics honouring the couple:

Old England's first-born son,
A Royal Dane has won,
 Young, sweet and fair!
Our future King is He!
Our destined Queen is She!

(according to the pencilled page numbers) page 39 of the whole volume.

16 Both occasions contained music by Sullivan, and are therefore discussed indirectly by Jeffrey Richards in his book on Victorian imperialism. However, he does not discuss the concerts themselves, only the original occasions for which Sullivan composed the music. See Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain, 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 23.

17 GB-Lcm-L, 14/03/1863, 12: 5.

Long may they happy be!
 God bless the pair!

Guard, oh, Thou King of Kings,
 With Thy protecting wings,
 Prince, Bride, and Queen!
 Guide them with filial care
 Her widow'd load to share,
 And live a life as fair
 As Her's has been!¹⁸

A combination of the prevailing Victorian focus on death and the need to make sure that Victoria was not entirely overlooked seems to have prompted the reference to her status as a widow, indirectly invoking the memory of the recently-deceased Prince Consort.¹⁹ The booklet for this concert featured an exceptionally high number of programme notes, five out of nine pieces during a period in which giving even one piece a note was unusual. Clearly, it was not enough to state the overall aim of the occasion and let the rest speak for itself. The notes for the two pieces by Manns in particular drew on the specific occasion to provide the meaning for the music.

The second dynastic event that motivated special mention in the Saturday Concerts was the recovery of the Prince of Wales from typhoid in 1871.²⁰ The Directors of the Crystal Palace Company commissioned a *Festival Te Deum* from Sullivan for a 'Thanksgiving Concert' given on 1st May 1872. Although the occasion was outside of the usual series of Saturday Concerts (and no booklet appears to have survived), it seems reasonable to suspect that the note given for the repeat of the work on 1st March 1873 was originally written for the première. As well as an opening paragraph outlining the primary inspirational event, the anonymous note also gives some further explanatory detail on the decision to add a line, 'Domine salvum fac':

On the recent occasion this was adopted as the only means at hand of including Her Majesty the Queen with the Prince of Wales in the thanksgiving to which the Directors of the Company desired to give expression.²¹

18 Ibid.: 6.

19 Richards discusses later modifications of the national anthem, and it is interesting to note that the references to Albert's death persisted in the extra verse written for the 1887 Jubilee. Richards, *Imperialism and Music*, 88-92.

20 The death of Albert had been attributed to typhoid, hence the national relief at Edward's survival.

21 GB-Lcm-B, 01/03/1873, 18: 372.

This passage makes clear how important it was to make sure that the Queen was included in any event of national relevance. It also explained the choice of words and musical structure of the work. It reinforces the sense that the second of the new verses of *God Save the Queen* from the 1863 concert was motivated by similar concerns.

In both these cases, the references to the event itself were unsurprisingly confined to programme notes for works that were written for the occasion. After all, it would have been difficult to claim that pieces written decades earlier had anything to do with the issue at hand. To take the example of Gade in the 1863 concert, the note for his Fourth Symphony does not differ markedly in tone or content from any of the notes produced for subsequent performances of his music. Although the decision to include his music was obviously motivated by the marriage, the note itself makes no direct reference to it, as it would be of no help in understanding the piece.

The Saturday Concerts did include pieces by non-British composers which referred to political events in Europe, though once again these were extremely rare. When they did appear, they usually referred to the Franco-Prussian War. The conflict had begun in 1870 with a declaration of war by Napoleon III's government against the Kingdom of Prussia, partly in response to an apparent insult from the Prussians, partly to promote a greater political unity in France. On the other side, Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian Chancellor, had deliberately provoked the French attack in order to persuade the southern German states to ally with the northern ones, thus bringing about unification. After Prussia's final victory in May 1871, many German artists began writing celebratory music. The first such piece to appear at the Crystal Palace was a Festival Overture, *Friedensfeier*, by Carl Reinecke (1824–1910) on 6th April 1872. Grove's short note merely states that it "was composed, as its name implies, for the celebration of the peace of 1871."²² The anonymous note for a performance of Karl Krebs's (1804–1880) Festival Overture, *From Rhine to Elbe* on 20th February 1875 develops the political reference considerably further:

This overture, composed by the father of the renowned young pianist whom we have the pleasure to see amongst us this day, is one of the many works for which German composers drew their patriotic inspiration from the issue of the Franco-German war of 1870–1871. Patriotic rejoicings and thanksgivings "*From the Rhine to the Elbe*," as our author has it in the title of his Overture, were the order of the day, and festive music played always a prominent part on such occasions. That "Papa Krebs" (as he is often called in Dresden through his long association with the Royal Opera as one of its

22 GB-Lcm-B, 06/04/1872, 24: 419.

conductors) was amongst those who rejoiced from their full heart over the triumphant issue of those all-absorbing events, will be readily granted by all who listen to his Overture, which is nothing less than an inspired musician's thanksgiving for the triumphs achieved by his compatriots.²³

Although the language presented here is celebratory up to a point, there is a certain detached quality to the tone, evident in choices of neutral phrases such as 'those all-absorbing events' over something more partial. It is also worth noting that, four years after the conflict had finished, it had already morphed from the Franco-Prussian War to the Franco-German War, with the newly unified nation now treated as an original agent.

Interestingly, these two performances of works from the victorious side were balanced with an appearance of a *Marche Héroïque* by Saint-Saëns on 21st October 1876, only a year after the Krebs performance. Prout's note for the occasion described the composer as "one of the most distinguished living French musicians," and the inspiration for the work as "in memory of one of the most rising modern French painters, who met his death in the Franco-German war." In keeping with his usual style of writing, Prout does not actively use such information to interpret the piece, stating only that "little difficulty will be experienced in following the author's intentions."²⁴ However, his mention of the war would almost certainly have prompted the audience to read the piece in one particular way. None of these notes discussed the war itself in any detail beyond naming it and implying a German victory. Certainly this would have been the best way to avoid offending anyone, but it also suggests that authors expected the audience to be sufficiently well versed in current events to fill in the gaps.

There might have been a number of overlapping motivations behind the lack of references to political events in pieces performed at the Crystal Palace or the programme notes. It might be tempting to think that the aesthetic of 'absolute' music was already in force, discouraging the association of instrumental music with external narratives.²⁵ However, this explanation is undermined by the fact that there were plenty of narrative instrumental works being performed, including newly written pieces. Grove and Manns were also generally happy to outline the stories in their notes.²⁶ If the narrative works they performed tended not to touch on contemporary British political issues there might be a

23 GB-Lbl-B, 20/02/1875, 17: 483.

24 GB-Lbl-B, 21/10/1876, 4: 129.

25 For a recent outline of the topic, albeit primarily focussed on continental Europe rather than England, see Max Paddison, 'Music as Ideal: The Aesthetics of Autonomy', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 318–42.

26 As noted in Chapter 1.

more practical explanation: it would have been a tricky feat to pull off in a purely instrumental work. The continental music that dealt with the Franco-Prussian war had a relatively easy task in this respect, as the event was either a straightforward triumph or defeat depending on perspective, lending itself neatly to musical depiction. There were very few British political issues or events from the 1860s and 70s that a native composer of orchestral works could have tackled with equal ease. A comparison with the world of art is instructive here: Janice Carlisle has shown that there was a high degree of artistic engagement with the politics of electoral reform in Victorian Britain, in both paint and print, and particularly in relation to the Second Reform Act of 1867.²⁷ It is difficult to imagine how a British composer might have approached depicting this subject in, say, a concert overture.²⁸

Vocal music might have allowed more scope in this respect, but this would have quickly run into issues of respectability. Musical treatment of up-to-date political subjects was primarily associated with the music hall, an arena that Dagmar Kift has shown to be surrounded with considerable class anxiety.²⁹ The kinds of composer promoted by the Saturday Concerts might not have been interested in producing these kinds of songs. Even if they were, Manns would not have programmed them on account of their not being ‘serious’ music. The point is neatly shown by the fact that no performances were given of any music from Sullivan’s Savoy Operas, in spite of being very popular music by a composer with a sound reputation at the Saturday Concerts.³⁰ Moreover, the sole example of the Bruch ballad shows that even if political vocal music had made it onto the Crystal Palace stage it would not have received a programme note, and might not have been well received.

However, the absence of any mention of political events in the pieces or the programme notes seems in itself to have had deep and subtle political motivations. Some of these become clear when we turn to the ideological language that cropped up in one or two notes. As a starting point, we could look at Grove’s note for Beethoven’s Sixth Symphony from 13th April 1867:

27 Janice Carlisle, *Picturing Reform in Victorian Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 79 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

28 Ironically Carlisle’s study revolves around the common interest Victorian art and politics had in the word ‘composition’. *Ibid.*, 3.

29 Dagmar Kift, *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

30 *Thespis*, *Trial by Jury*, *The Sorcerer*, and *H.M.S. Pinafore* were all mounted before 1879, and therefore could have potentially been performed during the period under examination.

When Frederic Schneider, a stout old musical Tory, was complaining (says Schubring) of the modern tendency to programme music, Mendelssohn avowed that since Beethoven had taken the step he did in the Pastoral Symphony, it was impossible to keep entirely clear of it.³¹

Grove was making a direct connection between musical and political conservatism, with someone who stands against changes in music being described as a ‘Tory.’ His aligning of attitudes to music with the political spectrum is interesting enough in itself; the picture becomes even more complicated when we consider a note from an Albert Hall Concert booklet for a Violin Concerto by Friedrich Hégár (1841–1927) printed at the Crystal Palace on 14th October 1876. The anonymous author began by stating that the orthodox compositional practice for symphonies and concertos had been to write completely independent movements, but that there were some examples of works ‘by the greatest masters’ which blurred the line, including Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. He then went on to say that:

The tendency of later composers has been to make a law of the practice here exemplified, and certain contemporary writers, at the head of whom is Liszt, push the matter to an extreme by practically abolishing the division between movement and movement, while they make one chief thought run through the whole. The result is that concerto form means almost anything a composer chooses. In the example here presented, Herr Hégár avails himself of freedom to a considerable extent, striking out a middle course between the liberal-conservatism of, say, Mendelssohn and the pronounced radicalism of Liszt ...³²

Clearly, this author had a similar sense to Grove of the political nature of different approaches to composition. However, the phrase ‘liberal-conservatism’ is particularly interesting for the fact that it groups together the Liberals and Conservatives, who were in fact two opposed parties at the time. It seems that they were both taken to stand against radicalism, which was not represented by a party *per se*, and was instead more of an outlook on politics, and one that was waning through the 1860s and 70s. Certainly, this perspective fits with the rise in importance of political parties as observed by T.A. Jenkins.³³ However, the author of the note on Hégár also seems to have had a negative

31 GB-Lcm-B, 13/04/1867, 24: 5.

32 GB-Lbl-B, 14/10/1876, 3: 78.

33 T. A. Jenkins, *Parliament, Party, and Politics in Victorian Britain*, New Frontiers in History (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; St. Martin’s Press, 1996).

view of radicalism. It is not overtly stated, but is detectable in the rather sniffy tone in the sentence ‘concerto form means almost anything a composer chooses,’ in the fact that the ‘liberal-conservative’ representative is Mendelssohn, a very popular composer indeed, and in the choice of ‘pronounced’ as an intensifier for ‘radicalism.’

This is a significant observation as it suggests that the audiences at the Royal Albert Hall and the Crystal Palace might have also had a broadly negative view of radicalism. To understand this position, some discussion of what nineteenth-century radicalism consisted of is necessary. In an excellent overview of urban political movements in the Victorian period, Matthew Roberts suggests that, in the 1830s and 40s, radicalism could be divided into roughly four types: philosophical, commercial, moral, and popular.³⁴ He goes on to argue that the first three of these, all broadly middle class in affiliation, had been allies of the more working-class popular radical up until the 1832 Reform Act. With the greater middle-class enfranchisement that followed, many philosophical, commercial and moral radicals stopped supporting the popular type, and during the 1850s and 60s they began drifting into a newly coalescing Liberal party, or even to the Conservatives. At the same time, radicalism came to be associated almost exclusively with the working-class campaign for enfranchisement. Roberts argues that after this found some success in the Second Reform Act of 1867, the new working-class voters contributed to an upsurge in popular conservatism. Although the Conservative party lost the 1868 general election, Roberts points out that they had still made substantial gains, and that it was the working-class votes that brought them success at the next general election in 1874.³⁵

The audiences at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts between 1865 and 1879 were those with the money and free time to attend, and were therefore unlikely to be active supporters of popular radicalism. Many of them were probably enfranchised in 1832, if not before. They might have been the philosophical, commercial or moral radicals of the 1830s and 40s, but by the 1860s and 70s they were more likely to have been Liberals or Conservatives. Indeed, as the Hégár note suggests, they may well have been actively opposed to radicalism by 1876, with the working-class associations no doubt contributing to their antipathy. The significance of all of this for the pieces chosen at the Crystal Palace and the programme notes is that it was the radical position that tended to prompt artistic expression of political activism. As Rohan McWilliams argues:

34 Matthew Roberts, *Political Movements in Urban England, 1832-1914*, British History in Perspective (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 28.

35 All of Roberts’s arguments are supported by Marc Baer’s more recent book, tracing these developments specifically in the borough of Westminster. See Marc Baer, *The Rise and Fall of Radical Westminster, 1780-1890* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Radicalism possessed an aesthetic dimension; it was the unruly child of Romanticism. Oppositional politics seemed to unlock the creative imagination for many ...³⁶

He goes on to talk about the publication of working-class poetry in Chartist newspapers like *Northern Star* during the 1840s, and the radical appropriations of Shakespeare as working-class.³⁷ If the audience at the Crystal Palace tended to be opposed to radicalism, then this may well have made them unsympathetic to any composer who mixed music and political messages. Non- or anti-radical authors of the programme notes would have been similarly disinclined to bring political statements into their writing; and with no pieces being performed that touched on such topics, there would have been no external prompt to do so.

Specific political terms were not mentioned often, but echoes can be heard in a number of notes, often with some slippage into issues of national identity. Indeed, this would be consistent with the overlaps between anti-radicalism and nationalism in the wider political world. The Crystal Palace itself was at the centre of one of the most prominent occasions: Disraeli's 1872 speech. As Ian St John points out, it suggested that the working classes would vote for the Conservatives because they "are proud of belonging to a great country and wish to maintain its greatness."³⁸ Accordingly, when the programme notes did contain allusions to radicalism, they tended to characterise it as foreign, presenting Englishness in more conservative terms. One example of this is Grove's note for Prout's Second Symphony on 1st December 1877:

Indeed, we feel we cannot take leave of Mr. Prout's new work more appropriately than by congratulating him heartily on the clearness and transparency with which it is constructed. His devotion to the newest dogmas of the German school is well known. His Symphony shows that it is possible to be enthusiastic for Wagner, and yet, when composing, to throw off such revolutionary proclivities and be as pellucid and obedient to form and symmetry as Mozart himself.³⁹

The word 'radical' does not appear, but the phrase 'revolutionary proclivities' stands as a clear substitute. The phrase is specifically attached to 'the German school', in this case represented by Wagner, but lining up neatly with the description of Liszt in the anonymous

36 Rohan McWilliams, 'The Performance of Citizenship', in *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt, The Routledge Worlds (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 373.

37 Roberts makes the same observations. See *Political Movements in Urban England*, 31.

38 St John, *Disraeli and the Art of Victorian Politics*, 134–135.

39 GB-Lbl-B, 01/12/1877, 9: 285.

note on Hégar. Prout's status as a native Englishman was not specifically mentioned, but was implied quite strongly in the fact that his music was placed in opposition with that of 'the German school.'

An ideological bias towards English composers over their continental counterparts is also evident in other ways. For example, consider the anonymous note for the performance of Henry Hugo Pierson's Overture *Romeo and Juliet*:

... it is much to be regretted that he has not left at least a few leading elucidations for a proper interpretation of his aims. All we can do is to quote the principal themes and characteristic passages, and leave it to the listener to interpret this somewhat curious but highly poetic and refined piece of instrumental music, according to his or her own impressions. We need scarcely say that the themes are all worked most skillfully [sic] into one dramatic tone-picture.⁴⁰

The absence of the composer's own explanation is lamentable, but ultimately forgivable in a work that is "highly poetic and refined." Pierson's continental counterpart Robert Volkmann (1815–1883) was given much harsher treatment for the same issue in Grove's note on his Overture *Richard III*:

... it suffers from the fact that Herr Volkmann has not indicated, as Mr. Pierson did [in the Symphonic Prologue to *Macbeth*, premièred the week before], the exact scenes or actions in the Play to which the music refers. "Pure or absolute music" it is not. The programme is suggested, and yet kept from us. Is this fair? it [sic] is certainly not wise. In the absence of such indications one can only speculate on the composer's intentions ... and speculation is best left to the individual hearers, especially when the writer frankly avows his inability to say anything useful.⁴¹

Hermeneutic difficulty in the music of a German composer was met with a distinctly grumpy attitude compared with the sad tolerance given to the music of an English composer. Later in the same note, Volkmann is also taken to task for national inaccuracy:

For the introduction to this – 6/8 *Vivace* – Herr Volkmann has made the curious choice of the Scottish tune of "The Campbells are coming," which though headed in the score as "an old English war-song," is hardly more likely to have been known to any soldier in Richmond's army than "Garryowen," or "Yankee Doodle."⁴²

40 GB-Lbl-B, 07/11/1874, 5: 121.

41 GB-Lbl-B, 30/10/1875, 5: 111.

42 Ibid., 114.

Grove decision to highlight the inaccuracy was no doubt prompted by a sense that no English composer would have ever made the mistake of thinking a Scottish (or Irish or American) tune applicable to an English situation.

If the difference in treatment of these two works was motivated by national concerns, the issue would no doubt have been intensified by the fact that both works were based on Shakespeare, whose status as a British icon was very firmly in place in the nineteenth century.⁴³ In case we were in any doubt as to Shakespeare's position in the Victorian period, Grove's 1875 note on William Cusins's (1833–1893) *Love's Labour's Lost* Overture makes his feelings on the matter clear:

“Love's Labour's Lost” is of course Shakespeare's comedy of that name, and what fitter or more suggestive subject could be found for a programme Overture? More so, we venture to think, than the extravagant French romance on which Mr. Cusins' last work was founded [Victor Hugo's *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*], and also more in consonance with our feelings; for whatever be the names in which Shakespeare has clothed his characters their English vein crops out at every turn.⁴⁴

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that compositions by foreigners based on Shakespeare were generally met with much more neutrality, or even hostility, often over exactly the same issues that were accepted in works by English composers. Wilhelm Taubert's (1811–1891) music for the *The Tempest* was represented by only a single number, and even then one cannot help but wonder if there was a hint of disdain in the anonymous author's comment, in a fairly short note, that:

The adapter of that Play to the German stage has changed the chess-playing between the lovers into a music lesson, and Taubert's *Liebesliedschen* is intended to represent a lesson on the lute.⁴⁵

In contrast, Sullivan's incidental music to Shakespeare was almost always presented complete. Further, the anonymous note for the 1877 performance of the *Henry VIII* music stated:

43 See Antony Taylor, ‘Shakespeare and Radicalism: The Uses and Abuses of Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Popular Politics’, *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 02 (2002): 357–79; and Richard Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For a fascinating discussion of the religious significance of Shakespeare, see Charles Laporte, ‘The Bard, the Bible, and the Victorian Shakespeare Question’, *ELH* 74, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 609–28.

44 GB-Lbl-B, 09/10/1875, 2: 38-39.

45 GB-Lbl-B, 17/01/1874, 12: 313.

For the second and longer section of the music a liberty has been taken with the *mise-en-scène*, which the success of the revival goes far to justify, in transferring the King and his Court from the palace to the royal barge, in which they make a passage on the Thames from Blackfriars to Greenwich.⁴⁶

Active justification for the English modifications contrasts sharply with the limited and neutral description given to the same kind of modification made by a German author.

The clear bias in these examples notwithstanding, overt expressions of English patriotism were uncommon between 1865 and 1879, and were usually limited in scope when they did appear. National identity might be mentioned in relation to the composer, but tended to be omitted in the discussion of the music. For example, in spite of several performances of his works with programme notes, it took until the 3rd April 1875 première of George Macfarren's Violin Concerto for Grove to actually state the composer's nationality:

A new concerto is always welcome, especially when it is for the violin, and more especially still when it is the work of a favourite and gifted English composer, and when the Violin is in the hands of an eminent English artist [John Carrodus]. There is therefore every reason why we should welcome Mr. Macfarren's Concerto to-day with enthusiasm.⁴⁷

The rest of the note then made no use of this information to explain the music. Similarly, William Sterndale Bennett was described as "our great living composer" by the anonymous author of the note for *The May Queen* from 26th October 1872,⁴⁸ and as "our representative British composer" by Davison at the start of the note for *The Maid of Orleans* Sonata, from 29th November 1873.⁴⁹ However, neither author made any further reference to it over the course of their notes. Bennett's national identity was directly connected with his music on only one occasion, and even then it was an outsider's perspective: the anonymous author of the note for the performance of the Fourth Piano Concerto on 30th January 1869 cited Schumann, who:

... notices the joke often levelled at the part which water plays in Bennett's compositions – as if an Englishman could never shake off his native element.⁵⁰

46 GB-Lbl-B, 06/10/1877, 1: 21-22.

47 GB-Lbl-B, 03/04/1875, 23: 642-643.

48 GB-Lcm-B, 26/10/1872, 4: 68.

49 GB-Lbl-B, 29/11/1873, 9: 195.

50 GB-Lcm-B, 30/01/1869, 15: 11.

This opinion was not repeated by any of the other authors of programme notes at the Crystal Palace, either for Bennett or for anyone else.

The absence of overt English patriotism might seem all the more surprising given the scholarship which discusses the ‘English Musical Renaissance,’ in particular that written by Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling. Their book portrays Grove as straightforwardly nationalistic, horrified by the new vision of Germany arising from the Franco-Prussian war and wishing to promote a new English school of composition to compete with the Germans.⁵¹ However, this perspective is not supported by the programming practices of the Saturday Concerts. The end of the war in 1871 did not see any significant increase in performances of works by British composers at the Crystal Palace. The performances of pieces celebrating the defeat of the French, mentioned earlier, seem in fact to weaken the idea of serious concern over the German victory. Further, the new English pieces being performed through to 1879 were not as consistently promoted as Hughes and Stradling’s picture might imply. Works by Thomas Wingham (1846–1893) or Frederick Cowen (1852–1935) did not necessarily receive much in the way of overt promotion in the programme notes, and were rarely performed more than once, undermining any sense of special treatment. The positive notes and multiple performances given to works by Sterndale Bennett and Sullivan made them very much the exceptions among the English composers who appeared at the Crystal Palace.

Several historians have offered explanations for why English (as distinct from British) nationalism might have received only limited expression in the Victorian period. As Krishan Kumar has recently noted:

Imperial nations, precisely because they are imperial nations, have reason to play down their own nationalism, in the interests of maintaining control over multinational entities. For the English to have trumpeted their own national identity would have been to risk offending the many other nations who were *de facto* under their rule. ... There was certainly considerable discussion of the concept of the nation, and what the relationship of the individual to the nation should be, and that of nations to each other. But as several scholars have shown, this rarely resulted in anything that can truly be called English nationalism.⁵²

51 Robert Stradling and Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music, Second Edition* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 24–32.

52 Krishan Kumar, ‘Varieties of Nationalism’, in *The Victorian World*, ed. Martin Hewitt, The Routledge Worlds (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 166–167.

Another explanation has been highlighted by Howard Smither in his history of the oratorio. Here he stated that: “The English, unlike the Germans, suffered no domination by a foreign power resulting in a politically motivated need to assert a national identity.”⁵³ So although “the Victorians associated this lofty genre with their nation’s history and the Handelian tradition”, they were less likely to have presented oratorios in explicitly nationalistic terms.⁵⁴ Smither’s observations are consistent with the practice at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts. As discussed in Chapter 5, several oratorios were performed in full, alongside a huge number of excerpts. However, the programme notes provided on these occasions tended not to mention the national identity of the composer or the genre. Even the extract from the *Birmingham Morning Post* provided as a note for the complete performance of Mendelssohn’s *Elijah* on 16th December 1871 did not describe the Birmingham première as a specifically British triumph.⁵⁵ It might have been “a red-letter day in the calendar of art,” but direct nationalist references were absent.⁵⁶

However, the language used in the Crystal Palace programme notes hinted at a slightly different but equally important idea for the Victorians: race. The tendency to categorise humanity this way had (of course) a long and complex history prior to the nineteenth century, and was not limited to Britain. Ivan Hannaford’s exhaustive book on the subject dates the emergence of racial ideology to the end of the seventeenth century in writings from across Europe.⁵⁷ It seems, though, that the same period saw the rise of a peculiarly English racial thought that centred around the idea of the Anglo-Saxon or the Teuton. Hugh MacDougall’s work is key here, as it was among the first to outline what he described as the “racial myth” of Anglo-Saxonism in British historical thought.⁵⁸ Sitting mid-way through his narrative of the development of the ideology from the seventeenth

53 Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

54 *Ibid.*, 249.

55 GB-Lcm-B, 16/12/1871, 12: 181-184.

56 This is not to say that they were therefore absent altogether. Jeffrey Sposato’s work on the English reactions to Mendelssohn’s other major oratorio, *St. Paul*, suggests that the press coverage of the première took a different approach to understanding the work compared to that of its original German audience. Although *Elijah* was written more specifically for England, the same kinds of reactions may well have been evident. Jeffrey S. Sposato, ‘Saint Elsewhere: German and English Reactions to Mendelssohn’s *Paulus*’, *19th-Century Music* 32, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 26–51.

57 See ‘The First Stage in the Development of an Idea of Race, 1684-1815’ in Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington; Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996), 187–233.

58 Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons* (Montreal: Harvest, 1982). Unlike Hannaford’s later general overview of race based on philosophical writings, MacDougall’s focus on just one country allowed him to examine the local political contexts behind the emergence of racial thought.

century through to the nineteenth, MacDougall's discussion of Sharon Turner's 1799–1805 work *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* forms a neat summary:

In Turner one can find all the ingredients necessary for an explicitly racist interpretation of English history: the common Germanic origin of the English people; the exceptional courage and manliness of the Saxons; their predilection for freedom and the inherent excellence of their language and social institutions; the special affinity of the transmitted Saxon genius for science and reason; the inevitable triumph of a people so superbly endowed and directed by kindly providence.⁵⁹

In other words, all of the best features about the English were given a specifically racial explanation as deriving from their Germanic background.⁶⁰ MacDougall concluded that this ideology was so widespread by the mid-nineteenth century that it went virtually unquestioned. As George Stocking stated in his book on Victorian anthropology: “by the late 1840s, the idea of the Anglo-Saxon “race” was an intellectual commonplace.”⁶¹

All of the literature that first discussed these ideas is now between twenty and thirty years old, so it is not surprising that these early studies have since been challenged. The monolithic presentation of Victorian Anglo-Saxonism has been a particular target of recent authors. For example, Peter Mandler has pointed out that the word ‘race’ was very loosely defined in the Victorian period: “a ‘race’ could be a physical stock, it could be something like a ‘tribe’ or a ‘clan,’ or it could be both at once.”⁶² It referred to a vague amalgam of ideas that included person’s geographical origins, physical features, and a set of personality traits that were broadly collected under the umbrella of ‘character.’ Importantly, as Edward Beasley points out, skin colour did not become a primary racial distinction until the very end of the nineteenth century.⁶³ Although there might have been some overlaps and slippage, race was fundamentally distinct from nationality. The phrase ‘Slavonic races,’ for example, could refer to a huge swathe of people from Eastern Europe, rather than any

59 Ibid., 94.

60 Interestingly, several scholars have noted that Victorian Teutonists were especially concerned with the legal and constitutional implications of their racial heritage. As stated by Curtis: “the Anglo-Saxon people or race, as clearly distinguished from all other races in the world, had a particular genius for governing themselves and others – by means of a constitutional and legal system that combined the highest degree of efficiency with liberty and justice.” L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Connecticut: Conference on British Studies at the University of Bridgeport, 1968), 6–7. See also Oergel, ‘The redeeming Teuton.’ All this suggests that the legal language explored in Chapter 5 may also have had a racial background.

61 George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York; London: Free Press; Collier Macmillan, 1987), 62.

62 Mandler, *The English National Character*, 73.

63 See Edward Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race: New Racisms and the Problem of Grouping in the Human Sciences*, Routledge Studies in Modern British History 4 (New York: Routledge, 2010), 2.

particular political entity. Indeed, a lack of clarity could only be expected from an ideology that, by the 1860s and 70s, was approaching two centuries of age.⁶⁴ Old and deeply embedded, racial Anglo-Saxonism was not being subjected to the kind of scrutiny necessary for consistency of application. For a demonstration of just how messy the situation was, we could look at Richard Scully's work on Victorian ethnographic maps of Europe. Here he outlines constant shifts in the British attitude to their Teutonic racial heritage, complicated even further by the fact that the maps themselves were often copied from German sources.⁶⁵ In another direction, Joanne Parker has argued that, especially in the later nineteenth century, Anglo-Saxonism was often tempered with descriptions of a Nordic or Viking heritage, which was understood as the source of Britain's naval prowess.⁶⁶

It is this loose and vague Anglo-Saxonism (or Teutonism) that provided key adjectives for describing the music of English composers in the Saturday Concert programme notes. As an example, we could take Grove's note for Prout's Magnificat, in itself one of the strongest expressions of patriotic sentiment at the Saturday Concerts between 1865 and 1879. At the end of a long paragraph claiming the Magnificat as a specifically English genre, Grove proceeds to place Prout and other contemporary composers in the tradition:

But those great men [Rogers, Greene, Croft, and Weldon] had a strong and unmistakeable style and idiom of their own (as the English church architects had); and it is pleasant to welcome traces of it in English composers of the present day. Every one knows how faithfully Sir John Goss carries on the form and spirit of the great cathedral writers, in his sweet and dignified Anthems, Services, and Hymns, some of which will live as long as Purcell himself. And in more elaborate compositions, the same English flavour is to be found. Sterndale Bennett, in his choral works, had it very strongly; and in more than one number of this Magnificat Mr. Prout will be found to have it too, and he is to be congratulated on this fact.⁶⁷

64 According to Mandler, it was also beginning to wane. His discussion of the decline of Anglo-Saxonism between the 1870s and the turn of the century appears in the first part of 'Chapter 4: Great Britons', *The English National Character*, 106–122.

65 See 'A 'Pink Link' - Race, Religion and the Anglo-German Cartographic Freemasonry' in Scully, *British Images of Germany*, 27–33.

66 Joanne Parker, 'Ruling the Waves: Saxons, Vikings, and the Sea in the Formation of an Anglo-British Identity in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. Sebastian I. Sobecki (Cambridge; Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2011), 195–206. As we will see, though, Teutonic conceptions of Scandinavia meant that a Nordic background could easily be integrated into the existing racial framework.

67 GB-Lbl-B, 15/01/1876, 13: 356.

The national identification of the genre and the pride in older composers (and indeed church builders) is all self-evident. However, it is important to recognise that the terms in which this ‘English flavour’ is couched, ‘sweet’ and ‘dignified’, form part of the vocabulary that a Victorian Anglo-Saxonist would have used to describe the English character. Grove’s note for Prout’s Second Symphony (cited earlier) included similarly loaded words, such as ‘clearness,’ ‘transparency,’ ‘pellucid,’ and ‘symmetry.’⁶⁸ A sense of the Teutonist resonances of this kind of language is important to recognise, as it allows us to spot racial pride even when it is not specifically mentioned, such as at the end of Grove’s note for Bennett’s Symphony in G Minor on 23rd January 1875:

And so ends a work in which perfect symmetry, delicate fancy, purity of taste, great individuality, and entire absence of exaggeration and extravagance, have combined to produce one of the pleasantest Symphonies to listen to in the *répertoire* of the orchestra.⁶⁹

Now ‘great individuality’ and ‘absence of exaggeration and extravagance’ can be added to the list of words that reinforce an overall message of Anglo-Saxon superiority.⁷⁰ It is no coincidence that this is the exact same language as was used to assert the masculinity of the music, as discussed in Chapter 4.⁷¹

The importance of race for the Victorian understanding of all Europeans, not just the English, can be seen in the notes for certain continental composers. One example is Dannreuther’s note for Tchaikovsky’s First Piano Concerto on 11th March 1876:

In the work of a highly educated musician like M. Tschaïkowsky, it would be vain to look for anything narrowly national, specifically Russian. Though he does not dream of serving up the songs and dances of his country in all their rude and crude beauty, his music nevertheless bears the unmistakable impress of a Slavonic temperament – fiery exaltation on the basis of languid melancholy. Like most Slavonic poets, Polish or Russian, he shews [sic] a predilection for huge and fantastic outlines, for subtleties of diction and luxuriant growth of words and images, together with an almost oriental delight in gorgeous colours.⁷²

68 GB-Lbl-B, 01/12/1877, 9: 285.

69 GB-Lbl-B, 23/01/1875, 13: 347.

70 Many of these adjectives line up neatly with those identified by Paul Langford’s study of how Englishness was defined in the nineteenth century, even if his work does not connect them with contemporary racial discourse. See Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Interestingly, the book draws extensively on commentaries by foreigners visiting England as well as from the English themselves.

71 Mandler makes the same observation in *The English National Character*, 103.

72 GB-Lbl-B, 11/03/1876, 21: 581.

A single sentence attempting to disavow Tchaikovsky's national identity was immediately followed by a whole paragraph essentially giving a racial interpretation of his music, via the word 'Slavonic.' As yet there has been very little work done on racial perceptions of Russia during the Victorian period. Hannaford's overarching history of race as a concept suggests that there were authors who mentioned Slavonic races, but it seems that none of them actively discussed what characteristics this group had.⁷³ Dannreuther's outline is therefore of critical importance for understanding Victorian perceptions of Russia, not least because its 1876 date puts it earlier than we might expect. Tolstoy might have been reviewed in England as early as 1862, but most scholars agree that it was the 1880s that saw Russian culture really becoming fashionable in England.⁷⁴ Further, as Anthony Cross has pointed out, the political situation meant that Russia was more likely to have been viewed unfavourably:

Russophobia, despite a degree of political rapprochement in the 1840s, was the order of the day and led, almost inevitably, to the Crimean War ... [which] left a legacy of suspicion that only intensified over the following decades.⁷⁵

The situation presented here offers some explanation as to why Dannreuther might have wanted to disconnect Tchaikovsky from the political entity (Russia), but also why it might have been safe to leave in the racial designation (Slavonic). It also seems that the Victorians were placing Russian culture in a racial framework from the very beginning of their engagement with it.⁷⁶

Dannreuther drew even more heavily on racial ideas for his note on Grieg's Piano Concerto in a note from 18th April 1874. Dannreuther had been a colleague of Grieg's at

73 The principle work in this was Gordon Latham's *Ethnology of the British Isles* (1852). He suggested that some of the early tribes in England may have in fact been Slavonic, an argument intended to challenge the purely Saxon narrative presented in John Kemble's *Saxons in England* (1849). The fact that Latham's argument drew heavy criticism from both Froude and Kingsley suggests both the importance the Victorians placed on the idea of a pure Saxon heritage and the antipathy to a Slavonic race in itself. The debate is outlined in detail in Hannaford, *Race*, 246–249.

74 Davie presents the Tolstoy review as very much an unusual exception. See Donald Davie, *Essays on Russian and Polish Literature* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1990), 272–273.

75 See Anthony Cross, 'By Way of Introduction: British Reception, Perception and Recognition of Russian Culture' in Anthony Cross, ed., *A People Passing Rude': British Responses to Russian Culture* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2012), 22.

76 Stephen Muir's work on Rimsky-Korsakov is the only other study to have paid any attention to the pre-1880s reception of a Russian composer in England, and even then the vast majority of his source material comes from after that time period. Unfortunately he does not mention the issue of race. See Stephen Muir, "'About As Wild And Barbaric As Well Could Be Imagined...': The Critical Reception of Rimsky-Korsakov in Nineteenth-Century England', *Music and Letters* 93, no. 4 (November 2012): 513–42.

the Leipzig Conservatory, and he used his first-hand knowledge of the composer in the programme note:

He will be remembered by many of his fellow-pupils now living in London as a slight-built, retiring youth, of a typical northern physiognomy, flaxen hair, and large dreamy blue eyes, very quiet, self-absorbed, and industrious.⁷⁷

Grieg's physical characteristics mostly tallied with the nineteenth-century British descriptions of Norwegians as explored by Peter Fjågesund and Ruth Symes.⁷⁸

Dannreuther's racial profiling is particularly interesting as Grieg's (presumably) equally Norwegian brother John (1856–1905) looked nothing like him, as can be seen from a surviving photograph of the two together.⁷⁹ John was also a student at the Leipzig Conservatory, beginning a year after Edvard. Dannreuther would certainly have had the opportunity to meet him. Perhaps the idea of a Norwegian racial stereotype was culturally embedded enough by 1874 that Dannreuther could forget or ignore examples which did not fit.

The next paragraph of Dannreuther's note set about nationalising the source of Grieg's musical inspiration:

The characteristic Scandinavian features of Grieg's musical talents took a tangible shape soon after his return to the north. Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian people's songs and dances there absorbed his fancy. They strengthened his thought, and, in a word, made a man of him. Henceforth his compositions bear the stamp of a particular nationality more clearly than any man's, except perhaps Chopin's.⁸⁰

Once physiognomy and biography had been outlined, Dannreuther's description of the music reinforced the stereotype further:

That it contains frequent reminiscences of Norwegian pipe music need hardly be said. These reminiscences are least frequent in the first movement; but in the second and third they appear undisguised ...⁸¹

⁷⁷ GB-Lbl-B, 18/04/1874, 25: 617.

⁷⁸ Dannreuther's description seems carefully parsed to gloss over the fact that Grieg's 'slight build' did not fit with the physical fitness that ideal Norwegians were supposed to have. See Peter Fjågesund and Ruth A. Symes, *The Northern Utopia: British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century*, *Studia Imagologica* 10 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003).

⁷⁹ Grieg's brother was about a foot taller and had dark curly hair. The image is reproduced in Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg: The Man and the Artist*, trans. William H. Halverson and Leland B. Sateren (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1988), 36.

⁸⁰ GB-Lbl-B, 18/04/1874, 25: 617.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 618.

The reader can have been left in no doubt as to the importance of Grieg's racial identity. It did not just affect his appearance and biography, but was also key to understanding his music. Granted, Grieg himself was actively engaged in shaping his nationalist image at the time, working with authors such as Ibsen, Nordraak, and Bjørnson, and making use of the folk song collection of Ludvig Lindeman.⁸² However, the interesting thing about the performance of the Piano Concerto at the Crystal Palace is that Grieg did not know it was going to happen. He found out about it from a letter that Dannreuther sent after the event. He therefore could not have had any direct influence on the content of the programme note.⁸³ Dannreuther must have deemed it appropriate to emphasise Grieg's national identity without the input of the composer himself. The first part of the note (including the national elements) was reprinted when the first movement of the concerto was performed again on 18th May 1878. The only other Grieg work to be performed between 1865 and 1879, a Cradle Song (given on 19th October 1878) did not receive a programme note.

The racial presentation of Grieg would have played very much into the Victorian enthusiasm for all things Norwegian. Fjågesund and Symes's study of British perceptions of Norway has shown (through an examination of guest books and sources discussing them) that a wave of British tourism began around the mid- 1820s and grew throughout the century. There was enough interest that in 1850 an Englishman called Thomas Bennett could open a highly successful travel agency in Christiania (now Oslo) specifically to cater for British tourists needing advice.⁸⁴ These conclusions are supported by H. Arnold Barton, whose chapter on 'The Discovery of Norway Abroad' points out that during the nineteenth century "nearly two hundred travel accounts of Norway were published in Britain alone."⁸⁵ Fjågesund and Symes argue that this trend was supported by ideas of race and Anglo-Saxonism:

In the nineteenth century it was important for Britain to articulate her Teutonic kinship with Norway. This articulation was conducted through many channels, but crucial to its continued acceptance and popularity were the evident physical similarities – of colouring,

82 See John Horton and Nils Grinde, 'Grieg, Edvard', *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed 20 August 2015. For a more in-depth study of Grieg's music and its relationship with musical folklorism, see Daniel M. Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2006).

83 Lionel Carley, *Edvard Grieg in England* (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell, 2006), 15.

84 See the section entitled 'Increasing Popularity' in Fjågesund and Symes, *The Northern Utopia: British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century*, 63–76.

85 H. Arnold Barton, 'The Discovery of Norway Abroad, 1760-1905', *Scandinavian Studies* 79, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 26–27.

stature and physiognomy – between the inhabitants of the two nations.⁸⁶

They correspondingly suggest that the huge numbers of British tourists visiting Norway were “engaged in an enthusiastic search for their national origins.”⁸⁷ They draw support from an earlier book by Andrew Wawn on Victorian ideas surrounding Vikings, in which he argues that the proliferation in literary material on the subject was motivated by racial concerns, among other things.⁸⁸ With a pre-existing racially motivated public interest in Norway to tap into, it is no surprise that Dannreuther chose to couch his note on Grieg in precisely these terms. Moreover, this may well be an underlying reason that Grieg and his music were so wildly successful in England. At the beginning of a detailed account of Grieg’s visits to England, Lionel Carley states:

When, for the first time in England [1888], he emerged onto the concert stage from the St James’s Hall artists’ room he was accorded a rapturous reception by an audience of 2,500 and – utterly taken aback and as yet unaware of the extraordinary scale of his popularity – found himself having to acknowledge the storm of applause for some three minutes before he was at last allowed to move to the piano.⁸⁹

During Grieg’s lifetime his stock seems to have only grown further from this point. Some of this enthusiasm may well have derived from the idea that he shared a Teutonic racial heritage with his audience. After all, these ideas were embedded in Dannreuther’s note for the Piano Concerto, one of the first public appearances of Grieg’s music in England.

A clear view of the Victorian understanding of race throws into sharper relief the occasions on which this information was being suppressed. The notes for Arthur Sullivan’s music are good examples, as they made no mention of the Irish references in his music or his parentage. For an audience concerned with Teutonism, the Celt was the antithesis, the race against which Anglo-Saxon qualities were defined. To complement his summary of the Anglo-Saxon (cited in footnote 60), L.P. Curtis offered a summary of the Victorian conception of Celtic qualities:

Reduced to its barest and most often heard essentials, Paddy was made up of the following adjectives: childish, emotionally unstable,

⁸⁶ Fjågesund and Symes, *The Northern Utopia*, 117.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁸⁸ Particularly entertaining is his observation that the Vikings presented in Victorian images bore “an uncanny resemblance to Prince Albert.” See Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge; Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 6.

⁸⁹ Carley, *Edvard Grieg in England*, xii.

ignorant, indolent, superstitious, primitive or semi-civilised, dirty, vengeful, and violent.⁹⁰

Curtis's observations here are mirrored in Stocking's work on Victorian anthropology.⁹¹ Once again, more recent scholarship has offered increasingly nuanced perspectives on this opposition, but nonetheless supports the idea that Irish origins or references to Celtic culture might have been viewed as problematic one way or another.⁹²

The impact of all this can be seen on the performance of Sullivan's First Symphony on 10th April 1869.⁹³ In a letter to his mother in 1863 Sullivan described being inspired to write a symphony "with a real Irish flavour about it." He chose to publish the symphony without the 'Irish' subtitle, for the stated reason that he feared courting comparison with Mendelssohn's 'Scotch' Third Symphony (although the symphony was published with the title after Sullivan's death).⁹⁴ The Victorian racial antipathy towards anything Celtic would perhaps have provided a more pressing motivation. The subtitle was not included in the booklet for the performance at the Crystal Palace, and the anonymous programme note made no mention of the source of inspiration, a telling omission given the hermeneutic value of such material. Further, the note closed with the following statement:

Thus ends a brief catalogue of the materials composing a Symphony which is without question the most important work yet brought to performance by the new generation of English musicians.

Although Sullivan was born and lived in England, his father came from Ireland, and his mother was of Irish and Italian descent.⁹⁵ Nonetheless, Sullivan's racial identity was given

⁹⁰ Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*, 53.

⁹¹ Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 62-63.

⁹² Edward Lengel's book on British perceptions of the Irish has countered the implications of earlier authors that this was unchanging and constant, outlining a hardening of tone and increasing degree of anti-Irish racial prejudice between the 1840s and 1860s. See Edward G. Lengel, *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era* (Westport: Praeger, 2002). Catherine Hall has pointed out that the tensions between Anglo-Saxon and Celt existed simultaneously with a perspective that presented both as united in the imperial mission. See Catherine Hall, 'The Nation within and without', in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*, by Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 179-233. In addition, Peter Mandler has examined nineteenth-century sources that occupied the middle ground between these racial poles, particularly those aimed at Celtic audiences. An interesting, if not very influential example is that of Thomas Nicholas, who presented the English as a blend of Saxon and Celt in a text aimed at a Welsh audience. See Mandler, *The English National Character*, 100-101.

⁹³ It had been performed previously on 11th April 1868, but was not given a programme note on that occasion.

⁹⁴ This information has been drawn from Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician* (Aldershot; Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1992), 37.

⁹⁵ Further, both Sullivan and Coghlan (his mother's maiden name) are Celtic surnames, suggesting that neither of Sullivan's parents were part of the racially acceptable Protestant English settlement in Ireland.

as straightforwardly English, with the problematic Celtic roots omitted. Sullivan himself would no doubt have approved, as it fitted with his own English patriotism.⁹⁶ However, the prevalence of anti-Irish prejudice in Victorian Britain adds an extra dimension to the omissions and evasions in the Crystal Palace notes. Both Sullivan and his music would have needed protection from racially-motivated criticism.⁹⁷

A similar approach was taken in the notes for Anton Rubinstein's music, with none of them ever mentioning his association with Russia or his Jewish heritage. There would have been plenty to mention in relation to the former even in 1869, the year in which his music made its first appearance at the Crystal Palace. His early operas on Russian subjects and his involvement in the founding of both the Russian Musical Society and a new Russian Conservatoire could all have offered routes to explaining his music.⁹⁸ However, in the note for that first performance, of an Adagio and Scherzo for Orchestra, Manns mentioned only his non-Russian birthplace:

Anton Rubinstein, born in Moldavia on Nov. 12/30 [sic], 1829, is from top to toe a son of art of our time, who, driven by an irresistible impulse, works away nobly for a good eighteen hours per day, with his blood at fever heat, and even during the remaining six hours for rest cannot silence that demon of our age, the morbid desire to accomplish, in matters of art, what no one ever did before.⁹⁹

Stating that he was born in Moldavia (now part of modern Romania) was somewhat evasive, as it omitted the crucial fact that the family were almost certainly in the middle of a journey at the time.¹⁰⁰ No mention was made of the fact that they settled in Moscow when Rubinstein was four years old. In any case, the birthplace is then immediately drowned out by the intensely poetic description of his personality that follows, making no suggestion that the information could be of any use for understanding his music. The absence of racial information from Dannreuther's note for Rubinstein's Fourth Piano Concerto, performed on 16th November 1872, is particularly striking given his later note on Tchaikovsky. The

⁹⁶ Richards, *Imperialism and Music*, 19–20.

⁹⁷ The first appearances of music by Charles Villiers Stanford at the Crystal Palace towards the end of the 1878–79 season give a small hint of changing attitudes. In a note for the First Symphony from 8th March 1879, Grove described one of the slow movement themes as containing “Irish peculiarities, reminding us pleasantly of Mr. Stanford's nationality.” GB-Lbl-B, 08/03/1879, 16: 482. The rest of the note made no further reference to it, but the fact that the composer's Irishness was mentioned at all suggests that anti-Irish sentiment might have waned by this date, even if only slightly.

⁹⁸ For detail on all of these, see Philip Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music*, Russian Music Series (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

⁹⁹ GB-Lbl-B, 06/11/1869, 6: 12.

¹⁰⁰ Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 5.

only occasion on which one might have been able to infer a Russian connection was Manns's note for the performance of the overture to *Dmitri Donskoi* on 16th January 1875:

“Dimitri Donskoi,” or Demetrius of the Don – a Russian, that is not a German or Italian, Opera – was the first Opera of Herr Rubinstein, composed in 1849, and first performed in 1852. It procured him the patronage of the Grand Duchess Helena, at whose instance he composed three others, forming a series of operas illustrative of Russian national life.¹⁰¹

This is the only passage in which Russia is mentioned in any of the notes on Rubinstein, and Manns was clearly more concerned with establishing the identity of the music than of the composer. The very word ‘Russian’ is even defined by inference, as not German or Italian.¹⁰² Manns does not mention that Rubinstein was living in Russia at the time of the opera’s composition, or that the first performance was in St. Petersburg. The fact that he was at all qualified to write about ‘Russian national life’ is the only indication of the composer’s background.

Rubinstein’s presence as a performer and conductor at several of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts indicates a personal acquaintance with Manns, and possibly also with Dannreuther. The two authors would therefore have been more likely to know of Rubinstein’s antipathy to nationalism in music, and might have written their notes accordingly.¹⁰³ To be sure, the absence of references to Russia in the Saturday Concert notes would also have been connected with the fact that Rubinstein eschewed the kind of musical material that overtly signalled national inspiration. The Victorian political antipathy to Russia, outlined above, was possibly another factor, not to mention the prevailing anti-Semitism.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, it is interesting that the notes on Rubinstein did not offer any alternative racial designation. While Sullivan’s treatment as English obscured his Irish background, Rubinstein was simply presented neutrally in the notes, with hermeneutic approaches confined to trying to find the narratives in the programmatic or dramatic works.

The picture becomes more complicated when we turn our attention to Germanic composers. Given the state of Victorian Anglo-Saxonism in the 1860s and 1870s, one might expect the racial elements to be particularly prominent. After all, if they had been

¹⁰¹ GB-Lbl-B, 16/01/1875, 12: 329-330.

¹⁰² It is also interesting to note the absence of ‘French’ here.

¹⁰³ He published an article on the subject in 1855, directing criticisms at the national elements in Glinka’s operas. See Edward Garden, ‘Rubinstein, Anton’, *Grove Music Online*, n.d., accessed 20 August 2015.

¹⁰⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 5.

presented as noble Teutonic ancestors or cousins for the English, they could have drawn on the same vein of support that made Grieg so popular. However, racial terms were almost always absent for Germanic composers, both living and dead, suggesting that race was only one of a number of different approaches that Victorians could take to the identity of a composer. Indeed, this is precisely the point made by Peter Mandler in his recent work on English national character. His detailed analysis of Victorian Anglo-Saxonism opens with the caveat that the developing understanding of a Teutonic race operated in parallel with, rather than supplanting, alternative models of nationhood and civilisation.¹⁰⁵

At the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts we can see an alternative to a racial understanding in the discussion of composers who were from or associated with the Austro-Hungarian empire (referred to as a ‘Dual Monarchy’ after 1867). Kumar’s assessment of empires, cited earlier, is equally applicable here: as a dominant part of a multi-national political unit, Austria would have not been keen to promote an independent national or racial identity. This idea is supported by Tibor Frank’s recent discussion of British perceptions of the Habsburg Monarchy during the period of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. His observation that the British mainly wanted a “reliable trading power” out of the situation reinforces the sense that the Empire was viewed in political rather than racial terms.¹⁰⁶ He also implies that the racially Germanic population was considered to be just one group of many, in fact one that both the British and the Habsburg Monarchy had considerable concerns about in the run up to the Austro-Prussian war of 1866.¹⁰⁷ This goes some way to explaining why the word ‘Austrian’ does not feature as part of the vocabulary of any of the authors of programme notes at the Crystal Palace.¹⁰⁸

If the Habsburg Empire was not a nation and not (primarily) racially understood, then the authors of the Saturday Concert programme notes would have been less likely to describe composers who worked in Vienna as nationally Austrian or racially German. The notes written for Schubert’s music are key examples here. These were generally written by Grove, which is unsurprising given his key role in nineteenth-century Schubert

¹⁰⁵ Mandler, *The English National Character*, 60.

¹⁰⁶ Tibor Frank, *Picturing Austria-Hungary: The British Perception of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1865-1870* (Boulder; Wayne; New York: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 2005), 11.

¹⁰⁷ The concern was that the Germanic population would side with the nationalist Hungarians, destabilising the monarchy. *Ibid.*, 147-148.

¹⁰⁸ This is not to say that racial ideas were absent altogether. After all, Grove’s 1867 description of C.F. Pohl’s book on Mozart and Haydn in London as being from Germany (cited on pages 167–168, GB-Lcm-B, 16/11/1867, 9: 5), when in fact it had been printed in Austria, indicates a certain degree of racial slippage. The point is that a racial understanding of music had to compete with other models, and that, as the subsequent discussion will show, certain composers were more likely to be interpreted using the ‘imperial’ alternative outlined here.

scholarship. As with Dannreuther's notes on Grieg and Tchaikovsky, Grove's early notes for Schubert's music tended to assume (probably correctly) that the composer was unfamiliar to the audience. He therefore gave a short description of Schubert's appearance in a note for the Crystal Palace (and British) première of the Fourth Symphony on 29th February 1868.

His face was one which was evidently heavy in repose, but surely with his genial disposition, and with the brilliant imagination and soft sweet heart which are present in every bar of his music, he must have had one of the most changeable countenances ever possessed by man. ... He was about 5ft. 6in. high, thick set, and of solid make, black hair, and short sighted, for which he wore glasses.¹⁰⁹

There is no suggestion that any of these features have a national or racial origin, a more striking absence when compared to Dannreuther's note on Grieg. In keeping with the observations above, the word 'Austrian' never appears in this or indeed any other programme note on Schubert, and there were no references made to any particular racial type. The closest Grove ever came to a more localised presentation of Schubert was in a note for a performance of Brahms's First Symphony on 31st March 1877. In the section on the second movement, he stated:

It is full at once of beauty and passion, and is instinct [sic] with the spirit of that great Viennese master of whom Mr. Brahms is in many respects the true successor.

It opens with the following theme – at once beautiful, passionate, and original – of the melody and harmony of which Schubert himself might be proud ...¹¹⁰

This passage does not state directly who the "Viennese master" is, but it is clear from context that it is Schubert. Still, the word chosen is 'Viennese,' rather than 'Austrian' or even 'Germanic.' The Habsburg context seems once again to have prevented a national or racial understanding of either Schubert or Brahms.

So when Grove wrote about Schubert's music, it is not surprising that there was no attempt to use nation or race to understand it. Unlike the treatment of Rubinstein, though, a broad range of metaphors and comparative material was deployed in its place. In a note from 26th April 1873, Grove described the Unfinished Symphony as "a torso, like some of

109 GB-Lcm-B, 29/02/1868, 20: 8-9.

110 GB-Lbl-B, 31/03/1877, 21: 684.

the finest remains of ancient art, like the Psyche from Naples for instance.” The same note describes the second theme of the first movement using religious imagery:

This artless and charming theme is played with and brought back again and again, and interrupted by bursts of wild savage modulation, through which its familiar simple grace passes unscathed like some pure innocent Christian martyr through the fires of her heathen prosecutors.¹¹¹

In a note from 27th March 1869 on the Ninth Symphony, Grove likened Schubert’s correction-free scores to the work of Michaelangelo, who “is said to have hewn his statues straight from the marble.” He also suggested that the last movement might be thought to represent the legend of Phaeton and the Horses of the Sun.¹¹² Grove’s notes on Schubert seem actively engaged in separating the composer from his cultural context, rather than depicting him as a product of early nineteenth-century Austria (either nationally or racially).

The classical images that Grove used for Schubert were in themselves very much a loaded choice, as the Victorians were obsessed with their own status as inheritors of Greek and Roman culture. As Frank Turner put it in one of the earliest studies on the subject:

For the Victorians the figures from antiquity were not the “Ancients” but distant contemporaries who had confronted and often mastered the difficulties presenting themselves anew to the nineteenth century.¹¹³

The last decade has seen an explosion of interest in Victorian understandings of antiquity, with a large number of books outlining a hugely complex range of interactions, from the conservative to the revolutionary.¹¹⁴ The field is far too broad to engage with fully here, but the overall message is clear: ancient Greek and Roman culture formed a deeply embedded part of Victorian identity across the whole social spectrum. In a roundabout way, then, Grove’s attempts to tie composers to classical antiquity may well have been attempting to make them ‘one of us’ in the process.

111 GB-Lcm-B, 26/04/1873, Manns’ Benefit: 564.

112 GB-Lcm-B, 27/03/1869, 23: 11.

113 Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), xii.

114 The following is a very small selection: Shanyn Fiske, *Heretical Hellenism: Women Writers, Ancient Greece, and the Victorian Popular Imagination* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008); Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity*, Martin Classical Lectures (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Edmund Richardson, *Classical Victorians: Scholars, Scoundrels and Generals in Pursuit of Antiquity*, Classics after Antiquity (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). The latter in particular offers a very good summary of the various directions the field is taking.

Strategies for appropriating non-English composers were not always so convoluted. Detailed accounts of the activity of a composer in Britain were a much more direct route. The notes written for Haydn's music are good examples. The effect is heightened on account of the relatively limited number of Haydn's works performed at the Crystal Palace, almost all of which had a connection to Britain (either composed during or inspired by his time in London). Seventeen out of the twenty-four performances of complete Haydn symphonies over the period were works that were commissioned by Johann Peter Salomon while the composer was in London. A further three performances were of the 'Oxford' Symphony, No. 92. The remaining four symphonies were performed once each. Almost all other Haydn performances during this period were of vocal works. These consisted of nine appearances of the English-language canzonets, fifteen appearances of excerpts from *The Creation* (only four items: 'With verdure clad', 'In native worth,' 'On mighty pens,' and one performance of 'Rolling with foaming billows'), and one performance of an excerpt from *The Seasons* ('Ye gay and painted fair'). The excerpts from *The Creation* and *The Seasons* fell under the national fervour for oratorios, mentioned above, as well as the fact that Haydn was understood to have been inspired by the Handelian (and by extension, British) example. In other words, the presentation of Haydn as an ersatz-British composer was already happening at the stage of repertoire selection.

Ideological justification for this decision appears in an anonymous note (probably by Grove) for Symphony No. 94 in G major on 31st October 1868:

This is one of the twelve "Grand" Symphonies composed by Haydn in London for the Concerts in London, to conduct which he was brought over from Vienna to this country by Salomon, a well-known violin player and entrepreneur of his day. They are his last and greatest achievements in this class of orchestral music, which was his own creation. ... Indeed a story is told of Salomon's having said to him: "Sir, I think you will never surpass these Symphonies," and Haydn replying "Sir, I never mean to try."¹¹⁵

The national pride at the best of Haydn's symphonies being written in London is only implied, but was potentially a powerful motivation for the dominance of the Salomon symphonies at the Crystal Palace. There is no mention in the rest of the note of Haydn's life outside of London. It is difficult not to wonder, then, if some of Grove's more poetic effusions in his notes on Haydn were tinged with a similar sense of national pride. For

115 GB-Lcm-B, 31/10/1868, 5: 6.

example, the note for the 29th January 1876 performance of Symphony No. 93 in D ('Second of the Salomon Set'), ends with the following paragraph:

What freshness, what consummate art, what absence of effort! Those were wonderful times, when fresh melody came so ready to the lips of a composer, and when anxiety and thought seem to have had no existence in the world.¹¹⁶

Given the national fervour surrounding this particular set of symphonies, Grove's distinctly Arcadian imagery in this passage could be read as a coded reference to 'Merrie England' (Richards's formulation).¹¹⁷ The three performances of the 'Oxford' Symphony are particularly interesting from a national point of view, since Grove's note actually suppressed compositional information. Only the Oxford connection was outlined:

In many respects, it is one of Haydn's best orchestral works, as would naturally be inferred from the fact that it was selected by him for a concert given at Oxford, on 7th July, 1791, on the occasion of him receiving the degree of "Doctor of Music" from that University.¹¹⁸

There was no mention of the fact that it was written prior to his arrival in England, for a French commissioner (Count d'Ogny), and first performed in Paris, though it is of course possible that these details were not known at the time. Overall, it seems that Grove was adept at making the biographical information on Haydn work to a very specific end. While rarely inaccurate in his facts (insofar as they were available), the presentation nonetheless exhibits a definite national bias.

Another tactic for claiming Haydn is evident in Grove's note for Symphony No. 102 on 13th October 1877. The description of the last movement includes the following passage:

All the experience of a long and busy life, by one of the cleverest and shrewdest observers that ever lived, ever ready to learn from himself or from others, from failure or from success, is, as it were, collected here for us, and the result is a truly pleasant thing to hear. Sterne was not more witty, or Goldsmith more natural; he is as pointed as Pope, and as graceful as Addison.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ GB-Lbl-B, 29/01/1876, 15: 411.

¹¹⁷ Richards, *Imperialism and Music*, 13.

¹¹⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 13/11/1869, 7: 6.

¹¹⁹ GB-Lbl-B, 13/10/1877, 2: 46.

Haydn is placed among a pantheon of English authors, playwrights and poets, suggesting that England was the source of his creative equals.¹²⁰ There were also occasional citations of English poetry used to explain his music, as we see in Grove's note on Symphony No. 96 in D on 8th November 1873:

Since Beethoven enlarged and deepened the realm of music there may be wider aims and more elaborate expression, greater passion, keener feeling, and grander sentiment, but the freshness and naïf gaiety of Haydn's Finales is gone, never to return:-

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”¹²¹

The last three lines were taken from Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, and in using them to explain Haydn's place in music history, Grove seems to have been claiming Haydn for England by association with a national poet. On a more practical level, the concert on 31st October 1868 included an anecdotal essay describing the encounter a young George Smart (1776–1867) had with Haydn while playing in Salomon's orchestra.¹²² The essay clearly serves a double function: it reinforces Smart's importance in British musical life, having contact with a “great master,” but also serves to anglicise Haydn by association, to increase the claim being made on him for Britain.

The same strategies for appropriation are also evident in the notes for Mendelssohn's music. However, their context is slightly different. The desire for a much more comprehensive presentation of Mendelssohn's output at the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts overrode any potential for an exclusive focus on the works written for or inspired by Britain. Of course, the connections were still highlighted wherever possible. A general statement of this intention can be detected in Grove's note for a performance of the First Symphony on 11th April 1874:

This Symphony is styled “No.1” not because it was Mendelssohn's first, but because it is the earliest of his Symphonies which he allowed to be performed and published. It is in reality his thirteenth. The preceding twelve are preserved in the archives of the Mendelssohn family, which are understood to have been recently presented, under certain conditions, to the Imperial Library at Berlin, and which it is a matter of deep regret should have been allowed to leave this country,

¹²⁰ We might note, though, that no English composers were included in this comparative list.

¹²¹ GB-Lbl-B, 08/11/1873, 6: 130.

¹²² GB-Lcm-B, 31/10/1868, 5: 10-11.

where Mendelssohn was so much at home, and where his music has always met with affectionate appreciation and enthusiasm.¹²³

Mendelssohn's connection to Britain was drawn even closer in Grove's note for the première performance of *The Evening Bell* on 22nd April 1876:

Among the many friends which Mendelssohn made during his visits to England, few were dearer or more congenial to him than Mr. Attwood, the pupil of Mozart, the organist of St. Paul's and composer to the Chapel Royal. Attwood lived in Norwood, then a quiet inaccessible little country village, and there Mendelssohn stayed with him in 1829 – his first visit to the country – and again in 1832. At Attwood's house he wrote the "Liederspiel" of the "Son and Stranger," and as may be seen from a letter in the first of the two printed volumes (May 25, 1832), was thoroughly at home.¹²⁴

Given the proximity of Norwood to the Crystal Palace itself (mentioned later in the note, in case anyone was unaware), Mendelssohn's connection must have felt very strong. Indeed, strong enough to provide justification for performing it in the face of the fact that:

It is a mere trifle, owing its interest more to its composer and to the place which gave it birth, than to any striking merits of its own.¹²⁵

A less nationally significant work of similar scope would probably not have received a programme note, and might not have been performed at all.

It is almost needless to say that for more highly regarded Mendelssohn works, the British connections were given greater explanatory power for the music. Obvious examples include the two works inspired by Scotland, the *Hebrides* Overture and the Third Symphony. In a note for the former from 3rd April 1875, Grove states:

Of his four concert overtures, two are sea pieces. And yet how different! The ocean of "The Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage" is an ocean of no time and no quarter of the globe – a truly ideal sea. But the "Hebrides" Overture is as local as the other is universal. It is not only full of the sights and sounds of those northern islands; their sombre shores, and gray skies, and moaning, uncertain winds, and busy waves; but it is pervaded with the *eerie* lonely feeling that makes the northern maritime regions so peculiar.¹²⁶

123 GB-Lbl-B, 11/04/1874, 24: 587.

124 GB-Lbl-B, 22/04/1876, Manns's Benefit: 770.

125 Ibid.

126 GB-Lbl-B, 03/04/1875, 23: 650.

Grove's note for the *Scottish* Symphony on 2nd November 1872 uses distinctly more upbeat imagery:

The Scherzo in particular is one of the most spirited and glorious movements in existence, the most wonderful compound of both health and life, heath and moor, blowing wind, screaming eagles, bagpipes, fluttering tartans, and elastic steps of racing Highlanders, all rounded off and brought into one perfect picture with the most consummate art that probably any painter, poet, or musician ever possessed.¹²⁷

For both these works, understanding the music was intensely tied up with the geographic source of inspiration, with highly poetic imagery brought out to ensure that the Scottish connections would not be overlooked.¹²⁸

As with Haydn, though on a more frequent basis (concomitant with greater opportunity), Grove's notes also attempt to explain Mendelssohn's music through citations of English poetry. The 1872 note for the *Scottish* Symphony, cited above, includes a line from Sir Walter Scott's *The Harp of the North*.¹²⁹ The note for the *Reformation* Symphony from the concert on 30th November 1867 contained a double citation of Tennyson, both referring to Mendelssohn's tendency to hold back works from performance or publication until he felt they were fully polished:

Honour to the man who thus respects his fame!
 "He gave the people of his best,
 His worst he kept, his best he gave."
 To him may well be applied the words of the Poet Laureate on the Prince Consort -
 "... we have lost him, he is gone;
 We know him now: all narrow jealousies
 Are silent; and we see him as he moved;
 How modest, kindly, all-accomplished, wise;
With what sublime repression of himself, [sic]
 And in what limits, and how tenderly."¹³⁰

The first citation is from *After Reading a Life and Letters*, the second from *Dedication*. Grove's choice of poetry was no doubt derived in part from Mendelssohn's connection with the British royal family, but the additional result is that he comes across as musical

¹²⁷ GB-Lcm-B, 02/11/1872, 5: 92.

¹²⁸ Though, of course, the note made no mention of the fact the Scottish culture that Mendelssohn was responding to could be seen as Celtic.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 96.

¹³⁰ GB-Lcm-B, 30/11/1867, 11: 7-8.

royalty in his own right.¹³¹ A direct comparison was even made between Mendelssohn and Tennyson himself in Grove's note for the Octet from 30th October 1869:

It is impossible to hear these early works of Mendelssohn without being struck with their freshness and fire, their gay irrepressible vivacity and the unmistakeable tone of wholesome cheerfulness which pervades them. As was recently said of Mr. Tennyson's poems, the beneficence they display is as remarkable as their genius.¹³²

As with the comparisons between Haydn and Sterne, Goldsmith, Pope and Addison, Grove seems to be trying to make Mendelssohn more English by inference.

On their own, the references to English poetry might simply have been a reflection of Grove's personal taste. Equally, since the purpose of the notes was to make music more accessible to non-musicians, it would have made sense for Grove to pick poetry that was likely to be familiar to the Crystal Palace audience. Nonetheless, it is hard not to see the persistent use of English poetry as a part of the effort to claim Mendelssohn for Britain, particularly as he was an important figure in British musical life.¹³³ One could further argue that using poetry to make Mendelssohn's music accessible to an English audience was a subtle part of this process. To put it crudely, making things accessible allows people to take them and make them their own.

There is nothing new in the observation that Haydn and Mendelssohn were being appropriated for Britain by the Victorians. After all, both composers made highly influential visits, and had a direct impact on shaping the country's musical life. However, the same set of anglicisation tactics were also used for a composer with few obvious connections with Britain: Beethoven. Grove might have been unable to use biography as extensively as with Haydn and Mendelssohn, but he did take every opportunity to mention Beethoven's British connections where such information could be cited. For example, Grove's note on the Ninth Symphony always stressed the fact that the work was commissioned by the Philharmonic Society of London. The information appeared in one of the early versions of the note, from 17th April 1869:

¹³¹ This offers some support for the idea of aristocratic resonances in canon formation, as proposed in Chapter 5.

¹³² GB-Lcm-B, 30/10/1869, 5: 12.

¹³³ For a particularly in-depth study of this phenomenon, see Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2009). See also Stradling and Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 8-19. Ironically, Mendelssohn's contact with English culture seems to have brought out a greater personal pride in his Jewish roots. See Paul Jourdan, 'The Hidden Pathways of Assimilation: Mendelssohn's First Visit to London', in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 99-120.

There exists however another dedication to the Symphony, to a body who had more right to that honour than was possessed by King [Frederick William III] or Kaiser, namely, the Philharmonic Society of London. These gentlemen, prompted probably by Beethoven's pupil and friend Ries, who was then settled in England, and to whom Beethoven had written on 6th April 1822, asking "what the Philharmonic Society were likely to offer him for a Symphony" - passed a resolution on 10th of the following November to offer him £50 for a MS. Symphony, to be delivered in the following March, and to be their exclusive property for eighteen months after, at the end of which time it would revert to the composer.¹³⁴

Admitting a few sentences later that the offer was "not a very liberal one," the passage above is a clear attempt to wrest ownership away from potential German dedicatees and bring it to an English home. There were, however, very few other occasions that could have been drawn upon for anglicising Beethoven's music, so this particular tactic was mostly absent from other Beethoven notes.

Biography might have been of limited use when it came to appropriation, but the use of English poetry to explain Beethoven's music seems to have suffered no such restriction. We find a particularly striking example in a note for the Violin Concerto from 4th March 1876. After relating an anecdote suggesting that Beethoven drew inspiration for the first movement from the sound of someone repeatedly knocking on the door of his neighbour's house one night, Grove observes:

These four knocks were to Beethoven what the hulk of the "old Temeraire" was to Turner, or the "Daffodils" to Wordsworth, common-place objects in themselves, but transmuted by the fire of genius into imperishable monuments. Thus the musician may say with no less force than the painter or poet -

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."¹³⁵

The poetry cited at the end is from Wordsworth's *Ode, Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood*. Coleridge's response to the Funeral March was mentioned in the note on the *Eroica* Symphony, lines from Milton were cited in an early version of the note on the *Pastoral* Symphony.¹³⁶ Grove made reference to Tennyson on a number of occasions, including: two lines from *The Princess* from the Violin Concerto note cited above; lines from *Epilogue* in his note for the Eighth Symphony; and an excerpt

¹³⁴ GB-Lcm-B, 17/04/1869, 26: 13.

¹³⁵ GB-Lbl-B, 04/03/1876, 20: 545.

¹³⁶ GB-Lcm-B, 09/11/1872, 6: 113 and GB-Lcm-B, 13/04/1867, 24: 10 respectively.

from *A Dream of Fair Women* in the note for the Fifth Piano Concerto.¹³⁷ An earlier version of the Violin Concerto note had included an extended extract from *The Lotos-Eaters*.¹³⁸ As with the notes for Mendelssohn's music, Grove only ever cited British poets. German poetry of the kind that Beethoven would have actually known generally did not appear, with the obvious exception of notes for pieces that already contained it, such as the Ninth Symphony.

Unlike Haydn and Mendelssohn, Grove's notes for Beethoven feature an additional appropriation tactic: persistent comparisons made with Shakespeare. This first appeared in a note for the Eighth Symphony on 9th November 1867, in which Grove described the Finale in the following terms:

It is pure Beethoven, in his most romantic and characteristic vein, full of those surprises and unexpected effects, those mixtures of tragedy and comedy, which make his music so true a mirror of human life, equal in his branch of art to the great plays of Shakespeare in his – and for the same reasons.¹³⁹

This feature is particularly interesting as it developed over time. Two years later, in an early note on the Seventh Symphony from 6th February 1869, the image had expanded much further. After a lengthy paragraph asserting the individuality of each Beethoven symphony and of each movement within them in comparison to the symphonies of Mozart and Haydn, Grove concluded with the following statement:

In this, as in some other respects, the only comparison with which I can compare Beethoven is Shakespeare. Let any non-musical reader (inclined, perhaps, to be sceptical at what I have said) think of the radical difference between Othello and Hamlet, King John and King Lear ... and further, between Desdemona and Imogen, Miranda and Cordelia, Lance and Touchstone, and he will realise my meaning better than if I were to write a volume.¹⁴⁰

Grove cut this passage in later revisions of the note, quite possibly for reasons of space (the later notes featured much more in the way of analysis and musical examples). However, the message re-appears in his note for the Fourth Symphony, now developed in a slightly different direction:

¹³⁷ GB-Lbl-B, 04/03/1876, 20: 542, GB-Lbl-B, 22/03/1873, 21: 439, and GB-Lcm-B, 23/02/1867, 17: 6 respectively.

¹³⁸ GB-Lcm-B, 16/01/1869, 13: 10.

¹³⁹ GB-Lcm-B, 09/11/1867, 8: 6.

¹⁴⁰ GB-Lcm-B, 06/02/1869, 16: 11-12.

In the Eroica Beethoven crossed the Rubicon which divided his own proper soil from the country of his predecessors in art, and once there he never returned. The Symphony before us to-day is lighter and less profound than the Eroica, but there is no retrogression in terms of style. ... Beethoven's life was one continual progress in feeling, knowledge, and power, and the time is not far distant when everyone will acknowledge, what those most competent to judge have already decided, that the later the work the more characteristic it is of the man. Here, again, is another point in which Beethoven and Shakespeare are like each other.¹⁴¹

Now the parallels are not just in the artistic products, but also in the creative development of the two artists. Given the national importance of Shakespeare, as outlined above, it is hard not to read the passages equating Beethoven with Shakespeare as an attempt to claim him for Britain. It is reinforced when we return to the passage cited above, describing Beethoven's 'proper soil' being separate from 'the country of his predecessors'. While the image is that of Caesar crossing the Rubicon, and does not mention Britain *per se*, the manner in which it is phrased is very nationally suggestive.

If Grove was (consciously or otherwise) intending to anglicise Beethoven, the effect was certainly a subtle one. The features outlined above were mixed with a good deal of explanatory material from other countries. Grove's Beethoven notes drew on a wide range of imagery, with references to (for example) French paintings alongside English poetry. However, there were also comparisons to classical sculpture, akin to the Schubert notes, already implying a certain degree of appropriation via Victorian Hellenism. Moreover the notes share a focus on British connections and English poetry with those on Haydn and Mendelssohn, composers known to have been important figures for the Victorians to claim. The references to Shakespeare only amplify the aim further.

The three tactics for anglicisation outlined here (biography, poetry, and Shakespeare connections) were most concentrated in notes for these composers, but individual elements did appear more widely. The re-writing of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* with Coleridge, as cited above, is a good example, as is the occasion on 26th February 1870 when lines from Tennyson's *In Memoriam* were used to explain a Prelude and Fugue in E minor.¹⁴² We might also mention the numerous occasions on which Grove cited English poetry in his notes on Schubert, and the explanation of Mozart's Parisian Symphony in D with a line from Keats on 15th March 1873.¹⁴³ Even more recent composers were treated in this

141 GB-Lcm-B, 14/12/1872, 11: 236.

142 GB-Lcm-B, 26/02/1870, 19: 101.

143 GB-Lbl-B, 15/03/1873, 20: 414.

manner: lines by Tennyson were used to explain both Schumann's Second Symphony and Brahms's *Schicksalsied* (the latter being furnished with a particularly extensive excerpt from *Lucretius*).¹⁴⁴

We might have expected to see Handel discussed alongside Mendelssohn and Haydn, as a continental composer appropriated for Britain. Indeed, as the only one of the three to be naturalised as British (in 1727), he was the most logical candidate for anglicisation in the programme notes. However, there are a few indications of a distinctly more ambivalent attitude, bordering on active attempts to push him away. To be sure, the attitude to Handel was still generally positive: the Crystal Palace as an institution was still organising the Triennial Handel Festival, a massive and regular celebration of the composer's music. The Saturday Concert programme notes show the same trope of connecting the music to Britain as much as possible. For example, in a note from 2nd March 1878 on a *Largo* (the arrangement of 'Ombra mai fu' from *Serse*), Grove opens with an effort to reclaim the work:

This striking piece, which excited enthusiasm all over the continent before it came in its present shape to this country, is really a native of England.¹⁴⁵

It is interesting to note, though, that it is the piece which is a 'native', not the composer. Although the composer himself was never directly referred to as German in any of the notes for his music, it was at least implied in Grove's note for the *Chandos Te Deum*, performed on 5th February 1876 through a reference to Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752). Despite also being a permanent resident of England, Pepusch was never naturalised as British, so there can be no doubt that it is the common German origin of the two composers that was being highlighted in the following passage:

Dr. Pepusch, had been the Duke's chapel-master, but he was displaced for his great countryman, for whom he is said to have given way with a modesty which does him credit.¹⁴⁶

An earlier booklet, from 28th November 1874, featured an anecdote entitled 'A Breakfast with Handel' after the notes and libretto for *L'Allegro ed il Penseroso*, attributed to "Mr. Ephraim Hardcastle's *Somerset House Gazette*" from 1823. While the description allows

¹⁴⁴ GB-Lbl-B, 23/11/1872, 8: 156 and GB-Lbl-B, 21/03/1874, 21: 507 respectively.

¹⁴⁵ GB-Lbl-B, 02/03/1878, 15: 506.

¹⁴⁶ GB-Lbl-B, 05/02/1876, 16: 426.

that the anecdote might be “reported or invented,” it nonetheless reprints the phonetic representation of Handel’s accent as it appears in the original:

“Handel: Vat! mine dear friendt Hardgasdle – Vat! you are merry py times. Vat! and Misder Golly Cibbers too! aye, and Togder Peepbush as vell! Vell, dat is gomigal. Vell, mine friendts, andt how vags the worldt mid you, mine tdears? Bray, bray, do let me sit down a momend.”¹⁴⁷

To be sure, the anecdote was probably chosen on account of the amusing story it tells of Handel, appropriate for a whole concert of his music, rather than specifically for the national overtones. Equally, the phonetic spelling does not in itself represent Victorian values, as the source is much earlier. However, someone (probably Grove) must have thought it apt, and obviously felt no qualms about its presentation of Handel as distinctively German. There is relatively little programme note material to analyse for Handel, as he was primarily represented by vocal excerpts, which tended not to receive notes. Even if his vocal music did receive more explanation than that of other composers, the notes were still only a paragraph long at most, not enough space to present an opinion one way or the other on his national identity. The two examples cited above are the only ones in which Handel’s national identity is referred to at all.

A general Victorian wish to begin distancing themselves from Handel is evident in other arenas too, not least in the article on him in the first edition of Grove’s *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. The author, Julian Marshall, was highly ambivalent on the question of Handel’s national identity:

Handel has left behind him in his adopted country a name and a popularity which never has been, and probably never will be, rivalled by that of any other composer. He became a naturalised British subject (in 1726 [sic]); but to claim him as an *Englishman* is as gratuitous as it would be to deny that the whole tone of his mind and genius were singularly attuned to the best features of the English character.¹⁴⁸

Further, Roberta Montemorra Marvin’s article on *Acis and Galatea* highlights the fact that the work was satirised in Victorian burlesque shows in a manner usually reserved for foreign composers:

147 GB-Lbl-B, 28/11/1874, 8: 210.

148 George Grove, ed., *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1st ed., 4 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879-1889), 1: 651–652.

These [authors of parody burlesques] were voices that questioned an otherwise silent acceptance of Handel's bequeathed superiority, grumbled over the lauding of a naturalized Englishman as a native musical hero of the lyric stage, and muttered over the use of his historical 'pseudo' or 'quasi' opera as a prime representative of a pure, contemporary, English operatic tradition.¹⁴⁹

If the programme note extracts cited earlier were indeed an attempt to put Handel at arms length from Britain, it seems that the idea might have found some support.

A prevailing view in much of the scholarship relating to this particular period in Victorian Britain is that the musical culture was profoundly Germanophilic. Stradling and Hughes point to the hegemony of German music though much of the nineteenth century, supported on an institutional level:

Since Mozart's day, English musicians had gravitated towards the Teutonic stars and returned home to bask in their reflected brilliance. Domestic distinction depended on association with a major German figure and/or graduation in one of the main German conservatoires. As Forsyth complained, recognition in Germany was almost the only 'recognition' which mattered. Grove and Sullivan contributed to the further glorification of German music by their rediscovery of Schubert.¹⁵⁰

They also argue that this love of German culture contained a good deal of envy and competition, though they present this aspect as a reflection of the widespread belief that German music was superior:

For some years there had been hopeful signs: the expansion of concerts in London, developments in music publishing, improvements in the provincial festivals. But this was hardly enough, and especially when compared with Germany – always Germany, the obsessive point of comparison, and the object of so much competitive envy in the discourse of English music.¹⁵¹

Richards also lends support to this view, asserting that:

... there was considerable prejudice against English music in Britain. Italian music dominated the opera, German music the orchestral field and French music the operetta stage.¹⁵²

149 Roberta Montemorra Marvin, 'Handel's *Acis and Galatea*: A Victorian View', in *Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 260.

150 Stradling and Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, 126.

151 *Ibid.*, 29.

152 Richards, *Imperialism and Music*, 10.

In addition, it is common in scholarly literature to refer to the process by which German music was legitimised across Europe as one of universalisation, a belief that the music of Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn etc. represented ‘universal’ music, whereas the products of other countries were ‘national.’ The ideology itself has been assumed to be of central European origin.¹⁵³ Superficially, the repertoire and programme notes for the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts could be thought of as fitting this pattern: a large quantity of Germanic music was performed, and the omission of a national identity for key figures could be seen as an import of the Germanic ideology of the universal.

However, through examination of the Crystal Palace programme notes, it becomes clear that this perspective is overly simplistic, not least for the fact that none of the authors cited consider the issue of race. If we take Victorian Anglo-Saxonism into account, we can see that any enthusiasm for Germanic qualities in their own people (or music) was in fact more of a backhanded celebration of the Teutonic British than the Germans themselves. Indeed, Mandler’s analysis of Teutonism suggests that it was developed specifically for the purpose of explaining why England had escaped the mid-century revolutions that shook continental Europe.¹⁵⁴ In other words, Teutonism could be used to explain what made them different from the Germans. This would explain the contradictory tendency of the Crystal Palace notes to put most composers who were actually from Germany a little at arm’s length. The ambivalent responses to the continental Shakespeare-inspired music cited above are good examples, as is the increasingly detached treatment of Handel, and the diminishing popularity of Spohr (as outlined in Chapter 5).¹⁵⁵ When the word ‘Germanic’ did appear in the Crystal Palace programme notes, it was not always with positive associations, as we see in a note for Sterndale Bennett’s overture *The Naiads* on 27th January 1866. Here an anonymous author, probably Grove, states:

He is one of the few English composers whose fame is as great in Germany as at home, in witness thereof take the following eulogy

153 The predominant form of the ‘universal’ perspective is best illustrated by Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 39. Limited mention of the Germanic evolution of these ideas appears in David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6–9. Taruskin’s assertion that such ideology was imported to nineteenth-century Russia from central Europe provides the model for much of the scholarly literature on music in Victorian Britain. See Richard Taruskin, ‘Some Thoughts on the History and Historiography of Russian Music’, *The Journal of Musicology* 3, no. 4 (Autumn 1984): 321–39.

154 Mandler, *The English National Character*, 71–72.

155 Although it is not in evidence at the Crystal Palace, the backlash against Mendelssohn that Colin Eatock documents could also have been part of this. See ‘Fragmentation and Legacy’ in Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England*, 133–150.

upon him by his friend Robert Schumann, a little German in style perhaps, but none the less welcome for that.¹⁵⁶

The phrasing makes it clear that “a little German in style” is not a compliment.¹⁵⁷ In contrast, composers such as Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert or Brahms were all exempt from this kind of treatment as they had been or were working in the Habsburg Empire, not Germany. Whatever their actual origins, the fact that the political entity they represented was neither nationally or racially constructed meant that their music could be discussed in more neutral terms. Correspondingly, they seem to have not suffered from the Germanophobic attitudes outlined by authors such as Panikos Panayi and Paul Kennedy.¹⁵⁸ The Victorians’ lack of a racial lens for the Habsburg Monarchy meant that such composers could not have been appropriated via Anglo-Saxonism, but the example of music by actual German composers (such as Krebs and Volkmann) suggests that this was not as viable an option as we might imagine. In any case, neutralising a composer’s national identity and race was a considerably more straightforward route for appropriation. As with the example of Beethoven, once he had been detached from ‘the country of his predecessors’, he would then have been easier to claim for Britain.

The benefits brought by having these composers ‘on our side’ renders suspicious the idea that a ‘universal’ ideology would have to be imported from Germany. Instead, it could have emerged in British musical thought independently. After all, a neutral presentation gave programme note authors the chance to enrich British musical culture with figures such as Haydn, Mendelssohn, Schubert, and Beethoven, not to mention now-neglected composers such as Rubinstein (who was, after all, also de-nationalised in the Crystal Palace notes). It would also have smoothed out the political and racial difficulties in accepting Sullivan’s music. At the risk of overreaching, we could even go so far as to suggest that if composers such as Beethoven had truly been appropriated as British, performances of their music could have been presented as a source of nationalist pride. These considerations would surely have provided reason enough for treating composers in a nationally and racially neutral manner without having to draw on continental ideologies.

Two recent pieces of scholarship support these conclusions. The first is an article by Colin Eatock on the two plebiscites carried out by Manns to determine the repertoire for

¹⁵⁶ GB-Lcm-B, 27/01/1866, 12: 8.

¹⁵⁷ This statement can be taken to indicate Grove’s authorship, as the only other person writing notes for the Crystal Palace at this stage was Manns, who would not be likely to express such a sentiment.

¹⁵⁸ Panikos Panayi, ed., *Germans in Britain since 1500* (London; Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1996); Paul Michael Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism* (Amherst: Humanity Books, 1980).

his 1880 and 1887 benefit concerts. He discusses these events with reference to the English Musical Renaissance, arguing that:

The English Musical Renaissance movement had two discrete but intertwined messages for the populace: British folk should know and believe that the nation's leading composers are as good as any found on the European continent; and British folk should acquire and cultivate a taste for classical music and participate in its culture.¹⁵⁹

He then goes on to argue that, although the success of the former was limited, that of the latter is unquestionable, citing the growth in music publication and instrument sales, the founding of several educational institutions, and the growth of concert life. He also points out that the founding and popularity of the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts was “not the least of these achievements.”¹⁶⁰ These observations would dovetail neatly with the aim of enriching British musical culture that may have underlaid the appropriation of non-British composers. The second source of support comes from Christina Bashford's article on domestic chamber music in nineteenth-century Britain. Discussing an excerpt from a lecture by Sterndale Bennett on the superiority of music-making in Germany, she argues:

If it seems strange that Bennett should be so negative about Britain, we should remember that the purpose of his lecture was to argue for improvements in the nation's music making, and that pointing up how foreigners did things better than the British, while downplaying British musical achievements and manipulating feelings of national pride, was a much-used rhetorical device in the Victorian period.¹⁶¹

In other words, a focus on the superiority of German music making was a strategy, one that was intended to promote the cause of British music. If references to Germany were a tool for a particular aim, then they cannot be taken straightforwardly as Germanophilia. Performances of Austro-German music at the Crystal Palace can be seen in a similar light. They were intended to improve British music-making (in line with Eatock's conclusions), not to illustrate the superiority of their national origin. We would therefore not expect to see references to national identity in the notes for the most popular composers. Their original national identity would not be the reason they were being performed; the national identity they could be made to represent would matter more.

159 Colin Eatock, 'The Crystal Palace Concerts: Canon Formation and the English Musical Renaissance', *19th-Century Music* 34, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 91.

160 *Ibid.*, 96.

161 Christina Bashford, 'Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (August 2010): 327.

To conclude, there is one tiny reference to contemporary events that is worth highlighting. In a note from 14th March 1874 on Schubert's Octet, Grove offers a passage comparing the work to Beethoven's Septet:

Schubert's relation to Beethoven has been well compared to that of a woman to a man, and although the relationship of the sexes has been perhaps somewhat menaced by recent agitations, yet the general meaning of the comparison is easy to apprehend, and will remain true at any rate for a few years longer.¹⁶²

Aside from the connotations for Victorian conceptions of gender (already discussed in Chapter 4), the really interesting thing about this passage is the oblique reference to the women's suffrage movement. The election of the directly pro-suffrage John Stuart Mill to parliament in 1865 had brought the issue to prominence, and many organisations were forming at the time. Grove's position on the matter is made clear by his choice of the words "menaced" and "agitations." It is a highly unusual reference, the only overt appearance of social politics in the Crystal Palace programme notes between 1865 and 1879. Further, it is a point that is, for all intents and purposes, irrelevant to the understanding of the music. If anything, the contemporary nature of the reference comes close to distracting from Grove's actual point, namely comparing Beethoven and Schubert. For one very brief moment, we get a direct insight into Grove's opinions on contemporary politics, which were otherwise entirely obscured behind his musical interests. This passage has been saved for the end of the chapter, as it links back to the discussion of gender in Chapter 4, thus bringing the sequence of cultural topics full circle.

¹⁶² GB-Lbl-B, 14/03/1874, 20: 485.

Conclusion

At this point, it is worth returning to the image of a programme note as a window, posited in the Introduction. The specific language used to describe music, discussed throughout this project, represents the materials from which the window was constructed, and had a considerable impact on what could therefore be seen through it. Questions about who was responsible for constructing the window are acknowledged in the biographies of the authors, and in the discussion of biography, history and literature, as these were topics on which Grove and Manns were keen to be seen as authorities. Examining the audience engages with those who were looking through the window, and shows that their presence was an important factor in shaping the view. Their political affiliations, for example, clearly influenced the terms chosen to describe the music they were listening to, and determined which topics were acceptable for discussion. The section on morality highlights the fact that the content seen through the window can be understood as having both contemporary and present-day value. Those at the time would have seen essential lessons in how to improve themselves, whereas current historians gain insights into additional layers of caste and class concerns, particularly through the legal language and the complications surrounding musical ‘rules’. Finally, a sense of a dynamic process, of each window shaping the creation of subsequent windows, can be discerned from the changes in conventions over time. The increase in frequency, length, and depth of the Saturday Concert programme notes was accompanied by subtle shifts in topics and metaphors, such as the move from overtly familial images to the more abstract ‘golden chain’.

This dynamic process was not necessarily restricted to the influence of programme notes upon each other; it could also spread out to other forms of writing. Grove had been producing Saturday Concert programme notes for sixteen years by 1872, so it is no surprise that they seem to have conditioned some of the articles he produced for the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, first proposed that year, and completed in 1889.¹ At a basic level, the connection could well have informed a key editorial decision: pieces of music that had a name (as opposed to a purely generic title) were given their own short entries. The *Dictionary* contained scores of these articles, and almost all of them were written by Grove himself.² The full gamut of genres was included, from the large scale (‘Seasons, The’, ‘Traviata, La’, and ‘Jupiter’³) to smaller orchestral works (‘Jubilee

1 George Grove, ed, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1st ed., 4 vols. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879-1889).

2 This feature not been mentioned in any of the scholarly literature on Grove or the *Dictionary*.

3 Grove, *Dictionary* (1st ed.), 3: 453-454; 4: 163; and 2: 46 respectively.

Overture, The'⁴), chamber music ('Moonlight Sonata, The'⁵), and even excerpts ('See, the conquering hero comes'⁶). The significance of having an article for each individual work lies in the fact that it could easily have been considered unnecessary. After all, the much longer articles on composers contained much of the same historical information. However, the overall editor was someone used to writing about individual works, and it is therefore not surprising that the habit transferred over into the *Dictionary*.

The sense of a connection is reinforced in cases where Grove had previously written a programme note for a given work: the subsequent dictionary entry usually reads like a highly condensed summary of the earlier text. As an example, we could take the article on 'Scotch Symphony, The'.⁷ Grove's programme note had reached thirteen pages in length by 1875, so almost all of it had to be cut to fit the half-column that the *Dictionary* entry occupied, in particular the detailed discussion of the musical material. The remaining content is mostly very factual, such as the date of composition, other works of similar inspiration, dates of premières, and a few short remarks about the music. Tellingly, most of this information appears in the same order as it did in the original note, suggesting that the earlier text was informing the later one.⁸

There were even very occasional straight transfers of material from the Saturday Concert programme notes. Grove's characterisation of the eighteenth century in the 1872 note for Beethoven's Second Symphony (cited on page 163) was only lightly rewritten for his entry on the composer in the *Dictionary*:

People who were the servants of archbishops and princes, and moved about with the rest of the establishment in the train of their master, who wore powder and pigtail and red-heeled shoes, and were forced to wait in ante-rooms and regulate their conduct strictly by etiquette, and habitually keep down their passions under decorous rules and forms, could not give their thoughts and emotions the free and natural vent which they would have had without the perpetual curb of such restraints and the habits they must have engendered.⁹

Further, loaded language is never entirely absent. Grove's statement that Beethoven was "no wild radical, altering for the mere pleasure of alteration, or in the mere search for

4 Ibid., 2: 44.

5 Ibid., 2: 360.

6 Ibid., 3: 456.

7 Ibid., 3: 437-438.

8 The only material that occurs out of sequence is a passage noting that the opening of the second movement was added after the first performance, which had, in the programme note, been buried in a footnote as part of the section describing the music. See GB-Lbl-B, 18/05/1878, Manns's Benefit: 942.

9 Grove, *Dictionary* (1st ed.), 1: 204.

originality” clearly preserves the negative sense of radicalism that appeared in the Crystal Palace notes. As another example, we could look at the following passage from the article on Schubert:

Time has so altered the public sense of his merits that it is all but impossible to place oneself in the forlorn condition in which he must have resigned himself to his departure, and to realise the darkness of the valley of the shadow of death through which his simple sincere guileless soul passed to its last rest ...¹⁰

The reference to Psalm 23 brings a religious element to the biographical effort to understand the end of Schubert’s life.

On the whole, though, the writing style in the *Dictionary* is much drier than the programme notes, and hints at an attitude specific to Victorian lexicography.¹¹ Indeed, Grove’s thoughts on this subject are made clear in a footnote at the end of his entry on Beethoven:

I have been much indebted in this part of my work to an admirable paper by Mr. Dannreuther in *Macmillan’s Magazine* for July 1876. I have quoted from it more than once, and if I have not done so still more it is because the style of his remarks is not suited to the bald rigidity of a Dictionary [sic] article.¹²

It must have been this need for ‘bald rigidity’ that determined the choice of content for the ‘Scotch Symphony’ entry as well, with factual information privileged over more engaging material. Grove’s assessment was no doubt informed by a wider contemporary sense of a generically appropriate prose style for dictionaries. The work of his colleague William Smith may also have been a key influence.¹³

10 Ibid., 3: 369.

11 As yet, there do not appear to be any scholarly studies on this subject. Lynda Mugglestone discusses the ideologies behind the creation of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and their Victorian contexts, but does not mention practices beyond mono-lingual lexical dictionaries or the issue of writing style. See Lynda Mugglestone, *Lost for Words: The Hidden History of the Oxford English Dictionary* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005). Michael Adams has written on the “readable” quality of dictionary prose and its origins in the reading process behind the creation of entries, but does not discuss what the term means for the prose. See Michael Adams, ‘Historical Dictionaries and the History of Reading’ in *Reading in History* ed. by Bonnie Gunzenhauser (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010), 47-62. Most recently, Lindsay Rose Russell has considered dictionaries as a variety of public genre, but her work is primarily concerned with addressing understandings of origins within the field of Genre Studies. Correspondingly, her historical case studies refer to much earlier texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than the more generically stable nineteenth-century products. See Lindsay Rose Russell, ‘Defining Moments: Genre Beginnings, Genre Invention, and the Case of the English-Language Dictionary’, in *Genre and the Performance of Publics*, ed. by Mary Jo Reiff and Anis Bawarshi (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2016), 83-99.

12 Ibid., 1: 207, footnote 1.

13 While Percy Young touches on the historical connection between Smith and Grove, he does not include

For the purposes of the present study, though, the important point is that the above passage clearly demonstrates Grove's awareness of his own writing style. It suggests, by inference, that the narratives we see in the Crystal Palace programme notes were an intentional inclusion. Indeed, this would be entirely expected from Grove and Manns's biographical, literary and historical writing, whether for programme note or dictionary entry. However, in contrast with the expected readers of the *Dictionary*, we can see that wider social and cultural narratives were thought to be appropriate and necessary for the kind of audience found at the Crystal Palace. Describing music and composers in terms of sibling and parental relationships gave this audience an opportunity to connect otherwise abstract instrumental works to some of the most immediate aspects of their personal lives. Religious imagery surrounded the works with familiar vocabulary and stories that the average listener could easily grasp, regardless of whether or not they believed in it. The identity of the composer (national, racial or appropriated) was clearly all a critical part of understanding their music, even if these references were hidden. We might also add that, although not connected to the music, statements referring directly to the audience and their discernment brought personal self-improvement narratives to the listening experience. Those attending the concerts would have been able to place their experience within a story they were telling about themselves and their spiritual or moral development.

The narrative impulse behind programme notes is perhaps not surprising when we consider that the vast majority of developments relating to instrumental music during the nineteenth century had similar concerns. Poetic epigrams and titles given by composers, biographies and music histories written by critics, and indeed even musical analysis: all of these techniques (from the abstract to the visceral) served the purpose of giving text-less music a text, a story to explain what it meant. Programme notes occupied a very interesting place in this spectrum, as they mediated between various extremes of opinion, while also taking part in the same endeavour. Where a composer had given the piece a story, a note could focus on the musical material and even actively minimise the programmatic content;

any discussion of the impact the more senior writer might have had on Grove's writing style. See Percy M. Young, "'The Other Dictionary': Grove's Work in Editing Dr Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*", in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 71–85. Given that Smith had been producing dictionaries since the early 1840s, his writing style and editorial decisions may well have had significant influence on wider lexicographic practice, as well as on Grove's work. However, this subject has received no scholarly attention. The only academic text of any kind to be found on Smith is Ronald Clements's entry in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, but the nature of the article obviously leaves no scope for any discussion of the style and content of his work. See Ronald E. Clements, 'Smith, Sir William (1813-1893)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 376-377.

where a story was absent, one could be safely elucidated (or indeed invented) without tainting the ‘purity’ of the music itself. They were able to present both neutral musical descriptions or analysis for the high-minded audience member seeking abstraction and overtly narrative material that benefited the less cerebral without offending either group. In all of this, the programme note served its own function as a text for music on exactly the same lines as an analysis or a history book. Unlike those other kinds of writing, though, it went on to gain a set of generic conventions without ever acquiring the baggage of becoming an academic discipline. In other words, the content of a programme note could be as scholarly and prestigious as anyone wished without ever compromising its popular status. No wonder the practice of writing them has proved so long-lasting.

This project has been primarily focussed on a narrative function of programme notes, but it would also be possible to explore the ways in which they served as a means of social control. The idea was briefly raised at the end of Chapter 3 (on pages 75–76) with the argument that Grove and Manns’s descriptions of the good behaviour of the Crystal Palace audience were a subtle attempt to ensure conformity in this area. Much of the social and cultural vocabulary discussed above could be interpreted in a similar vein. Assigning instruments a gender along strict registral lines (apart from the piano) would have encouraged the audience to be equally rigid in their definitions of masculinity and femininity. The depiction of composers as morally exemplary was obviously meant to influence behaviour, as was the normative assumption that all audience members were Anglican Christians. Claims for authorial authority in biographical and historical writings could be seen as a bid for social authority, and therefore as an integral part of achieving control. Disdain for radicalism, approval of political parties, and support for the monarchy at the Crystal Palace did not merely reflect the context but also shaped it. A full examination of these topics is beyond the scope of the present study; but it seems important to acknowledge that, for all the importance of narrative, the Saturday Concert programme notes did have a darker function as well.

As the project currently stands there are two other directions in which it could profitably be broadened. The first would be through a widening of the date range for the case study period from 1865–1879 to 1856–1887. The years from 1856 and the start of the Saturday Concerts through to 1865 would be essential for covering all of the (albeit only very intermittent) programme note material from the early stages of the series. Studying the notes written after 1879 would be useful to see how the changes identified by this project as happening during the 1870s played out during the subsequent decade. The new

end-date would correspond with the second of Manns's plebiscite concerts.¹⁴ The second expansion would be in the form of a chapter discussing the references to science and technology. In particular, the importance of evolutionary narratives to Victorian thinking about music has been amply demonstrated by Bennett Zon, and the Saturday Concert programme notes were no exception.¹⁵ There are also a number of other directions that could be explored, including an assessment of the influence of the Saturday Concert notes on later British note-writing practices, and comparisons with contemporary or near-contemporary programme notes written in continental Europe.¹⁶

In a more general sense, this project demonstrates that programme notes would be a valuable resource for any study that wanted to approach culture and society and the place of music within it.¹⁷ After all, some of the conclusions drawn over the course of the preceding chapters provide starting points for work that would go far beyond programme notes in themselves. Patterns of programme note provision raise questions about the relative status of vocal and instrumental music. The promotional use of footnotes would provide fascinating evidence for commercial roots for scholarly practices. An exploration of familial metaphors has potential consequences for understanding any Victorian history of music. Overlaps between musical analysis and biblical exegesis is a rich topic for

14 According to Colin Eatock, these events show the role of the Victorian public in bringing about a stabilisation in the orchestral repertoire at the Crystal Palace into roughly the form we know today. Colin Eatock, 'The Crystal Palace Concerts: Canon Formation and the English Musical Renaissance', *19th-Century Music* 34, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 87–105.

15 For writings focussing specifically on the subject of music and evolution, see Bennett Zon, 'Recapitulation and the Musical Education of Victorian Children: *The Child's Pianoforte Book* (1882) by H. Keatley Moore.', in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 299–321; and Bennett Zon, 'The "Non-Darwinian" Revolution and the Great Chain of Musical Being', in *Evolution and Victorian Culture*, ed. Bernard V. Lightman, Bennett Zon, and Cannon Schmitt, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 196–226. He also touches on the subject in Bennett Zon, *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology*, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000); Bennett Zon, *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Eastman Studies in Music, v. 48 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007); and Bennett Zon, 'Histories of British Music and the Land Without Music: National Identity and the Idea of the Hero', in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. Emma Hornby and David Nicholas Maw (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2010), 311–24.

16 Programme notes seem to have emerged on the continent considerably later than in Britain, raising questions about whether French and German authors were being influenced by the pre-existing models. Bashford makes this point in a forthcoming chapter on British listening practices, citing Grove's 1878 observation that programme notes "do not appear to have been yet introduced into the concert rooms abroad" in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. See Christina Bashford, 'Concert Listening the British Way? Program Notes and Victorian Culture', in *The Oxford Handbook for the History of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Zimmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, in preparation).

17 Indeed, this point has been further demonstrated by the limited existing scholarship that uses programme notes as source material. See for example, Lawrence Poston, 'Henry Wood, the "Proms," and National Identity in Music, 1895–1904', *Victorian Studies* 47, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 397–426.

further study, as is the links between the treatment of canonic composers and the legal position of the aristocracy. We have seen the need for a more integrated understanding of disciplines prior to their professionalisation, particularly in relation to writings about music. The place that racial ideology held in Victorian musical thought deserves more detailed examination, and the processes of cultural appropriation outlined here might reappear in many other contexts. As the present study has shown, a project that explored any one of these topics would undoubtedly be enriched by the inclusion of programme notes.

Bibliography

- Abbate, Carolyn. *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton Studies in Opera. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Ablow, Rachel, ed. *The Feeling of Reading: Affective Experience and Victorian Literature*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.
- Abrams, M. H. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Adams, James Eli. *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Adams, Michael. 'Historical Dictionaries and the History of Reading' in *Reading in History*, edited by Bonnie Gunzenhauser, 47–62. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010.
- Adams, Rachel, and David Savran, eds. *The Masculinity Studies Reader*. Keyworks in Cultural Studies 5. Malden: Blackwell, 2002.
- Allis, Michael. *British Music and Literary Context: Artistic Connections in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Music in Britain, 1600-1900. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012.
- Altick, Richard D. *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*. Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1957.
- Amigoni, David, ed. *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- . *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.
- Anderson, Amanda, and Joseph Valente, eds. *Disciplinary at the Fin de Siècle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Anderson, Olive. *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Anger, Suzy. *Victorian Interpretation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Atkinson, Juliette. *Victorian Biography Reconsidered: A Study of Nineteenth-Century 'Hidden' Lives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- 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; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- ‘August Manns’. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39, no. 661 (1 March 1898): 153–59.
- Backscheider, Paula R. *Reflections on Biography*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Baer, Marc. *The Rise and Fall of Radical Westminster, 1780-1890*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Baguley, David. *Napoleon III and His Regime: An Extravaganza*. Modernist Studies. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. London; Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul; University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Bailey, Victor. *This Rash Act: Suicide Across the Life Cycle in the Victorian City*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Banister, Henry C. *George Alexander Macfarren: His Life, Works, and Influence*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1891.
- . ‘The Life and Work of Sir G. A. MacFarren’. *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 14th Session (1888 1887): 67–88.
- Bartley, Alan. *Far from the Fashionable Crowd: The People’s Concert Society and Music in London’s Suburbs*. Newbury: Whimbrel, 2009.
- Barton, H. Arnold. ‘The Discovery of Norway Abroad, 1760-1905’. *Scandinavian Studies* 79, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 25–40.
- Bashford, Christina. ‘Concert Listening the British Way? Program Notes and Victorian Culture’. In *The Oxford Handbook for the History of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Zimmer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, in preparation.
- . ‘Educating England: Networks of Programme-Note Provision in the Nineteenth Century’. In *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, edited by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, 349–76. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007.
- . ‘Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain’. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (August 2010): 291–360.
- . ‘Learning to Listen: Audiences for Chamber Music in Early-Victorian London’. *Journal of Victorian Culture* 4, no. 1 (1999): 25–51.

- . ‘Not Just “G”’: Towards a History of the Programme Note’. In *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, edited by Michael Musgrave, 115–43. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- . ‘The Late Beethoven Quartets and the London Press, 1836-ca.1850’. *The Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 84–122.
- . *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007.
- . ‘Varieties of Childhood: John Ella and the Construction of a Victorian Mozart’. In *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, edited by Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley, 193–210. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- . ‘Writing (British) Concert History: The Blessing and Curse of Ephemera’. *Notes*, 2, 64, no. 3 (March 2008): 458–73.
- Bashford, Christina, and Leanne Langley, eds. *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Beasley, Edward. *The Victorian Reinvention of Race: New Racisms and the Problem of Grouping in the Human Sciences*. Routledge Studies in Modern British History 4. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Beauvoir, Simone de. *The Second Sex*. Translated by Howard Madison Paishley. London: New England Library, 1962.
- Benestad, Finn, and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe. *Edvard Grieg: The Man and the Artist*. Translated by William H. Halverson and Leland B. Sateren. Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1988.
- Bennett, Andrew. ‘Expressivity: The Romantic Theory of Authorship’. In *Literary Theory and Criticism: An Oxford Guide*, edited by Patricia Waugh, 48–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- . *The Author*. The New Critical Idiom. London; New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Bennett, Joseph. *Forty Years of Music, 1865-1905*. London: Methuen & Co., 1908.
- Bentley, Eric, ed. *Shaw on Music*. New York: Applause, 1995.
- Bergeron, Katherine, and Philip V. Bohlman. *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Berghoff, Hartmut, Philip Scranton, and Uwe Spiekermann, eds. *The Rise of Marketing and Market Research*. 1st ed. Worlds of Consumption. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

- Biddlecombe, George. 'The Construction of a Cultural Icon: The Case of Jenny Lind'. In *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 3*, edited by Peter Horton and Bennett Zon, 45–61. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Blanning, T. C. W. 'The Commercialization and Sacralization of European Culture in the Nineteenth Century'. In *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, edited by T. C. W. Blanning, 120–47. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Blanning, Tim. *The Triumph of Music*. London: Allen Lane, 2008.
- Block, Adrienne Fried. 'Matinee Mania, of the Regendering of Nineteenth-Century Audiences in New York City'. *19th-Century Music* 31, no. 3 (Spring 2008): 193–216.
- Bolt, Christine. *Victorian Attitudes to Race*. Studies in Social History. London: Routledge; Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Bombet, L. A. C. *The Lives of Haydn and Mozart, with Observations on Metastasio, and on the Present State of Music in France and Italy*. Translated by Robert Brewin. London: John Murray, 1817.
- Bonds, Mark Evan. 'Aesthetic Amputations: Absolute Music and the Deleted Endings of Hanslick's Vom Musikalisch-Schönen'. *19th-Century Music* 36, no. 1 (2012): 3–23.
- Bowen, José Antonio, ed. 'The Rise of Conducting'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, 93–113. Cambridge Companions to Music. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Bozarth, George S. *Johannes Brahms & George Henschel: An Enduring Friendship*. Sterling Heights: Harmonie Park Press, 2008.
- Bradley, Ian C. *Lost Chords and Christian Soldiers: The Sacred Music of Sir Arthur Sullivan*. London: SCM Press, 2013.
- Bradley, Matthew, and Juliet John, eds. *Reading and the Victorians*. The Nineteenth Century Series. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2015.
- Bradstock, Andrew, ed. *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Branscombe, Peter. 'Schenk, Johann Baptist'. *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Accessed 9 December 2015.
- Brantlinger, Patrick Morgan. *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Briggs, Asa. 'Samuel Smiles: The Gospel of Self-Help'. In *Victorian Values: Personalities*

- and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, edited by Gordon Marsden, 85–96. London; New York: Longman, 1990.
- Bristow, Joseph. ‘Why “Victorian”? A Period and Its Problems’. *Literature Compass* 1, no. 1 (1 January 2004). Accessed December 20, 2015.
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1741-4113.2004.00055.x/full>.
- Broughton, Trev Lynn. *Men of Letters, Writing Lives : Masculinity and Literary Auto/Biography in the Late-Victorian Period*. London; New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Brown, Callum G. *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*. Christianity and Society in the Modern World. London; New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Brown, Callum G., and M. F. Snape, eds. *Secularisation in the Christian World: Essays in Honour of Hugh McLeod*. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.
- Brown, Clive. *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Bury, J. B. *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1920.
- Buzard, James, Joseph W. Childers, and Eileen Gillooly, eds. *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*. Victorian Literature and Culture. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007.
- Carley, Lionel. *Edvard Grieg in England*. Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell, 2006.
- Carlisle, Janice. *Picturing Reform in Victorian Britain*. Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1840.
- Cashdollar, Charles D. *A Spiritual Home: Life in British and American Reformed Congregations, 1830-1915*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.
- Christensen, Thomas. ‘Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception’. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 255–98.
- Church, Roy. ‘Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations’. *The Economic History Review* 53, no. 4 (November 2000): 621–45.
- Church, Roy A., and Andrew Godley, eds. *The Emergence of Modern Marketing*. London;

- Portland: F. Cass, 2003.
- Citron, Marcia J. *Gender and the Musical Canon*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Clapp-Itnyre, Alisa. *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002.
- Clarke, Celia, and Michael Musgrave. 'George Grove the Man'. In *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, edited by Michael Musgrave, 23–39. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Clements, Ronald E. 'Smith, Sir William (1813-1893)'. In *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 376-377. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Codell, Julie F. *The Victorian Artist: Artists' Lifewritings in Britain, Ca. 1870-1910*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Colley, Ann C. *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Cox, Gordon. *A History of Music Education in England 1872-1928*. Aldershot; Burlington: Scholar Press, 1993.
- Cox, Jeffrey. 'Worlds of Victorian Religion'. In *The Victorian World*, edited by Martin Hewitt, 433–48. The Routledge Worlds. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Cross, Anthony, ed. *'A People Passing Rude': British Responses to Russian Culture*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2012.
- Cross, Gary. *A Social History of Leisure since 1600*. State College: Venture Publishing, 1990.
- Cunningham, H. 'Leisure and Culture'. In *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*, edited by F. M. L. Thompson, 279–339. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Curtis, L. P. *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England*. Connecticut: Conference on British Studies at the University of Bridgeport, 1968.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. *Nineteenth-Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Dale, Catherine. *Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- . 'The "Analytical" Content of the Concert Programme Note Re-Examined: Its Growth and Influence in Nineteenth-Century Britain'. In *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Vol. 2*, edited by Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon, 199–222.

- Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- . ‘Towards a Tradition of Music Analysis in Britain in the Nineteenth Century’. In *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 1*, edited by Bennett Zon, 269–302. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Daunton, M. J., ed. *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*. British Academy Centenary Monographs. Oxford; New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Davidoff, Leonore. *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season*. London: Croom Helm, 1973.
- . *Thicker Than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780-1920*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Davie, Donald. *Essays on Russian and Polish Literature*. Manchester: Carcanet, 1990.
- Davis, John R. *The Victorians and Germany*. Bern; New York: P. Lang, 2007.
- Dibble, Jeremy. ‘Edward Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon’. In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 275–98. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Doubleday, Veronica. ‘“Sounds of Power”: Musical Instruments and Gender’. *Ethnomusicology Forum* 17, no. 1 (June 2008): 3–39.
- Eatock, Colin. ‘Fragmentation and Legacy’. In *Mendelssohn and Victorian England*, 133–50. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.
- . *Mendelssohn and Victorian England*. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.
- . ‘The Crystal Palace Concerts: Canon Formation and the English Musical Renaissance’. *19th-Century Music* 34, no. 1 (Summer 2010): 87–105.
- ‘Ebenezer Prout’. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 40, no. 674 (1 April 1899): 225–30.
- ‘Edward Dannreuther’. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39, no. 668 (1 October 1898): 645–54.
- Ehrlich, Cyril. *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1995.
- . *Harmonious Alliance: A History of the Performing Right Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- . *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985.

- . *The Piano: A History*. Rev. ed. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Ellis, David. *Literary Lives: Biography and the Search for Understanding*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Ellis, Katharine. 'Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1997): 353–85.
- Ellsworth, Therese Marie, and Susan Wollenberg, eds. *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2007.
- Epstein, William H. *Recognizing Biography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Erdozain, Dominic. *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation, and the Crisis of Victorian Religion*. Studies in Modern British Religious History, v. 22. Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2010.
- Fifield, Christopher. *True Artist and True Friend: A Biography of Hans Richter*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Fisher, Devon. *Roman Catholic Saints and Early Victorian Literature: Conservatism, Liberalism, and the Emergence of Secular Culture*. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- Fiske, Shany. *Heretical Hellenism: Women Writers, Ancient Greece, and the Victorian Popular Imagination*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008.
- Fjågesund, Peter, and Ruth A. Symes. *The Northern Utopia: British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century*. Studia Imagologica 10. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003.
- Fletcher, Pamela. "'To Wipe a Manly Tear": The Aesthetics of Emotion in Victorian Narrative Painting'. *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 3 (2009): 457–69.
- Foulkes, Richard. *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Frank, Howard, and John Roy Lancaster. *The Crystal Palace Sydenham: To Be Sold by Auction on Tuesday 28th Day of November, 1911*. London, 1911.
- Frank, Tibor. *Picturing Austria-Hungary: The British Perception of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1865-1870*. Boulder; Wayne; New York: Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Fuller, Sophie, and Nicky Losseff, eds. *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*. Music in

- Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- Garden, Edward. 'Rubinstein, Anton'. *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Accessed 20 August 2015.
- Gargano, Elizabeth. *Reading Victorian Schoolrooms: Childhood and Education in Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. Children's Literature and Culture. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Garrett, James. 'Haydn and Posterity: The Long Nineteenth Century'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, edited by Caryl Leslie Clark, 203–25. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Gates, Barbara T. *Victorian Suicide: Mad Crimes and Sad Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Gibbs, Christopher Howard. "'Poor Schubert': Images and Legends of the Composer". In *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, edited by Christopher Howard Gibbs, 36–55. Cambridge Companions to Music. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Golby, David J. *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- Goldhill, Simon. *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity*. Martin Classical Lectures. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Golding, Rosemary. *Music and Academia in Victorian Britain*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013.
- Goode, C. T. *To The Crystal Palace*. Bracknell: Forge Books, 1984.
- Gossett, Philip. 'Rossini, Gioachino'. *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Accessed 21 October 2015.
- Grafton, Anthony. *The Footnote: A Curious History*. London: Faber and Faber, 1997.
- Gramit, David. 'Constructing a Victorian Schubert: Music, Biography, and Cultural Values'. *19th-Century Music* 17, no. 1 (Summer 1993): 65–78.
- . *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Graves, Charles L. *The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.
- Graves, C. L., and Percy M. Young. 'Grove, Sir George'. *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Accessed 1 October 2015.

- Green, Edward. 'Music and the Victorian Mind: The Music Aesthetics of the Rev. H.R. Haweis'. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 39, no. 2 (December 2008): 239–56.
- Green, S. J. D. *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Grey, Thomas. 'Tableaux Vivants: Landscape, History Painting, and the Visual Imagination in Mendelssohn's Orchestral Music'. *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 1 (July 1997): 38–76.
- Grimley, Daniel M. *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity*. Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2006.
- Grove, George, ed. *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 1st edition. 4 vols. London: Macmillan and Co., 1879-1889.
- Gunn, Simon. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City, 1840-1914*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Gurney, Peter. "'A Palace for the People'?: The Crystal Palace and Consumer Culture in Victorian England'. In *Victorian Prism: Refractions of the Crystal Palace*, edited by James Buzard, Joseph W. Childers, and Eileen Gillooly, 138–50. *Victorian Literature and Culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007.
- Hall, Catherine. 'The Nation within and without'. In *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*, by Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, 179–233. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Hall, Catherine, and Leonore Davidoff. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.
- Hall, Donald E., ed. *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*. *Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture* 2. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Hannaford, Ivan. *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*. Washington; Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996.
- Harrison, J. F. C. *Late Victorian Britain, 1875-1901*. London; New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Haweis, Hugh Reginald. *Music and Morals*. London: Strahan & Co., 1871.
- Hedges, Mary Ann. *My Own Fireside*. Colchester, 1832.
- Heffer, Simon. *High Minds: The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain*. London:

Random House, 2013.

Heine, A. G. E. *The Past, Present, and Future of the Crystal Palace*. London: Effingham Wilson, 1874.

Henley, Darren, and Vincent McKernan. *The Original Liverpool Sound: The Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Story*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009.

Henson, Karen. 'Introduction: Divo Worship'. *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, no. 1 (March 2007): 1–9.

Hepokoski, James. 'Genre and Content in Mid-Century Verdi: "Addio, Del Passato" ("La Traviata", Act III)'. *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1, no. 3 (November 1989): 249–76.

Herbert, Trevor, ed. *The British Brass Band: A Musical and Social History*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 2000.

Hesketh, Ian. *The Science of History in Victorian Britain: Making the Past Speak*. Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century v.12. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011.

Hewitt, Martin, ed. *The Victorian World*. The Routledge Worlds. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.

———. 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain Does Make Sense'. *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 3 (2006): 395–438.

Heyck, Thomas William. *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England*. Croom Helm Studies in Society and History. London: Croom Helm, 1982.

Hindley, Diana, and Geoffrey Hindley. *Advertising in Victorian England, 1837-1901*. London: Wayland, 1972.

Hogarth, George. *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism: Being a General Survey of Music from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. London: John W. Parker, 1835.

———. *The Philharmonic Society of London: From Its Foundation, 1813, to Its Fiftieth Year, 1862*. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1862.

Hoppen, K. Theodore. *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886*. The New Oxford History of England. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1998.

Horton, John, and Nils Grinde. 'Grieg, Edvard'. *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Accessed 20 August 2015.

Horton, Peter, and Bennett Zon, eds. *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*. Vol. 3. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Hosgood, Christopher P. 'Mrs Pooter's Purchase: Lower-Middle-Class Consumerism and the Sales, 1870-1914.' In *Gender, Civic Culture, and Consumerism: Middle-Class*

- Identity in Britain, 1800-1940*, edited by Alan J. Kidd and David Nicholls, 146–63. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Houswitschka, Christoph. ‘Family, Crime, and the Public Sphere: “Incest” in Eighteenth-Century England’. In *Sites of Discourse, Public and Private Spheres, Legal Culture: Papers from a Conference Held at the Technical University of Dresden, December 2001*, edited by Uwe Böker and Julie A. Hibbard, 167–78. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002.
- Howell, Standley. ‘Beethoven’s Maelzel Canon. Another Schindler Forgery?’ *The Musical Times* 120, no. 1642 (1 December 1979): 987–90.
- Huebner, Steven. ‘Gounod, Charles-François’. *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Accessed 9 November 2013.
- Hughes, Meirion. *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press, 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2002.
- Hullah, John. *The History of Modern Music*. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1862.
- Jacobs, Arthur. *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*. Aldershot; Brookfield: Scolar Press, 1992.
- Jenkins, T. A. *Parliament, Party, and Politics in Victorian Britain*. New Frontiers in History. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; St. Martin’s Press, 1996.
- Johnson, Christopher H., and David Warren Sabeau, eds. *Sibling Relations and the Transformations of European Kinship, 1300-1900*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2011.
- Jourdan, Paul. ‘The Hidden Pathways of Assimilation: Mendelssohn’s First Visit to London’. In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 99–120. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Julius, Anthony. *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Kennaway, George. *Playing the Cello, 1780-1930*. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2014.
- Kennedy, Paul Michael. *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism*. Amherst: Humanity Books, 1980.
- Kerman, Joseph. ‘A Few Canonic Variations’. *Critical Inquiry* 10, no. 1 (1983): 107–25.
- Kift, Dagmar. *The Victorian Music Hall: Culture, Class, and Conflict*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Kimmel, Michael S., Jeff Hearn, and Raewyn Connell, eds. *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005.

Kirkham, Pat, ed. *The Gendered Object*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Kivy, Peter. *Introduction to a Philosophy of Music*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 2002.

Knoepfmacher, U. C. *Ventures into Childland: Victorians, Fairy Tales, and Femininity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Kuchta, David. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*. Studies on the History of Society and Culture 47. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Kumar, Krishan. 'Varieties of Nationalism'. In *The Victorian World*, edited by Martin Hewitt, 160–74. The Routledge Worlds. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.

LaMonaca, Maria. *Masked Atheism: Catholicism and the Secular Victorian Home*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008.

Langford, Paul. *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Langley, Leanne. 'Reception and Beyond: New Thoughts on Schubert in 19th-Century England'. *The Schubertian* 58 (January 2008): 8–16.

———. 'Roots of a Tradition: The *First Dictionary of Music and Musicians*'. In *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, edited by Michael Musgrave, 168–215. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Laporte, Charles. 'The Bard, the Bible, and the Victorian Shakespeare Question'. *ELH* 74, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 609–28.

Larsen, Timothy. *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

———. *Contested Christianity: The Political and Social Context of Victorian Theology*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2004.

———. 'Review: *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion*, by Dominic Erdozain.' *Victorian Studies* 53, no. 1 (Autumn 2010): 128–29.

Lasch, Christopher. *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics*. New York: Norton, 1991.

- Lauterbach, Edward S. 'Victorian Advertising and Magazine Stripping'. *Victorian Studies* 10, no. 4 (June 1967): 431–34.
- Lengel, Edward G. *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era*. Westport: Praeger, 2002.
- Lenneberg, Hans. *Witnesses and Scholars: Studies in Musical Biography*. New York; London: Gordon and Breach, 1988.
- Leppert, Richard D. *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology, and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Lester, Alan. 'Race and Citizenship: Colonial Inclusions and Exclusions'. In *The Victorian World*, edited by Martin Hewitt, 381–97. The Routledge Worlds. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Levine, Lawrence W. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. The William E. Massey, Sr. Lectures in the History of American Civilization 1986. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Levine, Philippa. *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians, and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Lieberman, Richard K. *Steinway & Sons*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Loeb, Lori Anne. *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lucas, John. 'Republican versus Victorian: Radical Writing in the Latter Years of the Nineteenth Century'. In *Rethinking Victorian Culture*, edited by Juliet John and Alice Jenkins, 28–45. Basingstoke; New York: Macmillan Press; St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Lustig, Jodi. 'The Piano's Progress: The Piano in Play in the Victorian Novel'. In *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction*, edited by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff, 83–104. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- MacDougall, Hugh A. *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons*. Montreal: Harvest, 1982.
- Macfarlane, Robert. *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

- Mandler, Peter. *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Mangan, J. A., and James Walvin, eds. *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Martinez, Katharine, and Kenneth L. Ames, eds. *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture*. Winterthur; Hanover: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1997.
- Marvin, Roberta Montemorra. 'Handel's *Acis and Galatea*: A Victorian View'. In *Europe, Empire, and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music*, edited by Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton, 249–64. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- May, Leila Silvana. *Disorderly Sisters: Sibling Relations and Sororal Resistance in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*. Lewisburg; London; Cranbury: Bucknell University Press; Associated University Presses, 2001.
- McClary, Susan. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- McGuire, Charles Edward. *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-Fa Movement*. Cambridge; London: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- McHale, Maria. 'A Singing People': *English Vocal Music and Nationalist Debate, 1880-1920*. PhD Diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2003.
- McPherson, Bruce. *Between Two Worlds: Victorian Ambivalence About Progress*. Washington: University Press of America, 1983.
- McVeigh, Simon. "'An Audience for High-Class Music": Concert Promoters and Entrepreneurs in Late-Nineteenth-Century London'. In *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, edited by William Weber, 162–82. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- . *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . 'Freemasonry and Musical Life in London in the Late Eighteenth Century'. In *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by David Wyn Jones, 72–100. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.
- . 'The Benefit Concert in Nineteenth-Century London: From "Tax on the Nobility" to "Monstrous Nuisance"'. In *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Vol. 1*,

- edited by Bennett Zon, 242–66. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 1999.
- . ‘The Society of British Musicians (1834-1865) and the Campaign for Native Talent’. In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 145–68. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- McWilliams, Rohan. ‘The Performance of Citizenship’. In *The Victorian World*, edited by Martin Hewitt, 362–80. The Routledge Worlds. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Melman, Billie. ‘The Power of the Past: History and Modernity in the Victorian World’. In *The Victorian World*, edited by Martin Hewitt, 466–83. The Routledge Worlds. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Mink, JoAnna Stephens, and Janet Doubler Ward, eds. *The Significance of Sibling Relationships in Literature*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993.
- Mintz, Donald. ‘1848, Anti-Semitism, and the Mendelssohn Reception’. In *Mendelssohn Studies*, edited by R. Larry Todd, 200–239. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Mohn, Barbara. ‘“Personifying the Saviour?”: English Oratorio and the Representation of the Words of Christ’. In *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 1*, edited by Bennett Zon, 227–41. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Mugglestone, Lynda. *Lost for Words: The Hidden History of the Oxford English Dictionary*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Muir, Stephen. ‘“About As Wild And Barbaric As Well Could Be Imagined...”: The Critical Reception of Rimsky-Korsakov in Nineteenth-Century England’. *Music and Letters* 93, no. 4 (November 2012): 513–42.
- Muir, T. E. *Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791-1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy?* Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Musgrave, Michael. *‘An Audience For Classical Music’: The Achievement of August Manns at the Crystal Palace*. London: Goldsmiths College, 1996.
- . ‘Changing Values in Nineteenth-Century Performance: The Work of Michael Costa and August Manns’. In *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914 : Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, edited by Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 169–92. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- . ‘Describing and Evaluating: Grove on Technology, Geography, Exploration and Literature’. In *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, edited by Michael Musgrave, 40–70. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- . , ed. *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- . ‘The Making of a Scholar: Grove’s Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schubert’. In *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, edited by Michael Musgrave, 86–114. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- . *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Nadel, Ira Bruce. *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form*. London: Macmillan, 1984.
- Nash, David. *Christian Ideals in British Culture: Stories of Belief in the Twentieth Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Nattiez, Jean-Jacques. ‘Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?’ Translated by Katharine Ellis. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115, no. 2 (1990): 240–57.
- Nelson, Claudia. *Family Ties in Victorian England*. Victorian Life and Times. Westport: Praeger, 2007.
- Nevett, T. R. *Advertising in Britain: A History*. London: Heinemann, 1982.
- Newman, Nancy. ‘Gender and the Germanians: “Art-Loving Ladies” in Nineteenth-Century Concert Life’. In *American Orchestras in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by John Spitzer, 289–309. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Nisbet, Robert. *History of the Idea of Progress*. London: Heinemann, 1980.
- Nord, Deborah Epstein. *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Norman, Edward R. *The Victorian Christian Socialists*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Norris, Gerald. *Stanford, the Cambridge Jubilee, and Tchaikovsky*. Newton Abbot; North Pomfret: David & Charles, 1980.
- ‘Occasional Notes’. *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 24, no. 488 (1 October 1883): 539–40.
- Oergel, Maike. ‘The Redeeming Teuton: Nineteenth-Century Notions of the “Germanic” in England and Germany’. In *Imagining Nations*, edited by Geoffrey Cubitt, 75–91. York Studies in Cultural History. Manchester; New York: Manchester University

- Press, 1998.
- Otté, Emilie C. *Scandinavian History*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1874.
- Paddison, Max. 'Music as Ideal: The Aesthetics of Autonomy'. In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, edited by Jim Samson, 318–42. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Panayi, Panikos, ed. *Germans in Britain since 1500*. London; Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1996.
- Parker, Joanne. 'Ruling the Waves: Saxons, Vikings, and the Sea in the Formation of an Anglo-British Identity in the Nineteenth Century'. In *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, edited by Sebastian I. Sobocki, 195–206. Cambridge; Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2011.
- Parker, John William. *Essays and Reviews*. London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1860.
- Pasler, Jann. 'Concert Programs and Their Narratives as Emblems of Ideology'. In *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics*, 365–416. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Paz, Denis G. *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Pederson, Sanna. 'Defining the Term "Absolute Music" Historically'. *Music & Letters* 90, no. 2 (2009): 240–62.
- Pekacz, Jolanta T. 'Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and Its Discontents'. *Journal of Musicological Research* 23, no. 1 (January 2004): 39–80.
- . , ed. *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- Peterson, Linda H. 'Review of Suzy Anger, *Victorian Interpretation*'. *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 61, no. 4 (March 2007): 524–30.
- Pettitt, Clare. *Patent Inventions: Intellectual Property and the Victorian Novel*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Phillips, Samuel. *Crystal Palace: A Guide to the Palace and Park*. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854.
- Poston, Lawrence. 'Henry Wood, the "Proms," and National Identity in Music, 1895–1904'. *Victorian Studies* 47, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 397–426.
- Rabinowitz, Peter J. 'Music, Genre, and Narrative Theory'. In *Narrative Across Media: The Languages of Storytelling*, edited by Marie-Laure Ryan, 305–28. Frontiers of Narrative. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

- Rainbow, Bernarr. 'The Rise of Popular Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Britain'. *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 25–49.
- Rainbow, Bernarr, and Gordon Cox. *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: A Survey from 800 BC*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006.
- Relph, Edward. *Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography*. Croom Helm Series in Geography and Environment. London: Croom Helm, 1981.
- Riall, Lucy. *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Richards, Jeffrey. *Imperialism and Music: Britain, 1876-1953*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Richardson, Edmund. *Classical Victorians: Scholars, Scoundrels and Generals in Pursuit of Antiquity*. Classics after Antiquity. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Richards, Thomas. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian Britain: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Roberts, Matthew. *Political Movements in Urban England, 1832-1914*. British History in Perspective. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Rodrick, Anne B. *Self-Help and Civic Culture: Citizenship in Victorian Birmingham*. Historical Urban Studies. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004.
- Rose, Jonathan. *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Royle, Edward. *Modern Britain: A Social History, 1750-2011*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012.
- Russell, Lindsay Rose. 'Defining Moments: Genre Beginnings, Genre Invention, and the Case of the English-Language Dictionary'. In *Genre and the Performance of Publics*, edited by Mary Jo Reiff and Anis Bawarshi, 83–99. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2016.
- Saint-Amour, Paul K. *The Copywrights: Intellectual Property and the Literary Imagination*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Sanders, Valerie. *The Brother-Sister Culture in Nineteenth-Century Literature: From Austen to Woolf*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Sarjeant, William A. S. 'Crystal Palace'. In *Encyclopedia of Dinosaurs*, edited by Kevin Padian and Philip J. Currie, 161–64. San Diego: Academic Press, 1997.
- Scott, Derek B. 'Music, Morality and Rational Amusement at the Victorian Middle-Class Soirée'. In *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays*

- in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, edited by Bennett Zon, 83–101. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- . ‘The Sexual Politics of Victorian Musical Aesthetics’. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119, no. 1 (1994): 91–114.
- Scully, Richard. *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860-1914*. Britain and the World. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Shaffer, Elinor S. ‘Shaping Victorian Biography: From Anecdote to *Bildungsroman*’. In *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography*, edited by Peter France and William St. Clair, 115–34. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2002.
- Shaw, Christopher, and Malcolm Chase, eds. *The Imagined Past: History and Nostalgia*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- Smiles, Samuel. *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance. New Edition*. London: John Murray, 1859.
- Smither, Howard E. *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Solie, Ruth A. ‘Music in a Victorian Mirror: *Macmillan’s Magazine* in the Grove Years’. In *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, 44–84. California Studies in 19th-Century Music 12. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2004.
- . *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*. California Studies in 19th-Century Music 12. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2004.
- . , ed. *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Solomon, Maynard. ‘Mozart: The Myth of the Eternal Child’. *19th-Century Music* 15, no. 2 (Autumn 1991): 94–106.
- Spadafora, David. *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Yale Historical Publications. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Sposato, Jeffrey S. ‘Saint Elsewhere: German and English Reactions to Mendelssohn’s *Paulus*’. *19th-Century Music* 32, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 26–51.
- . *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Stadlen, Peter. ‘Schindler’s Beethoven Forgeries’. *The Musical Times* 118, no. 1613 (1 July 1977): 549–52.
- Stafford, William C. *A History of Music*. Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1830.
- Steinbach, Susie. *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in*

- Nineteenth-Century Britain*. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Stephens, John Russell. *The Censorship of English Drama, 1824-1901*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Stephens, Michael D., and Gordon W. Roderick, eds. *Samuel Smiles and Nineteenth Century Self-Help in Education*. Nottingham Studies in the History of Adult Education. Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1983.
- Stephens, W. B. *Education in Britain, 1750-1914*. Social History in Perspective. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- St John, Ian. *Disraeli and the Art of Victorian Politics*. Anthem Nineteenth Century Studies. London: Anthem Press, 2005.
- Stocking, George W. *Victorian Anthropology*. New York; London: Free Press; Collier Macmillan, 1987.
- Strachan, John. 'Satirical Print Culture'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, edited by Francis O'Gorman, 156–76. Cambridge Companions to Culture. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Stradling, Robert, and Meirion Hughes. *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: Constructing a National Music, Second Edition*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Suisman, David. *Selling Sounds: The Commercial Revolution in American Music*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Sumpter, Caroline. *The Victorian Press and the Fairy Tale*. Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Sussman, Herbert L. *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art*. Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture 3. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Sylvest, Caspar. 'The Foundations of Victorian International Law'. In *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought*, edited by Duncan Bell, 47–66. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Talairach-Vielmas, Laurence. *Fairy Tales, Natural History and Victorian Culture*. Palgrave Studies in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Culture. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Taruskin, Richard. 'Back to Whom? Neoclassicism as Ideology'. *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 3 (1993): 286–302.

- . ‘Some Thoughts on the History and Historiography of Russian Music’. *The Journal of Musicology* 3, no. 4 (Autumn 1984): 321–39.
- Taylor, Antony. ‘Shakespeare and Radicalism: The Uses and Abuses of Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Popular Politics’. *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 02 (2002): 357–79.
- Taylor, Philip. *Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music*. Russian Music Series. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Temperley, Nicholas. ‘The Lost Chord’. *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 1986): 7–23.
- Thaden, Barbara. *The Maternal Voice in Victorian Fiction: Rewriting the Patriarchal Family*. New York: Garland, 1997.
- ‘The Gloucester Music Festival’. *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 21, no. 452 (1 October 1880): 498–500.
- Thomas, Julia. ‘Nation and Narration: The Englishness of Victorian Narrative Painting’. In *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image*, 105–24. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004.
- . *Victorian Narrative Painting*. London: Tate, 2000.
- Tick, Judith. ‘Passed Away Is the Piano Girl: Changes in American Musical Life, 1870–1900’. In *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, edited by Jane M. Bowers and Judith. Tick, 325–48. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Tomkins, Stephen. *Clapham Sect: How Wilberforce’s Circle Transformed Britain*. Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2010.
- Tosh, John. *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Turner, Frank M. *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Tyrrell, Alex. ‘Voluntarism and Self-Help’. In *The Victorian World*, edited by Martin Hewitt, 346–61. The Routledge Worlds. London; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- VanArsdel, Rosemary T. ‘Grove as Editor of Macmillan’s Magazine, 1868–83’. In *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, edited by Michael Musgrave, 145–67. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Vance, Norman. *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

- Wasielewski, Wilhelm Joseph von. *Life of Robert Schumann (1858)*. Translated by A. L. Alger. Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1975.
- Watts, Andrew. 'Cambridge Local Examinations 1858-1945'. In *Examining the World: A History of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate*, edited by Sandra Raban, 36–71. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Wawn, Andrew. *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Cambridge; Rochester: D.S. Brewer, 2000.
- Webb, John. 'Notes on the Ballad Horn'. *The Galpin Society Journal* 37 (March 1984): 57–61.
- 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; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- . 'The History of Musical Canon'. In *Rethinking Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, 336–55. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- . *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Weliver, Phyllis, ed. *The Figure of Music in Nineteenth-Century British Poetry*. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2005.
- . *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900: Representations of Music, Science, and Gender in the Leisured Home*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.
- Wiley, Christopher. 'Re-Writing Composers' Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography'. PhD Diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008.
- Williamson, Rosemary. 'Prout, Ebenezer'. *Grove Music Online*, n.d. Accessed 28 August 2014.
- Winter, James H. *London's Teeming Streets: 1830-1914*. London; New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Wright, David C. H. *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural History*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013.
- . 'The Music Exams of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures

- and Commerce, 1859-1919'. In *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, edited by Paul Rodmell, 161–80. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- Wyndham, H. Saxe. *August Manns and the Saturday Concerts: A Memoir and a Retrospect*. London: Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1909.
- Young, James O. *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts*. New Directions in Aesthetics 6. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008.
- . 'Profound Offense and Cultural Appropriation'. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 63, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 135–46.
- Young, James O., and Conrad G. Brunk, eds. *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation*. Chichester; Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Young, Percy M. *George Grove, 1820-1900: A Biography*. London: Macmillan, 1980.
- . "'The Other Dictionary": Grove's Work in Editing Dr Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*'. In *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, edited by Michael Musgrave, 71–85. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Zerby, Chuck. *The Devil's Details: A History of Footnotes*. Vermont: Invisible Cities Press, 2002.
- Zon, Bennett. 'Histories of British Music and the Land Without Music: National Identity and the Idea of the Hero'. In *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, edited by Emma Hornby and David Nicholas Maw, 311–24. Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2010.
- . *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2000.
- . , ed. *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
- . , ed. *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies. Vol. 1*. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- . 'Recapitulation and the Musical Education of Victorian Children: *The Child's Pianoforte Book* (1882) by H. Keatley Moore.' In *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, edited by Bennett Zon, 299–321. Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.

- . *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Eastman Studies in Music, v. 48. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007.
- . ‘The “Non-Darwinian” Revolution and the Great Chain of Musical Being’. In *Evolution and Victorian Culture*, edited by Bernard V. Lightman, Bennett Zon, and Cannon Schmitt, 196–226. Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.