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Arthur Searle and Ursula Vaughan Williams.
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GUEST EDITORIAL

Richard Chesser

Crack open the bubbly, we've something to celebrate! Well, the arrival of *Brio* as the envelope plops on the mat is always something to celebrate, it is true, but this issue is even more special than usual. There is an anniversary which simply cannot pass by unnoticed, and the content of this issue has been chosen with that in mind. A common theme, not without variations, runs through the subjects and authorship of the present selection of articles. Let things remain a mystery for just a moment longer, though, since secrecy has been the name of the game hitherto, and we hope that delay in revealing the nature of our conspiracy might add to the surprise and pleasure. But the enigma, such as it is, will be revealed in due course.

In these days of e-this and d(igital) that, it is good to get back to basics. The selection of articles published here all deal with fundamental issues at the heart of our profession: performance, collecting, and publishing. The (Royal) Philharmonic Society has played a central role in the musical life of the nation ever since its inception in 1813, and it is good to note that its library still has secrets to impart nearly 200 years later. These discoveries are due in no small part to the friendly collaboration for which our profession is rightly famous and which has allowed material from the Royal Academy of Music and the British Library to be reunited. One of the founding directors of the Philharmonic, Sir George Smart, also played a significant role in the activities of another important, though much less well known music-making organisation in the 19th century, the Philanthropic Society, which was set up for the benefit of the offspring of convicts and criminal male children. Sadly, Smart's financial mismanagement of affairs appears to have been a major cause of the demise of the Society's concert series in the 1830s.

Outside of the metropolis, and later in the century, Henry Rensburg was responsible for an impressive programme of domestic music-making in Liverpool that lasted nearly 50 years. Documentation relating to these concerts acquired by the British Library in 1999 reveals that such important luminaries as Bruch, Joachim, Sullivan, Rubinstein, Saint-Saëns, Brodsky, Kreisler and Casals took part. Liverpool's status as the European Capital of Culture in 2008 evidently draws on an impressive, historic, musical pedigree. If only the *Musical review* were organised as efficiently as Rensburg's concerts, it might have lasted more than 6 months in 1883. Nevertheless, that short time was sufficient to illustrate Novello's attempt to emulate the quality of musical journalism which Schumann had instigated on the continent a generation before with the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. So there are musical nuggets there for the mining too.

Paul Hirsch and Stefan Zweig were two of the outstanding collectors of the 20th century. There is no better evidence of their interests than the collections themselves. But in addition, the Hirsch correspondence sheds a deeper insight into the personality of the man himself, and testifies to the integrity and decency which we have suspected from other sources. Correspondence of another nature is the subject of the article on material from the Zweig Collection, and among other things reveals a colourful aspect of Mozart's personality which for many years was covered up. Literary issues come to the fore again in the article on Vaughan Williams, which stands as one of the many tributes to that composer which are planned for this year, the 50th anniversary of his death. Sadly, his widow, Ursula, herself a great benefactress and musical force of a different kind, has not survived to enjoy these festivities, but it is hoped that those that she was aware of in the planning gave her great pleasure.

But to return to the theme with which I started. In addition to whatever unites the subjects of the articles themselves, there is another connection. All the authors, including those of the exhibition reports and book reviews, are friends and colleagues of Arthur Searle. The bibliography of his own writings presented here indicates that he might find the content of this issue congenial, and that they hold special significance for him; indeed, in many areas he has written himself on related matters. As many will know, Arthur arrived in the British Library in 1975 after several years in the Essex Record Office, and very soon took on responsibility for music manuscripts. For nearly 20 years after that he helped build and augment those magnificent collections, and all the while was a wonderfully supportive colleague. All of those who have worked with him are indebted to him for countless acts of generosity and kindness. With his expertise and knowledge, freely volunteered and given, it was possible to index and make available the RPS library in no time at all after purchase by the BL in 2002. Another of his achievements after he 'retired' was his completion of the catalogue of the music manuscripts of the Zweig Collection. This was published in 1999 and was one of the joint recipients of IAML's Oldman Prize in 2001. Since then, and as his own contribution here testifies, his research and publications continue, and his forthcoming catalogue of the RPS library is eagerly anticipated.

So, this issue of *Brio* is presented with warmest affection, admiration and gratitude to Arthur at the time of his 70th birthday by his friends and colleagues not so much pictured, but represented, within. Now, where's that glass of bubbly?

Richard Chesser is Head of Music, British Library

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SOME NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORCHESTRAL PARTS FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY[1]

Arthur Searle

Perhaps from its foundation in 1813, and certainly from early in its history the Philharmonic Society of London had close links with the ambitious scheme for a Regent's Harmonic Institution, which was intended to include concert rooms, an academy of music, a library, an instrument dealer and a music publishing business. Several Philharmonic members had a financial stake in the venture, and later lost heavily.[2] When in 1820 the Institution opened its fine new premises, the Argyll Rooms, as part of John Nash's development of Regent Street, and close to the old concert room where the Society's early concerts had been held, they enthusiastically moved the concerts to the new rooms. The Philharmonic's already considerable orchestral library was also housed there. Effectively, as part of the venture, the Philharmonic Society seemed to be safely set up in its own premises. But early in 1830 the Institution's Argyll Rooms were destroyed by fire, and the Philharmonic Library was saved only by some remarkably prompt action before the fire took hold. Soon afterwards the whole enterprise of the Harmonic Institution was wound up. But the Philharmonic Society survived and continued to give its concerts in a number of different venues in turn: briefly at the King's Theatre, then for many years at the Hanover Square Rooms, then at St James's Hall, and in due course at the Queen's Hall.

The economics of concert giving never again allowed the Society to consider building its own home, so its Library began a peripatetic existence which was to last well beyond the end of the century. When possible it was housed where the concerts were held, but always at the whim of sometimes uncooperative managements; for the brief periods when that was not

[1] I am personally grateful to the Royal Academy of Music, to the head of its concerts department Nicola Mutton and to its Librarian Kathy Adamson for allowing access to its orchestral library in order initially to follow up the archive trail and to investigate to what extent Philharmonic parts could be identified and to assess their nature and worth. Above all I owe a debt of gratitude to Colin Coleman for his unflagging help in this task, over three visits to the Academy, inspecting often intractable materials. His knowledge and help at that time have contributed not a little to the observations that follow.

[2] For the Harmonic Institution see the article by Leanne Langley in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001, vol.21, p.92. Dr Langley has elaborated on the link with the Philharmonic Society in papers delivered at the British Library in 2003 and to the Royal Philharmonic Society and the Music in Britain Social History Seminar of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, in 2005. With characteristic helpfulness Dr Langley has generously shared this research in progress.

possible it resided in often makeshift and unsuitable alternative locations.[3] By 1890, when it was housed in St James's Hall, it was clearly a cause for concern. The librarian of the Athenaeum was asked to carry out an inspection and give his opinion. He reported[4] that the Society's Librarian was 'deeply distressed at the present condition of affairs', and went on

> So interesting a collection, which dates from the foundation of the Society, and which forms a history of its progress, should not remain in a dirty attic, to which access can only be obtained at peril of life and limb.

The Library had indeed been built up immediately from the foundation of the Society in 1813: for each of its first three years more than £80 was spent on copying, as well as varying sums on the purchase of printed music.[5] In 1814 the Society received its first substantial gift of music, including at least two Beethoven symphonies.[6] By the end of that year a printed catalogue was contemplated, though it did not finally appear until the early 1820s.[7] In the master copy of this catalogue the entries for orchestral works (and to a lesser extent those for vocal music) were updated in manuscript, as the Library grew, until the 1840s.[8] But long before that a separate manuscript catalogue of single vocal numbers was compiled, under the direction of the Librarian, by William Goodwin, assistant librarian and the Society's principal copyist from 1828.[9] Vocal items featured regularly in the Society's concerts for much of the nineteenth century, and though singers sometimes provided their own performance materials, the Society built up a considerable collection. This catalogue was followed by a larger and even more detailed catalogue of the instrumental music,[10] the compilation of which was undertaken by Goodwin in the 1840s and early 1850s in conjunction with a comprehensive sorting and reordering of the Library's contents. Even though most of the surviving materials from this period bear evidence of his work, it is hardly surprising that the enormity of the task eventually derailed his career with the Philharmonic.[11] As new material was acquired, this catalogue in turn was updated and continued in use until the early years of last century. It records the Philharmonic Library at its fullest extent and puts into perspective the

[3] A. Hyatt King, 'The Library of the Royal Philharmonic Society' in *Musical pursuits*. London: British Library, 1987, p.151–177.

[4] BL RPS MS 366, f.146–7.

[5] BL RPS MS 299, f.1v–3v. The accounts for the next two years do not survive, but after they resume such large costs were seldom repeated.

[6] BL RPS MS 275, f.8, meeting of 8 February.

[7] Hyatt King, 'The Library of the Royal Philharmonic Society', p.153, 164.

[8] BL RPS MS 392; Hyatt King, 'The Library of the Royal Philharmonic Society', p.164–7.

[9] BL RPS MS 396, dated 1833 on its title-page.

[10] BL RPS MS 395. Goodwin introduced a new numbering system in this catalogue.

[11] I hope to be able to provide a fuller account of Goodwin and the other copyists for the Philharmonic as part of the introduction to a catalogue of the Philharmonic manuscript scores in the British Library now in progress.

portion that survives. It is arranged by category of work, and the symphonies alone number over 200.

Already in 1886 some old parts had apparently been disposed of 'as waste paper'. A further report of 1908 spoke of much obsolete material, including over 500 pieces of Italian vocal music. Up to this time it is not always clear from minutes and other documents whether scores or parts are being discussed, but after this the distinction is more often made and, perhaps inevitably, less value attached to the parts. In September 1909 two members were empowered by the Directors to act for them 'in destroying or otherwise parting with a quantity of old M.S. band Parts not likely to be ever used again and now encumbering the Phil. Library', though it was proposed that specially scored, unpublished and rare works should be retained. The following month it was decided to offer to the Royal Academy of Music the parts of 'certain old Works, which thro' the change in musical taste were not likely ever to be performed again but which nevertheless had a certain educational value for Students'.[12] By then the Philharmonic had been giving concerts for almost 100 years and had itself played a considerable part in the development of 'musical taste' and the evolving repertory; now they were finally following the implications of that report of 1890 and becoming aware of the historical significance of much of their Library. The next stage was the loan to the British Museum in 1914 of a handful of the most valuable and significant scores.[13] But this did nothing to alleviate the continued problem of housing the bulk of the music. A solution was found only in the mid 1920s, when the Royal Academy of Music took on the remaining scores and parts; a formal loan agreement was drawn up in November of 1925,[14] and the move was completed the following year.

The Academy remained the generous custodian of this major portion of the Library until 1982, when the Philharmonic's scores were reclaimed by the Society and added to the loan in what had by then become the British Library. The Society's invaluable administrative archive, hitherto locked away in bank vaults, had already been placed on loan there in various stages from 1962. Forty years later, in 2002, the British Library was able to purchase the manuscript scores and the entire archive (covering the years 1813 to approximately 1960).

So at this point the surviving parts, though available for consultation at the Academy, were separated from the Library of which they originally formed a part. But this final element in the old Philharmonic Library is, in part at least, finally being reunited with the rest: in 2007 a number of sets of parts from the Academy's orchestral library identifiable as belonging to the Philharmonic collection were transferred to the British Library. These sets of parts cover a wide period: the earliest a reduced set (strings 4.4.2.4, much

[12] BL RPS MS 291, f.25v–26v.

[13] See *Catalogue of the musical manuscripts deposited on loan in the British Museum by the Royal Philharmonic Society of London*. London: British Museum, 1914. The Society had been granted the prefix 'Royal' late in 1912, to mark its one hundredth season of concerts.

[14] BL RPS MS 391, f.94.

fewer than the Philharmonic orchestra required in its heyday) of manuscript parts for the overture to Peter von Winter's Munich opera *Helena und Paris*, which can be identified as forming part of that first gift to the Society of 1814, and so most likely pre-date its foundation, and among the latest a set of published parts (Leipzig: Belaieff, [1906]) for Liadov's orchestral 'Eight Russian folk-songs' which were used at the first British performance of a selection of them, conducted by Alexander Khessin, at the Society's first concert of 1911, and have detailed bowings marked into the violin parts.

There are no surviving easily identifiable Philharmonic parts for standard repertory works. In the case of the Beethoven symphonies, for example, parts of Philharmonic origin have been amalgamated into the Academy sets, but in every case these are from late published editions, commonly available. The original Philharmonic parts for the ninth symphony so laboriously copied out in late 1824 and early 1825 by the Society's first principal copyist, Joseph John Harris, from the score sent by the composer[15] have alas long since gone, used to destruction or discarded: the 1850s catalogue records that new parts for all nine symphonies were acquired in 1867.[16] No useful purpose would be served in trying to separate out these elements of the Philharmonic Library.

The earlier sets of parts, a larger part of the whole group, relating to the first 40 or 50 years of the Society's history, are either completely in manuscript or a mixture of printed parts from a published set augmented with manuscript 'duplicates' to make them up to the number needed for the Philharmonic orchestra, which varied between seven and eight desks each of first and second violins.[17] The parts for the overture to Lindpaintner's romantic opera *Der Vampyr*, composed in 1828, tried out by the Philharmonic in 1829 but not performed by them at a concert until 1841, exemplify this, the wind all printed, the strings partly so, from the Peters edition, but bulked out in manuscript by Goodwin to Philharmonic proportions (see Fig.1). Goodwin's score, clearly prepared from the published parts, is dated 1829.[18] Where the collection includes both score and parts they are usually closely related: the preparation of parts for the first British performance of the 'Choral' symphony from the single score sent by Beethoven in fulfilment of the Society's commission, has already been mentioned; where a work was already published it was more usual for this process to be reversed, and the score copied up from the published parts, as with the Lindpaintner. The parts for Spohr's overture *Faust* are printed copies from the edition published by Peters in Leipzig in 1823 — their purchase was ordered by the Directors of the concerts in January 1824, and Harris's manuscript score is

[15] See Arthur Searle, 'The first British performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: the Philharmonic Society and Sir George Smart', *The electronic British Library journal* (forthcoming at www.bl.uk/eblj). The score is now BL RPS MS 5.

[16] BL RPS MS 395, f.6.

[17] Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p.49, reproduces the complete orchestra list for 1831 from the Society's account book.

[18] BL RPS MS 280, meetings of 9 Dec. 1829 and 11 Jan. 1830; score BL RPS MS 91.

Fig.1. List of parts in the set from the cover of the violino principale part of Lindpaintner's overture Der Vampyr.

dated 1824; the work was first performed at the concerts on 10 May that year.[19] For the overture to the same composer's opera *Der Berggeist* the parts are all in manuscript, mostly by Harris, and his score[20] is dated 1826, the year when it was first performed at the Philharmonic; parts were not published until the following year.[21] The manuscript parts for the overture to Spohr's *Der Alchymist* (see Fig.2), first performed at the concerts in June 1831, also

[19] BL RPS MSS 280 (meeting of 28 January); score BL RPS MS 208.
[20] BL RPS MS 207.
[21] The source may be the manuscript full score of the entire opera, BL RPS MSS 217–19, though it is doubtful that this score had been acquired by the Society by this date.

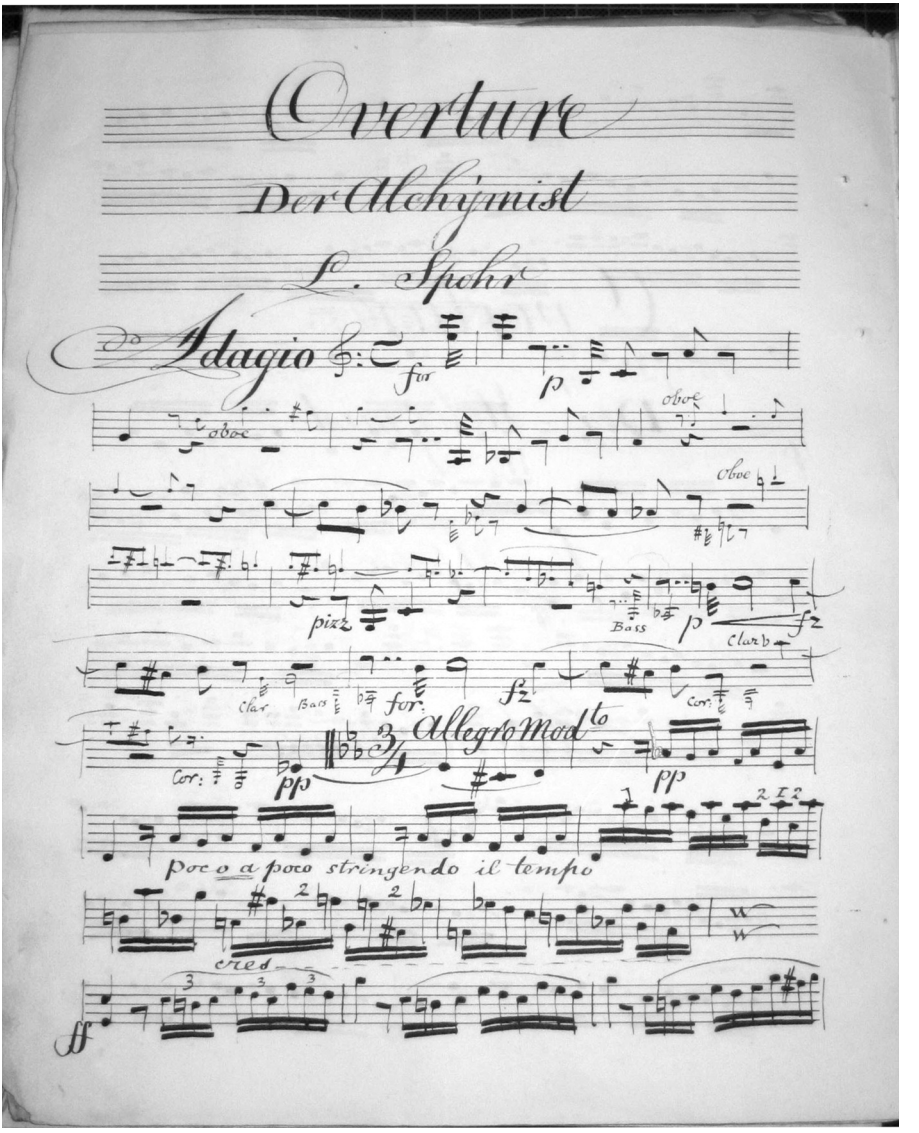

Fig. 2. The first page of the leader's part for Spohr's overture Der Alchymist, a typical example of William Goodwin's forthright copying style.

pre-date publication by a matter of months, but the catalogue makes their source quite clear: for the score of the work it states 'with the opera', referring to the Library's manuscript full score of the complete opera, and in that manuscript the overture has plentiful markings and other signs of use by a conductor.[22]

The music handwriting of either Harris or Goodwin (and sometimes of both) is found in most of these sets. The parts for the fourth symphony of Ferdinand Ries are all manuscript and a mixture of the work of both copyists. Ries was in London from 1813 to 1824, was an active and useful member of the Philharmonic for all of that time, and a number of his symphonies were given their first performance at the concerts. The fourth was first given under his own direction in 1821, but the entry for the work in the first Library catalogue reads 'Not in the Library, Mr. Ries's property'.[23] When he left London to return to Germany three years later he naturally took most of his music with him, and the Philharmonic was left with no score and an incomplete set of parts. From these the symphony was scored up[24] for a performance in 1841, and the set of parts is partly in Harris's hand, with the balance made up by Goodwin.

Entries in the minutes, or letters from the correspondence in the archive can on occasion shed light on the nature and status of individual sets of parts. The second symphony of Georges Onslow is dedicated to the Society; in 1831 he sent what were clearly manuscript parts, his only set, asking that they be returned at the end of the season, after it had been given its first performance, so that he could arrange for publication. But it was not played that season, and to compound the Secretary's embarrassment, at least one violin part went astray in the post when they were returned. Nonetheless, Onslow sent a set of published parts the following year, and the piece was duly performed at the concert of 18 June 1832.[25] Nor does the story end there: in 1833 Onslow wrote that he had made changes for a recent Paris performance of the symphony, and was taking advantage of a visit to London by the publisher Troupenas to send a correct copy, wishing the changes 'to be henceforth included in the different places where this Symphony is to be play'd'.[26] The parts, a complete printed set, have a revision of the clarinet part inserted on a paste-down, and minor but frequent changes of phrasing and dynamic marked throughout all the parts in red/brown crayon in a single hand. There is a manuscript full score by Goodwin,[27] but the work has never received a second performance at the Philharmonic concerts.

The composer most strongly represented in these parts is Louis Spohr (15 sets). This can be explained by the important place his work held in the repertory of the concerts from his first performance there in 1820 until 1897,

[22] BL RPS MS 395, f.83v; full score BL RPS MSS 214–16.
[23] BL RPS MS 392, f.22.
[24] BL RPS MS 178.
[25] BL RPS MSS 358, f.67 and 328, f.2, 9.
[26] BL RPS MS 358, f.68.
[27] BL RPS MS 148.

nearly forty years after his death — during that period he was frequently repre-sented by many pieces in each season, and in only a handful of seasons was no composition by him included — and by his complete eclipse thereafter. No work by Spohr has ever been played at a Philharmonic concert since: his music fell completely out of fashion before there was any question of renewing any parts, so that those originally used have survived. Spohr arrived in London in 1820 armed with a Grand concert overture in F (WoO 1), the first of his works to receive its première at the Philharmonic. There is an autograph full score,[28] but the parts are something of a mixture: there is a basic set in the hand of two German copyists, and the remainder are supplied by Harris with the numbers further increased by later English copyists. The fifth symphony has a complete set of printed parts, and the Philharmonic also had a copy of the published score.[29] It opened the 1840 season, which later also saw the premiere of Spohr's symphony no.6, the 'Historical', op.116, written for and dedicated to the Society. For this work he sent a copyist's score, though one he himself signed and dated 1839; from this a full set of manuscript parts was prepared. Publication, of parts and a full score, did not take place until 1842.

By then the Philharmonic had moved on to the seventh symphony ('Irdisches und Gottliches in Menschenleben'), op.121, for two orchestras. It was tried out by the Society in March 1842, and performed under Ignaz Moscheles at the concert of 30 May. Spohr lent a manuscript score, most likely the autograph since he asked for it to be returned in the summer, after the end of the season, so it could be used in the preparation of the edition published in Hamburg late that year (score), and early the next (parts). William Sterndale Bennett, who was in Germany at the beginning of the year, escorted the score to London and also brought with him a set of parts for the small orchestra which he had had copied 'exactly according to those done under [Spohr's] own direction'.[30] The parts themselves bear out these events: the eleven solo parts of the first orchestra are German copies, the main orchestra all in the hand of Goodwin and his assistants. Many have the names of the Philharmonic players written on the first page. The piece was not performed again by the Philharmonic and the Society never acquired a score (see Fig.3). The parts were given covers, but not labelled or otherwise arranged as a set, as was done with most of the rest of the Library. They remained undisturbed until used by Raymond Leppard and the BBC Northern Symphony Orchestra in 1978.[31]

The score and parts for the Grand concert overture (so far unpublished), the score of the sixth symphony, and the parts of the seventh, both of which pre-date publication, must have some claims to textual significance, the last two, particularly, in light of the destruction of the autographs in Kassel during the second World War. There is a compete set of manuscript parts for a

[28] BL RPS MS 206.
[29] BL RPS Pr. 408.
[30] BL RPS MSS 281 (Directors' meeting of 20 March, 1842) and 335, f.132–3.
[31] Annotation to photocopy of solo oboe part.

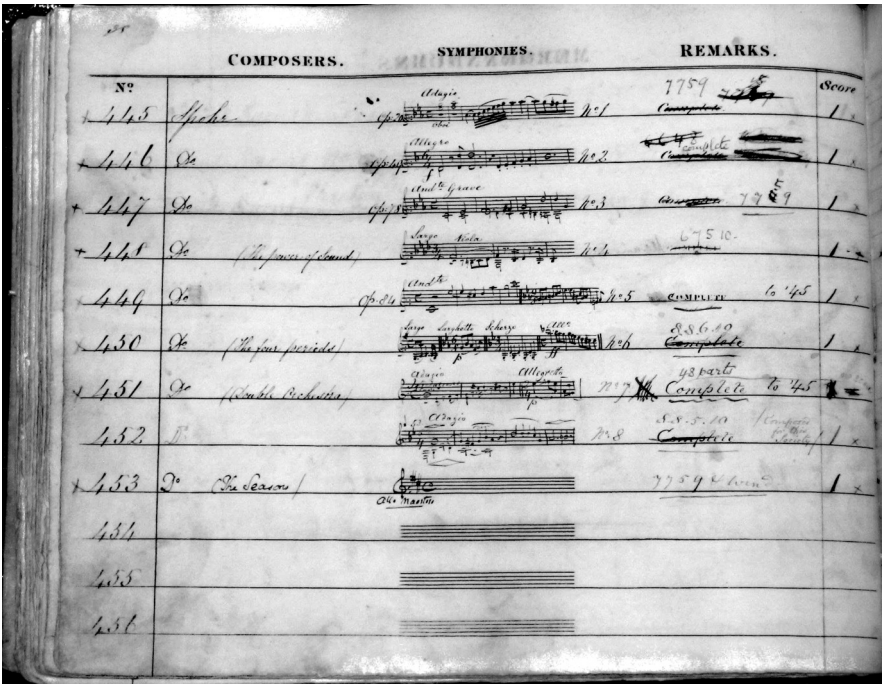

Fig.3. The entries for Spohr's symphonies from Goodwin's mid-nineteenth-century catalogue of the Philharmonic Society Library. The emendation 'no score' has been made against symphony no.7. BL RPS MS 395, f.41v. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board.

concertino in F sharp minor for double-bass and orchestra by Giovanni Bottesini, which he performed under Costa's direction in 1853; this work seems never to have been published in full score. Other Philharmonic parts are less likely to have such authority. When Julian Rushton came to edit Cipriani Potter's symphony in G minor, given its first performance under the composer at a Philharmonic concert in 1833, with the autograph score[32] as his principal source, he consulted the original parts (still at present in the Royal Academy) but found them of no great assistance.[33] In many respects the interest of these parts as a group lies in the graphic evidence they provide of what was involved in the business of concert giving in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Goodwin's heroic attempt to put all the Philharmonic music into order in the late 1840s and early 1850s, almost all the sets were put into stiff paper covers, and a list of the contents of the set pasted to the cover of the leader's part, the 'violino principale' (see Fig.1).

Occasionally they provide more vivid insights; the players' names, particularly on the parts of Spohr's seventh symphony, show which players shared a desk — information I have not seen anywhere else — and most vivid of all, the first flute part for Spohr's *Jessonda* overture has inside its front cover a caricature portrait, and on the back cover of the first oboe part is a fully realised drawing of an oboist, finely worked in red crayon, which may well be a portrait of H.A.M. Cooke, known as Grattan Cooke, the Philharmonic's principal oboe from 1830 until 1841 (see Fig.4). The overture remained in the repertory until the 1880s, and the 25 times in all it was given at the Philharmonic included performances in 1831 and 1834. The drawings may be the product of idle moments in rehearsal.

Abstract

In the course of the almost 200 years of its existence the (now Royal) Philharmonic Society has had no permanent premises in which to house its library of orchestral music, and by stages its two principal elements, scores and parts, had become separated. A number of sets of historic parts have now been transferred from the Royal Academy of Music to the British Library, to join the scores as part of the permanent collections there. Evidence from the Society's archive, now also in the British Library, helps to elucidate the date, circumstances of copying or purchase, and textual value of specific sets of parts. In the process some aspects of the mechanics of staging orchestral concerts in the first half of the nineteenth century are described.

Arthur Searle is Honorary Librarian of the Royal Philharmonic Society

[32] BL RPS MS 161.

[33] Julian Rushton (ed.), Cipriani Potter, Symphony in G minor, *Musica Britannica*, vol.lxxvii. London: Stainer and Bell, 2001, p.xxviii.

Fig.4. Portrait drawing of an oboist, perhaps Grattan Cooke, from the cover of the first oboe part to Spohr's overture Jessonda.

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NOVELLO'S 'NEUE ZEITSCHRIFT': 1883, FRANCIS HUEFFER AND *THE MUSICAL REVIEW*

Leanne Langley

Despite digitisation, physical shelf space remains a precious commodity in modern libraries. Readers and researchers still want and need hard copies of books and journals. Offsite storage can provide one solution for expanding collections, although the choice of what to consign there presents another challenge. Age and condition of library stock, low use or, in the case of defunct periodicals, length of run and perceived reputation may help collection managers decide where to place things, implicitly valuing or de-centring them. Since even the most august nineteenth-century journals seem to require miles of shelving, moreover, pressure to relegate the minor titles, of which there were many, must be irresistible.

In fact short-run music periodicals were the rule, not the exception, in nineteenth-century Britain, as a glance at the first 208 titles listed under 'Great Britain' in *New Grove 2*, Appendix F, will show.[1] That's hardly surprising for an open market in which cheaper and quicker print could aid any cause. Commercial publishers, instrument makers, private individuals and music amateurs, educational bodies and special interests naturally sought or created public outlets to proselytise, influence opinion, boost careers or generate sales. We need only reflect on the comparable revolution wrought in our own time by the Internet, including web-based journalism and marketing, to grasp the sense of excitement at the new possibilities offered by Victorian 'journalising'.

Of course some observers will insist that the periodicals market grew uncontrollably, each new launch advancing the vulgarisation of music through relentless competition. Yet success was never guaranteed; risks were high and it often took a long time to build up a loyal reading audience. Then as now, every journal entrepreneur had to produce a product that not only looked or sounded distinctive but offered something people really wanted to buy, and keep buying, stimulating a genuine readership — doubtless the reason so many nineteenth-century music titles ceased after only a year or less.[2]

So librarians may well argue that the many journals which failed, unrepre-

[1] *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001, vol.28, Appendix F: 'Periodicals, §2(i): Europe: Great Britain', p.394–7.

[2] From 1800 to 1845 the average lifespan of an English music journal was about two years and four months; most lasted a year or less and died from financial distress. For more background and a notable exception, see Leanne Langley, 'The life and death of *The Harmonicon*: an analysis', *Research chronicle of the Royal Musical Association* 22 (1989), p.137–63.

sentative of public thought and activity, are rightly downgraded to the library outhouse. Some were obviously ill-conceived and poorly executed; their value and interest to modern readers remains marginal, or at best unproven. But it is also true that intriguing items have been buried under the pile, as it were, forgotten or unread since their death day. Like medieval manuscripts, they require reconstruction of time and context to be understood as anything other than artefacts of a vanished culture we might prefer to forget.

One of these happens to rest in pieces within a large envelope in the British Library. It lasted barely six months in early 1883 and was unquestionably the most disastrous journal speculation of the venerable house of Novello. On inspection, and with some investigation, it turns out to be less medieval manuscript than lost goldmine. Its title was simply *The musical review: a weekly musical journal*.[3] Reading it is salutary, for it sheds light on a potential direction for music publishing at a crucial moment in late nineteenth-century Britain, as well as on how the nation's musical 'rebirth' was once predicated. The irony is that this failed journal — alike excellent, provocative and unpopular — provides a much-needed refresher on the competing social and artistic forces at work in Victorian England. For that, like a recovered time capsule, it deserves a place on the main library shelf.

Rationale and founding

The *Musical review*'s first number burst forth fully formed on launch day, Saturday, 6 January 1883. It showed every sign of having been well planned and generously funded. A large folio of 24 (later 16) pages, using good paper and clear printing, it cost a reasonable 4d. weekly or 19s. 6d. annually, slightly undercutting its main rival, the weekly *Musical world*.[4] Its address was direct, tone high-minded, and the essays, some with music examples, thoughtful and coherent. Letters and reports, clearly pre-commissioned and signed by such notable writers as Edward Dannreuther ('Liszt's pianoforte works'), Filippo Filippi ('A visit to Wagner') and George Grove ('Words and music'), supported the aims in the opening editorial, which by convention was unsigned:

> THE MUSICAL REVIEW is started for the purpose of supplying the want long felt not only in England, but in the musical world generally, of a comprehensive weekly record of the progress of musical art in all its branches. The recent development and the extensive spread of English musical taste, and the amount and variety of music performed every year amongst

[3] Shelfmark P.P.1947.g. According to *The British union catalogue of music periodicals*, 2nd edn, ed. John Wagstaff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), a further eight UK libraries hold copies: Central Public Library, Birmingham; National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; Reid Music Library, University of Edinburgh; Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Royal College of Music, London; Senate House Library, University of London; Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Public Library; and Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[4] No.1 of the *Musical review* unusually contained 24 pages. The *Musical world*, begun in 1836 as Novello's original house journal, also cost 4d. weekly for 16 pages but 20s. for an annual subscription; in 1883 its editor was the aging J. W. Davison and its owner and publisher Davison's brother, William Duncan Davison.

> us to supply that taste, have made London one of the musical centres of the world, where the currents of the art, as represented by the leading talent of all countries, converge; [...] The MUSICAL REVIEW will accordingly be free from the narrowness of national or party prejudice. While giving due prominence to English music, it will consider that music as a part of the great artistic movement which is not confined to one country, and of which the separate developments in France, or Germany, or Italy, or Russia, are only so many subdivisions, to be judged by the same standard of absolute merit.
>
> THE MUSICAL REVIEW will not be made the organ of a party, much less of commercial interest of any kind. For this the editor holds himself personally responsible.
>
> In furthering the interests of art and artists for the sake of art alone, in combining due reverence for the classical models with ready appreciation of all that is hopeful and truthful in modern music, THE MUSICAL REVIEW will endeavour to follow the example of Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Like that model of periodical literature, it will also endeavour to attract the interest of cultured musical amateurs, no less than that of professors, by avoiding abstruseness of treatment as far as a thorough discussion of the subject will allow.
>
> The contents of THE MUSICAL REVIEW will consist of leading articles and shorter notes on topics of the day, full accounts of musical performances in London, and summaries of the more important events in the provinces. Foreign intelligence will be a special feature of the journal, and correspondents of ability in the musical capitals of Europe and America have been secured. All important musical publications and books on music will be treated by competent writers, and independent essays and articles on musical subjects will be contributed by leading musicians and critics both in this country and abroad. [...] The unflinching truth will be spoken, but in no instance will personal susceptibilities be hurt without need. Only in the repression of incompetence and arrogant mediocrity will it be thought necessary to have recourse to the severer modes of criticism. (p.13)

This was high standard-bearing, promising a coverage, level of integrity, expertise and literary skill rare in the English musical press. The model of Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift* is eye-catching, and presumably flagged an erudition distinct from anything in the *Musical world, Musical times, Tonic Sol-Fa reporter, Musical standard, Orchestra, Monthly musical record* or *Musical opinion*, to name only the best-known contemporaries. But that flag was also meant to prepare readers for something more — frank promotion of modern music and of aesthetic reform through hard-hitting critique, the hallmarks of Schumann's magazine.[5]

[5] See further, in the numbers for April, a four-part series entitled 'Musical criticism: a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution. By a Musical Critic', p.219–20, 235–6, 251–2, 267–8, in which Schumann's purpose and methods are described (esp. 251).

The text continued, articulating a specific goal suggested by recent developments. Chief among these was the great cultural advance of 1882 shown by the premières of Wagner's *Parsifal* and Gounod's *Redemption* — two European works that offered fresh hope for England through their probable undermining, respectively, of Italian opera and Mendelssohnian oratorio. Those mantles, according to the writer, had long been detrimental to indigenous growth of the most important English music institution of all, still lacking, 'a national music-drama'. The approaching season might 'witness a decisive stroke' (p.14). On that expectant note, the editor closed his address and gave way to contributors championing change. Here and in successive numbers, they lauded progress wherever they found it (mostly Europe and America) and exposed weaknesses at home, from the absurdity of spoken dialogue in English opera and the scandal of the royalty ballad system to the mediocre poetry of most English songs, the poor musical standards at most English theatres, and the lack of English chamber music at Chappell's 'Pops'. Touches of dry humour and attempts to spark curiosity about the *Review*'s appeal in high places were offered as light relief, often in a slightly arch column, 'What might be — or should be'.[6]

Clearly the first task in assessing the significance of the *Musical review* is to identify its editor — nowhere named as such in the publication — and the publisher's motive. Given that Novello's were already publishing the single most successful and widely distributed British music periodical of the age (*Musical times*) and had previously launched, then closed, a weekly arts review at a more elevated 'aesthetic' level in the mid-1870s (*Concordia*, 1875–6, edited by Joseph Bennett),[7] we might guess they were again trying to tap or create an up-market, cosmopolitan readership for a new strand in their business. After 1867, with the acquisition of Ewer & Co., Henry Littleton and his son Alfred (successors to the Novello family) had indeed begun to venture increasingly into secular music, vocal scores of operas, scholarly and educational book production and concert promotion. A sustainable, complementary house journal reflecting such interests would have made good sense around 1882–3, not least because so many new, variegated activities attracting serious amateurs and professionals were in evidence. High repute for the London Richter Concerts and Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts, for example; solid take-up of Novello's own Music Primers and of Macmillan's *Dictionary of music and musicians*; the proposed establishment of a national conservatory in South Kensington; enterprising seasons of the Carl Rosa Opera Company

[6] A number of readers failed to detect the satire in this column and it sometimes backfired, as when 'Mr. Gladstone' purportedly sent a postcard confirming his commitment to full government subsidy for the RCM (the card is supposedly quoted on p.11). The journal had to give repeated explanations of this 'joke' and spell out the value of humour (p.143) — an early sign of trouble.

[7] For a description of *Concordia*, see Joseph Bennett, *Forty years of music, 1865–1905* (London: Methuen & Co., 1908), p.225–9, in which the magazine's failure is blamed on Novello's impatience in developing a new readership. In 1911 the firm itself cited *Concordia*'s difficulty as addressing many arts in one magazine; see 'The Novello Centenary, 1811–1911', Supplement to *Musical times* 52 (1911), p.5–20 (16). The same in-house history makes no mention of the *Musical review*.

(including Wagner, Bizet and Verdi in English); D'Oyly Carte's remarkable success at the Savoy Theatre; and of course the marked advance of British Wagnerism shown in 1882 by successful stagings of *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (Her Majesty's, Anton Seidl) and *Die Meistersinger* and *Tristan und Isolde* (Drury Lane, Hans Richter): all these signs augured well for an engaging journal with a clear voice that could build on the new musical mood and test new Novello products.

As it soon became clear, the key product on test here (scheduled for publication in March 1883) was an English opera along Wagnerian lines — one that was expected to be the first of a new genre, 'national English music-drama', and thus a progenitor of future scores. The work in question was Alexander Mackenzie's *Colomba*, to be staged by the Carl Rosa Co. at Drury Lane in early April 1883. Its libretto was created by the London-based German scholar and writer Dr Francis Hueffer (1843–1889), who also happened to be, simultaneously, music critic on *The Times*, programme-note writer for the Philharmonic Society and none other than our said anonymous editor of the *Musical review* (see Fig.1).[8] Exactly when Hueffer joined Novello's in the journal project is not clear; but from internal references, a few extant letters and later memoirs, we can make some informed guesses.

Alfred H. Littleton (1845–1914), educated partly in Germany and an early convert to Wagner, was, like his father Henry, an astute businessman, fastidious art and book collector, and from 1881 a friend and strong advocate of Alexander Mackenzie;[9] personally shy and retiring, he was nevertheless in sufficient touch with a range of bright people and trends to have sensed prospects ahead, and to be open to them. Hueffer, connected by marriage and affinity to the Pre-Raphaelites — his father-in-law was the painter Ford Madox Brown, his brother-in-law the art critic W. M. Rossetti — was a hard-working, ambitious journalist and a critic and translator interested in history, languages and art. He knew something of music and composed a few songs (some of them issued by Novello in 1880). But above all he sought literary standing; he published Dante Gabriel Rossetti's poetry and wrote dictionary and journal articles, biography, criticism and, from 1882, librettos. With his unswerving commitment to Wagner, he naturally promulgated the composer's achievement early on, from at least 1872, gaining attention as an advanced disciple; and through connection with *The Times*, from 1878, he was considered influential. Yet as a critic, though knowledgeable, he was apt to make Wagner his absolute standard and to interpret any English resistance as

[8] On his death six years later, the *Musical times* confirmed Hueffer's role as editor of the *Musical review*. See 'Obituary', *Musical times* 30 (1889), p.88–9 (89), whose author may have been W. A. Barrett, then editor of *MT* and a former contributor to the *Musical review*. Hueffer wrote programme notes for the Philharmonic Society from 1881 to mid-March 1885, when he had a row with the Directors (and possibly with Sullivan, the new conductor) over their 'censorship' of his material. See Hueffer to Francesco Berger, 6 March 1885, British Library, RPS MS 349, f.75–6.

[9] [W. G. McNaught], 'Alfred Henry Littleton', *Musical times* 52 (1911), p.365–8, and 'Alfred Henry Littleton' [obit], *Musical times* 55 (1914), p.685–6. See also Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, *A musician's narrative*. London: Cassell & Co., 1927, p.110.

THE LATE DR. F. HUEFFER,
Musical Critic.

Fig. 1. Portrait engraving of Francis Hueffer, Illustrated London news, 2 February 1889. Reproduced courtesy of Senate House Library, University of London.

ignorance or backwardness: this was a personal blindspot, not a sign of precociousness (as modern views of Hueffer would have it, comparing him favourably with previous English critics). Although his independence and authority made him an asset to the journalistic profession, musical colleagues would later remember him as narrow, autocratic and selfish.[10] Hubert Parry went further, from 1885 noting Hueffer's manipulative tactics to get his own works performed, his 'doctrinaire' yet inept dramatic sense and his musical stupidity.[11]

This background and the known facts now suggest a likely scenario for the *Musical review*'s founding. Once Hueffer's idea for *Colomba* (based on a Mérimée play, like *Carmen*) had been accepted by Carl Rosa, the eager librettist approached Mackenzie, and Rosa then commissioned the opera; Mackenzie composed it in Italy in the late spring and summer of 1882.[12] By autumn, Hueffer and Littleton appear to have concocted the journal to promote the opera, among much else, Hueffer perhaps making the original suggestion. Early contributors must have been involved by November 1882. We know that Hueffer invited Littleton to dine with him on 25 November, after which they attended the première of Arthur Sullivan's *Iolanthe* at the Savoy ('which lasted till one in the morning and rather bored me, the jokes and tunes being always the same'); by 20 December, Hueffer was 'very busy with the new paper'.[13] The possibility that he may even have put some of his own money behind the *Review* is worth considering. Certainly this is suggested by the second paragraph of his opening address (above), by a complete shift in the journal's tone after April (when the opera was staged), and by his documented takeover, editorially and financially, of the *Musical world* exactly three years later, notably in the run-up to the première of his second opera with Mackenzie (not published by Novello), *The troubadour*.[14] Whatever the exact

[10] A basic biography is contained in Louisa M. Middleton, 'Hueffer, Francis', *Grove's dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1904–10, vol.2 (1906), p.439–40. For recollections of colleagues, see [W. A. Barrett, prob.], 'Obituary', *Musical times* 30 (1889), p.88–9 (89); Hermann Klein, *Thirty years of musical life in London, 1870–1900* (London: William Heinemann, 1903), p.145; and the letter from George Grove to Edith Oldham, 18 September 1895, quoted in Percy M. Young, *George Grove, 1820–1900: a biography* (London: Macmillan, 1980), p.252.

[11] See Parry's diary entries for 24 February 1885, 8 June 1886 and 24 July 1888, quoted in Jeremy Dibble, *C. Hubert H. Parry: his life and music.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p.232, 238, 268.

[12] Mackenzie, *A musician's narrative*, p.110–11.

[13] Hueffer to his wife Catherine Brown Hueffer, 25 November 1882 and 20 December 1882, Violet Hunt Papers, series I, box 4, folders 6-a and 6-b, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library (Ithaca, New York). I am grateful to Ana Guimaraes, Head of Reference Services, for providing me with copies of these letters. For Hueffer's obtuseness in grasping any merit in Gilbert & Sullivan, even in *The Mikado* (March 1885), see Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: a Victorian musician.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, corrected paperback edn, 1986, p.206–7.

[14] Hueffer edited and held a proprietary interest in the *Musical world* from January 1886 to August 1888: see Louisa M. Middleton, 'Musical periodicals', *A dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan & Co., 1879–89), vol.4 (1889), p.726; and 'Obituary', *Musical times* 30 (1889), p.89. *The troubadour* was produced by the Rosa Co. in June 1886; for Mackenzie's account of this second collaboration with Hueffer, see *A musician's narrative*, p.142–4. My attempts to find information on the ownership, finance or print runs of the *Musical review* in the British Library's Novello Business Archive have been unsuccessful, although records for *Colomba* are available there in Add. MSS 69521 and 69555.

arrangement, the *Musical review* came to life impressively and still commands attention.

Content and contributors

One of the journal's most intriguing aspects is its multi-authorship, seen through the mix of contributors' names from January to June. Many of these people were well-known writers — musicians, scholars, academics, critics — who had long contributed to the general and specialised music press, or to Grove's *Dictionary*.[15] Hueffer and Littleton apparently spared no effort to attract them. Some were genuine respondents reacting to previous articles. J. S. Shedlock and C. K. Salaman took up Liszt, for example, explored in the ongoing series by Dannreuther; William Pole decried the use of organ pedals for accompanying church choral music, in response to J. Kendrick Pyne's 'A few remarks on organs'; W. S. Rockstro and A. J. Ellis both gave their views on a mooted Handel commemoration that might recreate the composer's original performing forces, proposed in another letter from George Grove. Still other correspondents posted news from foreign or provincial cities. Leonard Incledon wrote on orchestral music in Lille; Henry Sutherland Edwards sent 'Opera and drama at Brussels' and 'The Brussels Conservatoire of Music'; and Filippi, regular music critic on *La perseveranza* of Milan, continued his reports from Italy, some of them lengthy and most from a Wagnerian viewpoint ('A visit to Wagner' [in Venice], 'Wagnerism in Italy'). Anonymous local reports from Manchester, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Bristol and Oxford, some of them clearly commissioned ('From our own correspondent'), add to the impression of growing regional coverage.

'Epitome of opinion' columns were a fairly standard way to fill weekly space and to second a journal's point of view on recent concerts or books. In this case, Hueffer often selected long quotations from *The Times* (of course), *Daily news, Athenaeum* or *Pall Mall gazette*. More original, and more impressive, are the major poets' names, with individual poems, that leap off the page here, from D. G. Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, Arthur O'Shaughnessy and A. C. Swinburne to Mathilde Blind and the late eighteenth-century feminist Mary Robinson. Although not genuine contributors as such, these writers would have lent a distinctive character to the *Musical review*. Whether pointing its theme of cultural change or proposing a higher lyrical vein than had been customary in much English song, Hueffer made an effective choice in this aspect of content.

Given the journal's target readership, it is particularly apt that signed essays with a proto-musicological flavour featured strongly. Among the most striking pieces are these: 'The musical instruments in Rossetti's pictures', an exhibition-cum-organological review by A. J. Hipkins; 'The original version of

[15] Prepared and issued in parts since 1879, the dictionary was still in progress; by early 1883 the double fascicle 'Sketches–Sumer is icumen in' had gone to press. 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: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p.168–215 (Table 8.1, p.190).

Mefistofele', on Boito's opera, by Giannandrea Mazzucato; 'Chopiniana', by Frederick Niecks; 'The "oldest Wagnerite" ', on Richard Pohl, by C. A. Barry; 'The musical instruments in Mr. Alma Tadema's pictures at the Grosvenor Gallery', by Hipkins; 'Russian coronation music', on current appropriation of Glinka in that country, by Sutherland Edwards; ' "Amen" ', a generously exemplifed series by W. A. Barrett; 'Originality in music', by Frederick Corder; 'Saint-Saëns's *Henry VIII*', by Charles Gounod (translated from a recent issue of the *Nouvelle revue*); 'Schubert's Unfinished Symphony in E, no.7', recently finished, and discussed by John Francis Barnett; 'A father of music', on William Byrd, by W. Barclay Squire; 'Berlioz's *Grand messe des morts*', by C. A. Barry; and ' "Dies irae" ', by J. A. Fuller Maitland. A better snapshot of 1883 research themes would be hard to imagine.

At the same time, a large proportion of the *Review*'s material appeared without signature: anonymity as a time-honoured English press convention was still pervasive in the 1880s.[16] A fascinating piece in this category is the two-part 'Music for the people' (10 and 17 March). In tone sober and direct, it raises a serious point about social access to music that at first seems far from the journal's focus. Yet in critique of English cultural norms, the burden is not so very different. By comparing the effectiveness of four current initiatives — the People's Concert Society in suburban London, the 'temperance music-hall movement' at the Old Vic, the Bow and Bromley Institute and the Birmingham Musical Association — the essay argues for separation of music from philanthropy (and religion), so that ordinary people might enjoy the best art for its own sake, entirely on their own terms. This prescient essay was the work of a 26-year-old whose name would have meant little at the time — George Bernard Shaw. It was his first 'legitimate' music assignment after working surreptitiously on the *Hornet* in 1876–7. Luckily for a modern researcher, references to Shaw's encounter with Hueffer in January 1883 and a copy of his piece are held in the G. B. Shaw Papers of the British Library.[17]

By another great stroke of luck, we can penetrate the anonymity of further items in the *Review* through consulting the bound copy in the Royal College of Music Library. This was none other than Novello's in-house file, marked

[16] For a classic statement of the rationale behind anonymity, its prevalence in Victorian periodicals and gradual erosion, see Walter E. Houghton's Introduction to *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals, 1824–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966–89), now accessible online at http://wellesley.chadwyck.co.uk/marketing/well_intro.jsp (accessed 17 January 2008).

[17] *Musical review* 1 (1883), p.157–8, 173–4. Shaw had approached Hueffer in January at the suggestion of his mentor George John Vandeleur Lee: 'I have just seen Hueffer. [...] He will give you a regular engagement to contribute if he likes the style. [...] Perhaps he might like a series of articles on eminent musicians? Write soon as possible before the ground is taken' (G. J .V. Lee to Shaw, 5 January 1883, G. B. Shaw Papers, BL Add. MS 50510, f.2). Shaw sketched some ideas on opera, but after meeting Hueffer at Novello's discarded them; his next idea, and his submitted draft, had this reply: 'Your article on Music for the People contains together with some good writing various gimmics to which I should not like to commit the Review. If you think it worth while to rewrite parts of it [...] I have no doubt we can easily agree about the necessary alterations' (Francis Hueffer to Shaw, 17 January 1883, G. B. Shaw Papers, BL Add. MS 50510, f.5). They met again on 18 January and Shaw revised the piece ('Music for the people', G. B. Shaw Papers, BL Add. MS 50693, f.109–117).

with contributors' names for the purposes of payment.[18] From it we can see that for much of the run, Hueffer had a reliable deputy, Henry Frederick Frost (1848–1901; also assistant to Ebenezer Prout on the *Athenaeum*), and that together they relied on several regulars. The Paris correspondent signing 'Louis Sigismond', for example, was really, between January and April, the minor Belgian composer Léon Husson (who also contributed a review of *Mefistofele* at Brussels under his own name); by June, the 'Sigismond' column was being written by Peter Benoit, the Antwerp-based composer and proponent of Flemish music. Similarly, Hueffer's Berlin reporter, sometimes signing 'M. R.', was the composer Martin Roeder; the Manchester correspondent was the organist J. K. Pyne; and a clear Edinburgh source was Herbert Oakeley. Reviews of printed music appeared only occasionally but were treated with care and were all published anonymously. C. A. Barry wrote one of the first, on Hermann Goetz's four-hand Piano Sonata in G minor, op.17, of 1878. More remarkable is the discovery that Hubert Parry contributed substantial reviews, musically illustrated, of four big works — Dvořák's *Stabat mater* (newly issued in vocal score by Novello and given in London in March), Raff's Symphony no.10 in F minor ('Zur Herbstzeit', published in 1882), Brahms's *Gesang der Parzen* ('Song of the fates') for chorus and orchestra (just published by Simrock in Berlin), and Liszt's *Années de pèlerinage, troisième année* (just issued by Schott in Mainz).[19] No lack of competence here.

The marked file reveals other secrets. It was Frost who planted the six-part series 'Music in theatres', for example, tearing into individual London managers for the 'general badness' of music at their establishments.[20] And besides writing most of the untitled leading opinion columns to the end of April, Hueffer himself masqueraded as 'A Pessimist', playing devil's advocate to (his own) attempts to maintain the journal's high tone. He crafted most of the 'What might be' features,[21] and, with Frost — who covered London choral, organ, St James's Hall and Musical Association matters — compiled the 'Occasional notes' and 'Notes and news' columns, thick with pointed com-

[18] I am grateful to Peter Horton, Deputy Librarian (Reference and Research), for making this copy available to me. It went to the College in connection with the Novello Library that arrived there in 1964, and is inscribed inside the front cover: 'This Volume is the property of Novello, Ewer & Co., 1 Berners St, W'. Names are noted in abbreviated form, usually surname only, or for Hueffer, 'Ed.'.

[19] See the numbers for 27 January (p.65–7), 3 March (p.145–6), 24 March (p.194–5), and 31 March (p.205–6). Parry's stint as sub-editor and music adviser to Grove's *Dictionary* had come to an end by this time but he was still writing entries commissioned long before, including 'Suite' and 'Symphony' (Langley, 'Roots of a tradition', p.181–2).

[20] Appearing in January–February, starting with an Introduction on p.9–10. Theatres covered were the Lyceum (p.29–30), Princess's and Gaiety (p.50–51), Strand and Adelphi (p.67–8), Haymarket and St James's (p.81), and Court (p.97). At least one celebrated manager, John Hollingshead of the Gaiety, responded in anger, eliciting an editorial comment that in turn confirms the growing gap between serious music and light dramatic entertainment in the 1880s ('Music in theatres: *To the editor of* The musical review', p.67).

[21] A notable exception is that for 27 January (p.65) on a supposed declaration by an eminent firm, 'Messrs. B. & Co.', who plan to abstain from publishing royalty songs, dispose of all works hitherto printed by them not having real artistic merit, and appoint a board of eminent musical examiners to take the decisions. The author was Alfred Littleton, the target surely Boosey's.

ment. The marked file confirms, too, that the four-part 'Musical criticism: a lecture delivered at the Royal Institution', spread across April, was indeed Hueffer's work. In reality he had given the lecture at Trinity College, London, not the Royal Institution: it had already been fully reported by *The Times* in November 1880.

Demise

We come at last to the nub of what happened to the *Review*, trying to see why, for all its manifest quality and integrity, it did not last. The best clue is not far to seek, given events indelibly associated with spring 1883 — Wagner's death in February, the opening of the RCM in May (with related knighthoods for Grove, George Macfarren and Sullivan), and, in-between, the founding of a 'national English music-drama' in April. All three events generated acres of coverage in the *Musical review*; a reader from Mars might be forgiven for thinking they were of equal, earth-shattering importance. But in fact, performances of the much-vaunted *Colomba*, though reasonably successful, were not to mark a major epoch in cultural history. On the contrary, they drew the curtain down on Novello's 'Neue Zeitschrift' and its self-seeking editor. Hueffer's mediocre libretto attracted such consistent derision and unpalatable criticism elsewhere in the press (unlike Mackenzie's music), that he had to respond.[22] Staunchly defending the opera's artistic breakthrough, he unwisely called for 'our critical Beckmessers' to recant. When no one did, a serious re-think of the journal was inevitable, probably at Littleton's behest.

Again the RCM marked file is helpful, showing changes in editorial management from late April. Hueffer literally disappeared for a while, or gave way, as adjustments in tone and topic were gradually introduced. Frederick Corder, a younger Wagnerian who had contributed under his own name the satiric 'How to compose', was installed as temporary editor.[23] Simultaneously, from 28 April the young Hermann Klein replaced Frost as reviewer of concerts and, at last, the Royal Italian Opera. Klein's fresh voice showed real enthusiasm for the Richter and Philharmonic concerts, the Bach Choir and Charles Hallé's concerts at the Grosvenor Gallery, not to mention Italian opera performances. He was joined in concert reviewing by William Barclay Squire, who also provided research material on Byrd and other topics (derived from his work on Grove's *Dictionary* Appendix). Agreeable filler came to hand for a series on 'The voice' by Albert Visetti, a newly appointed professor at the RCM, while leader columns on a miscellany of current topics were shared among Corder, Squire, Mrs Walter Carr (another *Dictionary*

[22] For a moderately critical reaction to Hueffer's libretto, taking issue with his prefatory remarks on Alfred Bunn and lamenting changes to Mérimée's plot and a dramatic construction requiring 'certain passages inordinately spun out, and others essentially dry', see the critique of *Colomba* in the *Graphic*, reprinted in the *Musical world* 61 (1883), p.235.

[23] Corder's most audaciously tongue-in-cheek leader was that for 12 May (p.304–5), exposing knighthoods as no substitute for real pensions (referring to Grove, Macfarren and Sullivan). Echoing Hueffer's position, Corder aimed less at the lack of tangible government support for musicians, however, than at Sullivan in particular, who as a knight should be expected to write more 'serious' music.

hand) and latterly Hueffer again. The tone was less haranguing, the focus on recognisably 'English' subjects such as festivals, choral singing and church music.

If this shift was meant to reach out to readers, regaining old friends or attracting new ones, it was too little, too late. A disconnect between the journal's original character and its later shape, its continued mix of satire with scholarly ambition, always confusing, and ultimately its haughty tone and reluctance to treat all readers as intelligent were nails in the coffin of the *Musical review*. Whatever healthy support it had once enjoyed probably plummeted after April. How far the conductors actually believed in a rescue, or were merely trying to save face, is unknown. Hueffer's closing address shows he had perceived the 'difficulties' in advance. But dogged self-justification was his final refrain:

> THE twenty-sixth number of this journal, published to-day, will also be its last. This announcement will not be a matter for surprise to those who know how many causes contend against the establishment of an organ of independent and serious criticism in this as in any other country. Musicians, as a rule, do not care to read about their art, and cultured amateurs are not easily reached by a class [specialist] journal. Of these difficulties we were fully aware when starting THE MUSICAL REVIEW. In one of its earliest numbers we said: "Whether a public for the class of journal we refer to exists at present is doubtful; whether it can be formed by staunch and serious endeavour the result must show." The result has shown that such a task would involve a sacrifice of time and money which the Editor and the Publishers cannot be fairly expected to incur; it has shown that, although the REVIEW has fairly established its position as an independent critical organ and has attracted attention in circles where few musical journals penetrate, years would probably have to elapse before commercial success could be hoped for, unless, indeed, the tone of its articles were lowered to meet a broader popular taste. Such a proceeding would have frustrated the very aim and essence of this journal, which as long as it lasted has at least strictly adhered to the programme prefixed to its first number. That its days should not have been longer in the land may perhaps cause some regret to those who have the serious interest of music at heart. (p.416)

* * *

This brief glance at an old periodical raises more questions than it answers, given the vastness of journalism, publishing, the music profession and audience development as intersecting subjects in nineteenth-century England. And though much further work is needed on entrepreneurial strategies that cultivated new markets (successfully or not), at least Novello's 'Neue Zeitschrift' offers one place to begin. We might well ask, for example, why this particular journal seized on opera rather than chamber or orchestral

music — the real growth areas for serious music, musicians, composers and paying audiences in Britain by the 1880s. Hueffer's involvement provides a good answer. But then Hueffer and his milieu need deep investigation as well — not only the ideological and critical battles he fought personally with J. W. Davison, Joseph Bennett and especially Sullivan, his *bête noire*, but his later construction of the whole course of music in Victorian Britain, widely circulated to this day, which attributed the nation's cultural salvation to Victoria's personal patronage of German composers.[24] In light of Hueffer's imperceptive handling of the *Review* and his thirst for recognition, some questioning of that historical angle, and who actually believed it, is now due.

In this light, reading the *Musical review* and assimilating its failure is useful, even reassuring. The journal didn't fail because it was provocative or too advanced for a 'conservative' readership. It failed because it was pointlessly provocative. Hueffer was no Robert Schumann. Ordinary English readers could see perfectly well that Hueffer's own work was the very embodiment of that 'arrogant mediocrity' he had attacked in his opening address, and that the journal was not genuinely responsive to them. George Grove had said of Hueffer privately in 1880, 'there never was a better illustration of the beggar on horseback', referring to his inadequacy as a music critic yet elevated stature on *The Times*.[25] Fifteen years later, the same observer described Hueffer as 'a coarse selfish creature'— possibly recalling how he had misused a promising organ of English musical advancement for his own ends. Grove was in a position to know, and had warmly supported the *Musical review* on several occasions.[26]

Back in the modern library stacks, at least three reputable Victorian periodicals contain alternative views of Hueffer that ought to be consulted — the *Star*, the *Illustrated London news* and the *Musical world*. Each reported his premature death (aged just 45) in January 1889 with decorum and respect, the *Musical world* defending his sincerity and 'high sense of artistic loyalty' despite the 'outer crust to his character',[27] the *ILN* publishing an engraving (reproduced here). The *Star*'s notice, most affectionate of all, was written by Shaw, Hueffer's comrade in many ways:

[24] *Half a century of music in England, 1837–1887: essays towards a history*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1889. This book, which originated in a provincial lecture tour on Wagner, Berlioz and Liszt undertaken for the impresario Hermann Franke in late 1885, was published posthumously. Hueffer had secured his dedication to the Queen in April 1887 through the offices of W. G. Cusins.

[25] Grove to Arthur Sullivan, 19 October 1880, after reading Hueffer's *Times* review of *The martyr of Antioch* at the Leeds Festival; quoted in Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*, op. cit., p.146. The origin of the phrase 'a beggar on horseback' is unclear, but it seems to suggest someone originally poor who has been made arrogant or corrupt through achieving wealth. Put another way, an undeserving person who gains an advantage will misuse it.

[26] See Young, *George Grove*, p.252 (letter to Edith Oldham of 18 September 1895). Grove's own contributions to the *Review* included 'Words and music' (6 January, p.15), 'The Silvestri collection' (20 January, p.49), and 'Handel commemoration' (7 April, p.225–6). He encouraged Squire to contribute (British Library, Add. MS 39679, f.92), and may well have suggested other helpers, notably Mrs Carr, in the journal's later stage.

[27] See S. R. T., 'Dr. Francis Hueffer', *Musical world* 69 (1889), p.54; and Sidney R. Thompson, 'Recollections of Dr. Hueffer', ibid., p.132–3, 165, 198, 253–4 (165).

> The unexpected death of Dr Hueffer is a loss to the best interests of music in London. Fortunately, his warfare was accomplished before he fell. The critics who formerly opposed him on the ground that Wagner's music had no form and no melody, that it was noisy and wrong, and never ought to have been written, and could never be popular, came at last to be only too grateful to Hueffer for his willingness to forget their folly. He was a thorough and industrious worker in many departments, and much better equipped for his work both by his capacity and acquirements than many of his colleagues who were by no means so modest.
>
> Personally he was an amiable man, shy and even timid; but he did not look so, and he often produced the most erroneous impressions on those who were only slightly acquainted with him. His long, golden-red beard, shining forehead, and accentuated nostrils made him a remarkable figure at musical performances.[28]

Historians may regret that none of these sources mentions the *Musical review*, perhaps only a tiny battle embraced in Shaw's reference to warfare. We now understand why, and why Hueffer lost this particular fight. More important is that in accessing the journal's pages afresh, we have a new way in to the English reading and listening audiences whose vitality and diversity tell the greater story behind progressive Victorian musical culture. 'Failure' in this case has been a revealing teacher.

Abstract
The *Musical review*, a serious and impressive weekly journal published by Novello from January to June 1883, appears to have been a disastrous failure with English readers. Deliberately modelled on Schumann's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and designed to promote radical change as well as modern music in Britain, it was edited anonymously by the well-known progressive critic on *The Times*, Francis Hueffer. In exploring its background, content, contributors and rationale, the article shows that the journal ultimately failed through Hueffer's conflicted association with it, not through public reluctance to embrace change or challenging music.

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[28] 'Dr Francis Hueffer', unsigned notice in the *Star*, 23 January 1889; reprinted in *Shaw's music: the complete musical criticism in three volumes*, ed. Dan H. Laurence. London: The Bodley Head, 1981; 2nd rev. edn, 1989, vol.1, p.547.

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SIR GEORGE SMART AND THE OTHER 'PHIL': CONCERTS AT THE PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY IN THE 1820s AND 1830s

Sandra Tuppen and Robert Parker

The organist and conductor Sir George Smart is perhaps best known for being a founder member of the Philharmonic Society and for conducting the first performance in England of Beethoven's ninth symphony for the Society in 1825.[1] He also directed a number of music festivals and charity concerts, among the latter a series of concerts for the Philanthropic Society at St. George's Fields, Southwark. The archives of the Philanthropic Society and the papers of Sir George Smart provide valuable information about those concerts, shedding light not only on the repertory and performances, but also on financial and administrative aspects of concert promotion in the 1820s and 1830s and on Smart's personality and relationship with the Society.[2]

The Philanthropic Society

The Philanthropic Society was founded in 1788 'for the admission of the Offspring of Convicts, and the Reformation of Criminal Male Children.'[3] Its founders, among them the Duke of Leeds, were concerned at the number of vagrant or destitute children on the streets of London, many living in such circumstances because of the execution or transportation of one or both parents. The founders were inspired by a mixture of Christian teaching and enlightenment ideas on human improvement and reform to provide a refuge for such children that would be neither asylum nor prison, rather a place where, with moral guidance, they could be trained to become useful citizens. The admissions registers and annual reports describe the children rescued, in phrases such as 'Aged 10, A very depraved and neglected boy; Father transported', and 'Aged 11, Father transported for life, mother dead'.[4]

[1] On Smart and the Philharmonic Society, see Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: a history of the Royal Philharmonic Society.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995; also Robert Elkin, *Royal Philharmonic: the annals of the Royal Philharmonic Society.* London: Rider & Co., 1947.

[2] The Philanthropic Society archives are held at the Surrey History Centre, Woking, Surrey (hereafter SHC), with collection references 2271, 2524, 3521, 3741, 3998, 4261 and 7363. We should like to thank staff at the Surrey History Centre for their assistance during the preparation of this article. Additional material relating to the Philanthropic Society's concerts may be found among the Smart papers at the British Library, shelfmark C.61.h.4.(1.).

[3] As described on the publicity bill for the 1833 concert, SHC, ref. 2271/35/3.

[4] *An account of the nature and present state of the Philanthropic Society.* London, 1829, copy at SHC, ref. 2271/40/4.

In the first few years, while the number of children was still small, houses were rented by the Society in Hackney, and the children fostered to couples, usually artisans and their wives, who had some craft or skill they could pass on to them. That scheme proved inadequate as numbers grew, and in 1792 the Society moved to St. George's Fields, Southwark, where proper 'manufactories' were built, with shops for shoemaking, printing and bookbinding. Boys were trained to take up proper jobs or full apprenticeships outside the institution, and girls trained for domestic service, while a scheme of financial inducements was introduced by the Society to encourage the children to follow those courses. With the move, however, came the need to separate children admitted as the 'Offspring of Convicted Felons who have been sentenced to Death or Transportation'[5] from boys who had themselves been involved in crime.[6] The 'criminal boys' were now confined to a reformatory, a building from which they were released for workshop training only when thought fit, and the Society found it necessary to build high walls around the grounds, somewhat contrary to its original hopes that imprisoning walls would prove unnecessary. In 1806, a large chapel was built on the site, so that the children could attend services without leaving the premises (see Fig.1).

Fig.1. The Philanthropic Society Chapel. Illustration by A.C. Pugin and T. Rowlandson in The microcosm of London, vol. II (London, 1809).

[5] Ibid.
[6] No 'criminal girls' were admitted.

Music in the Chapel

The chapel was furnished with an organ made by William and John Gray.[7] From 1819 until 1829 the organist was Joseph McMurdie, a pupil of William Crotch. McMurdie played for services, taught the children to sing and edited a collection of psalm tunes, *Sacred music: a collection of tunes, adapted to the new version of Psalms, as sung in the Philanthropic Society's chapel* (London, 1820).[8] By 1824 the Philanthropic Society Committee was discussing the possibility of replacing the organ, probably at the instigation of McMurdie, who complained that 'the present Organ was in his Opinion a very indifferent one and would soon require a considerable Sum to be laid out in its Repair.'[9] John Gray was contracted to supply a replacement,[10] and in 1825 the chapel was closed while he installed a new two-manual organ, described as 'a pretty, and delicately-toned instrument.'[11]

The chapel re-opened on 22 May 1825[12] and, on 10 June, at one of their regular meetings at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Street, the Committee of the Philanthropic Society resolved 'That a Concert of Sacred Music be held in the Society's Chapel' and 'That the same be held, if possible, not later than the 8th of July.'[13] Despite the short notice, the concert was duly arranged and took place on 8 July. It is possible that it was conceived not only to raise funds for the essential work of the Society but also to recoup the cost of the new organ and demonstrate it to a wider audience. At that first concert, the instrument was put to almost continuous use by no fewer than four organists, including Sir George Smart.[14] It may have been at McMurdie's instigation that Smart was invited to direct the concert. In 1823 McMurdie had become an associate of the Philharmonic Society, of which Smart was, as mentioned, a founder member. Smart may also have been acquainted with the Philanthropic Society through its Superintendent, Richard Collier. Collier's daughter, Susannah, was one of the foundation students at the Royal Academy of Music at its opening in 1823, and Smart one of its first professors.[15]

Sir George Smart's large collection of concert programmes is today held

[7] James Boeringer, *Organa Britannica: organs in Great Britain 1660-1860.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1983, vol.1, p.112.

[8] At their meeting on 1 December 1826, the Philanthropic Society Committee resolved 'That it be communicated to Mr McMurdie, that this Committee feel extremely gratified by the Attention paid by him in the Instruction of the Children as to singing' (SHC, ref. 2271/2/8).

[9] General Court and General Committee minute book, 9 July 1824, SHC, ref. 2271/2/7.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Organographia (Royal College of Music, MS 1161), 326, quoted by Nicholas Thistlethwaite, *The making of the Victorian organ*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.116.

[12] *The Times*, 21 May 1825.

[13] General Court and General Committee Minute Book, 10 June 1825 (SHC, ref. 2271/2/8).

[14] The other organists were Joseph McMurdie, John Blackbourn and G.C. Sale. As well as accompanying the singers, the organists made up for the absence of a choir by performing organ arrangements of well-known choral pieces.

[15] William Cazalet, *The history of the Royal Academy of Music.* London, T. Bosworth, 1854, p.23, 40. Susannah Collier won first prize for harmony in 1823, and also played the organ. She died in 1839.

at the British Library. These programmes, described by Ian Taylor in a recent issue of *Brio*,[16] are especially interesting for the many ink annotations they contain in Smart's own hand, and the Philanthropic Society programmes are no exception. Books of words for all the Society's concerts are preserved in the collection, together with sheets containing details of payments made to the participants in the 1831 and 1833 concerts. Bound up with them are contemporary publicity leaflets about the Society, on which Smart has jotted additional information about the concerts.[17]

There were seven Philanthropic concerts in all, one a year between 1825 and 1829 and one each in 1831 and 1833.[18] All took place in the Philanthropic Society Chapel, with Smart presiding at the organ. The wordbooks, each printed by the Society in its own printing workshops (see Fig.2) and bearing the title *A selection of sacred music to be performed in the Philanthropic Society's chapel... for the benefit of the institution*, reveal an increasingly ambitious choice of music as years went by and an increasing number of participants.

Fig.2. Boys showing visitors their work in the Philanthropic Society printing workshop, c.1840, reproduced in The Royal Philanthropic Society Redhill, Surrey: the story of the school, 1788–1953 (Redhill, 1953).

[16] Ian Taylor, 'How to read a concert programme: programmes from the papers of Sir George Smart', *Brio* 43/2 (2006), p.8–23.

[17] All are at BL C.61.h.4.(1.).

[18] Smart listed the concert dates at the front of the collection of wordbooks, and annotated the title-page of the 1833 wordbook with the words 'The last'.

At the first concert Smart made do with just five solo singers and the four organists mentioned above. At the final concert in 1833, in contrast, he had seven vocal soloists, a choir of 28, one trumpet, three trombones, drums, three organists, himself included (a fourth was absent due to illness), a page turner and someone to take charge of the organ stops.[19]

All the concerts were billed to start at one o'clock precisely, and some were very long even by 19th-century standards. The 1829 concert lasted for over three and a half hours, finishing, as Smart noted on the wordbook, at 22 minutes to 5. Ian Taylor has commented on Smart's frequent annotation of his programmes with timings.[20] The Philanthropic Society programmes did not escape Smart's attention in this respect, and show his almost obsessive attention to detail. In the 1831 wordbook he observed, 'The Phil Chapel Clock was 4 Minutes slower than my Watch by which the following time is measur'd. Began at I by the Chapel Clock. Began 4 m past I by my Watch.' The concert was 'Over 28 M past 4 by my Watch but 24 M past 4 by the Chapel Clock.' Smart also noted that it had been a 'very Rainy Morning: particularly just before commencing and at the end of the Performance.'[21] Unfortunately, his jottings did not extend to the provision of timings of individual pieces, only to the length of the two halves of each concert, and that of the interval. There was one exception: in the 1833 wordbook Smart noted against the 'Sicilian Mariner's Hymn', which the organist Cleland had arranged for the occasion with an 'Introduction extempore', that 'He play'd 11 M'.

Concert repertoire

The Philanthropic Society concerts featured music by a number of contemporary composers, including several works composed specially for the Society. Perhaps unsurprisingly, though, the composer who featured most prominently was Handel. At the first concert alone, pieces or arrangements were performed from *Messiah, Samson, Solomon, Joshua, Judas Maccabaeus, Esther* and *The redemption*,[22] together with a coronation anthem and part of a Te Deum. Even at the last concert in 1833, when the Handel had been reduced from about a half to a third of the programme, there were extracts from *Susanna, Jephtha, Messiah, Samson, Theodora, The redemption* and the Chandos anthem 'O come let us sing unto the Lord'. Haydn also had a well-established place in the programmes, mainly with pieces from *The creation* and *The seasons*,[23] and Mozart was fairly well represented, mostly with pieces from the Requiem.[24] Even though Smart had given the first performance of

[19] The full list of participants was written in ink by Smart on the reverse of the title-page of the 1833 wordbook. The person dealing with the stops was 'Mr Gray', possibly the maker of the instrument.

[20] Taylor, 'How to read a concert programme', p.21–22.

[21] At that date, the term 'morning' was often used to refer to any time before dinner.

[22] Arranged from Handel's works by Samuel Arnold.

[23] In 1825, McMurdie performed 'Selections from Masses' by Haydn. Vincent Novello's arrangements of Haydn's masses were published in London between 1823 and 1825.

[24] In spite of a good array of soloists, the 1826 concert had no vocal Mozart, only a pair of organ duets, one of them a 'Grand Fugue (Requiem), arranged…by Mr. McMurdie'.

Beethoven's ninth symphony in England, only two pieces by Beethoven were included: a 'Slow movement' played on the organ in 1826, and a chorus from the *Mount of Olives* in 1831.

Letters in the Philanthropic Society archive show that Smart corresponded with the Society's Superintendent, Richard Collier, over the choice of music. On 19 April 1833 Smart wrote to Collier: 'I thank you for the Copy you were good to send me of Mr. Hart's Te Deum, I will look it over and report to you accordingly.'[25] But it is difficult to believe that either Collier or the Philanthropic Society committee set up to oversee the concerts can have had much say in these matters, if only because the difficulties of obtaining music and engaging musicians were such that it would take an experienced concert promoter like Smart to overcome them. In fact, most of the music performed at the Philanthropic Society concerts was already in Smart's repertoire, including much of the contemporary music. Most of the new foreign music performed at the Philanthropic Society had been introduced to English audiences by Smart. He had given the first English performance of the *Mount of Olives* at the 'Oratorios' in 1814,[26] while Spohr's *Die letzten Dinge*, performed in England as *The Last Judgment*, received its first English performance at the 1830 Norwich Festival, again conducted by Smart. The work was hailed by *The Times* as 'combining more true genius with originality than we ever remember to have heard',[27] and extracts were performed at both the Philharmonic Society and Philanthropic Society the following year. General popularity, however, did not always ensure the rapid inclusion of a new work in the Philanthropic Society programmes. In 1822 Smart had introduced selections from Rossini's *Moses in Egypt* at the Oratorios, and these proved so popular that the pieces were billed to be repeated weekly at Covent Garden until further notice.[28] Yet Smart did not perform music from *Moses in Egypt* at the Philanthropic Society until 1831, at the sixth concert of the series.

The Philanthropic Society concerts featured a considerable amount of contemporary British music. Sir John Stevenson's oratorio *Thanksgiving* received its first public performance under Smart at the Oratorios in February 1826, and, despite the fact that 'no enthusiasm in its favour was exhibited by the public', Smart performed an excerpt at the Philanthropic Society in June of the same year, with the same soloist.[29] Also programmed at Philanthropic concerts were recently composed works by Thomas Attwood, a founder member, with Smart, of the Philharmonic Society. 'I was glad', written for the Coronation of George IV in 1821, was performed in an organ arrangement at the Philanthropic Society in 1825 and 'God that madest'

[25] Smart letters, SHC, ref. 3521/Box 33. The piece was presumably Charles Hart's Gresham prize composition; the Jubilate which gained the Prize Medal Decr. 1831, and Te Deum (1832). The Jubilate was performed at the 1833 Philanthropic Society concert.

[26] Concerts of predominantly but not exclusively sacred music performed during Lent at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Smart's copies of the Oratorio bills are at BL C.61.i.1.

[27] *The Times*, 27 September 1830.

[28] Oratorio bills, BL C.61.i.1.

[29] Henry Phillips performed 'The snares of death' at both concerts. The unfavourable review appeared in *The Harmonicon*, March 1826.

(published in 1827) in 1828.[30] Smart included works by two other Philharmonic Society founder members, William Horsley and Vincent Novello, at the Philanthropic concerts of 1828 and 1833 respectively.[31] Also receiving at least one performance were works by Frederick William Horncastle, William Russell, Charles Hart, William Crotch, William Hutchins Callcott and Charles Smith.

The biggest draw, however, seems to have been 'Luther's hymn', which had been sung by John Braham at the Oratorios to a 'rapturous Encore' in 1824.[32] It was performed at all but the first of the Philanthropic concerts, in most cases by Braham, who made it something of a party-piece, with a trumpet obbligato performed by Thomas Harper, the hymn including the words 'The trumpet sounds, the graves restore / The dead which they contain'd before'. 'Sound the loud timbrel', Thomas Moore's setting of words to a tune by Avison, also enjoyed several repeats at the Philanthropic concerts.

Compositions by the Philanthropic Society organist Joseph McMurdie were performed at the first five concerts, those of 1825 and 1826 featuring extracts from 'a MS. Oratorio, called "Moses"'. In the wordbook, next to a recitative beginning 'Are these the tribes which late by Sihor's tide / Wept o'er their wrongs, and loud for vengeance cried', Smart wrote 'Very effective', though whether in reference to verse, music or performance is not clear. Specially composed anthems by McMurdie were performed in 1828 and 1829; his successor as the Society's organist, George Cleland, composed anthems for the 1831 and 1833 concerts.

The Superintendent's daughter, Susannah Collier, had a composition performed at each concert between 1828 and 1833, the first while she was still a pupil at the Royal Academy of Music.[33] For the 1831 concert, she composed 'In thoughts from the visions of the night', which appears from the wordbook to have been a substantial anthem for four soloists and chorus, and in 1833 she supplied an even larger work, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul', which was likewise specially composed for the occasion, comprising a recitative, air, quartet, a section for semi-chorus, another solo, a quartet, a recitative and final chorus. None of the music composed for these concerts has been traced.

Because many of the vocal pieces chosen for the Philanthropic Society concerts were already part of Smart's repertory, the texts set proved in consequence to be a mixture of the liturgical, of words taken or adapted from the Bible in general and of verse loosely inspired by religious subjects or sentiment. However, the texts for some of Joseph McMurdie and Susannah

[30] Attwood's solo anthem 'Bow down thine ear', another new work, should have been performed in 1827, but was dropped from the programme when the singer was taken ill during the concert.

[31] Horsley's quartet 'Not unto us, O Lord' was performed in 1828, and Novello's hymn 'O thou that readst the secret heart' and arrangement of 'Adeste Fideles' in 1833.

[32] Oratorio bills. The bill for 10 March 1824 records that this had happened the previous Friday, 5 March. 'Luther's hymn' corresponds to the chorale *Nun freut euch* from Martin Luther's *Geistliche Lieder auffs neu gebessert* (1533).

[33] Her relationship to Richard Collier is confirmed by a letter to the latter, dated 19 April 1833, in which Smart wrote, 'Shall we not perform some Composition of your Daughter's?' (Smart letters, SHC, ref. 3521/Box 33).

Collier's pieces appear to have been chosen for their affinity with the Philanthropic Society's aims. McMurdie's anthem for the 1826 concert was 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor',[34] while Susannah Collier's 'Though I speak with the tongues of men', performed in 1828, employed the verses on faith, hope and charity from Corinthians.[35] But even these composers, with their ties to the Philanthropic Society, did not confine themselves only to setting words from which an audience might draw suitable and uplifting inferences. Susannah Collier's anthem 'In thoughts from the visions of the night' took from Job the dark verses on pride and hubris,[36] and for the 1829 concert she provided a setting of the anonymous poem 'Lightly tread! 'tis hallow'd ground', in which the Christian soul is freed from death's sting and the grave. (Can she have known a popular glee of the time which had the opening line in common but gave up its hallowed ground to the land of faery, a place where not Angel but Fairy 'bands their vigils keep'?)

The performers and their performances

Correspondence between Sir George Smart and Richard Collier reveals that the final choice of performers was down to the Philanthropic Society Committee, although they sought Smart's opinion on particular singers, and left him to negotiate with the performers and book them. On 25 February 1831, Smart contacted Collier about a prior suggestion that the bass Luigi Lablache be invited to sing at the next concert. Lablache had made a big impact at his London début in March 1830 in Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto*. However, Smart expressed his concern that

> his fame has been made by his Buffo Acting and Singing at the Italian Opera House and such observations may be made if his name be Announced in the Bills for the Performance of Sacred Music in a Chapel. I submit this for the consideration of the Committee.[37]

In the event, Lablache did not sing. The concerts did, however, feature some of the best-known performers of the day, particularly those renowned for their performances of sacred music. The tenor John Braham, who performed at every Philanthropic concert from 1827 onwards, was probably the most celebrated participant, and appears to have commanded the highest fees.[38] Braham, in the opinion of the *Edinburgh magazine*, 'seems…never to pour forth the treasures of his soul and voice in such overwhelming measure, as when he is awakened by the grand and pathetic strains of the Father of Sacred Music' (i.e. Handel)[39] and, apart from Luther's hymn, he was largely called upon, at the Philanthropic Society concerts, to perform the famous airs from Handel's oratorios. In the first two concerts, that role was taken by

[34] Psalm 41. He set verses 1 and 13 only.
[35] 1 Corinthians 13.1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13.
[36] Job 4.13–20.
[37] Smart letters, SHC, ref. 3521/Box 33.
[38] See Table 1.
[39] *Edinburgh magazine, and literary miscellany*, November 1819, p.473.

another prominent tenor, Thomas Vaughan.

Less reputable was Frederick William Horncastle, who had been sacked as organist of Armagh Cathedral in 1822, on account of his 'turbulence, contention, insolence and contumacy', and who became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1826, singing at all the Philanthropic concerts from 1827.[40] Another Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, the alto William Knyvett, performed in 1831, but it was his wife (who sang as Deborah Travis before her marriage) who was in greater demand.[41] The highly popular soprano Catherine Stephens appeared in all but the last concert, while other well-known sopranos took part on occasion, including Maria Caradori-Allan in 1828 and Margarethe Stockhausen in 1831. The 1833 concert featured the 14-year-old Clara Novello, daughter of Vincent, as a soloist. In addition, Vincent's brother and niece were both in the chorus that year. The chorus was selected, according to an 1833 bill, from 'Performers in the Concerts of Ancient Music, &c. assisted by the Young Gentlemen of His Majesty's Chapels Royal and St. Paul's Cathedral'.[42] Sir George Smart generally accompanied the singers at the organ, but Sigismund Ritter von Neukomm, who first came to England in 1829, and whose music was programmed at the Philanthropic Society in 1831 and 1833, was invited to accompany the singers in his own works.[43]

Smart's annotations do not provide any information about how the music or the performances were received by the audiences, but they do reveal some of the mishaps that took place. There was a hitch at the start of the very first concert, which had to begin — after a six-minute delay — without the soloist Catherine Stephens. Smart noted that she did not arrive 'till after Mr Vaughan's 1st Song'. Luckily she wasn't required until later in the first half, when she performed an excerpt from Haydn's *Creation*, though, according to Smart, singing 'rather #'. The next piece, 'Be comforted' from Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus*, did not begin well either, because 'Mr Phillips could not hear the Chord to commence the Recit'.

The 1826 concert seems to have passed off without incident, but, in 1827, Smart again had to start without one of the soloists. Mary Ann Paton arrived just in time to perform 'Rejoice greatly' from *Messiah*, but Smart recorded that 'Miss Paton left the Orchestra being Ill. She did not sing the other Pieces'. Catherine Stephens took her part in the popular trio 'Sound the loud timbrel', but not in Attwood's solo anthem 'Bow down thine ear', which was cancelled.

The last three concerts were also affected by illness among the performers. In 1829 Henry Phillips withdrew the day before the concert, and a slip was hastily added to the wordbook informing the audience that 'Mr Phillips is labouring under a sudden and severe indisposition, which will entirely

[40] Document in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, quoted on St Patrick's Cathedral website, http://www.stpatricks-cathedral.org/organist.asp?name=Horncastle (accessed 12 January 2008).

[41] She performed in 1829, 1831 and 1833, and was paid £10. 10*s.* in 1833, the same sum as Smart himself received.

[42] SHC, ref. 2271/35/3.

[43] In 1831 a vocal duet, 'In thy temple, O Jehovah', and in 1833 excerpts from his oratorio *Mount Sinai*.

prevent him from fulfilling his engagement.'[44] In 1831, it was the trombone section causing the problems. A tenor trombonist withdrew because his teeth were loose; the bass trombonist was replaced after he 'broke a Blood Vessel'. In 1833, Smart had to manage without Neukomm (who had promised to accompany excerpts from his oratorio *Mount Sinai* on the organ) after 'Mr Moscheles wrote to excuse him on account of illness'. This was on top of more problems with the trombones. Smart complained that 'We could not have a better Tenor as the King had ordered the Military Bands to Ascot Races.' The favoured bass trombonist was also otherwise engaged. Smart wrote, 'Albrecht the Bass I wished to have was in Prison'.

Ian Taylor has highlighted the problems Smart faced at rehearsals with defecting or absent musicians.[45] In the Philanthropic Society wordbooks, Smart made no mention of rehearsals until 1829, when there was a rehearsal the day before the concert. His margin notes reveal that four of the seven soloists were missing and that defections were not confined to the adults: 'Mr Hawes' boys came 20 M past time to the Rehearsal and in ¼ of an hour after we began 4 Boys [half the number] went away stating they must go to St. Paul's'.[46]

In the wordbooks for the last two concerts, Smart placed an 'R' against the works he had rehearsed beforehand. These marks show, unsurprisingly, that it was the newer compositions that received most attention unless they were without chorus and already part of the soloists' repertoire. Again, there were soloists missing from the rehearsals (three in 1831 and two in 1833) along with two chorus members in 1831, their not having received due notice of the rehearsal. Smart noted that the 1833 rehearsal lasted for two and a half hours; he was also moved to record that 'I took the Music Books I lent in a Fly (hired by Margaret) to the Rehearsal and Mr. Gray's Man took them to my House after the Performance for which I gave him a Shilling.'

Finance and administration

Despite the enthusiastic patronage of some prominent figures, and income from the workshops to supplement donations, the Philanthropic Society faced a continuous struggle to make ends meet. In a publicity brochure issued in about 1826, the Society announced that 'there has been of late years such a diminution in the number of Subscribers and Benefactors, that notwithstanding all possible economy in the management, and the reduction in the number of children to 160 [from about 200], the annual income has been inadequate to meet the necessary demands upon it.'[47] The Society probably saw the concerts as a means by which to obtain new subscribers. After the first concert, on 8 July 1825, the Superintendent, Richard Collier, noted in his journal: 'A Concert of Sacred Music was this day

[44] His place was taken by Edward Taylor.

[45] Taylor, 'How to read a concert programme', p.19–20.

[46] William Hawes, Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal.

[47] Leaflet in the Smart papers, annotated by Smart in 1826 (BL C.61.h.4.(1.)).

performed in the Chapel — on this Occasion a number of respectable persons visited the Institution.'[48] Collier's journal also shows that Sir George Smart himself viewed the institution a few days before the first concert, though he did not become a subscriber.[49]

Financial records do not survive for the early concerts but partial records for 1831 are extant,[50] and a complete breakdown of the income and expenditure exists for 1833.[51] Also surviving are letters from Smart to Collier shedding light on administrative aspects of staging the concerts and revealing something of Smart's rather forthright manner.[52] On 11 April 1833, Smart urged Collier to fix the date for that year's concert, suggesting Thursday 30 May. He added:

> if the performance at the Philanthropic Chapel is to take place on that date I beg to suggest that no time should be lost in desiring to engage such Performers as the Committee may determine on and that an immediate advertisement should appear in the News Papers merely stating the Performance will take place on Thursday Morning May 30th.

Two days later, apparently in response to a letter from Collier suggesting the alternative date of 6 June, Smart wrote:

> I beg to observe tho I am disengaged both on Thursday Morg: May 30 — and June 6 I think the latter week, being Ascot Race Week, not so good as the former — as a proof that the Musical Professors think with me, we are to have 6 Concerts in the Whitsun week,[53] the Monday and Tuesday in this week are usually bad, but recollect ~~Wednesday~~ Tuesday May 28 is the celebration of the Kings Birthday, this surely will keep London full, however it is for your Committee to determine the date, which ought not to be later than June 6th—when you positively fix the date, I will write to the Performers accordingly which to prevent mistakes I beg you to name and once fix'd of course on their account the date cannot be changed.

Against the advice of Smart, the Society opted for 6 June, with unfortunate consequences.

On 19 April 1833, Smart reminded Collier again about publicity for the concert, writing:

> In case you wish to print an Announce Bill soon I have enclosed one have the goodness to let me see the Proof before it is circulated.

In the same letter, Smart listed the performers that had agreed to participate, and their terms. Against Braham's name, Smart wrote '£15.15*s.* and

[48] Superintendent's journal, 8 July 1825, SHC, ref. 2271/24/11.
[49] Ibid., 4 July 1825. None of the published subscribers' lists include Sir George's name.
[50] Preserved with the wordbooks at BL C.61.h.4.(1.).
[51] Concert Account Book, SHC, ref. 2271/35/3.
[52] Smart letters, SHC, ref. 3521/Box 33.
[53] i.e. the week containing 30 May.

Tickets to the amount of Five Guineas to be sent to him.' That arrangement appears not to have met with Collier's approval, as on 23 April 1833 Smart wrote:

> I thought the result of our conversation relative to Mr. Braham was that if he would take Tickets as Mr. Phillips had done there would be no objection…I am in some dificulty unless the Committee confirm my offer which I thought I was empowered from our conversation to make, but I strenuously recommend his engagement for we are not strong without him in the names of our male singers, besides I cannot think he will sell the Tickets most probably he may give some to Persons who would not buy them, and unless I had made the offer of the Tickets I do not think he would have lowered his terms, however if the Committee do not consent to the engagement I offered to Mr. Braham I must write to inform him of the unintentional mistake I have made, your immediate reply will oblige.

Smart's own fee in 1833 was £10. 10*s.*, and Braham was, with his concert tickets, in effect paid twice that amount. There were many other expenses associated with staging the concert, full details of which are shown in Table 1.

The Concert Account Book shows that, shortly before the concert in 1833, the Society's committee members were each allocated 12 tickets to sell, at seven shillings apiece.[54] Tickets were also made available at 'the Principal Music Shops in Town'. The account book reveals that some establishments, including Chappell of Bond Street, sold none. Clementi & Co. sold only three tickets, and Cramer & Co. just two. Some other sellers took commission on their sales, the most notable being the Mr Williams who retained three shillings from the sale of four tickets, a commission rate of over 10%. The Committee did not fare much better with their ticket sales: ten of the 28 committee members sold no tickets at all, while the remainder managed to dispose of just 138 tickets between them. Of nearly 50 tickets placed on sale in the specially hired marquee prior to the concert, only three were sold.

In the end, receipts from ticket sales in 1833 were £146. 8*s.* 6*d.*, giving the Society a very small profit, but a profit nonetheless, of £9. 10*s.* 4*d.* However, under the balance a note was added: 'Since paid to Mr Russel on acc:^{t} of the Printing Bill'. Not included in the original list of expenses was a printing bill, for £21. 14*s.* 6*d.*, incurred by Thomas Russel, the Society's steward. After all the efforts of Smart, Collier and the performers, the concert had left the Society with a net loss of £12. 4*s.* 2*d.*

Unsurprisingly, this was the last Philanthropic Society concert. The failure can perhaps be placed partly at the Committee's door, and partly at that of Sir George Smart. The Committee had clearly expected to sell many more tickets than it did in 1833; some 850 were printed, of which fewer than half were sold. The decision to hold the concert in Ascot Week may certainly have

[54] SHC, ref. 2271/35/3.

Table 1: Philanthropic Society concerts: expenditure for the 1833 concert[55]

Advertisements *(The Times, Morning chronicle, Morning post, Morning herald, Guardian, Atlas)*	11	11	0
Jones, for posting Bills		7	0
Sir George Smart	10	10	0
Chorus Singers (28 at 15/-)	21	0	0
Buxton for copying Music	1	12	0
Hedgeley for Loan of Music		7	0
Mr Harper, Trumpet	3	3	0
Mr Chipp, Drums	2	2	0
Mr Smithies and two others, Trombone	3	3	0
Mrs W. Knyvett	10	10	0
Miss Masson	5	5	0
Miss C Novello	5	5	0
Mr Horncastle	5	5	0
Mr E Taylor	5	5	0
Mr Braham	21	0	0
Mr Phillips	10	10	0
Police Officers /3/	1	1	0
Paid for Fruits and Oranges	1	0	0
Mrs Bryer for Sundries		14	0
Shaw for Port & Sherry	2	5	6
Pope for Round of Beef	1	12	4
Johnson, for Porter/Chairs/		8	0
Kent, Sundry Disbursements as per Account	1	1	2
Hire of Marquee and Flag	1	1	0
Superintendent's Disbursements, as per Account	2	4	2
Char-Woman, extra Cleaning Chapel		4	0
John Wallace, Commission on 13 Tickets, sold thro' his exertions		4	6
Hire of China and Glass		4	6
Hire of 24 Chairs		8	0
Paid 6 Chapel Attendants		9	0
John Poole, erecting Orchestra and other Carpenter's work for the Concert	6	18	0
William Lacy, sundry Porterage		8	0
Total expenditure[56]	**136**	**18**	**2**

[55] Concert Account Book, SHC, ref. 2271/35/3.

[56] The total was given, incorrectly, as £136. 15*s.* 2*d.* in the accounts, but that has been corrected, in pencil, to £136. 18*s.* 2*d.*

kept away a high proportion of the wealthy and charitably-inclined who had attended earlier concerts.

The Committee's expenditure on a new organ in 1824, when it was struggling to support the children because of falling subscriptions, suggests not only a lack of financial acumen but of discernment respecting its own priorities. The organ cost 600 guineas, and, although the organ builder took the old one in part exchange, this still left the Society with a bill for £320. 5*s*.,[57] a large sum to have to defray from the Society's future fund-raising events.

With the large number of performers involved, and the inclusion of high-profile singers such as Braham, expenditure on musicians at the 1833 concert reached more than £100. But incomplete payment records for 1831 suggest that a similar sum was expended that year, when, it must be assumed, the concert had turned in a profit.[58] Sir George Smart appears to have been an astute manager of his own money[59] but, if it were a question of high fees for engaging the best musicians available, he could be free with others' money, apparently ignoring their circumstances. Indeed, the Philanthropic Society was not the only charity that in the end lost more than it gained by having Sir George preside over its musical events. The Norfolk and Norwich Musical Festival, founded to raise money for the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, was also conducted by Smart. The first festival, in 1824, made a surplus of £2,400, but profits at the following festivals, in 1827, 1830, 1833, grew 'small by degrees and beautifully less on each occasion'.[60] By 1836, when 'the whole was placed under the management of Sir George Smart', the festival made a loss of £231, and did so in spite of an increase in gross receipts. The Festival managed to continue, but Smart was not engaged to conduct it again.

As for the Philanthropic Society, it continued to operate in Southwark until 1848, when it moved to Redhill in Surrey. The charity survives today, operating under the name Rainer. All that remains of its old Southwark site at St. George's Fields is the chapel, which became the parish church of St. Jude in 1850 and today stands in a dense area of Victorian terraced houses, vacant and in disrepair and on the English Heritage Buildings at Risk Register.

Abstract

As well as being a founder member of the Philharmonic Society, Sir George Smart conducted a series of concerts of sacred music at the Philanthropic Society in St. George's Fields, Southwark between 1825 and 1833. The archives

[57] General Court and General Committee minute book, 9 July 1824, SHC, ref. 2271/2/7.

[58] Sheets bound in with Smart's wordbooks at BL C.61.h.4.(1.) show that Smart, Taylor, the instrumentalists and the chorus each received the same fee in 1833 as in 1831. The day after the 1831 concert, the Committee paid Collier and Cleland 15 guineas and 10 guineas respectively in gratitude for their assistance with the concert, something they would surely not have done had it been a financial failure (General Court and General Committee minute book, 6 May 1831, SHC, ref. 2271/2/10).

[59] Smart had quite substantial investments in stocks, and kept a close eye on these, recording dividends received, along with details of other very small amounts of money paid out and received (see his memoranda book, BL Add. MS 42225).

[60] *The musical world*, 20 Sept 1856, p.596.

of the Philanthropic Society, one of the earliest charities for rescuing children affected by crime, and the papers of Sir George Smart shed light on the performers, who included John Braham, Catherine Stephens and Maria Caradori-Allan, performances and repertory. They also reveal in detail the finances of one of the concerts, showing that celebrated musicians were no guarantee of success in charitable fund-raising.

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CHAMBER MUSIC IN THE HOME: HENRY RENSBURG'S CONCERTS IN LIVERPOOL

Nicolas Bell

It is perhaps inevitable that the social history of musical life in Victorian Britain is often told chiefly from the Londoner's point of view. The Philharmonic Society's influence in commissioning new works from the greatest composers and inviting the most famous performers from across Europe is without parallel in any of the provincial musical institutions, and its extensive archive provides a wealth of documentation to a level of detail that cannot be matched by many other musical organisations anywhere. But this is not to say that other cities were deprived of such luxury. Some of the provincial orchestras were founded on the model of the Philharmonic Society, and were soon able to take advantage of international soloists making a tour of the principal centres around England following their London appearance. A host of other organisations across the country provided for music-making on a smaller scale, too. A point at which our knowledge of musical life becomes rather more hazy, however, is in the smaller concerts that we know must have proliferated throughout middle-class Victorian England in household settings. Private chamber recitals are inevitably very sparsely documented, but offer an important glimpse into the social life and musical education of an increasingly significant branch of society. Though it is in some respects an exceptional case, it is to be hoped that the example to be discussed here will shed a little light on this largely forgotten branch of music history.

In 1999 the British Library was presented with two notebooks bound in green morocco, recording details of the chamber concerts which took place in the house of Henry Rensburg in Liverpool from 1880 until 1927.[1] Henry Edward Rensburg was born in The Hague on 16 December 1841. He came to London in 1861 at the age of nineteen, and entered the offices of a bank. At the end of 1862 he moved to Liverpool, where he was to remain for the rest of his life, and where he quickly became established as a well-known stockbroker. He was naturalised in 1865 and established the firm of Henry E. Rensburg & Co. in 1873 after being elected a member of the Liverpool Stock Exchange. His company remains in business to this day and retains a close connection with the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Society. We know from some reminiscences he published in the *Liverpool review* in 1902[2] that

[1] BL MSS Mus. 307, 308. They are accompanied by an album of letters and signatures collected by Rensburg's daughter Netta (MS Mus. 309) and a book of press cuttings (MS Mus. 310).

[2] Vol.36, no.1838 (4 October 1902), p.1–2; BL MS Mus. 310, f.1.

his life in London had involved him in various concert-giving organisations, especially the Musical Society of London, with its *conversazioni* at St James's Hall. It was therefore no surprise that he was to become very active in Liverpool's cultural circles, in the Liverpool Art Club (as Vice-President in 1884 and as Honorary Secretary from 1885 until at least 1894), as Deputy Chairman of the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra in the 1913–14 season, and as music critic of the *Liverpool daily post* from 1903 to 1913. He was also prominent in Jewish circles, and in 1865 married Florence Samuel, a member of one of the longest established Jewish families in Liverpool.[3]

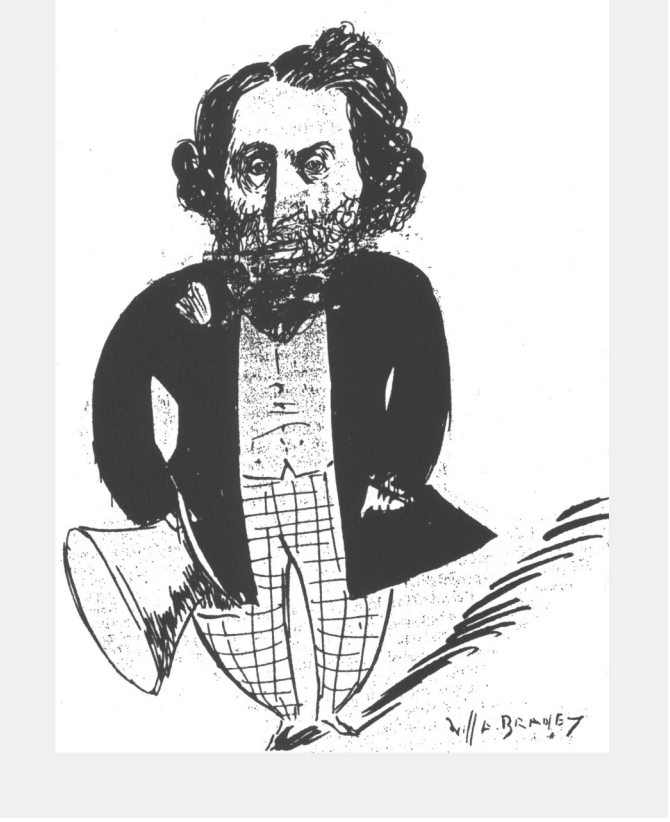

Fig.1. Caricature of Henry E. Rensburg by W.A. Bradley, published in the Liverpool review, vol.36, no.1838.

[3] Her cousin the Liberal M.P. Sir Stuart Montagu Samuel published a *History and genealogy of the Jewish families of Yates and Samuel of Liverpool*, edited by Lucien Wolf (London: for private circulation, 1901), for which Rensburg collected much of the genealogical material.

Rensburg was a viola player himself (and occasional violinist), and had a musical family: his two daughters Annette (Netta) and Alice were both pianists, and both participated in the concerts he arranged.[4] They were both in their early 'teens when they made their début in the concert of 14 May 1882 with one of Moszkowski's Spanish dances for piano duet. Netta died in 1901, unmarried, at the age of 34, but Alice proceeded to a career as a professional pianist, marrying a local merchant, Alfred Bussweiler, in 1892, and the musical tradition continued to another generation as her younger son Reginald, who anglicised his name to Boswell, was to become a founder member of the London Philharmonic Orchestra as a violinist. It was in his name that the books were presented to the British Library.

Rensburg lived in the Princes Park area on the south side of the city, and seems to have moved house within that area very frequently, about every two years.[5] The first of the two programme books begins in 1880, but it is quite possible that he began to hold concerts in his house before then. Indeed, the fact that Bruch, Joachim, Henschel, Sullivan and others wrote out musical quotations for Netta Rensburg in the late 1870s suggests that they probably called upon the Rensburgs during their visits to Liverpool, and may well have been encouraged to play while they were there.

Liverpool in the 1880s was a culturally thriving centre. The huge expansion of the docks in the mid-nineteenth century had brought with it many new industries ancillary to the shipping trade, and the arrival of the railways enabled even greater growth. This sudden prosperity brought about a climate of munificence and the foundation of numerous educational and cultural establishments, including the William Brown Library and Museum in 1860, the Walker Art Gallery in 1877 and the University College in 1881. The Liverpool Philharmonic Society had been founded in January 1840 along the lines of the Philharmonic Society in London, but was at first a largely amateur organisation. It soon expanded greatly, and the Philharmonic Hall was opened in August 1849 after several years of fundraising. The exhaustive account of the grand opening festival in *The Times* makes for impressive reading,[6] but the orchestra's performance standards apparently still left something to be desired. We can tell this in part from the implications of some comments in a paper on 'The orchestra: its constitution, management, etc.', which Rensburg delivered to the Liverpool Art Club in 1875 and which was published by Novello the following year. He reports that violas were often regrettably substituted by violins strung with viola strings; that double basses were normally of three strings, not the preferred four, and generally tuned to (low) A, D and G, where the 'continental' tuning of G, D and A would be

[4] Two other daughters, Ada and Minnie, died in infancy: see Samuel, *History and genealogy*, p.49.

[5] We know from the membership lists of the Liverpool Art Club, census records and occasional information in the programme books that in 1881 he was at 37 Bentley Road, by 1884 he had moved to 11 Prince's Park Terrace, in 1886 he was at 45 Bentley Road, in 1888–91 at 2 Grove Park, in 1892 at 37 Croxteth Road, and that by 1901 he had moved to 12 Ivanhoe Road in neighbouring Sefton Park.

[6] *The Times*, 27–31 August 1849. The reports were reprinted as a preface to the programme book for the seasons 1873–74 and 1874–75.

more practical; and that 'I am sorry to say, the tuning of the Kettledrums in most English Orchestras leaves much to desire' (p.25). However, the orchestra grew in professionalism, at first by borrowing players from the orchestra Charles Hallé had founded in Manchester in 1858, a scheme enabled by the fact that Liverpool concerts were always on Tuesday evenings and occasionally Saturday mornings while Manchester's were on Thursdays. By the 1870s there was a core group of professionals in the Liverpool Philharmonic who also put on chamber concerts for the Society on Wednesdays, known confusingly as 'The London Monday Popular Concerts'.

Apart from these established public chamber concerts, we must assume that much chamber music-making went on in chamber settings. Rensburg's concerts were usually held on Sunday evenings. The minute books list those present at each recital, give the programme of the concert and names of performers, and are usually signed by any visitors. The 'audience' usually consisted only of the performers themselves, and sometimes their spouses; any additional visitors were normally encouraged to contribute a performance of their own to the concert. The reason why Rensburg's minute-books are particularly interesting is that he was exceptionally well connected and invited many of the leading visiting soloists to his house when they came to Liverpool as part of their tours of Great Britain.

The repertory of the concerts was wide, but predominantly German and Austrian: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann and Brahms are the most widely represented, and perhaps Brahms more than any other. The average concert included one or two quartets or piano trios, a small group of songs, and perhaps some piano music, and the total length might have been an hour to an hour and a half — quite short when compared with public concerts of the time, whether chamber or orchestral. Only very rarely was anything earlier than Mozart and Haydn ever performed: we find the occasional Bach aria and one by Lotti, but no Handel, who was of course very well represented in the Philharmonic programmes by this time. It was, though, common for much more recent composers to be included, such as Rheinberger, Grieg, Moszkowski, Franck, and even Richard Strauss (the violin sonata, op.18 in 1898). Rensburg did not, however, have any sympathy later in life for what he called the 'post-impressionism and ultra modernism which threatens a cult of the unrefined, the material, and the ugly, in a manner that can be likened only to the profanity of swearing in art'.[7]

The songs and piano music at the concerts were often by more ephemeral composers, such as Scharwenka, Hiller, Kjerulf, Luigi Denza, Alexander Zarzycki and Franz Knetsch; but generally the more substantial pieces — quartets, quintets and the occasional sextet — were by the Austrian masters. Notably absent are the contemporary British composers whose music was staple fare in the Philharmonic Society: the few exceptions are composers who were invited along to perform their own works. This is hardly surprising, since the majority of the performers were German in origin, part of the

[7] *Liverpool daily post and mercury*, 23 April 1913; BL MS Mus. 310, f.28.

émigré German community in Liverpool which furnished many of the names in the Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus lists of the time. Also absent from the concert programmes are any wind instruments: in his lecture on the orchestra Rensburg displays an unashamed lack of interest in instruments other than strings, and this preference is clearly reflected in the repertoire heard in his house. Apparently the only exception was the Brahms clarinet quintet, played in 1902 by Manuel Gómez.[8]

As well as being the year when the Rensburg concerts began, 1880 was the year when Max Bruch succeeded Julius Benedict as Conductor of the Philharmonic Society. It appears that Rensburg was instrumental in securing Bruch's post,[9] and the appointment of such an internationally famous conductor and composer as Bruch was another significant moment in the growth of the Society's renown. Bruch was exceptionally busy in his time in Liverpool, having taken over as chorus-master as well as conductor, and had something of a difficult time in this dual role, leading to his resignation in 1882. But he still found time to attend and participate in Rensburg's concerts almost every week — he lived locally — and his wife Clara (*née* Tuczek) often sang at them. Indeed, the second concert to be recorded in the book, unusually on a Thursday, 4 November 1880, included a performance of Bruch's famous *Kol Nidrei*, the Adagio for 'cello and orchestra on Hebrew melodies, played by Joseph Hollman accompanied by the composer on the piano (see Fig.2). Bruch had written the work that summer, and it had received its first performance two days previously, at the Philharmonic Concert on Tuesday 2 November, again with Hollman.[10]

Frederic Cowen was one of the next notable visitors, a fortnight later. He was to become conductor of the Philharmonic some time later, but had been up on this occasion in connection with the Liverpool performance of his 'Scandinavian' symphony, then playing to enthusiastic audiences across Europe; on this occasion, though, he gave a more frivolous piano 'Recital of diverse reminiscences', including Beethoven's 'Symphony [in] C minor in the major'.[11] Other names to appear in subsequent months included Anton Rubinstein, who played the Beethoven sonatas op.101 and 109 on 9 May 1881, and Saint-Saëns later that year (there are also several Saint-Saëns letters in Netta Rensburg's autograph album). Eugène Ysaÿe played Grieg, Mendelssohn and Beethoven in 1891, and returned in 1900, 1908 and 1909.

One of the more notable concerts was held on 21 February 1886 (Fig.3). It opened with Fanny Davies, then 24 years old and having made her London début earlier that season, playing the *Davidsbündlertänze* and some Scarlatti.

[8] BL MS Mus. 308, f.63. The Brahms Horn Trio was performed on 15 June 1924, but apparently in the version for piano, violin and 'cello.

[9] See Christopher Fifield, *Max Bruch: his life and works.* London: Victor Gollancz, 1988, p.183. On p.196 he records that an autograph full score of Bruch's *Hebrew melodies*, inscribed to Rensburg, is now in the Liverpool Central Library.

[10] It was later played by R. Hausmann on 5 February 1882, and in the version for violin and piano by Ernst Schiever on 10 April 1881, in both cases with the composer accompanying: see BL MS Mus. 307, f.27, 12.

[11] BL MS Mus. 308, f.4.

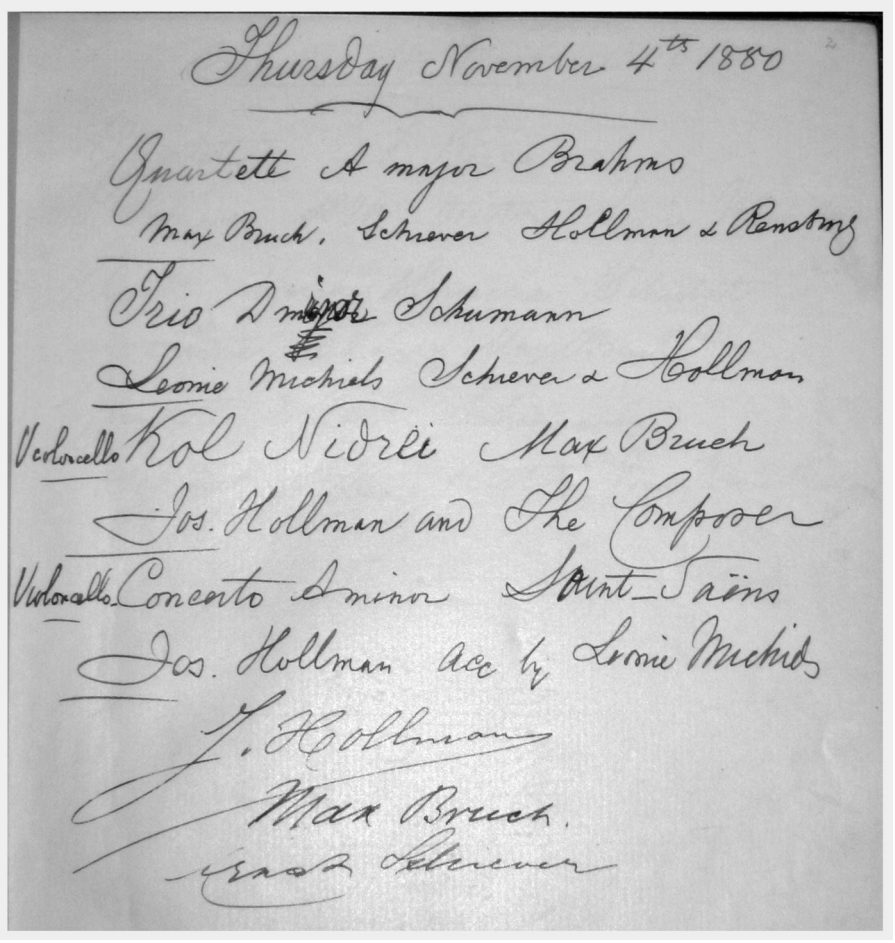

Fig.2. Programme for the concert of 4 November 1880. BL MS Mus. 307, f.2r. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board.

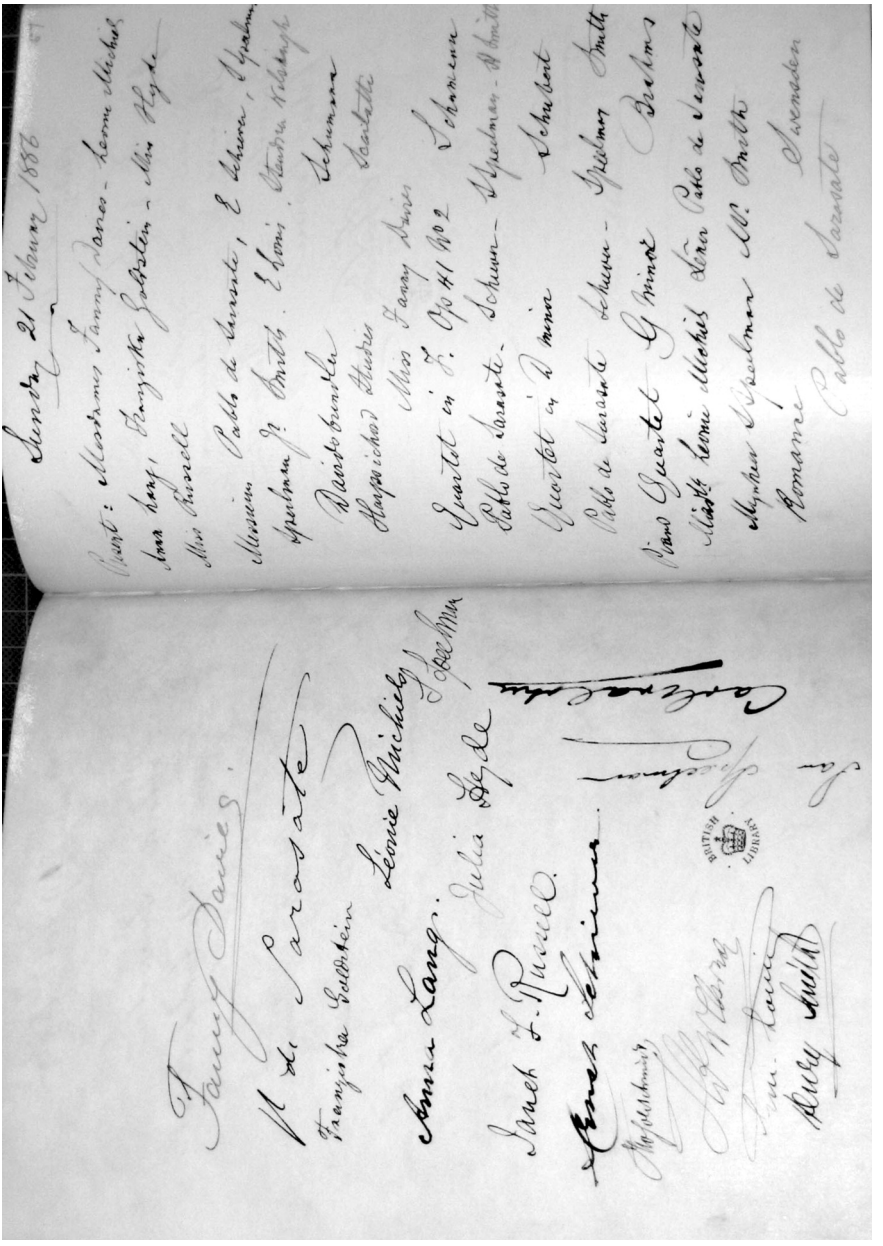

Fig.3. Programme for the concert of 21 February 1886. BL MS Mus. 307, f.56v–57r. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board.

Pablo de Sarasate then joined some of the regular performers — Ernst Schiever, Samuel Speelman and Henry Smith — in quartets by Schumann and Schubert. The Brahms G minor piano quartet, which appears frequently in the programme books, was played by Léonie Michiels, who was to become the regular pianist of the Rensburg concerts, accompanied by Sarasate, Speelman and Smith; and as an encore, Sarasate played the Romance by Svendsen. It is interesting to note that Otto Goldschmidt was among those in the audience: he had played with Sarasate in Rensburg's house the previous Friday, and was presumably acting as Sarasate's agent on the touring party arranged by William Cusins for this season. Sarasate was to return in 1888, 1893 and 1899, on the 1893 occasion playing Carl Goldmark's newly composed second suite, op.43.

Rensburg's close involvement with the Liverpool Art Club is evident in comparing their minutes with his. Thus the Club's Annual Report tells us that 'On Monday evening, the 20th Febraury [1887], a Conversazione was held, at which a selection of classical Chamber Music was performed by Miss Léonie Michiels (piano), Messrs. Speelman, Speelman, jun., Otto Bernhardt, Ernest Vieuxtemps, and Smith [...] On that evening Schubert's String Quintet with two celli was given for the first time in Liverpool'.[12] The following Sunday, the same performers recombined to play the Schubert again, together with the Dvořák D major piano quartet and the Brahms string sextet in B flat. Other chamber concerts arranged by the Art Club seem to have been in somewhat lighter vein than Rensburg's, and each year there were occasional 'Smoking Concerts', always arranged by committee members other than Rensburg himself. Though programmes for these concerts were not recorded in the Annual Report, it may be reasonable to suppose that Rensburg would have been rather dismissive of them, since he begins his talk on the orchestra referred to above with a melancholy account of the state of music-making in the present day:

> When we look at the record of concerts given in this town, we find that out of every six, there are four or five Ballad or Miscellaneous Solo Concerts, against one where the Orchestra forms the chief attraction; and, again, on looking at the result, we find that the Ballad Concerts have been crowded, whereas the Orchestral performances have only been indifferently attended (p.3).

The solution, as he saw it, lay in educating the greater public, both through didactic programme notes and through inspiring performance: the conductor's duty was

> to edify and elevate the emotions and intellectual appreciation of his

[12] *The Liverpool Art Club* [annual report], 1889, p.8. 'Bernhardt' in this report is presumably a misreading for Goedhart, a viola player in the Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra who played the quintet at Rensburg's house the next week.

> audience to the glorification of that divine gift of genius, so rarely and sparingly bestowed by the Great Creator of all, on the few champions of progress and civilisation (p.9).

In December 1888 there was an Art Congress in Liverpool, and Rensburg held two soirées and an afternoon of 'mocha, muffins and music' at his home in Grove Park for the seventy or so participants — an occasion which demanded a printed programme. This appears to have been quite exceptional, though, and generally there were no more than a handful of people present other than the performers.

Eugène Goossens *père* moved to Liverpool in 1893, and we encounter his name first in December of that year, apparently as a 'cellist (though he was better known off the conductor's podium as a violinist). Other later visitors to the concerts included Adolph Brodsky in 1902: Rensburg admired Brodsky immensely, and wrote of his quartet that 'it is the acme of musical solidarity, a perfect harmonic blend, which by its sympathetic homogeneity reveals the message of musical inspiration to human understanding'.[13] Busoni did not find the time to play at the Rensburgs on his visits to Liverpool, but did at least write a dedication in Netta Rensburg's album in 1902. Sousa visited the following year (though not as a performer), and Kreisler in December 1903: he was in town to play the first Bruch concerto, but joined the regular players in quartets by Mozart, Schumann, Beethoven and Dvořák, and returned in 1905 for more of the same, then again in 1908, when he accompanied Ysaÿe on the piano in the first and second Bruch concertos. In 1912, Ysaÿe and Kreisler 'tried a new Violin Concerto by Weingärtner [*sic*] (dedicated to Fritz Kreisler) [and] Kreisler accompanied on the piano';[14] this was in the afternoon of the same day that he played the Beethoven concerto under Sir Frederic Cowen in the Philharmonic concert. On 4 January 1913 Rensburg's grandson Reginald Bussweiler brought along a recent Oxford graduate, Adrian Boult, from his family home in Chester, who played a Mozart duet sonata with Alice Bussweiler and then a 'Christmas Albumblat' of his own.[15] Pau Casals gave a recital on one of his visits to Liverpool, in 1914, like Kreisler making only a brief stop on the afternoon before his Philharmonic concert. Myra Hess followed in 1921, and Henry Wood in 1925; but by this time the concerts were becoming very infrequent, and a solitary recital on 10 April 1927 seems to have been the last to take place. Rensburg died in 1928 at the age of 87.

Henry Rensburg's concerts served many purposes. Primarily they were intended for the amusement and enjoyment of the performers; they also enabled players to learn the repertory and to run through pieces before giving public recitals. More importantly, they allowed some of the main players in the Philharmonic Orchestra, who were regular members of Rensburg's ensemble, to play in intimate and congenial surroundings with some of the

[13] *Liverpool daily post*, October 1913: BL MS Mus. 310, f.27.

[14] BL MS Mus. 308, f.86; it was published in the same year, as op.52.

[15] Unfortunately not included among Boult's surviving compostions, BL Add. MS 72650.

most famous soloists in the musical world at that time. They were certainly not intended to be exclusive in any sense: in Rensburg's journalism we can detect more than a hint of socialist undercurrent, and his published lecture on the orchestra is essentially a call for the better education of the masses. Rensburg was high-minded, certainly, but he sought to bring all his acquaintances into the same condition. The numerous obituaries he wrote for the *Liverpool daily post* are so poetic in language as often to evade stating such base information as their subjects' professions: he would prefer to draw attention to the characteristics of the consummate artist inherent in the person described. He shunned the modern fashion for specialising one's interests in one individual art-form, where a broad understanding of all the arts and sciences was necessary to a proper education. His aesthetic stance — and that of his concerts — is best summed up in an article on Fritz Kreisler:

> The tendency of jaded taste is for excitement, and the person most *en vogue* with impulsive multitudes is the one who can startle them most effectually. Excitement undoubtedly is a valuable form of emotion, but its value is determined by accompanying qualifications of a mental character. Unqualified excitement, such as the response of crude passion to crude brutality, is the emotion of the fleeting moment, sterile in its permanent increment to human happiness. Otherwise is it with the excitement qualified by kindred emotion of a mental or intellectual nature — the response of our subconscious selves to artistic excellence. True, this is the excitement of the minority; but then it is the privilege of minorities to enjoy, appreciate, and promote all that is most valuable in life [...] for men may come and men may go; but the joy of what is most precious in art remains for ever.[16]

Abstract
Henry Rensburg was a Liverpool stockbroker who was closely involved in the musical life of the city. Between 1880 and 1927 he hosted chamber music concerts in his home, which gave an opportunity for his friends from the Liverpool Philharmonic Society to play alongside some of the leading soloists from around Europe. Minute books recording the programmes of these concerts were recently presented to the British Library, and present a rare insight into domestic music-making in the regions in Victorian Britain.

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[16] *Liverpool daily post*, 17 February 1904; BL MS Mus. 310, f.3.

Brio Volume 45, Number 1. pp 53 – 59

'THE HORROR OF HIS BIOGRAPHERS': A LETTER FROM MOZART TO HIS AUGSBURG COUSIN IN THE COLLECTION OF STEFAN ZWEIG

Oliver Matuschek

Anyone who devotes his attention to the works of Mozart will sooner or later come across several remarkable song texts, written by the composer himself. *Difficile lectu mihi mars* is the curious title of no.559 in the Köchel catalogue, immediately followed by *O du eselhafter Peierl!* (K.559a).[1] Another example is *Bona nox, bist a rechta Ox* (K.561), not only on account of its title, but more for these memorable lines a few bars later: '…scheiß ins Bett, daß' kracht; gute Nacht, schlaf fei' g'sund und reck' den Arsch zum Mund'. Even more explicit is the canon entitled *Leck mich im Arsch* (K.231). It is perhaps little surprise that such texts are more likely to be discovered in Mozart scholarship or the catalogue of his works than in the concert hall.

These musical works aside, Mozart proved a similarly inspired writer in his letters to members of his family. He is said to have written on occasion exactly as he spoke. And on these occasions he frequently must have been in the most boisterous of spirits. Among his family correspondence, the letters to the daughter of his uncle Franz Aloys Mozart in Augsburg, his junior by two years, have always occupied a special place, for the things which the composer had penned in his early twenties were long considered noisome. Almost every sentence which he had written to his *Bäsle* — he called her by a southern German diminutive of *Base* (female cousin) — seemed silly, crude, offensive, and obscene, and did not the lines even contain hints at an indecent relationship between the two? For all one's admiration of Mozart's genius — or rather, precisely because of it — the publication of these texts could not even be dreamt of for a long time.

After the death of Maria Anna Thekla Mozart, four of these letters from her famous cousin passed via the latter's son Carl to the executor Wagner and thence by ways unknown to one Robert F. Petri in Berlin, who finally offered them up for sale in 1931.

Among those to be informed of the offer was Stefan Zweig, who was not only one of the best-known German writers of the day, but also one of the

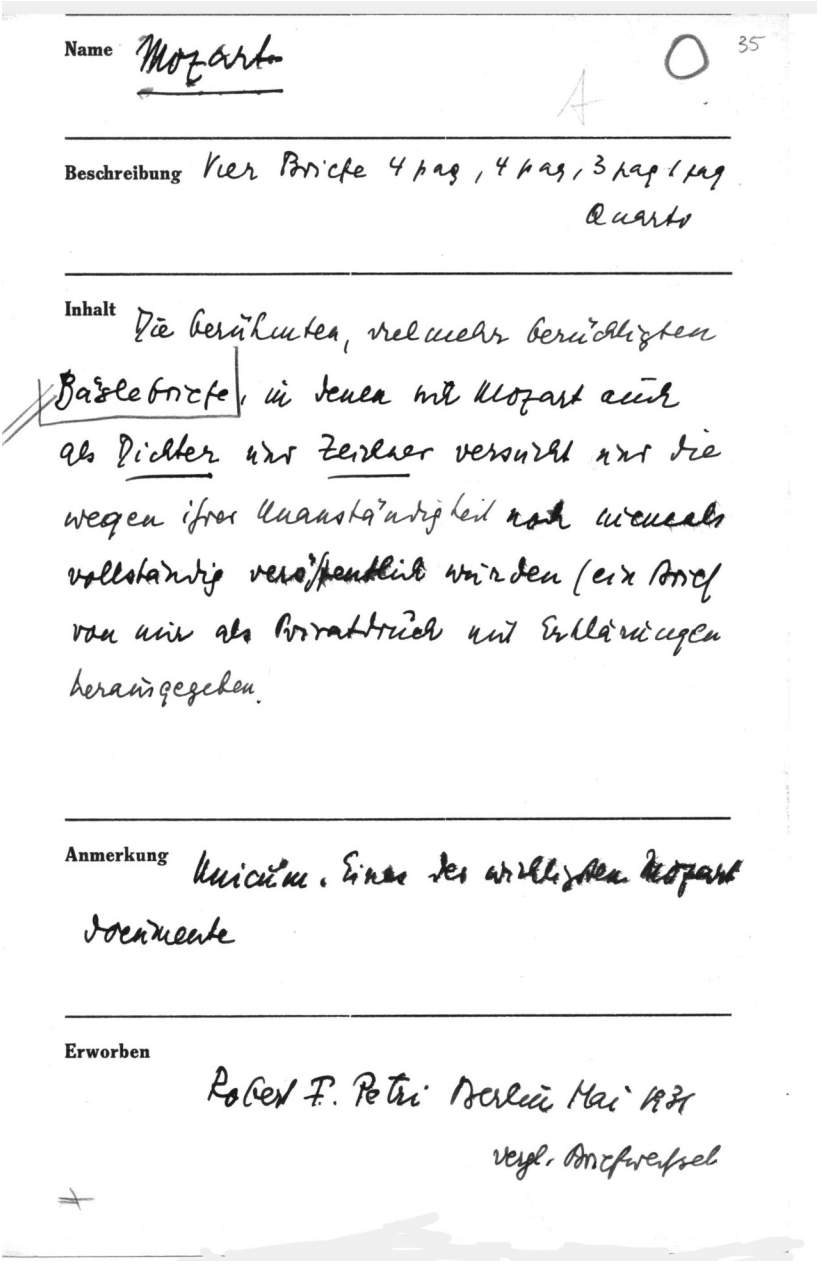
[1] This essay was first published together with a reprint of Zweig's complete facsimile edition as *Das Entsetzen aller seiner Biografen—Ein Brief Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts an sein Augsburger Bäsle vom 5. November 1777*, edited by Oliver Matuschek, Tutzing and Vienna, 2006, and was revised for the present publication. We are indebted to Antiquariat Köstler in Tutzing and Antiquariat Inlibris Gilhofer Nfg. in Vienna for their kind permission to reprint the text. The essay was translated by Christopher Frey.

most important collectors of autographs, and thus had extensive contacts among dealers and collectors. At the time, he was far from his Salzburg residence, in Antibes on the Côte d'Azur, but even when travelling he was kept up to date with the relevant happenings on the market. Zweig endeavoured to limit his collection to autograph literary manuscripts and scores, so the idea of acquiring letters was not really even under consideration, especially as he already owned a letter by Mozart. While still in France, Zweig wrote to Karl Geigy-Hagenbach, a fellow autograph collector in Basel, that he had received two attractive offers from private individuals, namely 'one of the most curious and interesting Beethoven documents' (which he bought immediately) and 'letters by Mozart to the ''Bäsle'', his most amusing and even illustrated letters, four in number. Offer: 10,000 Marks.' Although the seller was prepared to part with them for a considerably lower sum, Zweig continued: 'I am not interested at all and I did not pursue the matter.' At that time, the *Bäsle* letters could not have been known to Zweig except by hearsay — his initial lack of interest cannot be explained otherwise. For when he discovered, after making inquiries, that these letters of Mozart's constituted 'the horror of his biographers', the four letters soon ended up in Zweig's autograph cabinet in Salzburg. Zweig's provenance card documenting his new acquisition is reproduced as Fig.1. The earliest letter is from November 1777 (Mozart, then in Mannheim, misdated the month — spelt backwards — 'rebotco', in error for 'rebmevon'); two letters were written in 1778, and another was posted in Salzburg in May 1780.

No sooner had Zweig studied these letters than he was struck by the idea of publishing them. He could not resist the tantalising opportunity finally to transcribe and edit the text in full. Besides, the year 1931 offered several good reasons for such a publication, being the year not only of Mozart's 175th birthday, but also of Zweig's 50th. Thus it was that Zweig decided to have a facsimile made of one of the letters and to provide it with a commentary of his own. In the commentary he also reviewed the previous publication history of the correspondence, characterised mainly by the omission of individual parts or entire letters.

This little publication afforded Zweig the opportunity to make some small contribution in his own cause, as it were — apart from all the official honours which he could expect on the occasion of his birthday. The printing of this bibliophile edition was handled by Herbert Reichner, to whom Zweig referred in his commentary as "bibliophilissimus Viennensis" and whose publishing house was well known for its fine, lavishly produced books.

Although a small advertisement in the *Philobiblon*, the bibliophiles' journal published by Reichner, was still promoting the Mozart facsimile (available at the price of 10 Reichsmark) as late as 1936, none of the 50 numbered copies printed seems to have been sold through the regular book trade. Indeed, in his brief commentary Zweig had pointed out that he had intended this volume not for the general public, but for 'the happy few, who count nothing human foreign to them.' 'I send forth this letter into familiar hands for my personal pleasure alone', he wrote in reaffirmation of this notion in a


Name Mozart 35

Beschreibung Vier Briefe 4 pag, 4 pag, 3 pag 1 pag
Quarto

Inhalt Die berühmten, vielmehr berüchtigten Baseler Briefe, in denen Mozart auch als Dichter und Zeichner versucht und die wegen ihrer Unanständigkeit noch niemals vollständig veröffentlicht wurden (ein Brief von ihm als Vorrathbrief mit Erklärungen herausgegeben.

Anmerkung Unicum. Eines der wichtigsten Mozart Documente

Erworben
Robert F. Petri Berlin Mai 1931
vergl. Briefwechsel

Fig.1. Stefan Zweig's provenance card recording his acquisition of the four Bäsle letters in 1931. BL Add. MS 73167, f.35. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board.

communication to Geigy-Hagenbach. Of course, these statements served mainly to underscore the rarity of this Mozartian gentlemen's smoking-room entertainment.

Immediately after completion of the work, copies adorned with the editor's autograph dedication were mailed in all directions. Among the recipients were Zweig's publisher Anton Kippenberg, Romain Rolland, and the music collector Paul Hirsch, whose inscribed copy is shown in Fig.2.

Yet who could have been a better recipient of this little anniversary edition but Sigmund Freud? Zweig, after all, admired Freud and had detailed his achievements in a lengthy essay in the collection *Die Heilung durch den Geist*. If there was a contemporary to whom nothing human was foreign and to whom 'everything in nature always seemed natural' — even coprolalia, the obsessive, uncontrollable use of obscene language, which Zweig thought to have observed in Mozart — it could only be Freud. A few weeks after his own 75th birthday, the father of psychoanalysis received a dedicated copy of the Mozart facsimile, together with a brief accompanying note by Zweig:

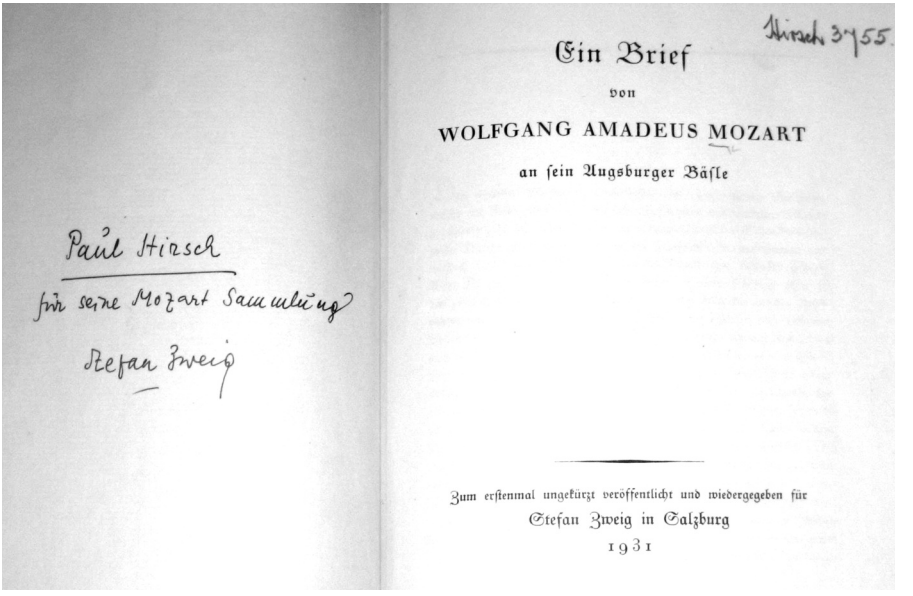


Fig.2. The title page of Zweig's edition of the first Bäsle letter, with an inscription to Paul Hirsch. BL Hirsch 3755. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library Board.

Salzburg, 16 June 1931

Dear Professor Freud,

As an expert on the heights and depths of human existence, you will, I hope, find the enclosed privately printed edition, which I distribute only among the *most restricted* circle, not entirely useless: the nine letters of the twenty-one-year-old Mozart, one of which I here publish in full, cast a psychologically most peculiar light upon his eroticism, which more than that of any other important person shows signs of infantility and passionate coprolalia. Indeed, this would afford an interesting study for one of your students, for all the letters deal with the same subject throughout.

I take this opportunity to assure you of my admiration and my best wishes for your health and remain

Yours ever faithfully,

Stefan Zweig

The interesting present reached Freud at his summer residence in Pötzleinsdorf, on the hilly outskirts of Vienna, whence he answered in evidently high spirits, under his home address:

25 June 1931
Vienna, IX, Berggasse 19

Dear Dr Zweig,

Thank you for the special edition! The fact that Mozart had a passion for and practised this kind of bawdy was known to me, from where I have forgotten. The explanation you provide clearly suffers no objection. In several analyses of musicians I noticed a particular interest (reaching back into childhood) for noises produced by the bowels. The question whether this must be merely considered a special case of a more general interest in the world of sounds or whether we must assume that the talent for music (unknown to us) is influenced by a strong anal component I leave undecided.

With warm regards,

Freud

Encouraged by this Freudian banter, Zweig attempted to expand his little collection of *Bäsle* letters. Such a chance presented itself in 1932, for another of these rare communications was offered for sale by the Lengenfeld'sche Buchhandlung in Cologne. In the *Philobiblon*'s preview of forthcoming auctions there had even been a note that 'one of Mozart's notorious "Bäsle" letters, not yet in the collection of Stefan Zweig', would be offered up. Spurred on by such jibes and financially secured by the early royalties for his just-published biography of Marie Antoinette, Zweig placed an absentee bid in advance. However, the unique value of the *Bäsle* letters had in the meantime got about among specialist circles (not least due to Zweig's own publication), and Zweig was easily outbid by others at the auction.

In any case, the four *Bäsle* letters which Zweig owned and which are housed today in the British Library, together with large parts of his collection of autograph manuscripts, were to provide further interesting connections. With the first letter that Zweig wrote to Richard Strauss in the late October of 1931, he included a copy of the facsimile. Strauss responded with a warm letter of thanks, adding that he himself was in possession of 'an original letter of the Divine' to his cousin, 'which, unfortunately, is so well-mannered that it might even be read at a Mozart society.' This exchange was to be the beginning of a correspondence that ultimately led to Strauss choosing Zweig as successor to Hugo von Hofmannsthal as librettist for his opera *Die schweigsame Frau*.

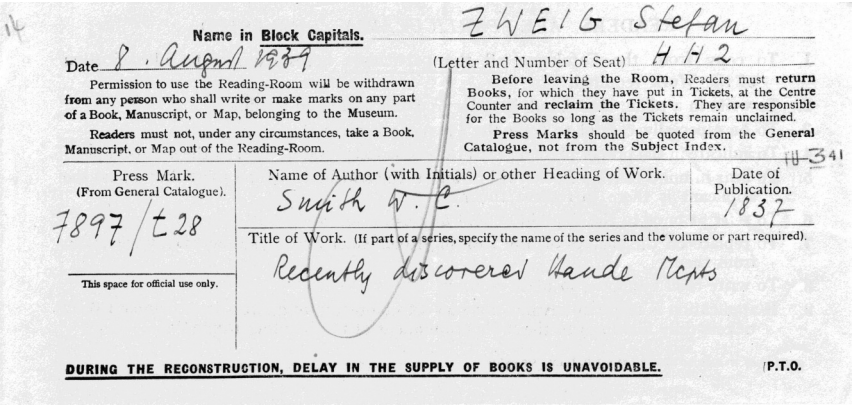
Abstract
The letters written to his Augsburg cousin Maria Anna are among Mozart's most notorious on account of their scatological content. Stefan Zweig was delighted to add four of them to his collection of Mozart's manuscripts, now in the British Library, and published the longest of them in 1931 in a facsimile edition with transcription and commentary for the amusement of his friends. Among those to receive a copy was Sigmund Freund, whose reply is not without interest.

Oliver Matuschek's recent books include a new biography Stefan Zweig: drei Leben — eine Biographie *(Frankfurt: Fischer-Verlag, 2006), and* Ich kenne den Zauber der Schrift: Katalog und Geschichte der Autographensammlung Stefan Zweig *(Vienna: Inlibris, 2005).*

Afterword: a British Museum book order ticket in the hand of Stefan Zweig

Nicolas Bell

It is well known that Stefan Zweig spent much time in the Round Reading Room of the British Museum in his years living in London, but relatively little evidence survives of precisely which books he consulted there. A book order ticket from 1939 has recently come to light which fits well with his interests at the time (see Fig.3). The previous year, Zweig had bought an


Name in Block Capitals. ZWEIG Stefan

Date 8. August 1939 (Letter and Number of Seat) H 42

Permission to use the Reading-Room will be withdrawn from any person who shall write or make marks on any part of a Book, Manuscript, or Map, belonging to the Museum.

Readers must not, under any circumstances, take a Book, Manuscript, or Map out of the Reading-Room.

Before leaving the Room, Readers must return Books, for which they have put in Tickets, at the Centre Counter and reclaim the Tickets. They are responsible for the Books so long as the Tickets remain unclaimed.

Press Marks should be quoted from the General Catalogue, not from the Subject Index.

H 341

Press Mark. (From General Catalogue). 7897/t28

This space for official use only.

Name of Author (with Initials) or other Heading of Work. Smith W. C.

Date of Publication. 1837

Title of Work. (If part of a series, specify the name of the series and the volume or part required). Recently discovered Handel Mss

DURING THE RECONSTRUCTION, DELAY IN THE SUPPLY OF BOOKS IS UNAVOIDABLE. P.T.O.

Fig. 3. A book order ticket filled in by Stefan Zweig at the British Museum on 8 August 1939.

autograph bifolium from Handel's cantata *Ho fuggito Amore anch'io* (now BL Zweig MS 36), a considerable improvement on the few bars from *Joseph and his brethren* that he had acquired in 1922 (Zweig MS 38). The analytical entry in the British Museum's General Catalogue under 'HAENDEL — Appendix' may have drawn his attention to this publication, an offprint of an article by William C. Smith from the *Musical times* of 1937 (not 1837 as written). Smith describes two Handel autographs that had recently come to light: a single page from an unidentified aria that had been sold at Sotheby's the previous year to a French collector, and the final chorus of *Floridante*, a more substantial manuscript that had remained unsold at Sotheby's in March 1937. The offprint is bound as a pamphlet, with an additional plate added on the final page and a title-page overprinted 'With the Compliments of The First Edition Bookshop', the shop of the music dealer and bibliographer Cecil Hopkinson. It is no surprise that Hopkinson was keen to disseminate Smith's article, as it was he who had consigned the two autographs to Sotheby's. He had published a limited-edition facsmile of the *Floridante* manuscript in 1936, but neither this nor the auction had resulted in a sale, and it remained unsold from the supplement to Hopkinson's catalogue no.25 issued in May 1937. A few months after reading the article, Zweig acquired the manuscript from Hopkinson through Heinrich Eisemann in March 1940, and it remained one of his proudest acquisitions, one of only five manuscripts he carried with him when he left for America three months later. It is now BL Zweig MS 37, completing the main autograph of the opera (BL R.M.20.b.2.). The other, shorter Handel manuscript was sold again by Sotheby's on 20 May 2005. The pressmark of the offprint has subsequently been changed, as it now forms part of a collection of articles by W. C. Smith, but another copy is held in the Hirsch Library (BL Hirsch 3227).

Brio Volume 45, Number 1. pp 60 – 67

THE HIRSCH CORRESPONDENCE: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Nick Chadwick

When the British Museum acquired the music library of Paul Hirsch (1881–1951) in 1946, it acquired at the same time Hirsch's papers and correspondence connected with the collection. Although these papers have frequently been consulted and even quoted, there has been no systematic attempt to investigate their contents, organise their arrangement, and catalogue them fully.

Since October 2005 I have been gaining an overview of the correspondence in preparation for cataloguing it to the standards required by the Manuscripts Online Catalogue (MOLCAT) of the British Library. On the basis of my investigations so far, I attempt in this short article to highlight some points of interest in the correspondence files and of their wider significance. For the purpose of this overview I divide the correspondence into several broad categories. I should emphasise that this is very much 'work in progress' and is by no means a complete picture. Much remains to be investigated, such as, for example, the important and extensive correspondence between Hirsch and Alfred Einstein, which has only relatively recently become available to researchers.[1]

Correspondence with dealers

Not surprisingly, correspondence with music and book dealers looms very large. Much of this takes the form of bills and invoices, which are of course invaluable for gaining a detailed picture of provenance — information which could in time be added to the British Library catalogue entries — but which hardly require comment here. Many dealers became personal friends; exchanges with such people as Otto Haas (1874–1955), originally of Leo Liepmannssohn, Berlin, and later of London, and Max Pinette of the Lengfeld'sche Buchhandlung, Cologne, go far beyond conventional 'bread-and-butter' correspondence. The Lengfeld correspondence includes full details of negotiations over one of Hirsch's most important purchases. With a covering letter of 9 March 1929, Pinette sends Hirsch, on approval, what he describes as a manuscript version of Franchino Gafori's *Musice utriusque cantus practica ... libris quatuor* (1497), of which Hirsch already possesses the printed version (Hirsch I.193), and offers it for 2,000 Marks. Replying on

[1] Readers who wish to obtain further details about Hirsch himself and about his library, including suggestions for further reading, should consult the British Library website at http://www.bl.uk/collections/music/hirsch.html.

18 March, Hirsch identifies it as a manuscript version of *Theoricum opus musice* (1480; 2nd ed. 1492), and considers the price too high for something that he regards as of limited musicological interest. He obtains a second opinion from his friend, the musicologist, librarian and medieval specialist Johannes Wolf (1869–1947), who considers it to be of considerable interest while nevertheless agreeing that the price is excessive; Hirsch reports this in a letter of 28 March and offers a maximum of 1,000 Marks. Eventually the original owner is persuaded to offer it for the lower sum, and Hirsch accepts this in his letter of 12 April 1929: the invoice is dated 13 April. The Gafori manuscript, *Theoriae musicae tractatus* (Hirsch IV.1441), probably dating from 1479, is complemented by the 1480 printed edition also in the Hirsch Library (Hirsch I.190) and is one of the most admired items in the collection.

By the time of Hirsch's correspondence with Max Pinette, he had been collecting music for over 30 years, since 1897. Although strictly speaking only an amateur, his bibliographical knowledge and acumen were at least equal to that of many of the dealers with whom he did business. In November and December 1929, we find an interesting exchange of letters between the two on the subject of market prices: Pinette disputes Hirsch's opinion that some of the prices in his Catalogue 36 are too high, while others are too low. Hirsch's replies, dated 18 November and 4 December, demonstrate well his profound knowledge and grasp of the antiquarian music market; in fact, he was in a position to give the less experienced Pinette what amounted to a tutorial on the subject.

Hirsch's earliest correspondence with Otto Haas, of Leo Liepmannssohn in Berlin, appears to date from 1904, as attested by a handwritten letter to the dealer dated 2 June detailing Hirsch's collecting policy and needs. Haas had been connected with the firm only since 1903 and had bought it later that year. Hirsch's correspondence with Haas in 1935 reflects the worsening political situation in Germany while simultaneously providing a melancholy epitaph to the life and reputation of the recently deceased and formerly celebrated opera composer, Franz Schreker (1878–1934), who by the time of his death was already viewed with disfavour by the Nazis. Hirsch had been friendly both with Schreker, four of whose operas had received their premières in Frankfurt, and with the conductor responsible for these performances, Ludwig Rottenberg (1864–1932); the Hirsch Library is not only especially rich in printed full scores of Schreker's operas but contains the autograph full score of his first opera, *Flammen* (1902). On 8 January 1935 Hirsch wrote to Haas on behalf of Rottenberg's widow, who wished to dispose of some musical scores from her late husband's estate, including the following Schreker works: the full score of *Der ferne Klang* with an inserted variant in Act III; a vocal score of the same work; vocal scores of *Der Schatzgräber* and *Die Gezeichneten* (the latter no. 45 of a limited edition (*Vorzugsausgabe*)), both of which contained dedications in the composer's hand; and the first edition of the *Gezeichneten* libretto. Hirsch remarked in his letter that 'it is true Schreker is no longer as modern nowadays as about 10–15 years ago; however, I should assume that the full score of the first and most important opera *Der ferne Klang*

has some value even today'.[2] Also included was a vocal score of Richard Strauss's *Guntram* with numerous autograph improvements.

Hirsch had promised Frau Rottenberg that she could expect 100 to 150 Marks for the sale. Sadly, this was one occasion when Hirsch had misjudged the market. Haas's reply of 11 January dashed Frau Rottenberg's hopes. He said that Schreker was at that time as good as unsaleable. A score of *Der Schatzgräber* which he himself had received from the composer, and which contained far-reaching autograph annotations, had remained in his possession since September 1933, since he had been unable to sell it; not to mention the vocal scores of his operas, which he finally gave to a street hawker in Berlin. He was prepared to pay 75 Marks for the collection, although he considered even that sum too high, and he would be grateful if Hirsch would let him know if Frau Rottenberg was agreeable. On 15 January 1935 Hirsch was able to reply in the affirmative. Nothing demonstrates more starkly than this the depths to which Schreker's reputation had sunk since the heady days of the period following the First World War, as well as the difficulties facing other Jewish or partly Jewish musicians under the Nazis.

Later in the same year, there was a turn for the worse. On 6 September Haas sent Hirsch a panic-stricken letter telling him that he had received the 'blauer Brief' from the Kammer der bildenden Künste giving him four weeks before either 'redeployment' (*Umgruppierung*) or liquidation of his firm. In his reply of 8 September, Hirsch tried to reassure Haas while admitting that he could not know whether he too might not in a few weeks' time receive a similar letter in relation to his own business. The following year Haas, like Hirsch himself, left Germany. He re-established his antiquarian music business in London, this time under his own name.

Correspondence with librarians and fellow-collectors

Hirsch's correspondence with the collector and Haydn bibliographer Anthony van Hoboken (1887–1983) extended from 1928 to 1950 and covers a wide range of topics. Hoboken's collection was in Vienna, and, writing on 13 July 1938 from Switzerland, he conveys to Hirsch his anxieties about its future following the German annexation of Austria; his Photogramm-Archiv (established by him in the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in 1927) is just about surviving, he reports. Not long after Hirsch had briefly considered selling his library to an institution in the United States early in 1946, Hoboken, who was thinking that a similar move for his own library might be necessary in about 6–8 years time, asked Hirsch's advice. Hirsch wrote to the librarian of the University of Michigan, which had been interested in purchasing his own collection, on Hoboken's behalf in August 1946. As we know, Hoboken's great library was eventually acquired by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in 1974.

Other interesting exchanges between the two men touch on the Schubert scholar and bibliographer Otto Erich Deutsch (1883–1967), who had worked as Hoboken's music librarian in Vienna from 1926 to 1935. Deutsch and

[2] Original in German; translations in this article are by the author.

Hoboken did not get on, and Hirsch's news, in a letter of 14 January 1946, of Deutsch's assumption of the editorship of the projected *British union-catalogue of early music* (eventually published under the editorship of Edith B. Schnapper in 1957) was greeted by Hoboken in his reply of 10 March with a hint of scepticism — scepticism which unfortunately proved to have some justification, in view of the later history of the project. In January 1939, when the fate of the Photogramm-Archiv would have been very much on Hoboken's mind, there is an interesting exchange over the political credentials of the Bruckner scholar Robert Haas (1886–1960), who was the director of the Musiksammlung in Vienna and also in charge of the Archiv and who was to be dismissed in 1945 for his collaboration with the Nazis.

The most striking qualities to emerge from a study of Hirsch's correspondence are his integrity and generosity. Nowhere are these better demonstrated than in a story recounted by Hirsch in his letter to Hoboken of 19 February 1940. Hoboken had told Hirsch of a quarrel over antiquarian prices that he was embroiled in with the dealer and bibliographer Percy Muir of Elkin Mathews. Hirsch supported Muir's view: in his words, he thought that 'for the expert antiquarian the cost price has nothing to do with the selling price, but ... the dealer is justified in asking the price that his knowledge tells him corresponds to the true value'.[3] He then related an incident which, precisely because it afforded him the *opposite* experience, reconciled him to the fact that he must normally expect to pay the market price. Muir offered him four volumes of violin pieces by Nicola Matteis from the end of the 17th century and asked him to name a price. When Hirsch refused, Muir requested 2 guineas. Because he knew that this was far below the normal market price, Hirsch asked to see Muir to discuss the purchase. 'He [Muir] believed that I wanted to beat him down and was utterly astounded when I told him I couldn't do him out of the little books so cheaply — he had made a faux-pas'. To Hirsch's surprise Muir replied that he wouldn't dream of taking more from him: Hirsch must be allowed the 'benefit of his knowledge'. He had paid only a few shillings for the item and was happy for Hirsch to get it cheap.

Correspondence with scholars and others

Running through all of Hirsch's correspondence is one theme — his boundless generosity in helping and encouraging other scholars. After settling in Cambridge in 1936, he was frequently approached by German and Austrian musicologists who had been forced to find refuge in Britain and who needed access to the sort of European scholarly literature that was at that time not easy to find. Hirsch frequently agreed to lend quite valuable items, sending them by post and asking for the receipt to be returned immediately. (One cannot imagine anyone in his position being prepared to do this today!) Scholars he helped in this way include such eminent figures as Karl Geiringer and Egon Wellesz and a host of less well-known people who had fallen on hard times and were trying to rebuild their careers in a strange land. Hirsch also helped various British-born scholars, such as Marion M. Scott

[3] Original in German.

(mainly on the subject of Mozart and Haydn editions) and Rosemary Hughes (mainly in connexion with her work on her Master Musicians *Haydn* volume, published in 1950). One of the most long-running (1938–51) and important exchanges of correspondence is that with Geoffrey Sharp, the first editor of *The music review*. Hirsch was intimately involved with the foundation of the periodical in 1940 and gave Sharp a great deal of advice and help, including, in the early stages, financial assistance. Sharp repaid Hirsch handsomely by issuing a special Hirsch number in 1951 (vol. 12 no.1) to celebrate his seventieth birthday. When the history of *The music review* comes to be written, this correspondence will be a vital source of information.

It is appropriate to describe in more detail the exceptionally interesting exchange of letters between Hirsch and the writer Richard Friedenthal (1896–1979), Stefan Zweig's friend and executor, who, like Zweig in 1934, had in 1938 emigrated to England. It is particularly appropriate that the British Library should hold these letters, intimately bound up as they are with the Austrian writer whose great collection of musical and literary autographs was most generously presented to the Library in 1986. Possibly the most moving letter is one from Friedenthal dated 31 March 1942, written in the aftermath of Zweig's suicide in Brazil on 22 February. In it he describes Zweig's increasingly pessimistic frame of mind. He says that his end was not entirely unexpected, in view of the ever gloomier and more pessimistically tinged letters that he had received from him. Nevertheless it had been a terrible blow. Friedenthal believed that on his sixtieth birthday (28 November 1941) Zweig had taken stock of his life and had decided that it was no longer worth keeping going. Even in his Salzburg days he had spoken of the possibility of ending things, but precisely because he had talked about it Friedenthal did not give it further credence. Now new circumstances supervened and with them his complete isolation. Friedenthal had the impression that everything on which Zweig depended — friends, books, manuscripts — seemed lost to him, that he could only see before him years of wandering further afield, from hotel to hotel, and that he had neither the strength nor the energy to return to England. It seems that in the isolation and atmosphere of severance surrounding him in Brazil everything then fell apart. In a later letter of 25 April, while ostensibly referring to Zweig's collection of catalogues, Friedenthal made the following remark, which can be taken to refer to the whole collection:[4] 'But how pointless (*sinnlos)* has it all become, everything that he brought together with such indefatigable effort and knowledge! His relatives are striving to maintain it in accordance with his wishes, but the living centre is missing (*es fehlt doch der lebendige Mittelpunkt*)'.

With a covering letter dated 12 January 1948 Hirsch sent Friedenthal two letters from Zweig which he had received from him in 1917. These were for use, if appropriate, in a forthcoming edition of Zweig's correspondence. According to Hirsch, the earlier letter marked the start of their friendship. Although Hirsch requested the return of the letters 'when the occasion

[4] Original in German.

arises' (*ganz gelegentlich*), I have not so far discovered any correspondence from or to Zweig among the Hirsch papers. Hirsch told Friedenthal in his covering letter that he and Zweig later saw each other often and that Zweig also visited him in Frankfurt, but that no substantial letters from this later period seem to have survived.

Correspondence with Alec Hyatt King

Because of its exceptional interest and importance, Hirsch's correspondence with Alec Hyatt King (1911–1995) merits a separate section in this short article. The earliest letters date from 1939, while King was still an Assistant Cataloguer in the Department of Printed Books in the British Museum. Most of the earlier correspondence is concerned with articles, mainly on Mozart, that King was writing and for which Hirsch lent him books from his collection and gave him advice. On his appointment as Superintendent of the Music Room at the end of 1944, Hirsch wrote to congratulate him. 'At present I am sadly lacking in practical experience of music librarianship but luckily I have thirty-three years to make it up,' King wrote modestly in reply on 5 January 1945. Make it up he certainly did: in a career of thirty-one years (he retired in July 1976), King changed the face of British music librarianship and became one of the leading Mozart scholars in Europe.

It was the experience of re-cataloguing the items in the four-volume *Katalog der Bibliothek Paul Hirsch* (Berlin, Frankfurt & Cambridge, 1928–47) between 1946 and 1951, to conform to British Museum rules, that provided King with what he needed: a 'crash course' in music librarianship that both gave him a profound knowledge of music printing and also consolidated the modernisation of the music cataloguing rules which he had introduced and which made the printed music catalogue entries so much more useful than hitherto.[5] The correspondence provides detailed information about the re-cataloguing process and the problems connected with it;[6] the end result was Accessions Part 53, *Music in the Hirsch Library*, which eventually appeared in early November 1951, shortly before Hirsch's death.[7] Occasionally there were misunderstandings between Hirsch, whose concern, naturally enough, was bibliographical clarity, and King, whose prime concern was to satisfy the requirements of the British Museum cataloguing rules, even where these appeared somewhat arcane. A case in point was the three collections of opera excerpts published by Rellstab in Berlin and entitled respectively *Auswahl von Gesängen* ... (1788), *Neue Auswahl von Gesängen* ... (1788) and *Allerneueste Auswahl von Gesängen* ... (1791–2) (Hirsch IV.1674, 1674.a.,

[5] See O.W. Neighbour's comments in P.R. Harris and O.W. Neighbour, 'Alec Hyatt King (1911–1995)', *British Library journal*, 21 (1995), p.155–60, at p.159.

[6] Since they fill important gaps in the Hirsch–King correspondence, the papers formerly in the Music Departmental Hirsch file, 'Papers on proofs of supplement catalogue', now form part of the Hirsch correspondence.

[7] British Museum, Dept. of Printed Books, *Catalogue of printed music in the British Museum: Accessions: Part 53—Music in the Hirsch Library* [compiled by A. Hyatt King and Charles Humphries]. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1951.

1674.b.). In only the first of these is Rellstab named as editor as well as publisher; this meant that, by British Museum rules, only the first could be entered under Rellstab, while the others had to be treated as anonymous and entered under the first word of the title. Hirsch was of the opinion that 'it is a mere chance that Rellstab put his name as editor on the first collection only', as he put it in a letter of 29 December 1950.[8] Replying on 1 January 1951, King, with the scepticism proper to a good music cataloguer, took the view that 'unless we can find something actually in print elsewhere to prove that he did [edit all three volumes], the most that can be done is ... to add some kind of a footnote'. No footnote was added, though King did compromise to the extent of entering the second and third collections under the preferential heading 'Auswahl' rather than correctly under the first word of the title.[9]

In addition to the exchange of letters, the papers include Hirsch's diary of his proof-reading of the Accession Part, which gives precise information as to the dates on which the various sections of the catalogue were read.[10] These papers are an essential source for a full understanding of the processes and problems involved in the conversion of the *Katalog der Bibliothek Paul Hirsch* into *Music in the Hirsch Library*.

Even after the acquisition of the Hirsch Library by the British Museum, Hirsch continued to show his generosity by adding to it. Early in 1950, in a second-hand bookshop in St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex, King found a volume containing thirteen numbers of a very rare collected edition of Mozart's works published by Johann Peter Spehr at the Magasin de musique à la Höhe in Brunswick in 1798–9. Hirsch very generously bought this volume and presented it to the Hirsch Library (Hirsch IV.986.b.). The following year Hirsch contributed to the purchase of the edition of the Kyrie and Gloria of Bach's Mass in B Minor published in full score by Hans Georg Nägeli in Zurich in 1833. Because this was partly financed by the Museum there were problems in accepting it as a donation to the Hirsch Library, and as a result it was placed at a Music Room pressmark (K.8.g.22). It was typical of Hirsch that he considered that 'the main thing is that the Museum gets the score, and not where it is placed', as he wrote on 19 February 1951.

The Hirsch–King letters are much more than just a professional exchange. The two men became firm friends, eventually dropping the 'Mr' and addressing each other as 'Dear King' and 'Dear Hirsch'— not all that common in Hirsch's correspondence in English. King talks about his staffing problems and requirements and Hirsch tells King about his British naturalisation. Running through the correspondence are frequent references by King to his various ailments, which, though genuine enough, were hardly made easier for him by his hypochondria. Hirsch, too, had a chronic heart condition, which became increasingly disruptive for him, though he made as

[8] In the *Katalog der Musikbibliothek Paul Hirsch*, Bd. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 1947, p.623–5), the three collections are catalogued as a group (1674 A, B and C) under the heading 'Auswahl, Gesaenge'.

[9] In CPM (*The catalogue of printed music in the British Library to 1980*) the correct procedure is followed.

[10] According to this, Hirsch began proof-reading on 8 December 1950 and completed it on 15 April 1951; the final instalment was sent to the British Museum on 16 April.

light of it as possible. Luckily, he survived long enough to enjoy the publication of Accessions Part 53, which he received on 3 November 1951. He was very pleased with the result. 'You know that I would have been happier for [*sic*] a dozen more cross-references, but this cannot be helped now,' he could not resist remarking in a letter of 8 November — doubtless thinking of Rellstab. It is perhaps ironic that Hirsch, in his last letter to King, dated 14 November 1951, eleven days before his own death,[11] expresses his hope that a forthcoming hospital examination that King is to undergo will be successful, but makes no mention of his own health.

Miscellaneous items

In this article I have restricted myself to discussing Hirsch's correspondence. There is, however, one other item I should particularly like to mention. Neatly folded inside the book of signatures of those who visited the Hirsch Library in Frankfurt from 1 January 1923 to 2 July 1926 is the poster for the Frankfurt am Main Tonkünstlerfest of 1924. It was at this festival that Hermann Scherchen conducted the first performance of the Three Fragments from *Wozzeck* — the first performance of any of the music from Berg's opera. The poster shows the Fragments (here referred to as 'Drei Szenen aus der Oper "Wozzeck"') as part of the programme for the first of the two orchestral concerts, on 11 June. In fact, as a neat pencil arrow (presumably in Hirsch's hand) makes clear, the Berg work was transferred to the second orchestral concert on 15 June, swapping places with a set of Busoni orchestral songs. That this was indeed the correct date is confirmed circumstantially by Paul Bekker's review in the *Musikblätter des Anbruch*;[12] nevertheless, some respected publications still quote the earlier, incorrect, date.[13] It is noteworthy that this poster, unrecorded until recently, should constitute a vital piece of evidence for the correct date of one of the most important premières of modern times. In a less spectacular way, the evidence that the Hirsch correspondence offers for a profounder understanding of the music trade, and for the musicological activities of the Jewish diaspora from the Nazi period onwards, is of the greatest importance.

Abstract

This article gives a preliminary overview of some of the main points of interest in the correspondence files in the Paul Hirsch Music Library in the British Library. Subjects covered are Hirsch's correspondence with dealers, librarians, fellow-collectors and scholars, including Otto Haas, Anthony van Hoboken, Stefan Zweig's executor Richard Friedenthal, and Alec Hyatt King.

Nick Chadwick was formerly curator of music at the British Library

[11] Hirsch died on Sunday 25 November 1951; see notice in Deaths column in *The Times*, 26 November. Alec Hyatt King's articles on Hirsch in both printed editions (1980 and 2001) of *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians* give 23 November, as does the online version; see Alec Hyatt King, 'Hirsch, Paul (Adolf)', *Grove music online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. At present (2 January 2008) the British Library website (see n.1) has the same error.

[12] *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, 6 (1924), p.255–6, at p.255.

[13] See for example Douglas Jarman, 'Berg, Alban (Maria Johannes)', Grove music online, ed. L. Macy (accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

Brio Volume 45, Number 1. pp 68– 76

NOTES ON SOME RECENT VAUGHAN WILLIAMS ACQUISITIONS IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY

Oliver Neighbour

Since World War II the widows, daughters and other legatees of a number of important composers, mostly but not all British, have very generously given or bequeathed to the British Museum or Library all the manuscripts still at their disposal. Among them Ursula Vaughan Williams's benefactions have been particularly extensive, not only because her husband had kept during his long life so many unpublished or uncompleted works,[1] but because she persuaded publishers who had autograph manuscripts in their archives and friends or dedicatees who had received them as gifts to return them, either to her or direct to the Library. Moreover she made a practice of buying back any that came up on the market. A bequest of papers will join them in due course.

Over some smaller items, however, she hesitated, presumably because she felt that their interest might be thought too slight to warrant a place in the national collections. Her way out of the difficulty was to give them to a friend, in one or two cases remarking that they might as well be thrown away. That was surely not her intention: she merely wanted to shift responsibility for their future. They have now been donated to the British Library.

The items are all printed. There is a vocal score of *Willow wood* in which the composer has recorded its history, adding the laconic comment 'Complete flop',[2] and another of *Sancta civitas* in which he has fitted the German translation made by Robert Müller-Hartman in 1947–48 to the music; associated with this is his transcription of the quotation from Plato's *Phaedo* which heads the work, apparently written out for the printer in 1925 (see Fig.1). Among other things there are some photographs, one of which, shown here, Ursula took at St. Malo during their first holiday abroad after the war, in 1952 (see Fig.2). Other snaps taken at the same time have been reproduced elsewhere, but she withheld this one. Sickened by the patronizing or belittling attitude towards Vaughan Williams frequently encountered she

[1] From an interview with Ursula Vaughan Williams in June 1996 Renée Chérie Clark got the impression that a trunkful of manuscripts had been burned after the composer's death (*Music & letters* 85 (2004), p.331). That was 18 months after a stroke had made it difficult for her to find the right words for what she wanted to say. She was also sometimes confused, so that it became hard to know whether to believe what she said, or whether either her words or her memory might be at fault. This naturally led to misunderstandings. Whatever she said on this occasion the fact is that no bonfire ever took place or was even contemplated, either by Ursula or by anyone concerned. Everything was preserved.

[2] Ursula mentions this in her biography *R.V.W.* London: Oxford University Press, 1964, p.87.

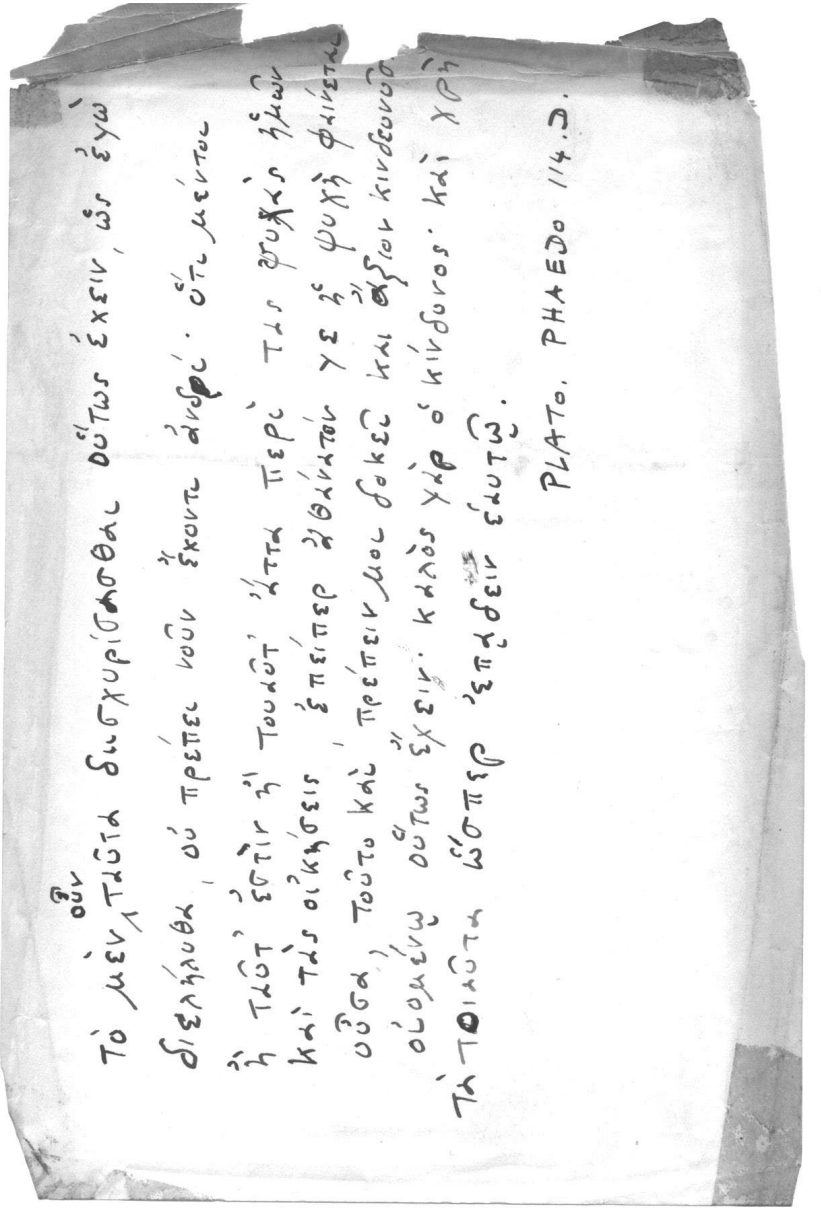


Fig.1. The inscription to Ralph Vaughan Williams's Sancta civitas, copied by the composer.

Fig.2. Photograph of Ralph Vaughan Williams at St. Malo, taken by Ursula Vaughan Williams in 1952. Reproduced with the permission of the R.V.W. Trust.

feared that it would be held up to ridicule. It is to be hoped that readers of *Brio* will be more inclined to share vicariously in his pleasure at paddling in waters unchilled by the Antarctic ice which had been a preoccupation of his for the past few years.

Plato, Shakespeare, Whitman and Housman are the authors of six volumes which claim greater attention because they reflect life-long concerns. All contain annotations of one kind or another by the composer. One at least accompanied him on war service in his kit-bag or knapsack, and since all are pocket editions and some are badly worn it is almost certainly not the only one to have done so. There are two editions of *A Shropshire lad*. In an issue of 1903 the six poems set in *On Wenlock Edge* have been cut out to provide legible texts for some purpose, and about 20 others lightly marked in pencil; a line of music unrelated to the song-cycle has been jotted down on a single stave below the missing text of 'Clun'. In the other copy (a reprint of 1908) the same six poems have been marked and numbered in blue crayon for copying. Only two bear pencil marks, but one stands out: in no.XXXVII, 'As from the wild green hills of Wyre', a strong line in the margin draws attention to the later part. The theme of many Housman poems, including most that Vaughan Williams chose to set, is the brevity of human life, but the gist of this one is rather different. In leaving behind friends of his youth the poet tells himself that he must never betray the values they stood for, and that their memory will sustain him through the rest of his life. If this appealed to the composer for some personal reason he is less likely to have had in mind the inhabitants of some golden past such as Housman imagined than friends killed in action.

Whether or not he had Housman's poems with him in France, as is probable, he certainly had Whitman's, in an undated reprint of a selection by Edward Rhys originally published in 1886. On the blank pages at the beginning he has scribbled reminders about guns, ammunition, kit and other things he was dealing with in 1918.[3] Some of the poems are marked in the index with ticks or crosses; not all of them are among those that he set, and some that he did set are absent from the volume, which must have been primarily a travelling companion.

More revealing are passages marked in the text itself. These clearly relate to matters of perennial importance to him. One is in section 14 of 'The song of the open road': 'it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.' He quoted this passage in his Bryn Mawr lectures of 1932[4] when speaking about continuity with the past, but it can be read more personally. When in 1907 Vaughan Williams's cousin Ralph Wedgwood

[3] Ursula printed these in *R.V.W.*, p.129. The third line, which she could not decipher, should probably read 'Teams for field cooks', followed by 'O[bservation] P[oint]'. The next leaf has 'sent up also in […] at ½ hour'.

[4] *National music* [the published version of these lectures]. [Oxford]: Oxford University Press, 1934, p.108.

wrote to congratulate him on the success of *Toward the unknown region* he replied dismissively, 'after all it's only a step and I've got to do something really big sometime'.[5] The *per ardua* ideal was never to leave him: in August 1958, a fortnight before his death, he could still speak of 'the striving and disappointments' of music.[6]

It is not difficult to understand why two passages in 'By Blue Ontario's Shore', respectively in sections 5 and 9, should have caught his eye, especially if shorn of the hyperbole which he would have found less to his taste. Whitman's search for an independent voice resembled his own undertaking: 'The immortal poets of Asia and Europe have done their work… America… stands by its own at all hazards, Stands removed… initiates the true use of precedents, Does not repel them or the past or what they have produced under their forms, Takes the lesson with calmness'. Similarly Whitman's belief in the pen rather than the sword parallels Vaughan Williams's endeavours in the cause of social cohesion: 'Of all races and eras these States with veins full of poetical stuff most need poets… Their Presidents shall not be their common referees so much as their poets shall'.

Two collections of Socratic dialogues in a uniform edition give new evidence of Vaughan Williams's response to Platonic thought. One, *The Phaedrus, Lysis, and Protagoras*, is translated by J. Wright. The other, entitled *The trial and death of Socrates*, contains translations by F.J. Church of the *Euthyphoron, Apology, Crito* and *Phaedo*. The two volumes are reprints, respectively of 1900 and 1908, of publications originally issued in 1888 and 1880. At the end of Church's volume Vaughan Williams has made a copy in Greek, a little less accurate than the one mentioned above, of the inscription to *Sancta civitas*, composed in 1923–25. This suggests that he was reading Plato if not during the war then not long after. The only passages marked in Wright's collection are from *Phaedrus*, all speculations about the soul's future in a place reminiscent of Whitman's unknown region, for instance as 'Real existence, colourless, formless, and intangible, visible only to the intelligence which sits at the helm of the soul' and has its abode in 'the region beyond the sky'. It is only a short step from here to Vaughan Williams's often quoted words of 1920,[7] 'The object of art is to obtain a partial revelation of that which is beyond human senses and human faculties — of that, in fact, which is spiritual.' In Church's collection markings are confined to *Phaedo*, except for a few in the *Apology* where Socrates, preparing for death, argues in agnostic vein that death is a great good whether it brings eternal sleep or a meeting with friends who have already died.

In *Phaedo*, however, markings are profuse. Many simply draw attention to stages in the argument rather than points that struck the composer particularly forcibly, but the latter can often be distinguished. One of the sayings

[5] Michael Kennedy, *The works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 2nd edn. London: Oxford University Press, 1980, p.400.

[6] In conversation with Sylvia Townsend Warner; see her *Letters*, ed. William Maxwell. London: Chatto & Windus, 1982, p.168.

[7] 'The letter and the spirit', *Music & letters* 1 (1920), p.88; also in *Some thoughts on Beethoven's Choral Symphony, with writings on other musical subjects*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953, p.54.

which appealed strongly to his idealism was Socrates' complaint that men look for a stronger Atlas to hold the world together, and 'never for a moment imagine that it is the binding force of good which really binds and holds things together.' In some matters Vaughan Williams may have demurred, as when Socrates, speaking once again of death, says that we cannot believe that 'the soul, whose nature is so glorious, and pure, and invisible, is blown away by the winds as soon as she leaves the body.' Vaughan Williams was probably more inclined to believe with Housman, at least in one part of himself, that he was destined to take his endless way to the wind's twelve quarters.[8] Nor does Socrates' doctrine of reincarnation as proof of immortality appear to have interested him so much as various beliefs associated with it that are closer to Christian teaching. Thus body and soul are separate: 'if we are to have any pure knowledge at all we must be freed from the body. Only the soul can behold things as they are', and then only if undefiled by pleasures of the body. 'We must leave nothing undone that we may obtain virtue and wisdom in this life. Noble is the prize and great the hope.' This last quotation immediately precedes the superscription to *Sancta civitas*, which begins with the qualification 'A man of sense will not insist that these things are exactly as I have described them', and ends 'he must charm his doubts with spells like these', even though in between the immortality of the soul is still spoken of as proven. In associating this culminating passage with the vision of the holy city in the Apocalypse he was stressing through contrast the provisional nature of any attempt to grasp something of what he once called 'the ultimate realities'.[9]

There remains an edition of Shakespeare's sonnets with preface and glossary by Israel Gollancz, first published in 1896. Vaughan Williams's copy is a reprint of 1898, the year after his first marriage, and was perhaps a memento of that time. Although the text is unmarked, three sonnets have been drafted at the beginning and end in an illegible scrawl (see Fig.3 and Fig.4). All that can be made out is that the subject appears to be love, as Shakespeare's is. Vaughan Williams may well have written them in the war, when he had neither leisure nor paper for composition. Ursula was afraid that his poetic efforts would meet with unsympathetic comment, though it is hard to believe that even she could read them, let alone anyone else. In fact he was quite skilful with words, as his translation of lines from Ode XIV in Horace's second book testifies.[10] It is not in stanza form but an example of his prowess in that line, though outside the topic of these notes, may be appended as a coda.

It is a contribution to *Happy days*, a '4th Field ambulance jingle' put together by various members of the unit remembering their relatively easy time training in England in 1914–15, before embarking for France in June of

[8] See 'From far, from eve and morning', no.2 in *On Wenlock Edge*.

[9] See 'A musical autobiography' in *Some notes on Beethoven's Choral Symphony*, p.151.

[10] Made for the funeral march in the 1938 pageant *England's pleasant land*; printed in Michael Kennedy, *A catalogue of the works of Ralph Vaughan Williams*, 2nd edn. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, p.161, and elsewhere.

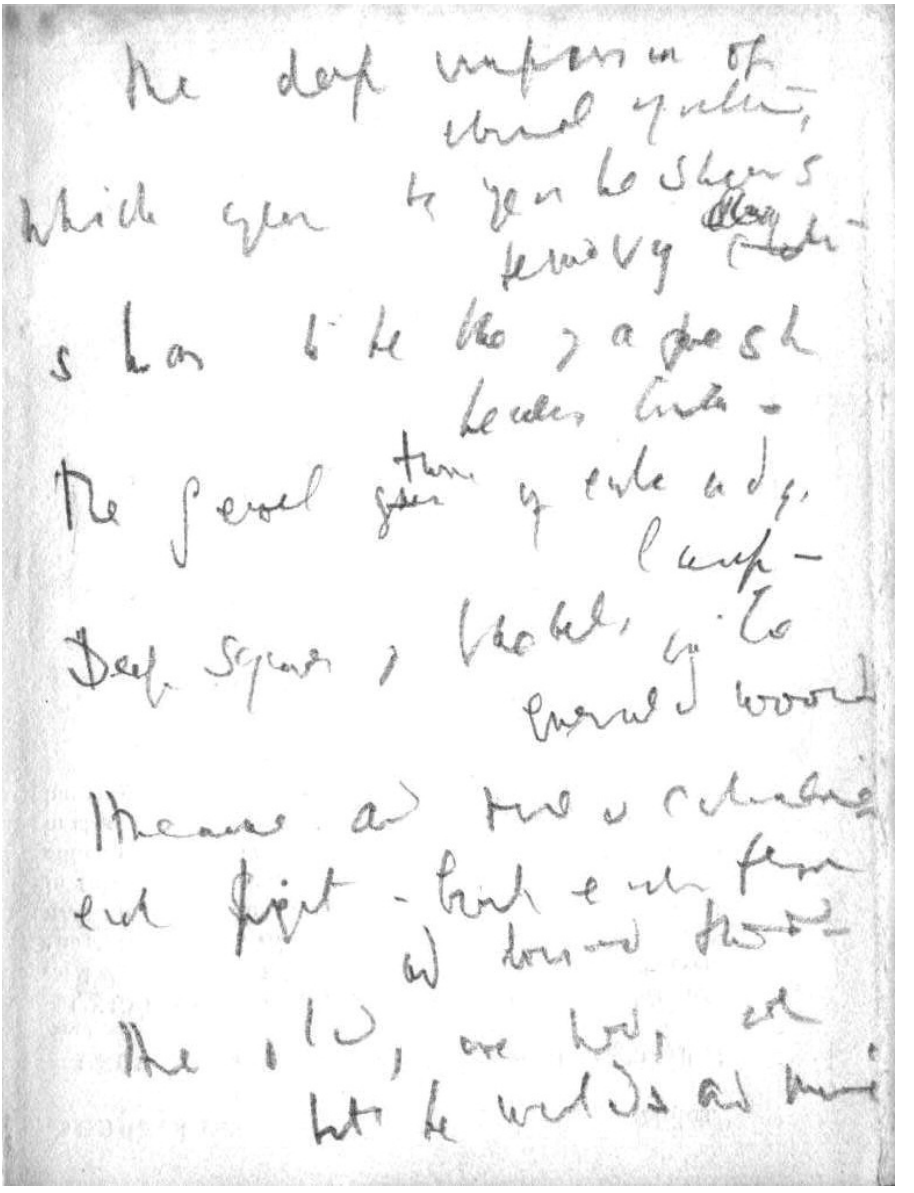


Fig.3. Octet of a sonnet by Ralph Vaughan Williams written in his copy of Israel Gollancz's edition of Shakespeare's sonnets.

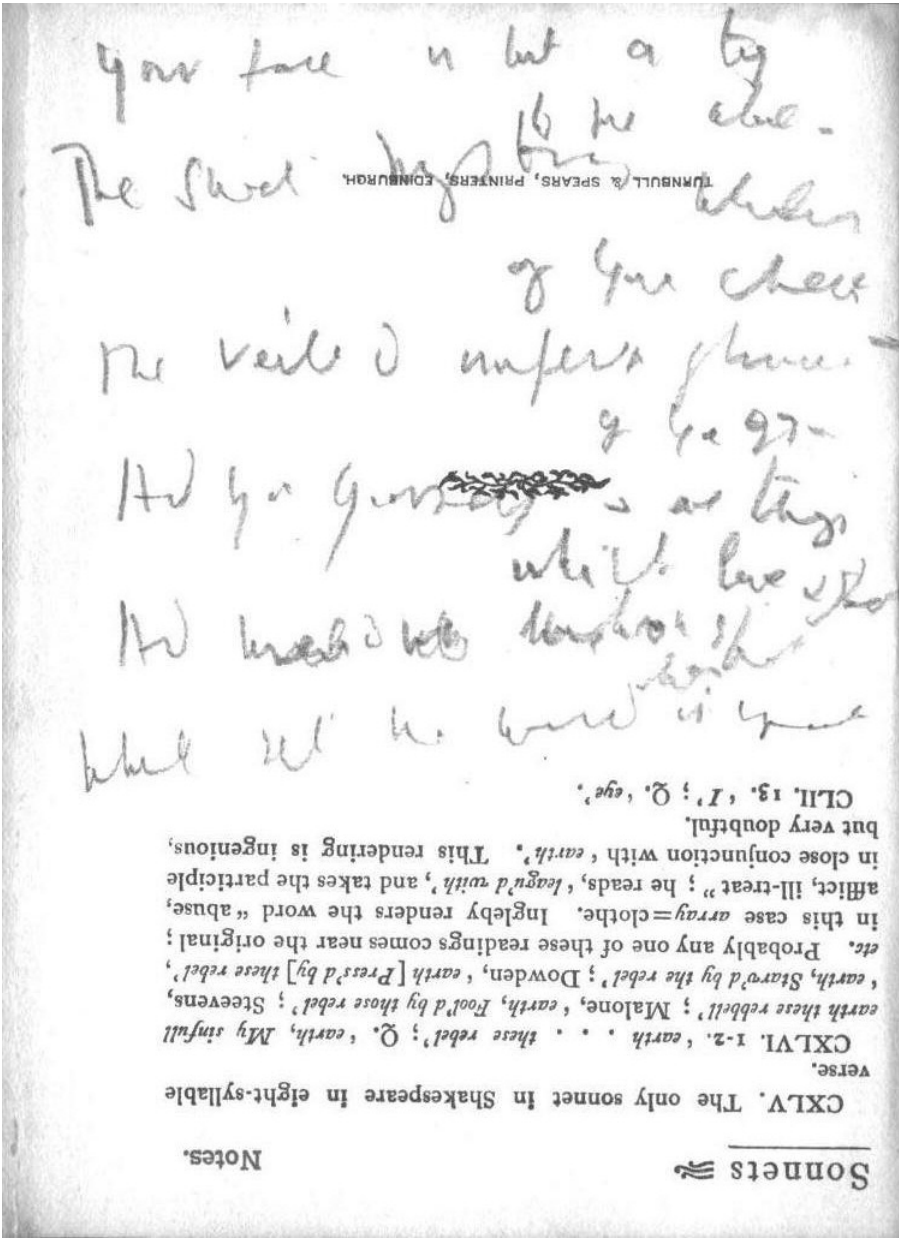


Fig. 4. Sestet of the same sonnet by Ralph Vaughan Williams written in his copy of Israel Gollancz's edition of Shakespeare's sonnets.

the latter year.[11] It is an eight-stanza parody of Thomas Hood's 'I remember', a poem which almost everyone of that generation would have learnt at school. Each verse is followed by a kind of refrain beginning with the words 'Happy days' twice over; only Vaughan Williams breaks the pattern with his blanket. This bears no relation to Hood's poem and must have been modelled on a song or some different poem that everybody knew.[12] Ursula knew for certain that the seventh stanza, given here, was by Vaughan Williams (she also thought it possible that the sixth stanza was his as well, but that seems less likely).

I remember, I remember how we lived so snug and warm
In a paradise of blankets and we thought there was no harm,
But oh! for Eden's innocence — we reck'd without our host —
A Milton came upon the scene and Paradise was lost.
Like Michael with his two-edged sword, he swooped upon his prey,
But far from clothing us in leaves he took our clothes away.
In righteous indignation he went from house to house,
He sometimes found a blanket — he always found a l–
    Happy Days. Blanket Days.
    How dearly for one's luxuries one pays,
    For the blankets where we lounged
    Were, unfortunately, scrounged,
    So, goodbye for ever, Warm and Happy Days.

Abstract
A few books and printed scores belonging to Ralph Vaughan Williams and subsequently given away by his widow have recently been donated to the British Library. They contain annotations and other markings by the composer, an account of which is given in the article. At least some of the books, which are all pocket editions of famous authors, accompanied him on war service in France.

Oliver Neighbour was formerly Music Librarian in the British Library

[11] See *Tales of a field ambulance, 1914–1918, told by the personnel.* Printed for private circulation: Southend-on-Sea, 1935, p.276–78.

[12] A song by Jean Schwartz to words by Henry Williams, entitled *Happy days* and published in America in 1908, has a refrain beginning in the same way, but the lines that follow are in a different metre and it is unclear whether the song caught on in England.

Brio Volume 45, Number 1. pp 77 – 82

EXHIBITIONS

Handel and the Crystal Palace

Exhibition at the Foundling Museum, London
(23 November 2007–2 March 2008)

Robert Balchin

The title of this exhibition belied its scope. It was mounted in a single room on the lower ground floor of the Museum, rather uncomfortably distant from the permanent gallery of the Gerald Coke Handel Collection three floors above. In this modest space were displayed prints, photographs, books, maps, sheet music covers, periodicals and ephemera relating to the Crystal Palace throughout its 85-year lifetime.

The original building was erected in Hyde Park for the 'Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations' in 1851, and the display began with six splendid prints from *Dickinson's comprehensive pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851.* The sobriquet 'Crystal Palace' had been coined by *Punch* even before the opening, as I learnt from one of the informative accompanying labels. It must be one of the most enduring nicknames in history, having survived the total destruction of its subject to live on as a London suburb, railway station, sports arena and football club.

Extraordinary statistics are a recurring feature of the story. Open for only 141 days, the Great Exhibition was visited by six million people, about one-third of the British population at the time. The unspoken parallel is the Millennium Dome, which attracted similar numbers over a whole year, the population having more than trebled in the meantime and gained all the benefits of modern transport and leisure.

A passing mention was given to the archetypal Victorian engineer and doyen of British music George Grove, whose involvement with the Crystal Palace would merit an exhibition of its own. Having managed the affairs of the Great Exhibition as secretary to the Society of Arts, Grove was appointed secretary to the Crystal Palace Company in 1852. The building was reassembled in a larger and more magnificent form at the top of a landscaped park on Sydenham Hill. Its offerings were hardly less ambitious: music, drama and popular entertainments vied for attention with themed displays illustrating 'the complete history of civilisation'. Here were views of the new structure and its surroundings, a copy of *Routledge's guide to the Crystal Palace and park at Sydenham* (1854), and the large-scale map produced in 1911 for the sale of the estate by auction, after which it was soon acquired for the nation.

Handel enters the story in 1857, when a Trial Festival was organised in preparation for the centenary of the composer's death in 1859. This was no mere rehearsal, however. An open letter to supporters of the Sacred Harmonic Society outlined plans to muster '2300 *really efficient performers*', for whom a 'vast amphitheatre of wood' was constructed, and *The Times* boasted of 'a large organ … in course of erection'. Three oratorios were performed on alternate days in June: *Messiah, Judas Maccabaeus* and *Israel in Egypt*, all effusively reviewed in the *Musical times*. The scene was depicted on the cover of E.F. Rimbault's *Recollections of the Handel Festival*, displayed here and reproduced on the front of the attractive free booklet.

The Handel Commemoration Festival of 1859 followed a similar pattern on an even grander scale. Some 3500 performers were assembled for the occasion, and the total audiences exceeded 80,000. Included in the programme was a fold-out diagram of the seating arrangements and the 'Comparative dimensions of the principal orchestras of the country', in which the Crystal Palace is clearly seen to dwarf lesser buildings such as Westminster Abbey, Birmingham Town Hall and York Minster. A page from the *Croydon chronicle* set the events in context, with a short review and biography buried in a forest of small type alongside pieces headlined 'Austrian atrocities' and 'A warning to "Fast Men"'. It was noted that the composer's harpsichord and autograph manuscripts had been exhibited at the Festival by gracious permission of the Queen.

As so often, it was the associated ephemera that seized one's attention. These also afforded a glimpse of the broad range of the Gerald Coke Handel Collection. Tickets for performances of *Israel in Egypt* in 1857 and 1859, beautifully printed in colour and remarkably well-preserved, were priced at one or two guineas 'exclusive of railway fare'. The timing of the concerts, early on weekday afternoons, added further evidence that the target audience did not include the working classes. However, rehearsals were also public events, lasting many hours and attracting audiences far more numerous even than the performers, 4000 of whom were listed in the 'probable programme' printed for the general rehearsal of 1894. The practical difficulty of marshalling such forces was revealed by the comment of the *Illustrated London news* critic in 1891 regarding 'the want of simultaneous attack … attributed in great measure to the chorus not feeling certain what piece is about to be performed'.

No less impressive were the catering facilities: a menu from the 1865 Festival offered a mouth-watering range of dishes from boiled joints at 1s. 8d. (8p) to a cold collation at 6s. (30p), the latter served in the Grand Saloon Dining Room. Displayed alongside was a souvenir of the 1859 Handel Commemoration in the form of a cloth table-mat depicting the composer and listing the works performed. This was printed on site by H.H. Collins & Co. in the Machinery Department, whose skill was let down only by their proof-reading: as in 1857, the Festival concluded with ISREAL [*sic*] IN EGYPT.

Triennial Handel festivals continued at the Crystal Palace on an almost identical basis from 1862 until 1926. Only the arithmetically obsessed would

regret the lack of a complete sequence here, but I for one enjoyed working out that they did indeed take place at three-yearly intervals apart from a blip for the Bi-Centenary Festival in 1885 and a gap during World War I between 1912 and 1920. Singers came from all over the country, as shown by a photograph of the Sheffield contingent assembled in 1909. The conductor from 1857 to 1880 was Michael Costa, affectionately caricatured for *Vanity fair* as no.47 in the series 'Men of the Day' (1872). He was succeeded by August Manns, Grove's long-time collaborator in the Saturday Concerts, and by Frederic Cowen from 1903 to 1923. Manns was at the helm for the world's first live recording of a public concert on 29 June 1888. 'Moses and the children of Israel' was recorded by Colonel George Gouraud on an Edison yellow paraffine cylinder at a distance of 100 yards and is the earliest-known recorded music in existence.

The only concession to new technology in this exhibition was a discreet screen in one corner of the room. A repeating show of images, mainly duplicating the display, was accompanied by undocumented recordings of Handel's music which I afterwards discovered were made at the last Triennial Festival, conducted by Sir Henry Wood in 1926. I was able to recognise a perhaps unsurprisingly lethargic rendition of the 'Hallelujah' chorus from *Messiah*, but was forced to turn to the helpful staff of the Coke Collection for identification of 'Rendi 'l sereno al ciglio' from *Sosarme*, sung by Dame Clara Butt.

The exhibition concluded with photographs of the spectacular fire that destroyed the Crystal Palace on 30 November 1936 and its grim aftermath. Tragic as this was, it served to confirm that the style of music-making suited to the building belonged to a world that had already passed. Visitors to the exhibition were drawn into that world for a brief time most effectively. I learnt a lot from the experience and was inspired to learn more, which is perhaps all that should be asked or expected.

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"Wo man Ihre Compositionen allen andern vorzieht": Beethoven und England

Exhibition at the Beethovenhaus, Bonn (23 August–18 November 2007)

Rupert Ridgewell

Beethoven festivals have been a central feature of cultural life in Bonn since 1845, when the town erected a statue of the composer in the market square to commemorate what would have been his 75th birthday. Since German unification, and the return of many of the important offices of government to Berlin, the annual festival of music has arguably become even more important to the town as an expression of its cultural identity. It is surely no

coincidence that the festival was rechristened as the *Internationales Beethovenfest* in 1999, the year that the German parliament reopened in Norman Foster's newly renovated *Reichstag* building in Berlin. In accordance with this international ambition, the last few years have seen a gradual widening of the festival's scope under the enterprising direction of Ilona Schmiel, with successive programmes centred round different national traditions. Following France and Russia in 2005 and 2006, the 2007 festival was devoted to a wide-ranging celebration of British musical culture, from Byrd to Birtwistle, featuring an array of performers and ensembles from the UK. Notable visitors included the Philharmonia Orchestra, the choir of King's College Cambridge and the Hilliard Ensemble. A central theme was, inevitably, the links and associations cultivated between Beethoven and various British musicians and institutions, a topic that was explored in a special exhibition to accompany the festival in the Beethovenhaus, the composer's birthplace.

The exhibition was curated by Dr Michael Ladenburger and Dr Nicole Kämpken, drawing mainly on the rich holdings of the archive of the Beethovenhaus but with a number of supplementary loans from the British Library and the Royal College of Music. The display included letters, portraits, manuscripts, early editions, programmes, instruments and other memorabilia housed mainly in a temporary exhibition space on the first floor of the museum, with additional material slotted in elsewhere. Although Beethoven never visited England, his reputation there was secured at least in part through the agency of two musicians who were also born in Bonn, and who became leading figures in London's musical firmament. Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815) was born in the very same house as Beethoven, albeit 25 years earlier. He settled in London in 1780, but travelled regularly abroad to act rather like a talent scout to recruit foreign musicians to spice up London's concert life. The visitors' book of the Bonn Lesegesellschaft (reading society), for example, documents Salomon's stopover in Bonn on his way to Vienna in October 1790, on a mission to secure Haydn's first trip to London later that year. Beethoven may well have encountered Haydn for the first time on the return leg of the journey, when Haydn was introduced to the society by the young composer's violin teacher, Franz Anton Ries (1755–1846). The guest book was displayed with a copper engraving of Salomon, engraved after the portrait by Thomas Hardy of 1792.

The other key proponent of Beethoven's music in London was Ferdinand Ries (1784–1838), son of Franz Anton. Ferdinand went to Vienna to study with Beethoven in 1803, made his début as a pianist there with his teacher's third piano concerto, and acted for a while as Beethoven's secretary and copyist. He dealt with publishers on Beethoven's behalf even before travelling to London in 1813, where he became a director of the Philharmonic Society two years later. In 1817 he invited Beethoven to London on behalf of the society in order to give concerts and to write two new symphonies, stating in his letter that 'your compositions are preferred to any other' at the society's concerts. Programmes of the society's early concerts show that this was

no mere flattery, and the plan failed mainly as a result of Beethoven's inability to agree terms for the trip amid concerns over his health.

The relationship with the Philharmonic Society famously culminated in the composition of the 'Choral' symphony, the direct result of the society's commission. On loan from the British Library, a minute book covering the period 1822 to 1837 documents a meeting on 10 November 1822 when the society's directors agreed the fee of 50 guineas. Described by the current director of the (now) Royal Philharmonic Society as probably the best £50 spent in the history of western music, the society nevertheless had to wait some time for delivery of the manuscript. A receipt signed by Beethoven on 27 April 1824 states that it was finally handed over to Franz Christian Kirchhoffer, acting on behalf of the society in Vienna, and yet confirmation of its arrival in London follows nearly eight months later, on 20 December. The possible reasons for the delay have puzzled Beethoven scholars ever since.

Another Bonn connection was neatly drawn out with reference to Beethoven's arrangement for piano and orchestra of his violin concerto, which he dedicated to the wife of his childhood friend, Stephan von Breuning. The exhibition could boast not only a unique copy of the piano part of the first English edition, published by Clementi & Co. in 1810, but also a manuscript copy with corrections by the composer that had been used as a *Stichvorlage* for the first Viennese edition, together with an autograph of the first movement cadenza (bringing together material from the Royal College of Music, the British Library and the Beethovenhaus respectively). The arrangement was given a rare outing during the festival by the Finnish pianist Olli Mustonen. Beethoven's contacts with London music publishers naturally formed a core element of the exhibition, in recognition of the importance of many of them as textual sources for his music. Apart from Clementi, Beethoven often dealt with Robert Birchall via Salomon or Ries and maintained contact with the Edinburgh-based civil servant and folksong collector George Thomson, whose publications were issued by Preston in London. Beethoven contributed various settings of Scottish, Welsh and Irish songs to Thomson's anthologies between 1803 and 1820, as well as offering keyboard works based on folk themes and various other works for publication. Related manuscript material on display included a corrected copy of 53 adaptations and the typically messy autograph of some variations for flute on the Russian subject 'Beautiful Minka' and the Welsh melody 'Peggy's Daughter' (op.105 and op.107), both from the Beethovenhaus collections.

The relationship was not without its difficulties, however, as shown by Thomson's unwillingness to accept Beethoven's 1809 offer of three violin sonatas and three quintets for the substantial fee of £60 per set, a demand that Beethoven sought to justify with reference to the weak exchange rate and difficult wartime situation. A sheet of calcuations in Thomson's hand, from a collection of related material in the British Library, illustrated his rationale for declining the offer, with an estimate that he would need to sell between 410 and 440 copies to break even — a risk he was not prepared to accept. The

folksong arrangements represent a lesser-known part of Beethoven's output, so it was good to see a selection of them on the festival programme, performed alongside similar offerings by Haydn and Pleyel. The organisers stopped short, however, of resurrecting a work that was once ubiquitous in London concerts but which has now virtually disappeared without trace. The 'Grand Battle symphony' op.91 was composed to celebrate the defeat of Napoleon by British forces in Spain in 1813. Beethoven dedicated the work to the Prince Regent, later King George IV, but failed in his attempt to obtain official permission or payment for the dedication. The first English performance took place at the Drury Lane theatre in February 1815, between the second and third parts of a lengthy concert directed by Sir George Smart and was, according to the playbill for a subsequent performance, 'performed with universal acclamation and unanimously encored'. The playbills were displayed alongside a letter addressed to Smart, written in English by Johann von Häring at Beethoven's behest in March 1815, which illustrates the composer's evident frustration at having failed to secure the Prince Regent's imprimatur. Beethoven had 'waited so many months without receiving the least acknowledgment' from the Prince and was now planning to sell a piano arrangement of the work to a London publisher, but 'he durst not venture to sell that arrangement, to any Editor, until he knew the Prince's pleasure not only with respect to the dedication, but in general.' The first edition of the piano arrangement appeared in January 1816 under Robert Birchall's imprint in London, shortly before the Viennese first edition of the score. The Battle symphony became something of a craze in London in the years after that first performance, being performed in various guises including (in 1830) a scenic interpretation at the King's Theatre Haymarket featuring 'Mr Cooke's magnificent Stud of Horses'. But despite repeated attempts, even as late as 1825, Beethoven never did receive an acknowledgment or payment for the dedication.

Bringing the exhibition full circle was the deed of foundation for the Beethoven Memorial in Bonn, signed by none other than the young Queen Victoria, who attended the ceremony of dedication in 1845 with Prince Albert. In death, at least, the composer finally received the recognition he demanded from the British monarchy. The exhibition closed in November 2007, but lives on in cyberspace at <www.beethoven-haus-bonn.de>.

Rupert Ridgewell

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REVIEWS

Edited by Rupert Ridgewell

Christina Bashford, *The pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and chamber music in Victorian London*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007. 424p. ISBN 978-18438-3298-0. £50.

'Eminent in his own day … neglected by posterity'. Thus begins what is effectively the first full-length biography of the violinist and entrepreneur John Ella (1802–88). In this volume Christina Bashford provides a detailed account of Ella's life, moving from his artisan beginnings in Leicester through his rise to eminence within London's social and musical circles (chapters 1–2). Here he became established as a 'successful concert manager and entrepreneur' and 'relentless and successful proselytizer for the highest of musical art' (p.1), doing so principally (but far from exclusively) as the founder and director of the Musical Union, the chamber music series which ran from 1845 to 1881 and with which Ella's name became synonymous (chapters 3–6). Using the final chapter to assess the national and international significance of Ella's 'legacy' (chapter 7), Bashford concludes that 'his was, without doubt, an extraordinary working life … a story of successful upward mobility at once typical of the aspirations of the Victorian lower-middle classes but rarely achieved by members of the music profession' (p.344).

As its title suggests, however, this volume constitutes far more than just a biography of Ella. Indeed, although Bashford claims that its position as the first of its type imposes a largely chronological structure on the narrative, one never feels trapped in a life-and-works scenario. Each chapter focuses on an extended time frame, sometimes approaching it from a number of different angles (as in chapter 5: New Spaces, 1858–68) and sometimes drawing various strands of Ella's life into a single narrative. The intention is always to illustrate the multi-faceted nature of Ella's professional existence — he worked as a performer, teacher and musical advisor as well as a concert organizer — and to place him within the broadest possible context of working and, occasionally, personal relationships. By illustrating the manner in which these relationships ultimately facilitated his success in London, Bashford not only casts new light on Ella himself but opens a window onto contemporary trends in cultural organisation. In fact, the structure of the study might best be described not simply as chronological but as cumulative: the notion that Ella's success in London was built on the business acumen gained and the musical connections established during his early years in Leicester is at the

very heart of its message and it is Ella's complete immersion in, and ultimate utilisation of, a particular social framework that comes most immediately to the fore. In modern terms, Ella was the master of 'networking' and in its exploration of this the book simultaneously addresses issues of biography, institutional history and socio-cultural development. As Bashford puts it: 'this book is a study of Ella's life, work and times … It combines a biography of Ella with a history of the Musical Union, including its players, repertoire and audiences, and sets them against the backdrop of gradually shifting contexts for concerts, chamber music and cultural life in Victorian London' (p.10).

Given Ella's apparent centrality to such key cultural processes, one might ask why his name has not figured more prominently in earlier historical narratives. The principal reason, as the author reminds us throughout, lies in the specific nature of his achievements: 'Ella's significance to music history is as a concert entrepreneur more than anything else … His importance stems from his success both in shaping the taste of audiences and conditioning them to respectful, attentive behaviour when listening, and in sustaining a top-quality concert institution over thirty-six years' (p.347). Ella was, to use the term adopted by Bashford from the late Cyril Ehrlich, an 'enabler': a behind-the-scenes fixer rather than a front-of-house personality such as a composer or performer.[1] Even in his own lifetime, this ensured that he was viewed with a certain scepticism in some quarters, being passed over in favour of men such as Michael Costa and George Grove when knighthoods were being distri-buted. Whilst Ella was nonetheless respected and honoured by his contemporaries in other ways — and many of his followers campaigned for him to be knighted — the question of whether an 'enabler' provided a viable subject for serious recognition was already being raised and the work/composer-centric aesthetic of much subsequent musicology has done little to counter the largely negative responses. Furthermore, Ella's insistence on transforming musical life in London — the heart of a country traditionally dismissed as 'das Land ohne Musik', again on the basis of its lack of truly international composers — has ensured that his story has remained largely hidden behind long-standing negative scholarly attitudes towards music in Britain.

Indeed, it is only relatively recently that certain strands of the so-called 'new' musicology have moved beyond the idealist fascination with 'great works' and their composers, turning instead to the considerably murkier world of cultural context and the socially-grounded existence of musical utterance.[2] In this light, 'enablers' such as Ella have rightly ascended to positions of significance: if not directly responsible for 'making the music', Ella, and men like him, played a pivotal role in making it happen. As this volume

[1] Bashford identifies the origins of the term 'enabler' in Cyril Ehrlich's discussion of Francesco Berger, secretary of the Philharmonic Society of London. See Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: a history of the Royal Philharmonic Society.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, p.138.

[2] Bashford cites a specific influence on this study in noting that: 'Underpinning much of the work is the idea that musical activities and values are socially and culturally defined, and the notion, derived from the influential work of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, of Ella's chamber concerts functioning both as symbols of social identity and distinction for its audiences, and as "embodied cultural capital"' (p.13).

illustrates, Ella's London concerts (notably the Musical Union) provided a platform for many of the continent's leading instrumental performers and became established as a driving force in the formation of what might now be referred to as the 'canon' of classical chamber music.[3]

This is not to suggest that Ella lacked musicality, intellectual ability or taste. We learn that he was an active performer from his earliest years in Leicester and that he secured regular positions within the rank-and-file of a number of London orchestras, including those at the Royal Italian Opera, the Concerts of Ancient Music and the Philharmonic Society. He was also an accomplished chamber musician and, although his Musical Union programme notes ('synopsis analytique') are acknowledged to be less sophisticated than certain later models (notably those written for the Crystal Palace by Sir George Grove), Ella received praise from English and European critics alike for being the first to provide documentation of this sort with any regularity. Furthermore, Bashford positions his activity at the Musical Union as part of a far broader cultural project — incorporating his various lecture series and the establishment of a Musical Institute in London — built on his unstinting commitment to the serious-minded consumption of high art, principally chamber music.

Yet what this book really illustrates is Ella's unrivalled ability to combine such musical aspirations with a practical understanding of how to succeed within the competitive and ever changing environment of London's concert life. This is of particular interest given that nineteenth-century London enjoyed a method of cultural organisation remarkably different to that in other European cities: lacking the centralised patronage and control of a court administration, the public sphere in London effectively operated as a free market. Whilst Ella drew on the city's consequent appeal to foreign composers and performers in order to engage personnel at his series, the competition for his concerts was fierce and, until he had created his own brand at the Musical Union, he could rely on none of the benefits of institutional affiliation. In order to survive, Ella had to engage in an ongoing appraisal of the potential audience members for his events and tailor his activity in order to present his musical ideas to a relevant and receptive sector of society. Within this environment, the fact that Ella maintained the Musical Union concerts for as long as he did was remarkable. The fact that he ran at a profit for much of that time was largely unheard of and it is significant — and surely appropriate — that the Union came to a close only a year after Ella stood down as director. As Bashford points out, London concert life was at a crossroads by the 1880s and, in order for the self-consciously exclusive Musical Union to survive, the subtle modifications and adaptations which had become the hallmark of Ella's direction would be needed more than ever.

Ironically, it is precisely those qualities that secured Ella's nineteenth-century successes — the determination which underpinned his progression from

[3] The wealth of biographical detail is another of the strengths of this volume and information regarding the performers at the Musical Union is provided both as part of the main text and in Appendix III.

a Leicester artisan to a wealthy London entrepreneur and the dedication shown in his direct involvement with the management of his concert series — which contributed to his subsequent scholarly neglect, standing as they do in stark opposition to the idealist aesthetic which underpins many definitions of artistic or creative excellence. Perhaps aware of this, Ella himself tried to hide his artisan upbringing once he became an established London figure. Such attempts to re-write his biography serve merely to mask Ella's achievements, however, and it is only when the reality of his professional existence is spelt out in such detail as it is here that the enormity of his success really emerges. In presenting such a socially-grounded picture of Ella, Bashford carefully avoids what Gary Tomlinson has described as one of the fundamental flaws in Lawrence Kramer's 'musicology of the future': the tendency to replace one generation of 'great figures' with another.[4] Throughout this study, Ella is positioned at the heart — but rarely the head — of a complex network of musical agents, ensuring that within this 'web of culture' he emerges as a driving force but never a privileged entity: whilst the importance of his autocratic directorship of the Musical Union is never in doubt, for example, nor is the relevance of the social, political and economic situation within which he worked.[5] Furthermore, Bashford presents an endlessly nuanced picture of Ella, discussing his relative failings in as much detail as his obvious achievements. The result is that the Musical Union — and the concert scenarios that led up to it — appear less as the inevitable steps towards the canonisation of classical music in this country and more as the products of a particularly brilliant business mind intent on the promotion of serious art. They are the more noteworthy for it.

Indeed, it is perhaps one of the greatest strengths of this book that, despite his obvious centrality, one never feels that Ella is being oversold. Much of this comes from Bashford's obvious empathy with her subject, born, one suspects, of a long-standing working relationship with a very personal archive: the Ella Collection, now housed at the Bodleian Library in Oxford and upon which the study draws extensively, was passed to the author via John Ravell specifically to facilitate the completion of this volume. At no stage does the narrative of Ella's life strive to convince the reader of its significance. Rather, the author feels content to present her clear, coherent and compelling account of mid to late nineteenth-century London, rightly convinced that the facts of Ella's involvement therein will speak for themselves.

After Ella's death in 1888 the clergyman Hugh Haweis wrote that 'when the musical jealousies of our time have subsided, and the musical history of the nineteenth century comes to be written, the name of Professor Ella will be remembered with respect and sympathy'.[6] It has been some time in coming but in recent decades the musical history of the nineteenth century as a

[4] See Lawrence Kramer, 'The Musicology of the Future', *Repercussions*, 1 (1992), p.5–18 and the continued debate between Kramer and Gary Tomlinson in *Current Musicology*, 53 (1993).

[5] The term 'web of culture' is taken from Gary Tomlinson, 'The web of culture: a context for musicology?', *19th-Century Music*, 7/3 (1984), p.350–62.

[6] H.R. Haweis, *John Ella: a Sketch from Life*. Pamphlet, London, 1885 [first published in *Truth* (1 Nov. 1883), p.620–22].

whole, and particularly the social history of music in nineteenth-century Britain, has indeed begun to be written in earnest. The mechanics of concert life and the complexities of a period in which the last remnants of eighteenth-century patterns of aristocratic patronage gave way to the true commercialisation of music in the public sphere have been ever more relevant to the work of a range of scholars. Within this environment, 'enablers' become as central as composers and performers. On the basis of this publication, one has to believe that Professor Ella will not only be 'remembered with respect and sympathy' but will have a crucial role to play in the ongoing concert life project.

Ian Taylor

Zdeněk Nouza, Miroslav Novy, *Josef Suk tematicky katalog skladeb: thematic catalogue of the works.* Prague: Editio Bärenreiter, 2005. lvii, 485p. ISBN 80-8638530-2.

The name Josef Suk used to be most frequently associated with a distinguished violinist (b.1929), but thanks to the extraordinary expansion in the repertoire of recorded music available, it is perhaps now linked as often with his grandfather (1874–1935), another distinguished violinist (the second violin of the famous Bohemian Quartet for four decades), and also a major composer. The elder Suk's pedigree was impeccable: trained by his father, he entered the violin faculty at the Prague Conservatoire in 1885 and later studied composition with Dvořák, becoming his favourite pupil and marrying his daughter in Otilie in 1898.

Suk's busy career as a performer played a role in limiting the extent of his output: there is no opera or major choral work, a few small-scale choruses and songs, some chamber music (though only two string quartets), a substantial amount of piano music (Suk was also an accomplished pianist) and a number of large-scale and impressive orchestral works, a total of 37 opuses. Even including early and unpublished compositions, those without opus numbers and occasional pieces, the Suk Thematic Catalogue lists only 92 completed original works. His earliest published music shows an astonishing maturity, and works like the popular Serenade for Strings (1892, JSkat 21) manages to achieve a personal voice within his teacher's idiom. A more distinctive tone emerges in the incidental music to *Radúz a Mahulena* (1897–8, JSkat 38) but it was personal tragedy that compelled the composer to find a more powerful means of expression. In 1904 Dvořák died, followed a mere fourteen months later by Otilie: Suk's response was one of the greatest symphonies of the first decade of the twentieth century (Mahler's not excepted): the *Asrael* Symphony (1905–6, JSkat 55). On a monumental scale, combining material of searing dramatic and lyrical intensity in a symphonic and emotional narrative of utter cogency, this is a masterpiece that has yet to achieve its rightful place in the canon. In the major works that followed — notably the Second String Quartet (1910–11, JSkat 62), and the Symphonic Poems

A Summer's Tale (1907–9, SKat 57), *Ripening* (1912–17, JSkat 70) and *Epilogue* (1920–29, JSkat 79) — Suk developed an increasingly complex harmonic language of considerable contrapuntal refinement: if none of these works quite matches the directness of *Asrael*, they offer other rewards and represent a major creative achievement.

This then is an oeuvre that clearly merits a comprehensive scholarly catalogue, and this has now been provided by Zdeněk Nouza and Miroslav Novy. They sensibly adopt a chronological arrangement for the main sequence, which is followed by seven minor categories, including Juvenilia, Occasional Works, and Fragments. The introduction offers a biographical sketch, an outline of Suk's working methods, a survey of his publishers and his copyists and an explanation of the organisation of the catalogue. There is an appendix of facsimiles, followed by a series of classified indexes, and an index of personal names — but, alas, not one of publishers. Individual entries provide a wealth of information including dates, dedicatees, performing forces, text sources, brief details of sketches, autographs and manuscript copies, published facsimiles, a bibliographic description of the first edition (and later editions if textually significant), details of the première (and important later performances) and a commentary where necessary. The result is an admirable scholarly achievement which lays secure foundations for the future appreciation and study of Suk's music.

The decision to publish a bilingual version is commendable, and the translation, by David R. Beveridge, reads fluently (though 'title page' is surely more accurate than 'title sheet'). The challenge was to find an elegant way of presenting the two texts. The solution adopted here is to follow the Czech version of each section of an entry with its English counterpart, clearly identified by being inset and marked with a vertical line. This interleaving of the two languages has some merits, but it prevents the infrequent user from forming an overview of an entry in either language. Also unhelpful is the fact that the various indexes to the works — chronological, by opus number, classified and alphabetical — and internal cross-references all provide the reader with the catalogue number alone: the absence from the main text of running heads including the relevant catalogue numbers makes the location of the entry you are seeking needlessly tedious. A final gripe: the keys for transposing instruments are not given, and both potential performers and scholars might have welcomed this detail (for example, that Suk writes for horns in E in a number of works is certainly worth knowing). This is particularly true in the case of one incipit that is misleading. Elsewhere, if the instrument concerned is transposing, it is nevertheless notated at sounding pitch in the incipit (e.g. the second movement of the Symphony in E major (JSkat 40) played by a clarinet in A), but for the incipit to the second movement of *Pohádka* (JSkat 43), the part for clarinet in A has simply been copied from the score, suggesting that the movement is in D major, rather than B major.

But such grumbles are insignificant next to the major achievement of this catalogue, which needs to be in any reference collection, and is likely to be the standard text on this important oeuvre for many years.

Paul Banks

Christopher Grogan (ed.), *Imogen Holst: her life and music*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007. 514p. ISBN 978-18438-3296-6. £25.

On the occasion of the centenary of her birth, the Britten-Pears Library and the Holst Foundation, in collaboration with the Boydell Press, have published a volume dedicated to the life and works of Imogen Holst. The daughter of Gustav, and Benjamin Britten's amanuensis and collaborator for twenty-five years, Holst was a composer in her own rights, having been a star pupil at the Royal College of Music in the late Twenties, and could be defined a 'minor' figure in the English musical life of the Twentieth Century: Grove's dictionary has an entry dedicated to her, but is a brief one.

The present volume does not necessarily set out to re-assess Holst's contribution, but rather is an affectionate homage to what is described as a 'remarkable personality' in her anniversary. As Christopher Grogan, the editor, explains in the acknowledgements, it is the result of the coming together of three individual projects: Rosamund Strode, Holst's pupil and later collaborator, had been working towards a full length biography since her death in 1984. Christopher Tinker, whose PhD dissertation was on Holst, had produced a catalogue of her music. Finally, Grogan has edited a diary kept by Holst during her first two years in Aldeburgh, as well as contributing to the biographical part of the book. Consequently, the volume is both a monograph and an anthology, with the unavoidable lack of consistency in narrative style. The early chapters, relying very much on primary sources, give us a lively portrayal not only of Holst herself and her father, but also of some aspects of musical life in England and Europe in the years between the wars. After college Holst had won a travelling scholarship, and visited Sweden, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy, providing illuminating reports, and shedding a light on the 'minority complex' English musicians felt in comparison with their continental counterparts.

After working for CEMA between 1939 and 1942, Holst accepted a teaching position in Dartington, where she lived until 1950. There her three major interests, amateur music making, early music and composition met in a powerful synergy that was going to have long-standing consequences. In particular, her contributions to the early music revival, which further developed during the years of her collaboration with Britten through both performance and editorial work, should not be underestimated. At the same time, her encouragement of young musicians and the championing of musicians who had escaped from the continent led, amongst other things, to the founding of the Amadeus String Quartet. After further travels in India and Italy, where she was pursuing her interest respectively in ethnomusicology and early music, Holst moved to Aldeburgh, where she was to live until her death, to work for Britten.

The diary which she kept in the first two years of this collaboration forms a substantial part of the volume (almost a third), although paradoxically its subject is not Holst himself, but Britten, to the point that whenever Britten was not around there are no entries. Together with the chronicling of their

working relationship, and of various events in his life, we get a revealing close-up on the composer's personality, character and preoccupations, from an attentive and doubtlessly biased observer, whose emotions and thoughts take front-stage only when in relation to the composer. Some comments are quite illuminating: 'It was lovely to be able to bask in the joy of working for him, without anything to worry about' (p.213). What transpires is a complex relationship, which can superficially be summed up as devotion, and that, as Grogan points out, was in many ways a reflection of Holst's relationship with her own composer father.

The editorial work on the dairy has integrated many other sources, giving a fuller picture of the period covered, 1952–1954, a time that saw the composition and first performance of *Gloriana*, a revival of *Peter Grimes* and the first stages of the composition of *Turn of the Screw*. As such, it is a precious source for Britten scholarship. The same period set the tone for what was to be Holst's involvement in the Aldeburgh Festival and Music Club, her work on behalf of her father's legacy, the foundation of the Purcell Singers, whom she directed, and her editorial work on music ranging from neglected English composers to Bach and Schütz. Therefore, although slightly Britten-centred, the diary gives us a faithful picture of Holst's working habits, which is reinforced in the final biographical chapters, which again make very effective use of primary sources and contemporary documents. The section dedicated to her music is somewhat succinct, and perhaps the readers' appreciation of her output would have benefited from a more exhaustive study: after all, here is a composer whose earlier works were performed and broadcast with those of Maconchy and Lutyens. Still, there is a very detailed catalogue, comprising arrangements as well as original composition, which gives a good overview of a creative life spanning sixty-five years, and the bibliography includes all her writings on music.

The final impression is that of a puzzling character, an intensely gifted yet self-effacing musician (composer, pianist, conductor, musicologist) whose apparent vocation was to serve other people's creative gifts, be it her father, Britten, her students or the musicians, often amateurs, she worked with. According to Christopher Tinker, her philosophy was perfectly summed up in a text by William Morris she had chosen to set briefly before her death: 'I do not want art for a few, any more than I want freedom for a few, or education for a few. I want all to be educated according to their capacity'. There is plenty of evidence that her work as an educator was an important part in her life, and as such, it would appear that her legacy was not so much tied up in documents or published work but rather in personal relationships. At the same time, her private persona remains a bit of a mystery, and perhaps the most vivid image is offered by Colin Matthews's foreword, a personal recollection of their relationship while he was working as Britten's assistant, and which is summed up in his last comment: 'She was more "alive" than almost any person I have known'. The present volume does manage to conjure up a strong portrayal, as well as providing plenty of insights on the various contexts touched by her life, and although this may not have been its main

purpose, it does at least instigate the question of whether this not so diminutive figure in English musical life may perhaps deserve a longer entry in the *New Grove*.

Barbara Diana

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