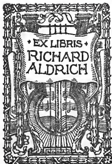
Proceedings of the Musical Association

Musical Association (Great Britain)

Mus 30.12.2(33)



HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

MUSIC LIBRARY

IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MUSICAL SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED MAY 29, 1874

(INCORPORATED 1904)

FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE ART AND SCIENCE OF MUSIC.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1906-1907.

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F. 12756.

Licence

BY THE BOARD OF TRADE.

Pursuant to Section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867.

WHEREAS it has been proved to the Board of Trade that THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED 1904) which is about to be registered under the Companies Acts, 1862 to 1900, as an Association limited by guarantee, is formed for the purpose of promoting objects of the nature contemplated by the 23rd Section of the Companies Act, 1867, and that it is the intention of the said Association that the income and property of the Association whensoever derived shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Association as set forth in the Memorandum of Association of the said Association and that no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly by way of dividend or bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit to the members of the said Association.

NOW THEREFORE the Board of Trade in pursuance of the powers in them vested and in consideration of the provisions and subject to the conditions contained in the Memorandum of Association of the said Association as subscribed by seven members thereof on the 14th day of June, 1904, do by this their Licence direct THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED 1904) to be registered with limited liability without the addition of the word "Limited" to its name.

Signed by Order of the Board of Trade this 17th day of June, 1904.

T. W. P. BLOMEFIELD

An Assistant Secretary to the Board of Trade.

COPY

No. 81327.

Certificate of Incorporation.

I hereby Certify *that* THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (*Incorporated* 1904) *the word Limited being omitted by Licence of the Board of Trade is this day Incorporated under the Companies Acts,* 1862 *to* 1900, *and that the Company is Limited.*

Given under my hand at London this Twenty-second day of June, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Four.

H. F. BARTLETT,
Registrar of Joint Stock Companies.

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The Companies Acts, 1862 to 1900.

Memorandum of Association

OF

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

(INCORPORATED 1904).

1. The name of the Company is "THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (Incorporated 1904)."

2. The registered office of the Company shall be situated in England.

3. The objects for which The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) is established are to do all or any of the following things for the purpose of attaining the objects so far as allowed by law, and observing and performing whatever may be required by law in order legally to carry out such objects—

(A) The reading of papers on subjects connected with the art, science, theory, practice, composition, acoustics, history of music and the construction of musical instruments, with discussion of these subjects and the giving of illustrations in reference to the papers read.

(B) To compile, publish and distribute a report of the papers read or abstracts of the same, and abstracts of the discussions in the form of a volume of "Proceedings," together with a list of the Council, officers and members, and a report of the progress of the Association for the year.

(C) To establish, subsidise, promote, co-operate with, receive into union, become a member of, act or appoint trustees, agents or delegates for, control, manage, superintend, provide monetary assistance to or otherwise assist any associations, societies and institutions, incorporated or not incorporated, with objects altogether or in part similar to those of The Musical Association.

(D) To give monetary assistance to any person or persons for the purpose of carrying out investigations of such subjects as are specified in paragraph (A) and are cognate thereto.

(E) To acquire offices, halls and other places of meeting, and to form libraries of books and music for the use of the members.

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(F) To invest all moneys of the Association not immediately required in such legal securities, or otherwise in such manner as may from time to time be determined.

(G) To do all other cognate and lawful things as are incidental to the attainment of the above objects. Provided that in case the Association shall take or hold any property subject to the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, the Association shall not sell, mortgage, charge or lease such property without such consent as may be required by law; and as regards any such property, the managers or trustees of the Association shall be chargeable for such property as may come into their hands, and shall be answerable and accountable for their own acts, receipts, neglects, and defaults, and for the due administration of such property in the same manner and to the same extent as they would, as such managers or trustees, have been if no incorporation had been effected; and the incorporation of the Association shall not diminish or impair any control or authority exerciseable by the Chancery Division or the Charity Commissioners over such managers or trustees, but they shall, as regards any such property, be subject jointly and separately to such control and authority as if the Association were not incorporated. If the Association take any property on special trusts the Association shall only deal with such property in accordance with such trusts.

4. The income and property of the Association, whencesoever derived, shall be applied solely towards the attainment of the objects of the Association as set forth in this Memorandum of Association; and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred, directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit to the members of the Association. Provided that subject to the provisions contained in clause 6 hereof nothing herein shall prevent the payment in good faith, or remuneration to any officer or servants of the Association, or subject to the provisions hereinafter contained to any member of the Association, or other person in return for any services actually rendered to the Association.

5. The 4th paragraph of this Memorandum is a condition on which a licence is granted by the Board of Trade to the Association in pursuance of section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867.

6. If any member of the Association pays or receives any dividend, bonus or other profit in contravention of the terms of the 4th paragraph of this Memorandum, his liability shall be unlimited.

7. Provided further, that no member of the Council or governing body of the Association shall be appointed to any salaried office or any office paid by fees, and that no remuneration shall be given to any member of such Council or governing body except repayment of out-of-pocket expenses, and interest on money lent or rent for property demised to the Association. If any payment shall be made to any member, or any act done in contravention of the provisions of this clause, the liability shall be unlimited of any member who shall receive or make such payment or do such act after he has been advised in writing that it is contrary to the provisions of this clause. Provided further, that this provision shall not apply to any payment to any railway, omnibus, tramway, gas, electric lighting, water, cable or telephone company of which a member of the Council or governing body may be a member, and such member shall not be bound to account for any share of profits he may receive in respect of such payment.

8. Every member of the Association undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Association in the event of the same being wound up during the time that he is a member, or within one year afterwards for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Association contracted before the time at which he ceases to be a member, and of the costs, charges and expenses of winding-up the Association, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contributories among themselves, such amount as may be required not exceeding £1 sterling, or in case of his liability becoming unlimited, such other amount as may be required in pursuance of the last preceding paragraph of this Memorandum.

9. If upon the winding-up or dissolution of the Association there remain after the satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities any property whatsoever, the same shall not be paid to or distributed among the members of the Association, but if and so far as effect can be given to the next provision, shall be given or transferred to some institution established with similar objects, as may be determined by the members of the Association at or before the time of dissolution, or in default thereof by such Judge of the High Court of Justice as may have or acquire jurisdiction in the matter, and if and so far as effect cannot be given to such provision then to some charitable object.

10. True accounts shall be kept of the sums of money received and expended by the Association and the matter in

respect of which such receipt and expenditure takes place, and of the property, credits and liabilities of the Association. These accounts shall be open to the inspection of the members, subject to any reasonable restriction as to the time and manner of inspecting the same that may be imposed in accordance with the regulations of the Association for the time being. Once at least in every year the accounts of the Association shall be examined and the correctness of the balance sheet ascertained by one or more properly appointed Auditor or Auditors.

NAMES, ADDRESSES AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBSCRIBERS

WILLIAM HAYMAN CUMMINGS,
Sydcote, Rosendale Road, West Dulwich, S.E.,
Mus. Doc., Principal of the Guildhall School of Music.

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289, High Road, Lee, S.E.,
Mus. Bac. Durham.

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THOMAS LEA SOUTHGATE,
19, Manor Park, Lee, Kent,
Gentleman.

WALTER WILLSON COBBETT,
40, Sydenham Hill, S.E.,
Director of Public Companies.

Dated this 14th day of June, 1904.

Witness to the above Signatures—
ARTHUR T. CUMMINGS,
Abchurch House,
Sherborne Lane,
London, E.C.,
Solicitor.

Articles of Association

OF

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

(INCORPORATED 1904)

IT IS AGREED AS FOLLOWS—

1. For the purpose of registration the number of members of The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) is declared not to exceed 500.

2. These Articles shall be construed with reference to "The Companies Act, 1862," and "The Companies Act, 1867," and the terms used in these Articles shall be taken as having the same respective meanings as they have when used in those Acts.

3. The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) is established for the purposes expressed in the Memorandum of Association.

4. The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Ordinary Members of the Council, Honorary Treasurer, Trustees, Auditors, Secretary, Members, and Honorary Foreign Members.

5. All persons shall be eligible for Membership. Admission of members shall be by ballot of the members. Every candidate for admission as a member shall be proposed by one member, seconded by another, and his name with that of his proposer and seconder shall be placed by the Secretary on a notice paper which shall be sent to every member of the Association seven clear days at least before the next Ordinary Meeting. The members assembled at the next Ordinary Meeting shall ballot for or against the election of the candidate and one black ball in five shall exclude.

(A) Members shall pay on election either a compounded life subscription of ten guineas or a subscription not exceeding one guinea, and thereafter an annual subscription not exceeding one guinea to be paid on the 1st of November in each year. Life subscriptions shall be invested in legal security in the names of trustees to be appointed by the Council. The same trustees shall have power to hold other sums accumulated by or accruing to the Association. The amount of the annual subscriptions and life subscriptions may be altered by special resolution only.

(B) Honorary membership may be conferred on foreign musicians residing abroad and distinguished in the art, science or literature of music, on the nomination of the Council, subsequently approved by the members present at any Ordinary General Meeting of the Association. Honorary members shall not be entitled to vote at any meeting.

(C) Any member intending to resign his membership shall signify his wish by notice in writing to the Secretary on or before the 31st of October in each year, otherwise he shall be liable for his subscription for the ensuing year. If such subscription be not paid on or before the 1st day of April following the defaulter shall cease to be a member of the Association, and his name shall be erased from the list of members.

6. The government and arrangement of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, ten ordinary members of the Association, with the following honorary officers, viz.—a Treasurer, Trustees, and Auditors.

(A) The President, Vice-Presidents and five ordinary members of the Council shall retire at the end of each year. The ordinary members of the Council to retire at the end of the first and second year shall be determined by ballot, after that the ordinary members who have been longest in office shall retire. All who have served shall be eligible for re-election. No member whose subscription is in arrear shall be elected on the Council.

(B) At Council Meetings four shall form a quorum, and the Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a member of the Council, in the event of the number of votes on a division being equal.

(C) The Council may appoint sub-committees to consider and carry out any business committed to them. And the Council may appoint such assistants as may be required for the business work of the Association, and at such remuneration as they shall from time to time determine.

(D) The official seal of the Association shall only be affixed to documents ordered to be sealed by a resolution of the Council and shall be so affixed in the presence of one member of the Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The first President of the Association shall be Sir Hubert Parry, Bart., M.A., D.C.L., Mus. Doc. Oxon., F.R.C.O., Hon. R.A.M., L.T.C.L., J.P., Fellow of the University of London, Hon. Fell. Exeter College, Oxford, Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, and Director of the Royal College of Music, if he will consent to act.

8. The first Council shall consist of the following members of the Association or such of them as shall consent to act.

The Council and officers of The Musical Association for the year 1904:—

President.

SIR C. HUBERT PARRY, Bart., M.A., D.C.L., Mus. Doc. Oxon., Cantab. et Dublin, Prof. Mus. Univ. Oxf., Director of the Royal College of Music.

Vice-Presidents.

ADAMS, WILLIAM GRYLLS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor King's College.
BARRY, C. A., Esq., M.A.
BOSANQUET, R. H. M., Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S., F.C.S.
BRIDGE, SIR FREDERICK, M.V.O., Mus. Doc. Oxon., Organist of Westminster Abbey, Gresham Prof. of Music, Prof. Mus. Univ. Lond.
CUMMINGS, W. H., Esq., Mus. D. Dub., F.S.A., Hon. R.A.M., Principal Guildhall School of Music.
GARCIA, MANUEL, Esq., M.D. (Hon.).
GOLDSCHMIDT, OTTO, Esq.
MACFARREN, WALTER, Esq.
MACLEAN, CHARLES, Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc. Oxon.
PRENDERGAST, A. H. D., Esq., M.A.
PROUT, E., Esq., B.A. Lond., Mus. Doc. Dub. et Edin., Prof. Mus. Univ. Dub.
RAYLEIGH, RT. HON. LORD, M.A., F.R.S.
STANFORD, SIR CHARLES VILLIERS, Mus. Doc. Cantab. et Oxon., M.A., D.C.L., Prof. Mus. Univ. Camb.

Elected Members.

CORBETT, W. W., Esq.
EDGAR, CLIFFORD B., Esq., B.Sc., Mus. Bac. Lond.
EDWARDS, F. G., Esq., F.R.A.M.
MAITLAND, J. A. FULLER, Esq., M.A.
MCNAUGHT, W. G., Esq., F.R.A.M., Mus. Doc. Cantuar.
SHINN, F. G., Esq., Mus. Doc. Dunelm.
SOUTHGATE, THOMAS LEA, Esq.
SQUIRE, WILLIAM BARCLAY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
STAINER, J. F. R., Esq., M.A., B.C.L.
WEBB, F. GILBERT, Esq.

Hon. Treasurer.

CLIFFORD B. EDGAR, Esq., Mus. Bac., Wedderlie, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

Trustees.
SIR FREDERICK BRIDGE, M.V.O.
OTTO GOLDSCHMIDT, Esq.
J. F. R. STAINER, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.
Hon. Auditors.
DAVID JAMES BLAIKLEY, Esq.
Dr. C. BOWDLER, C.B., &c.
Solicitor.
ARTHUR T. CUMMINGS, Esq., Abchurch House, Sherborne Lane, E.C.
Secretary.
J. PERCY BAKER, Esq., 289, High Road, Lee, S.E.
Offices of the Musical Association.
Messrs. BROADWOOD & SONS, Ltd., Conduit Street, W.

9. The election of members of the Council (in accordance with Article 6) and of the Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Auditors, shall take place annually at the General Meeting of members of the Association. In the event of the death or resignation of any member of the Council or any officer, the vacancy shall be forthwith filled up by the Council; subject to confirmation, where necessary, at the next General Meeting, the persons elected to fill a vacancy shall retire at the date when the person in whose place he shall be elected would have retired.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected from the members and shall be elected annually at the General Meeting by the members of the Association for the time being present at such meeting. Members desiring to nominate fresh members to serve on the Council shall send the names of their nominees with seconders to the Secretary at least seven days before the date appointed for the meeting.

10. The first General Meeting shall be held not less than one month nor more than three months after the registration of the Memorandum of Association. A General Meeting of the members, of which seven clear days' notice shall be given, shall be held annually, when a report of the progress of the Association shall be read, the duly audited accounts shall be presented, and the election of such officers as are appointed annually shall take place. The Ordinary Meetings of the members for the reading and discussion of papers, the election of members and transaction of other business shall be held as often and at such times and places as the Council shall direct. Provided that as regards any such meeting at which it is proposed to ballot for members or transact business other than the reading and discussion of papers the Secretary shall send to the members seven clear days' notice stating thereon the precise nature of the business to be transacted.

11. An Extraordinary General Meeting of the members may be called by direction of the Council, or shall be called upon requisition signed by not less than 20 members of the Association, such direction or requisition stating the object for which such meeting is desired; the Secretary shall forthwith issue a notice (together with a copy of the direction or requisition) convening an Extraordinary General Meeting of members to be held not less than seven or more than 21 days after that date. At an Extraordinary General Meeting 15 members shall form a quorum, and no other business than that specified in the direction or requisition shall be considered.

12. No member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Association. Subject to this and the provision that no honorary member shall have a vote each member shall have one vote.

13. Should a question arise as to the conduct of any member of the Association, after an opportunity for explanation has been given to the member, the Council shall inquire into the matter, and if deemed desirable by a majority present they may expel the member. Any member so expelled shall have the right forthwith to appeal to an Extraordinary General Meeting, when a majority of two thirds of those present shall be required to confirm the expulsion.

14. Bye-laws, rules and regulations may from time to time be made by the Council for their own government and that of the affairs of the Association. The Council may from time to time rescind, alter or vary the same. Such bye laws, rules and regulations so made from time to time shall remain in force until rescinded or varied: Provided that, except by a special resolution, no bye law, rule or regulation shall be made which would amount to such an alteration or addition to the Articles as could only legally be made by a special resolution.

15. The provisions of the Companies Act, 1900, as to audit and Auditors shall be observed.

16. A notice may be served by the Association upon any member, either personally or by sending it through the post in a prepaid letter addressed to such member at his registered place of address.

17. As regards those members who have no registered address in the United Kingdom, a notice posted up in the offices of the Association shall be deemed to be well served on them at the expiration of twenty-four hours after it is posted up.

18. Any notice required to be given by the Association to the members, or any of them, and not expressly provided for by these presents, shall be sufficiently given if given by advertisement.

19. Any notice required to be or which may be given by advertisement shall be advertised once in two London newspapers.

20. Any notice sent by post shall be deemed to have been served on the day following that on which the envelope or wrapper containing the same is posted, and in proving such service it shall be sufficient to prove that the envelope or wrapper containing the notice was properly addressed and put into the post office.

NAMES, ADDRESSES, AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBSCRIBERS

WILLIAM HAYMAN CUMMINGS,
Sydcote, Rosendale Road, West Dulwich, S.E.,
Mus. Doc., Principal of the Guildhall School of Music.

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289, High Road, Lee, S.E.,
Mus. Bac. Durham.

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Brendon, Teddington, Middlesex,
Mus. Bac. London.

CHARLES MACLEAN,
62, Drayton Gardens, London,
M.A. & Mus. Doc. Oxon.

THOMAS LEA SOUTHGATE,
19, Manor Park, Lee, Kent,
Gentleman.

WALTER WILLSON COBBETT,
40, Sydenham Hill, S.E.,
Director of Public Companies.

Dated this 14th day of June, 1904.

Witness to the above Signatures—
ARTHUR T. CUMMINGS,
Abchurch House,
Sherborne Lane,
London, E.C.,
Solicitor.

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED MAY 29, 1874

(INCORPORATED 1904)

(IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MUSICAL SOCIETY)

FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE ART AND SCIENCE OF MUSIC

Council.

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Flexman, Miss H, L R A M
Fox, Arthur M, Esq, Mus. Bac., Lond, A R C O

*Galpin, Rev F W, M A, F L S
*Goodhart, A M, Esq, M.A., Mus Bac Cantab (Eton)
*Goodman, P, Esq (Dublin)
*Gray, Alan, Esq, LL.M, Mus Doc, Cantab (Cambridge)
Gray, Mrs Robin
*Griffin, Ralph, Esq

Hahn, Bernard, Esq, F.R.G.S (Ilfracombe)
Harding, H. A, Esq, Mus Doc, Oxon (Bedford)
Harris, Richard, Esq, Mus Bac, Oxon, F R C O
Harrison, Walter, Esq, M A, Mus Bac, Oxon
Harriss, Charles E A, Esq, Mus Doc, Cantuar (Canada)
Havergal, Captain A, R N (Sevenoaks)
Haysman, Hamilton, Esq.
Hichens, The Rev. Canon F H, M A (Canterbury)
Higgins, Miss Florence G E, Mus Bac, Lond
Hill, Arthur F., Esq
Hill, Arthur G, Esq, M A, F S A
Hill, Miss Cecilia
*Hinton, J W, Esq, M.A, Mus Doc., Dub
*Holland, Theodore, Esq

Huntley, George F, Esq, Mus Doc, Cantab
Hurdle, H A, Esq, A.R.A.M. (Weymouth)

Jekyll, F W, Esq, B A
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*Karlyle, C E, Esq
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*Kitson, C H, Esq, M A, Mus Doc, Oxon (Leicester)
Knox, Brownlow D, Esq
*Koenig, Madame Rose
Kuhn, Miss Adele (Cape Colony).

*Langdale, Miss Mary
Langley, George, Esq
*Lee, E Markham, Esq, M.A., Mus Doc Cantab
*Letts, Chas, Esq.
Littleton, Alfred H, Esq.
*Lloyd, Chas H, Esq, M A, Mus Doc, Oxon (Windsor).
*Lowe, C Egerton, Esq

Macbean, William, Esq, (St Leonards on Sea).
*Mackenzie, Sir Alexander C, Mus Doc, St And, Cantab et Edin, LL D, D C L, &c, Principal of the Royal Academy of Music (*Vice President*)
*Maclean, Charles, Esq, M A, Mus Doc Oxon (*Vice President*)
*Maitland, J. A Fuller, Esq, M A., F S A (*Trustee*)
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*Matthew, James E, Esq (*Hon Auditor*)
*McMillan, John, Esq
*McNaught, W G, Esq, F R A M Mus Doc, Cantuar
Morley, Charles, Esq, M P
*Mountain, Thos, Esq

Naylor, Edward W, Esq, M.A., Mus Doc, Cantab (Cambridge)
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Nicholson, Sydney H, Esq, M A Mus Bac, Oxon (Carlisle)
*Niecks, Fr, Esq, Mus Doc Dub, Prof Mus Univ Edin (Edinburgh)

*Ohlenschlager, Miss C

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*Vincent, W Karl E Esq (Yokohama)
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*Webb, F Gilbert, Esq.
Webb Thomas, Esq, Mus Bac, Dunelm, F R C O (Grahamstown, S A)
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Welch W., Esq, M A
*Werner, Miss Hildagard, A J I (Newcastle on Tyne)
West, John L Esq
Weston Miss Annie T (Brighton).
Wetton, H Davan, Esq Mus Doc, Dunelm
White, J S, Esq
Widdows, A, Esq
*Williams, C F Abdy, Esq, M A., Mus Bac, Cantab et Oxon
Williams, Ernest Victor, Esq
Williams, Miss E M., A R C.O.
*Willmott Miss E A
Wood, Henry J, Esq
*Wooldridge, H Ellis, Esq, M A
Woolley, Miss E M (N S Wales
*Wyndham, Hon Hugh A (South Africa)

Yeatman, Harry O, Esq.

Those who are also Members of the International Musical Society are indicated by * to their names.

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THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

FOUNDED 1874. INCORPORATED 1904.

REPORT.

The Annual General Meeting of Members was held on Tuesday, November 20, 1906, at the King's Room, Messrs. Broadwood's, Conduit Street, W.

Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, Bart., in the Chair.

The following Report *of the Council was read by the Secretary:—*

The Council have pleasure in submitting their Report and Accounts for the 32nd Session.

Papers have been read by Mr. Thomas Casson, Dr. Edward W. Naylor, Mr. Clifford B. Edgar (with illustrations by a small choir), Mr. Edward J. Dent (illustrations by Mr. F. C. S. Carey), Rev. G. R. Woodward (illustrations by the choir of Gray's Inn, under Mr. J. C. Long), Mr. H. H. Statham, Dr. Shinn and Dr. Percy Buck. The Council desire to record their thanks to all of the above readers and performers. The volume of Proceedings containing these Papers and their respective Discussions is now ready.

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The membership has been well maintained, but the Council would most earnestly press upon the general body of members the necessity for strengthening the Association by inducing those to join it who do not at present belong to it, for it is only in this way that the influence and standing of the Musical Association can be increased.

The meetings have been well attended, and the discussions have shown the interest taken in the papers read.

The Council have to record, with much regret, the deaths of Señor Garcia, Mr. John Tunstall, and the Rev. Percy D. Hawker.

The Annual Dinner, held at the Trocadero Restaurant on November 21, 1905, was very successful; 136 members were present, being the highest on record. Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, Bart., occupied the chair. The musical programme was undertaken by the Society of British Composers, with excellent results.

The President, Vice-President, Hon. Officers, and five Ordinary Members of Council,—Mr. W. W. Cobbett, Dr. C. Harford Lloyd, Dr. W. G. McNaught, Mr. W. Barclay Squire, and Mr. F. G. Webb retire from office. They offer themselves for re-election.

Sir C. Hubert H. Parry moved, and Dr. Yorke Trotter seconded, the adoption of the Report, which was carried.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the Balance Sheet duly audited and attested, and moved that it be passed. This was seconded by Dr. Maclean and carried.

The Rev. F. W. Galpin moved, and the Rev. S. E. L. Spooner Lillingston seconded "That the retiring officers whose names had been submitted to the members be re-elected." This was carried unanimously.

Dr. Maclean moved, and Mr. Fuller Maitland seconded "That under Article 9, Clause 2, Mr. T. L. Southgate be transferred from the list of Ordinary Councillors to the list of Vice-Presidents, and that the Council be left to fill up the vacancy under Article 9, Clause 1." This was carried unanimously.

The Hon. Treasurer said that it would be well to have a third auditor to act in case of emergency. Mr. Oliver Belsham proposed, and Mr. Gilbert Webb seconded "That Mr. James E. Matthew be elected Hon. Auditor." This was carried.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the President, Council and Officers for their services during the past year.

THE MUSICAL

FOUNDED 1874.

Income and Expenditure from

Dr.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1905 Nov. 1	To Balance in Hand				117	11	3
	" Subscriptions :—						
	1904-1905 (1)	1	1	0			
	1905-1906 (178)	186	18	0			
					187	19	0
	" Dividends				11	17	8
	" Sale of Proceedings				11	0	4
	" Receipts for Dinner, Nov., 1905 (123 @ 5/-)				30	15	0
	" Internationale Musikgesellschaft account —						
	Subscriptions 1901-1902 (1)	0	10	0			
	" 1902-1903 (1)	0	10	0			
	" 1903-1904 (1)	0	10	0			
	" 1904-1905 (2)	1	0	0			
	" 1905-1906 (98)	49	0	0			
					51	10	0
					£420	13	3

ASSETS.

	£	s.	d.
£500 0s. 6d. 2¾% Annuities	436	5	0
Stock of Volumes of Proceedings	60	0	0
Stationery and Plates	5	0	0
Nest of Drawers	3	5	0
Reading Desk	1	10	0
Blackboard and Easel	1	5	0
Ballot Box	0	15	0
Cash Balance	134	16	0
	£642	16	0

ASSOCIATION.

INCORPORATED, 1904.

November 1, 1905, to October 31, 1906

Cr.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Printing and Stationery —		
Novello & Co., Ltd. (Proceedings)	75 1 3	
" (Circulars and Postages)	8 19 3	
W. Fraser (Miscellaneous Printing)	11 3 6	
Advertisements	0 11 0	
		95 15 0
" Expenses of Session 1905-1906 —		
Rent of Hall, &c.	5 8 0	
Refreshments	13 16 9	
Reporter's Fee	8 8 0	
Lecture Expenses	4 4 0	
		31 16 9
" Postages and Petty Expenses —		
(Secretary, £5 16s. 10d., Treasurer, £1 5s. 9d., Bank, 5d.)		7 3 0
" Salary of Secretary		42 0 0
" Legal Expenses		7 4 0
" Expenses of Dinner, 1905 —		
Messrs. J. Lyons & Co.	32 10 0	
Artists' Expenses	7 1 0	
Programmes	0 17 6	
		40 8 6
" Treasurers of the I.M.G.		51 10 0
" Balance in Hand		134 16 0
		£410 13 3

CLIFFORD B. EDGAR,
Hon. Treasurer.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies Act, 1900, we certify that all our requirements as Auditors have been complied with.

We beg to report that we have Audited the above Accounts and in our opinion such Accounts are properly drawn up, so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Association's affairs, as shown by the Books of the Association.

(Signed)
D. J. BLAIKLEY.
J. PERCY BAKER.

London, November 6, 1906.

NOTICE.

Papers or short communications for the Monthly Meetings are received from or through Members; these and suggestions as to suitable subjects and capable writers will be gladly considered by the Council If desired, such papers can be read on behalf of the authurs

Members are desired to make the Association and its objects as widely known as possible. The Secretary will forward Prospectuses and Nomination Forms on application.

Members preferring to do so can pay their subscriptions through their Bankers. A form for this purpose may be obtained of the Hon. Treasurer.

Any change of address should be promptly notified to the Secretary, as occasional complaints of the non-receipt of books and notices are usually traceable to either old or insufficient addresses.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

At a Special General Meeting held on February 13, 1900, the following Resolution was passed: "That the Council be and is hereby authorised to add to the title of the Musical Association on its publications and prospectuses till further notice the words 'In connection with the International Musical Society.'"

The English Committee of the latter Society (International Musical Society) consists of: Sir Alexander Mackenzie (President), Sir Hubert Parry, Bart., Sir Frederick Bridge, Sir Charles Stanford, Dr. James Culwick, Dr. W. H. Cummings, Mr. E. J. Dent, Mr. Clifford B. Edgar, Mr. W. H. Hadow, Dr. Charles Maclean, Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland, Dr. W. G. McNaught, Professor Niecks, Professor Prout, Mr. W. Barclay Squire. The Society publishes a monthly Journal and quarterly Magazine, employing four languages, with the object of promoting interchange between different countries of information and opinions concerning the history, art, and science of music.

Papers read before The Musical Association will, in addition to ordinary publication in The Musical Association's own Proceedings volume, be published also in the pages of the International Musical Society, if accepted for that purpose.

Owing to the long-standing position of the Musical Association, members thereof are admitted as members of the International Musical Society on very special terms, which can be ascertained from the Secretary of the Musical Association.

NOVEMBER 20, 1906

CHARLES MACLEAN, ESQ., M.A., MUS.D.,

VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE SACKBUT, ITS EVOLUTION AND HISTORY.

ILLUSTRATED BY

AN INSTRUMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THE REV. F. W. GALPIN, M.A.

THAT the Sackbut was the predecessor and counterpart of the Slide Trombone of the present day is a matter of common knowledge, but, when we come to unravel the origin of the name, we are landed at once into the region of wild conjecture. Some writers have wisely passed the subject over in silence, others have propounded solutions more plausible than probable. Nares for instance, in his Glossary (1822), writes:—"The modern Sackbut is a complicated instrument with sliding tubes answering the purpose of stops. Sackbut is corrupted from Sambuca, used in Latin for the same instrument (*see* 'Coles' Dictionary')." Of this mistaken identification we shall speak presently. Kastner[1] suggests a French etymology for the word, viz.: "saccades bouter," to give little jerks, alluding to the movement of the slide. One of our latest dictionaries[2] has again returned to a French derivation, giving the O.F. "saquier," to pull, and "boter," to push, as the source of "Saqueboute," the French form of

[1] Les Danses des Morts, 1852, p. 226.

[2] The Standard Dictionary, 1900.

the word But those writers seem to be nearer the truth who look for its origin in Spain, where the name, under the form Sacabuche, first appears The Encyclopædia Metropolitana (1848) so traces it, but gives a ludicrous, yet very generally accepted, explanation of its meaning Sackbut is from "Sacar del buche," "because they who use this instrument draw up their breath with great force, and blow with all their might." Skeat (Etymological Dictionary, 1890) adopts the same derivation, explaining it literally as "that which exhausts the chest" We pass by the suggested derivations from the Latin "Sacca-buccis" (chubby-cheeked), or that sac is "a bag" and bouche is "the mouth," as due to the contortions of inexperienced players; but the following may perhaps recommend itself as a legitimate interpretation of the word. As several recent writers have reminded us, the word Sacabuche is also the name of a form of pump,[1] the first half of the word being evidently derived from Sacar, "to draw out", but while others have derived the rest of the word either from "buche," the chest or maw, or from Boccine, a corrupted form of the Latin Buccina (neither of which meanings are applicable to the pump, which is apparently the older appellation), I would suggest that "buche" is identical with "bucha," the Spanish form of the Latin "buxus," used in the sense of a tube or pipe originally of boxwood, but even in classical days employed without reference to its material. This view is confirmed by the fact that in Portuguese[2] the word is "Sacabuxa," and the English equivalent would be "draw tube" or "draw-pipe," a meaning which also will apply to a pump, the body of which was often made of boxwood The application of the word to the musical instrument first appears in Spain in the fourteenth century[3] possibly as a nickname At the end of that century we find it in France,[4] but under the form "Saquebute," a change due either to linguistic action or by confusion with a very similar word—"Saqueboute"—already in use as the name of "a lance armed with an iron crook, and employed for pulling a knight off his horse in an encounter."[5] The word appears in England towards the end of the fifteenth century,[6] when it is written "Shakbusshe," more in accordance with the Spanish pronunciation, therefore, than the French, early in the following century it takes the form Saykebud, Sacbut, or Sagbut.[7] In Belgium

[1] Cadena Dict Espanol 1902.
[2] Lacerda, Portuguese Dict., Lisbon, 1871.
[3] Pedrell, Organografía Musical Antigua Española p 116
[4] Kastner, Les Danses des Morts p 216
[5] Godefroy, Dict. de l'ancienne langue française
[6] Nicolas Excerpta Historica, 1833
[7] Lord Chamberlain's Records (edited by the Rev H. Cart)

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the French form is used; in Germany and Italy the word is unknown.

The Sambuke.

As before noted, Nares in his Glossary states that the Sackbut is identical with the Sambuke or Sambūca This error is commonly found in many old writers, and is still the cause of much confusion.

It is well known that the ancient Sambuke, or Sambuca, was a four-stringed instrument of the harp or lyre class, and by many mediæval writers it is explained by the word "cithara."[1] The word is apparently of barbaric origin, and is identical with the Syriac "Sabka," or, as we find it rendered in the Hebrew of Daniel III., 5, "Sabĕka," which Wycliffe's translators rendered "Sambuke," but those of our Authorized Version translated "Sackbut."[2]

Side by side with this foreign word thus admitted to the classical language of Europe, there is the Latin Sambu*cus*, meaning an elder tree; and when the Sambuke lyre no longer existed in actual use (and even in classical times it was apparently of little account), the two words Sambuca and Sambucus became hopelessly confused, and all the more readily because out of the pithy stems of the elder tree musical pipes were often constructed As early as 600 A.D., Isidore, Bishop of Seville, states in his "Etymologiae,"[3] that "Sambuca amongst musicians is a kind of symphony, for it is a sort of fragile wood, whence also pipes are constructed" The English writer Bartholomaeus,[4] in the middle of the fourteenth century, in the words of his translator Trevisa, tells us Sambuca is "the ellerne tree," and in the Promptuarium Parvulorum of 1440, Sambuca is given as equivalent to word "Schalmuse" (Shawm), while Cambucus is a synonym for flute So the Sambuca became a hybrid affair, sometimes a stringed instrument, sometimes a wind instrument, sometimes, if possible, both This is just what has happened to the spurious "Sackbut of the ninth century," an illustration of which is supposed to exist in the

[1] Liddell and Scott, Greek Lexicon, s.v. σαμβύκη. Du Cange Gloss. Infim Latin

[2] Longfellow (Tales of a Wayside Inn Prelude), has unfortunately added popularity to this idea of the antiquity of the instrument by the following reference to ancient history —

> "As if in vision or in trance,
> He heard the solemn sackbut play,
> And saw the Jewish maidens dance"

[3] Originum (Etymologiarum), Liber III 21

[4] De Proprietatibus Rerum, quoted in the English version of 1398 by Hawkins History of Music, Book VII ch. 60

famous Boulogne Psalter.[1] Coussemaker[2] was the originator of this fanciful idea and he has been followed by Lacroix,[3] Engel, and others. A copy of the illustration will be found in Engel's "Essay on the History of Musical Instruments,"[4] and its peculiarities consist first of all in its early date, and secondly in the fact that this wonderful Sackbut is represented without its bell, being, unfortunately, only half an instrument. In the original MS., however, the name given to the drawing is Sābuca (the abbreviated form of Sambuca), and the drawing itself is closely allied to that of the cithara found in contemporary manuscripts. In an English tenth or eleventh century MS. (Brit. Mus.[5]) also giving more or less imaginary delineations of ancient instruments, we find a very similar illustration, in this case, however, it is called a "Chorus," and the author has appended the following note: "Here is the shape of the said chorus: it has four strings. The chorus is made of wood." The Sambuke again. So we dismiss as apocryphal the ninth century Sackbut.[6]

Tuba Ductilis.

There is, however, another name given to the Sackbut by mediæval writers of quite a late date, which seems to carry the use of the instrument back to the golden age of Rome herself; and, as the identity of the "tuba ductilis" is supported by a remarkable legend, and a supposed quotation from the work of a Latin writer of the second century A.D., it will be necessary to inquire into its claims to so remote an antiquity. The legend, which has been constantly repeated and almost as constantly varied, is practically as follows:—"In the year 1738, at Pompeii (or Herculaneum), a Roman Trombone was discovered—the tube of bronze, the upper part and mouthpiece of gold. Another or others were found at the same time, and the King of Naples presented a specimen to King George III., who was present at the

[1] Public Library, Boulogne-sur-Mer. MS. No. 20, Psalter glossatum.

[2] Essai sur les instruments de musique au moyen âge, 1856.

[3] Le moyen âge, 1851.

[4] Prefixed to his Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum. 1874. The copy is incorrect and misleading.

[5] Descriptiones et Delineationes instrumentorum, Tiberius, c. vi.

[6] Since the above was written, I find that Buhle (Die musikalischen Instrumente in den miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters. Leipzig. 1903) arrives at the same conclusion, describing it in his note (p. 36) as an "absolete Phantasiegebilde" and so far as the history of the Sackbut is concerned, worthless. See also his note p. 48. And M. V. Mahillon in his monograph "Le Trombone" (Bruxelles, 1906), p. 22, takes the same view, describing it as "une erreur profondément enracinée déjà." M. Félix Cresson, keeper of the Boulogne Library, who kindly showed me the MS., described it as "of the *early eleventh* century."

digging." On this we may remark that if this Roman Trombone was found in 1738 and King George III. was present, he would not have taken much interest in these archæological researches, as he was born that very year. Moreover, if the date 1738 is correct, the excavations were made at *Herculaneum*, and in the eight large volumes published in 1757 *ff* by the Neapolitan Government, entitled "Antichita di Ercolano," we find no mention of this truly remarkable discovery. At any rate the antique was supposed to have reached the King, for in the Encyclopædia Londinensis (1795-1819), *s.v.* Music, we read:—"The ancient instrument called the Sackbut was discovered among the ruins of Herculaneum or Pompeii. The lower part is made of bronze, the upper part and mouthpiece of solid gold. The King of Naples made a present of it to His present Majesty, and from this antique the instruments now called Trombones have been fashioned. In quality of tone it has not been equalled by any of modern make."

Fifty years ago the late Mr. William Chappell stated that this relic was at Windsor in the possession of Her late Majesty,[1] but all search for it has hitherto proved in vain; and Mr. Guy Laking, Keeper of the King's Armour, under whose immediate care such an antique would be placed, assures me that there is no such instrument in existence in the Royal collections in England. It is not in the British Museum, but it is possible that the gift was placed by King George III. in one of his collections at Hanover, and, if so, it might be discovered in the old Royal Palace or in the Museum of Art, which is rich in pre Christian antiquities.

Presuming, however, that something was found to form a basis to the oft-repeated story, I do not believe that it was a Sackbut or Trombone in the present-day application of the word. It is asserted that it was not the only specimen discovered; if so, examples would doubtless be in existence in the National Museum at Naples, but the specimens there are of the Buccina class (large circular horns), and I think we may safely say that the instrument presented to the King was of a similar kind, described *more Italiano* as a Tromba grande or Trombone.

But there is yet another appeal to antiquity. To Apuleius,[2] a writer of the second century A.D., is attributed the following passage (quoted by Mersenne, and re-quoted in Grove's Dictionary of Music, *s.v.* Trombone), in which the author describes musicians "with the right hand drawing out or pulling back the tubes of the Trumpet, whereby musical sounds were given forth."

[1] Grove's Dict of Music (1st Edition), *s.v.* Trombone.

[2] Apuleius, Metamorphoses, Lib II.

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I have carefully examined the actual passage. The writer, speaking of the rites of Isis and Serapis, thus proceeds:—"There, too, were marching the musicians (Tibicines) dedicated to mighty Serapis, who on the pipe (calamus) stretched crosswise towards the ear (obliquum ad aurem porrectum) with the right hand kept repeating the peculiar strain of the temple and the deity." Now Fortunatus Scacchi (Sacrorum Elaeochrismaton Myrotheeium, Rome, 1629), in speaking of the music which accompanied the religious rites of the ancients, takes this passage, reads "Tubicines" for "Tibicines," and states that "stretched towards the ear" represents the shape of the Trombone, and "with the right hand kept repeating the strain" implies the use of the hand on the slide. It need hardly be said that this is a wholly gratuitous assumption; the simple rendering of the original shows us that in these particular rites the transverse reed pipe (plagiaulos, calamus obliquus) was used, and that the strain did not require more sounds than the fingers of the right hand could manage; for we are told by classical writers that on the Phrygian Pipe, much used in Egypt, there were but three holes stopped by the fingers of the right hand. The supposed quotation from Apuleius is merely the gloss of a seventeenth century commentator. In fact, the phrase "tuba ductilis" does not necessarily imply a Trumpet which could be drawn out by the hand. The words, which apparently first occur in the Vulgate (fourth century A.D.), are a translation of the Septuagint σάλπιγξ ἐλατή (Salpinx elatē), which means a Trumpet made of metal *drawn out by the hammer*, as distinct from Trumpets of wood, horn, or cast metal.[1] The phrase occurs again in the rendering of Exod. 37, 19—"Fecit et candelabrum ductile de auro mundissimo ("Made a candlestick of pure gold of beaten work"), and I am not aware that it has ever been suggested that the golden candlestick of the Tabernacle was fitted with moving slides, or that the Cherubim, which we are told were made "ex auro ductili," were in any way collapsible.

I do not think we should be right in asserting that the Romans were ignorant of the means of lengthening a musical tube by means of an outer slide, for we know that the pitch and scale of their Tibiae were altered by such means, and the pipes of the Hydraulus probably possessed some such a

[1] Psalm 98, v 6. Pliny, in his Nat History, speaks of aes ductile, "hammered metal" In a French Psalter (twelfth century) we read "Chauntez a notre Seigneur en harpe et en voix de psalme en *estives mesnables* et en voiz de estive de corn" Estive is the French rendering of Tuba being derived probably from the Hebrew Chatzotzeroth "Mesnable" means "of beaten metal (ductilis)," as in the French rendering of Exod 37 19 "El fist une chaundelabre mesnable de or tres net" In a twelfth century translation of Psalm 98, 6, we read "bouzignes mesnables"

tuning apparatus.[1] In fact I am prepared any day to find that the Romans used the slide on their straight Trumpets, for the Chinese have such a slide, though they make but little use of it except for portability, but, until some more weighty and circumstantial evidence is forthcoming, the principle of the Sackbut and Trombone must remain outside the Roman period, a conclusion which is confirmed by two such authorities as Professor Gevaert and M. Victor Mahillon.

From Busine to Posaune.

We pass to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era—centuries of romance and chivalry, when Europe was brought into closer contact with the East through her crusading spirit, and men, awakened by the contact, were stretching out the hand to the dawn of enlightenment and progress.

Here we find, figured in manuscript and celebrated in poetry, a new instrument with an old name—the Busine,[2] a long, straight metal Trumpet, with a narrow, almost cylindrical, bore (Plate III., fig. 1), and claiming no relationship except in name to the old Roman Buccina. This long Trumpet, together with the nacquaires, or kettledrums, was introduced with many other novelties from the Saracens,

[1] Amongst the relics discovered at Pompeii, and now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, there is a long musical instrument described as a Trumpet. It consists of four separate tubes of different size inserted into each other, so that when placed together a straight tube is formed nearly six feet in length. At one end there is a bell similar to that of the trumpet and on this section (which is longer than the other three put together), the tube *tapers* from the bell to about half its distance; it then becomes *cylindrical*, as also are the other sections. On the smallest section there are three holes, pierced probably for the fingers, which can easily be covered by two fingers of one hand and a finger of the other; the end of this section is finished off by an ornamental knob. Though called a "Tromba" it appears more probable the instrument was played with a double reed, and if so the sound would be very deep when the finger-holes were closed. The diminishing sizes of the four sections show that the Romans were well acquainted with the *construction* of sliding tubes.

Mr. Neville Rolfe, British Consul at Naples, has most kindly furnished me with details and a photograph of a form of Roman Trumpet depicted in a fresco at Pompeii, uncovered in 1892, and which he considers shows the use of the slide. As regards the latter point, I do not think it assists us much, but it clearly shows that the Romans had a form of Trumpet with a "folded" tube similar to the modern military Trumpet—a discovery as interesting as it is novel. See Plate I., fig. 1. With this compare a Roman "bugle" in terra-cotta (probably a votive offering) found at Carpentras, South France, and now in the British Museum. It is similar to the small circular post-horn of the present day.

[2] The word appears in many forms: Buccine, bocine, buxine, buisine, bosine, buze, buzine, pusine, puzune. In Spain the straight trumpet was called Anafil, a corruption of the Arab Nefer, whence the Indian Nafari, a straight trumpet with a cylindrical tube. Some of the busines must have been at least six feet long.

whose numerous trumpets and horns are frequently mentioned by contemporary historians.[1] But whereas the short Trompe already used by the armies of Europe was restricted to a military purpose, the Busine was admitted into civil life, and we find it associated with the shawms, flutes, and stringed instruments. From the Busine, the Sackbut was evolved by two distinct steps:—

a. By the folding of the tube.
b. By the application of the slide.

The folding of the tube, which requires careful workmanship, and has revolutionized the whole family of brass instruments, was, as has already been shown, known to the Romans in the first century of our era; but it seems almost certain that, like so many of the arts of classical times, it was put aside and forgotten when the great empire fell. Just before or after the year 1300,[2] however, the folded form appears again, in Northern Italy, where a great revival of art and industry had begun.[3] Yet we may have to attribute this re-discovery of an old form to an Oriental source, for Italy was the great emporium of Eastern trade and commerce through the port of Venice, and a folded Trumpet (Tuturi) has existed for many centuries in India.[4] At any rate, in Europe, except in the solitary instance of the Pompeian fresco, there is no illustration or design of such a form until the fourteenth century. Gradually, however, during that

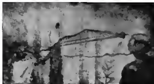
[1] *Cf.* Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, Part I., Vol. I., also Kastner, Manuel General de Musique Militaire, p. 76. In the French Metrical Romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries "Cors sarrazinois" are often mentioned as well as the Busines described as "buisines d'arein." Amongst the musicians attached to the service of Philip, Count of Poictiers (c. 1300) was Raoulin de Saint Verin, "ménestral de cor sarrazinois," his companions playing trumpets and drums (naquaires). Lavoix, Histoire de l'Instrumentation, Vol. I., p. 15.

[2] In a French romance of about this date "Cors crocus" (crooked horns) are mentioned.

[3] In 1297 the Trumpet makers of Paris (amongst whom is named Roger l'Anglois) were incorporated by Royal ordinance with the coppersmiths and braziers (chaudronniers), and two years afterwards those of Rouen followed their example. Lavoix, Instrum., Vol. I., p. 22. Bonanni (Gabinetto Armonico, Edition 1776, p. 57) claims the new invention for Tuscany. Horman (1519) says: "A trompette is straight but a clarion is wounde in and out with a hope." There were trumpets and clarions in the English army at Crecy (1346).

[4] Rambosson, Les Harmonies du son, 1878, p. 500. Day, Musical Instruments of South India, 1891, p. 154. Laborde (Essai sur la Musique, 1780), has an illustration of a folded Trumpet in use in Egypt. The name Surme given to it is the same as that of the Arabian Oboe Zamr or Zourna, and it is difficult to say whether the shape of the trumpet is in any way ancient. No such Trumpet is figured or described in earlier works. The generally accepted statement that the folding of the tube was invented by the French trumpeter, Maurin (c. 1498) is, of course, untenable.

PLATE I.



ROMAN FOLDED TRUMPET—1ST CENTURY A.D. FRESCO.
House of the Gladiators, Pompeii.

DANCE ORCHESTRA—SHAWMS AND SACKBUT
Burgundian Ivory Carving, c. 1400

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century the foldeo model appears more and more frequently in the paintings and carvings of the great artists of the day until, in the masterpieces of Fra Angelico,[1] Lucca della Robbia[2] and Taddeo Crivelli,[3] we see the process which shaped our present Trumpet and Trombone.

At first the tube was simply folded twice *in one plane*—a zigzag form, weak in construction, but far more portable than the long Busine (Plate III., fig 2)[4] Then the third length was turned over on the first length, a piece of wood being inserted between the tubes to keep them apart but rigid when they were bound together with canvas strapping. This primitive form continued in use for the Trumpet till almost the end of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, for the Sackbut or Trombone form of the instrument, the tube was not turned over, but supported at first by a piece of wood and then by strips of metal placed between the lengths of tubing, the earliest Sackbuts resembling the Trumpet shape even more closely than at present. These metal strips or "stays" were still detachable at the end of the seventeenth century. That this folding of the tube emanated from or through Italy is confirmed by the fact that in Germany and Spain, even in the sixteenth century, the Trumpet in the shape now commonly known was called the *Italian* trumpet[5] This improvement was soon followed by the second step—the application of the slide; for in the fourteenth century not only do we find the words "sacabuche" and "saquebute," but at its close an illustration of the instrument itself. This occurs on an ivory chessboard of Burgundian workmanship now in the National Museum at Florence amongst the scenes represented is a dance, and the music is supplied by players on Shawms and a Sackbut or Trombone (Plate I., fig 2).[6] In a Romance, too, of the

[1] Uffizi Gallery, Florence

[2] National Museum, Florence

[3] Borso Bible *see* Leichtentritt, Sammelb Internat Musik Gesellschaft, year VII, p 335 An early instance of the folded Trumpet in an English work is found in an illustration in a metrical Life of S Edmund written for Henry VI, *c* 1433 (Brit Museum) A striking illustration of many straight Busines is also found in a Latin Apocalypse of the early fourteenth century (Brit Museum)

[4] This form is figured by Virdung (Musica Getutscht 1511), who calls it the Thurnerhorn (*see* below p 12) and a very early English example (fourteenth century) is to be seen among the choir stall carvings in Worcester Cathedral The folded Trumpet he calls Feltrummet in its larger form, Clareta in its smaller In the Pompeian fresco the parallel tubes of the Trumpet where they overlap are closely joined, as in the modern instrument

[5] At a *fête* given in the Court of the Bastille by Francis I., 1518, brass instruments are described as "instruments d'arain à la mode milanaise." Pierre Les facteurs d instruments de Musique, p 393

[6] The Trombone was known in Italy as the Tromba Spezzata, which in French appears as the Trompette brisée or rompue

same century the instrument is mentioned as forming part of an orchestra which played during a great feast given in Lombardy. I think, therefore, it is to Northern Italy or Southern France we must look for the invention and application of the slide.[1]

The new instrument soon made its appearance in Germany, but the old name was retained in the word Buzaun or Posaune. At the Great Council of Constance (1414) we are told that as a preliminary to the investiture of Frederick of Nuremberg as Elector of Brandenburgh, all the "Posaunen" and all the "Pfeiffen" paraded through the streets of the city.[2] The evolution of the Posaune from the Busine throws a very interesting light on the old German tradition which places the slide *Trowbone* in the hands of the Archangel of the Judgment Day; the Trumpet, however, placed by mediæval writers and artists in the hands of the angels, was *not* the Posaune with a slide but its predecessor, the straight Busine, which, like the Buccina of old, was employed for the calling of assemblies.

The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

As we pass onward through the fifteenth century, allusions to and illustrations of the Sackbut become far more frequent. There is, for instance, in the Accademia delle Belle Arte, at Florence, an interesting scene painted on an old panel, representing the marriage festivities of Boccaccio Adimari and Liza Ricasoli, in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, at which an orchestra of three Shawm players and one Trombonist is performing (Plate II.).[3] In the Netherlands,

[1] It seems very probable that at any rate in its later stages the straight Busine also had a sliding tube by which the pitch of its sounds could be altered. The Chinese trumpet Lapa already alluded to even with its slightly conical bore is capable of producing several distinct gradations of sound by means of its slide and it will be observed in the Busine of 1460, (Plate III. fig. 1) how easily on its cylindrical tube pieced together in short sections, an efficient slide could be formed. We find, too in many of the later illustrations that the instrument is held downwards during performance and while the right or left hand is placed on the upper part of the tube the other grasps the instrument lower down in a way which suggests the movement of a slide. Père Bonanni moreover tells us in his Gabinetto Armonico (1722) that in his day a straight Trumpet with a slide was in use among the country people of Italy—a simple instrument which he dignifies with the name of "Tromba dritta spezzata."—*cf.* Psalter of René II of Lorraine Arsenal Library, Paris. Illustrated in Musée rétrospectif Paris 1900.

[2] V d. Hardt Magna Concilia Vol. V. p. 183.

[3] Trombone players of German or Low Country extraction were at the court of the Duke of Milan in 1469 (Van der Straeten Les musiciens nederlandais, p. 26)

Hans Memling,[1] and at Rome, Filippino Lippi[2] depict its form, whilst Israel van Mecken shows us in his engraving[3] how little the artist had acquainted himself with the elementary details of the instrument. We are now, however, out of the mists of probability, and face to face with the names and workmanship of celebrated makers and performers, for towards the end of the fifteenth century, Hans Neuschel, of Nuremberg, stands forth as not only the most eminent maker and player of his time, but as one whose genius had vastly improved the instrument both in its shape and in the quality of its tubing.[4] As maker by appointment to the Emperor Maximilian I., he had the privilege of engraving on his work the Imperial crown, a privilege which was continued to his successors, Hans and Jorg Neuschel, after his death in 1533. We have a perfect specimen of the Neuschel handiwork in the Trombone from my own collection illustrated on Plate III., fig. 3, and which, so far as can be ascertained, is the oldest specimen of the instrument in existence. The inscription engraved around the bell is as follows :—"MACHT JORG NEUSCHEL ZU NURNB. MDLVII.," with the Imperial crown. There are also some business letters of Jorg Neuschel's still extant, which give us some very interesting details of his work.[5] Duke Albrecht of Prussia had applied to Neuschel for certain instruments—twelve German Trumpets and twelve Italian Trumpets, and a Tenor Trombone. Neuschel quotes his secretary a price: for the twelve German Trumpets (straight Trumpets) three florins each (about £2 present value), for the twelve Italian (folded) Trumpets, six florins each (£4), for the trombone (gemeine busone) nine or ten florins (£6 to £7), "requiring not so much work as the Italian Trumpets, but for the regulation and tuning giving more trouble and labour."[6] The Duke asks him if he will

[1] Christusbild. Antwerp, c. 1450.

[2] In the church of S. Maria Sopra Minerva. An illustration is given in Lacroix, Le Moyen âge. It was painted in 1487.

[3] Herodias, c. 1475. An illustration given in Lacroix, Le Moyen âge.

[4] Rettberg, Zur geschichte der Musikinstrumente, Nurnberg, 1860. Euting, Zur geschichte der Blasinstrumente. Berlin, 1899, p. 34. I am indebted to Dr. Euting for his suggestive pamphlet. In the Town Hall at Nuremberg there is a mural painting by Albert Durer, representing the Nuremberg Town Band at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The band comprises two players on Shawms, two Trombonists and a Cornetto player. The Fife and Drum players are in the background, but are not performing. The principal Trombonist, who occupies the seat of honour, is an elderly man in official robes and very probably represents Hans Neuschel himself.

[5] Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte. Berlin. Jahr. IX. p. 149 *ff*.

[6] Among the "extraordinary charges" of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the year 1595-96 is the following :—" Item for a Sackbutt and the carriage iiij li."

make a Trombone in silver[1] with four slides (double slide) suitable for choral music. The maker replies that it will require exceedingly beautiful and good workmanship, but does not state his price. The order given includes four mouthpieces for a Mittel Posaune (an alto or tenor instrument) and a pair of crooks for a Bass Posaune. These letters are dated during the years 1540-42. In 1545 Neuschel writes to another customer, saying that he will make five large Posaunen and "a Mittel-Busone (which will serve also as a discant to the Bass)" for eighty-nine Rhenish florins (£60), whereas for such a set the King of England, the King of Poland, and other great personages always gave him some 100 thaler (£120). With the death of Hans and Jorg Neuschel, the family ceased to be makers, and the business passed into the hands of Anton Schnitzer, one of whose instruments, dated 1579, and bearing the Imperial crown, is preserved with parts of others in the Civic Museum at Verona, being the next oldest Trombone in existence.[2]

At the close of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth century, the popularity of the Sackbut is shown everywhere. In 1495 a motet for five voices by Obrecht was performed at Venice, accompanied by two tromboni, and Dürer's magnificent series of engravings representing "The Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian," issued in 1512, reproduce some of the many combinations in which it was used, for in the procession we observe a "Flanders band" consisting of five Shawms and five Trombones, the players being mounted on horseback: the boys and men of the Imperial Chapel Choir are accompanied by Zinken (Cornets) and Trombones; elsewhere the instrument is joined with Shawms and Krumhorns, while at one point in the procession they form a band of their own. The fact is there was much more liberty allowed in the use of the Trombone than in that of the Trumpet: the latter was restricted to royal and military purposes, the former was in the hands of the Thürmer or Tower men who acted as Town musicians and accompanists at festivals and pageants.[3] At the wedding of the Duke of Tuscany with Eleanor of Toledo in 1539, the bride was met at the gates of Florence by a choir of twenty-four singers, accompanied by four Cornetti and four Trombones, and, in a ballet which followed, four Trombones supported a five-part choir. On an

[1] Hans Neuschel had already made silver Trombones for Pope Leo X.

[2] Illustrated in the catalogue of the International Music Exhibition, Vienna, Italian section. Anton Schnitzer was apparently succeeded in the business by Jobst Schnitzer (see page 17), and he in turn by Birckholtz, one of whose Trombones, bearing the Imperial crown, is in the Paul de Wit collection, dated 1650. A Trumpet by Anton Schnitzer, dated 1599, is in the Conservatoire Museum at Paris.

[3] Kappey, Hist. of Military Music, p. 14. Virdung writes Thurnerhorn for Thurmerhorn.

PLATE II.

Dance Orchestra—Shawms and Sackbut. Florentine Panel-painting 15th century.

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elaborate tapestry representing a German Court ball about the year 1560, we are shown not only the Koncertmeister with his conducting stick, but an orchestra of six ladies and four men—one of the ladies playing the trombone[1], and, if further proof were needed of its popularity, the sixteenth-century compositions of Krüger (Psalmodia Sacra, 1585) and Gabrieli (Symphoniæ Sacrae, 1597), bear ample testimony to the great appreciation of the instrument. It is to be regretted that the musical treatises of the period do not attempt to explain the instrument. Virdung (1511), Agricola (1529 and 1545), and Luscinius (1536), though they give an illustration—identical in each treatise—dismiss the subject in a few words. Agricola says that the melody was obtained simply by "blowing and drawing" (durchs blasen und ziehen), and then honestly adds, "but I cannot say much on this point, as I have not as yet mastered the reason of it." Zarlino, in his Sopplimenti Musicali (Venice, 1588), is the first writer to give any straightforward account of the instrument. It must be remembered that, like many other arts and crafts of these centuries, the method of playing the sackbut was a close secret confided only to pupils of the fraternity.

The Sackbut in England and Scotland.

The introduction of the Sackbut into our own country took place in the fifteenth century. No notice of it appears in the first half of that century, and the musical establishment of Edward IV. consisted only of Trumpets, Shawms, and "smalle pypes," but in the accounts of Henry VII.[2] we have the following entry:—

1495. May 3.
Item. To nine Trumpets for their wag^s .. £18 0 0
To foure Shakbusshes for their wag^s .. £7 0 0
To three String mynstrels for their wag^s £5 0 0

The form "Shakbusshe," which also occurs in the Lord Chamberlain's Records of 1503, suggests that the instrument was brought in through the alliance and commerce with Spain which the English King so studiously cultivated,[3] and

[1] Lavoix, L'histoire de l'instrumentation. Vol. I., p. 181.

[2] Brit. Mus. Ad. MSS. 7099, and printed in Excerpta Historica.

[3] In the inventory of the instruments belonging to Queen Isabella of Spain, c. 1500, appear the following: One "Sacabuche" of silver with the tubes and mountings gilded, in three pieces. Another "Sacabuche grande" of silver which has two pieces, with the ornaments and crooks gilded, and on the larger [piece] two little chains, one to each crook [cavo]. Small chains seem to have been used to bind the crooks more firmly to the instrument (*see* Praetorius, Theatrum Instrumentorum, Pedrel, Organografia).

not from France or the Netherlands, where the form of the word was Saqueboute. It is not until almost the end of the reign that the spelling Sagbut or Sacbut appears. King Henry's Sackbut players were at first of foreign extraction, and early in the sixteenth century we find the names of two eminent performers, Hans Naghele and Hans Broen, both apparently emanating from the Low Countries. In 1501 they paid a visit to the Court of Charles of Austria, to whom at that time their country belonged, and with the following result: "1501. To Hans Nagle and Hans Broen, players of the Saquebute of the King of England, £37 10s, in that they recently have played before His said Highness for his pleasure."[1] In 1503 Hans Naille appears again among "the Sakbusshes and Shamoyes" of the English king.[2] Henry VIII., for whom Jorg Neuschel made Sackbuts, maintained ten players, the three principal receiving £4 each (per quarter), but he left no specimen of the instrument in his private collection.[3]

At his death the players were reduced to four, who in 1547 were the following: Mark Anthony Petala, Nicholas Baudre, Anthony Syma, and Anthony Maria. The number was subsequently raised to six, of whom five received £24 6s 8d per annum each, and one £36 10s. Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth maintained the same number.[4] English players were now to the fore, and we meet with such familiar names as John Peacocke, Robert Maie, Nicholas Andrew, Nicholas Cottman, Robert Howlett, Ralph Green, John Lancer and others. John Howes, Gatherer of Legacies for Christ's Hospital, in "A famyliar and frendly Discourse" (1587) says, "I also think it convenient that the children should learne to singe and play uppon all sorts of instruments, as to sounde the trumpett, the cornett, the recorder or flute, to play uppon *shagbolts*, shalmes and all other instruments that are to be plaied uppon either

[1] Van der Straeten, Musique des Pays Bas, Vol. VII., 272.

[2] Lord Chamberlain's Records, edited by the Rev. H. Cart.

[3] In the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII. are the following entries:

1531. Ap. 24. Paied in Rewarde to John Bolenger one of the Sagbuttes, xl s.

Nov. 8. Paied to Barba John and Peter Maria Shakbuttes at ther departing into ther contreys, xx li.

Paied to an other of the Sagbuttes at his lyke departing vl li. xiii s. iiii d.

Nov. 9. Paied to Antony the Sagbut for his costes going to Southampton wt the new Sagbuttes, iiii s. iiii d.

[4] In the valuation of the offices in Church and State held under the Crown made in the year 1589 amongst the "musicians and plaiers" are Sagbutte 6, whereof 5 havinge £29 6s. 8d. by the year and one other at £20. Brit. Mus., Lansd. MSS. 171, f. 248. The names of the English performers are taken from the Lord Chamberlain's Records.

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with wynde or finger" So famous in fact did the English school of Sackbut playing become that in 1604 Charles III. Duke of Lorraine, sent his cornetto player, Jean Presse, to England to look for various kinds of instruments to accompany his music, and amongst those secured were two "joueurs de sacquebottes anglois," by name Jean Rabesen (Robinson) and Robert Pasquier (Parker), and two cornet players—Jean Adsun (Addison) and Guillaume Burt.[1]

As regards the use of the Sackbut in France, the earliest notice of its approval by royalty which I have been able to discover is in a payment made December 31, 1518, to "Christophe Plaisance, sacqueboute et joueur de haulxbois du roi."[2] We know that Francis I. was very anxious to eclipse the pomp and pageantry of his neighbour Henry VIII., and it may be that in his desire to rival the "10 sagbutts" of the English Court he was the first to introduce the instrument into the royal establishment of France. For in that country the use of the instrument apparently has differed from that of other countries, in that it was confined wholly as an accompaniment to the dance and popular fetes In 1588 Arbeau (Orchésographie)[3] informs us that the proper accompaniment to the Pavane in the Grand Bal was not the simple flute and drum, but "haulbois" and "saqueboutes," and as such they appear in the Grand Ecurie of the French Kings in the seventeenth century. But in England and in other countries the sackbut was used in religious worship and in supporting the chorales, a practice which is maintained to the present day.[4]

From many sources it is evident that Sackbuts had taken a definite place in the English Church Music of the sixteenth century. For instance, in the statutes of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury (*temp.* Henry VIII.) we find the following proviso —"We decree therefore and ordain that there be in perpetuity in the said Church . . . duo Sambuciarii (vulgo Sackbutteers) et duo Cornutarii (vulgo Cornetteers)." In 1682 the Chapter replied to certain visitatorial questions from the Archbishop, "there are four places vacant in the Church which were supplied formerly by two sackbutts and

[1] Jacquot, La Musique en Lorraine, p. 61. Illustrations of the Funeral of Charles III in 1608 given by Jacquot show the sackbuts sometimes with the bell section over the left shoulder, sometimes over the right.

[2] Pierre, Les Facteurs d'instruments de Musique, 1893, p. 393. In the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII. is the following entry: "1532 Aug. 27 Paied to the frenche quene Sacbuttes in Rewarde by the King's commandements xxviii s."

[3] Arbeau, Orchésographie, p. 29.

[4] Kastner (Les Danses des Morts, p. 213) says that in 1840 at Stuttgardt it was the custom each day for 4 musicians placed on the church tower to play a concert of sacred music on the Cornetto (Zinke) and also tenor and bass Trombones.

two cornets."[1] The earliest allusion which I can find in English literature to the Sackbut is in Hawes' "Passetyme of Pleasure" (1506), where amongst the instruments which attend Dame Musick are "Sakbuttes."

The instrument was introduced into Scotland by James IV., who in 1502 had married Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. It first appears in the Treasurer's accounts under the following entry:—

1505, July 21. To the dranicht Trumpet gif he marye not for one year . . . 36 shillings; and again on November 6: To the Draucht Trumpet to fee him a hors to Dumferline, 9 sh. 1507, August 1: To the drawcht Trumpet his quarter-fee, £4 7s 6d. 1508, February 26: To the Draucht Trumpet that had ane sair lip, 27 sh. According to Sir John Dalyell,[2] the most celebrated player at the Scottish Court was one Julian Drummond, who held the "officium tubae ductilis" to James IV. and James V. his son. Drummond having been slain at Pinkie in 1547, the office and perquisites were confirmed for life to his grandson, Julius.

Thomas Coryat, the traveller, whose memory will ever be thankfully honoured for being the first to introduce the table fork from Italy into England, and so to supersede the use of the fingers, gives us in his Crudities[3] the following appreciative note on the music of the sackbuts which he heard at Venice in 1608 during the feast of S. Roche. "This feast consisted principally of musicke which was both vocal and instrumental—so good, so delectable, so rare, so admirable, so super-excellent, that it did even ravish and stupefie all those strangers that never heard the like. But how others were affected with it I know not; for mine own part I can say this, that I was for the time even rapt up with S. Paul unto the third heaven. Sometimes there were sixteen or twenty men together having their master or moderator to keep them in order; sometimes sixteen played together upon their instruments—ten sagbuts, four cornets, and two viol de gambaes of an extraordinary greatnesse; sometimes tenne, six sagbuts and four cornets. These musicians had bestowed upon them by that company of S. Roche an hundred ducats, which is £23 6s. 8d. starling."

The Seventeenth Century.

The seventeenth century brings us several important and interesting treatises on the Sackbut.

Cerone, in his El Melopeo, written in Spanish, but published at Naples in 1613, tells us that the ordinary instrument, which

[1] Kindly communicated by the Rev. C. E. Woodruff, Canterbury.
[2] Dalyell, "Musical Memoirs of Scotland, 1849," p. 177.
[3] Coryat's Crudities, p. 250.

we now call the Tenor Trombone, had a scale of twenty notes, from Bass D to Treble A, but that the compass depended upon the ability of the player and the crooks used. Praetorius, in his Organographia (1618), confirms this, for he says that practised players were able to extend the compass to Treble C, D, or E; in fact, one Erhardus Borussus was able to reach the G above the Treble stave, and the A below the Bass stave, a compass of almost four octaves. The same writer also describes and in his Appendix (1620) figures the various sizes of the instrument then in use They comprised

1. *The Alt Posaune*, with a normal compass from B♮ on the Bass stave to D or E on the Treble.[1]
2. *The Ordinary Posaune*, from E below the Bass stave to G or A on the Treble.
3. *The Quart Posaune*, an octave below the Alt-Posaune, though also made a tone lower.
4. *The Octave Posaune*, an octave below the Ordinary or Tenor Posaune.

The Octave Posaune was made in two forms, the older way being by an enlargement of the bore and by additional tubing inserted between the slide section and the bell, the more recent way, invented by Hans Schreiber in 1614, was by a proportionate enlargement of the whole instrument, the slide being strengthened by an additional stay and the lower positions reached by means of a handle attachment as in the ordinary Bass instrument It is somewhat curious that he does not mention the double-slide Trombone, for, as we have seen, Jorg Neuschel was asked to construct such an instrument in 1542, and in the valuable collection formerly belonging to Herr Paul de Wit, but now at Cologne, there is a perfect specimen of the double-slide Trombone made by Jobst Schnitzer of Nuremberg (probably the successor of Anton Schnitzer and the Neuschels, as he places the Imperial crown on his work). It is dated 1612, and thus the supposed invention of the French maker Halary was anticipated by more than two centuries.[2]

Mersenne, both in his Latin Treatise (Harmonicorum Libri XII), and his French work (Harmonie Universelle, 1636) carefully describes the Sackbut, which he calls Tuba tractilis, mentioning the seven positions and giving the diatonic scale for the first octave. He does not distinguish between the various sizes of the instrument, in fact, he tells

[1] Praetorius says that although the Alt-Posaune can be used for the discant, yet for tone the ordinary (Tenor) Posaune is better

[2] About 1817 Gottfried Weber also introduced a Bass Trombone with double slide, and Professor Case has kindly informed me that in 1738 Rowe of Liverpool brought out a Contra Bass Posaune with a similar device

us that it was customary to attach to the ordinary trombone a special crook called Tortil (in England known as the Wreath, and in Germany as Krumbügel) whereby the pitch of the instrument was lowered a fourth so that it might form a bass to the hautbois.[1] In his French work he alludes to an effect which must have seemed most peculiar in days when valve instruments were unknown. His words, in a free translation, are as follows "But the greatest difficulty consists in knowing how to make the sounds by drawing out the inner tubes and lowering the outer slide, for the instrument still makes the same sound when you have drawn it out one or two feet, and this seems to be contrary to the proportions of other instruments which descend the lower the longer they are."

The practical explanation of his words is this Position 2 gives A♮ and also Position 6 (when the instrument is 2 feet longer) gives the same note; or again, Position 1 gives D, Position 3 (21 inches longer) gives D, and Position 7 (3 feet 8 inches longer) gives D For example, I take the so-called B♭ Tenor instrument.

But the master continues —"It is however quite easy to explain how the sounds are produced by means of the various lengthenings of this Sackbut, if you have heard what I said on the intervals which the Trumpet makes by the different wind which is given them" In fact the notes of the harmonic series overlap in the higher register of the Trombone, and the result is that whereas in Position 2 A♮ is the 3rd harmonic on A, in Position 6 it is the 4th harmonic on F.

In Position 1 D is the 4th harmonic on B♭
" 3 D " 5th " G.
" 7 D " 6th " E.

To the trombone player this choice of positions is invaluable.

We have unfortunately no English treatise on the instrument in the seventeenth century. Lord Bacon in his Sylva Sylvarum, just mentions it, for he writes "All instruments that have either returns as trumpets or flexions as cornets, or are drawn up and put from as sackbuts, have a purling sound, but the recorder or flute, that have none of these inequalities, give a clear sound" In Campion's maske, performed at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1607, in honour of the marriage of Sir James Hay, there were two groups of musicians, one with "nine viols and three lutes," the other consisting of bass and mean lutes, a bandora, a harpsichord, two treble

[1] It is evident that in doing so the positions of the slide must necessarily have been somewhat lengthened but I find that on the instrument so lowered it is just possible, with the aid of the lip to use the seventh position the rest would be only a matter of memory similar to the difference between the stopping of the violin and viola

violls and a "double sackbote," probably an instrument a fourth lower than that in ordinary use and sounding double C. Drayton, in his Polyolbion, 1613, speaks of the "Sagbut deepe," whilst Shakespeare mentions the instrument but once, and that in connection with the "shouting Romans" (Coriolanus, Act V.)[1] In the seventeenth century MS notes of John Aubrey, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is the following interesting reference to the use of the Sackbut: "Sir John Danvers was a great lover of Musick and especially of J. Coparario's (*sic*) Fansies, which were for a sagbot, a violin and an organ, equivalent to five parts. These were performed by Christopher Gibbons his organist (since Doctor), ... that was sagbuteer (and his Butler) to King Charles I., and Humphrey Madge (his valet de chambre) violinist. The house is vaulted all underneath which meliorates the sound of the musique and these musitians having played their fansies so often and being regulated by Kit Gibbons, they made the best harmony that ever I heard.'[2]

The Discant Trombone.

It was not until the closing years of the seventeenth century that the family of Sackbuts was rendered complete by the addition of a true discant or treble instrument, a fourth above Praetorius' Alt-Posaune, which had hitherto been used for the highest part, and an octave above the Tenor instrument (Plate III., fig 4). The makers of these little Trombones, such as Sterner, Schwabe and Schmied, in Germany, and Ahlgren, in Sweden, were working a little before the year 1700 (in which we find the first mention of it in German literature[3]), and during the eighteenth century. In England the earliest music written for this instrument is the March and Canzona for the funeral of Queen Mary, on March 5, 1695, by Henry Purcell. The March has been shown to be an adaptation from music written by Purcell for "The Libertine," a play produced in 1676, and this could be rendered with the Alto Trombone for the upper part. But the Canzona, a new composition in 1695, demands the true discant instrument, on which the A♭ above the Treble Stave can be easily

[1] *Cf.* also Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy (1621). Edition 1800, Vol i., p 378 Part II Sect 2 Memb 3 The simile is applied in a digression on astronomical and other signs of the air "to the comets etc, which show themselves amongst the planets and the moon now nearer, now farther off together asunder, as he that playes upon a sagbut by pulling it up and downe alters his tones and tunes, do they their stations and places" [*See Discussion at end of paper*]

[2] Quoted by Randall Davies, Story of Chelsea Old Church p 139, and communicated by Mr Arthur Hill

[3] Kuhnau, Der Musikalische Quacksalber, p 83

obtained. The name Flat Trumpets, given to the four instruments required for the performance of this interesting and affecting music, is unusual.[1] Dr. Cummings has suggested that music written in the minor key, as this is, was generally known as Flat music, to that I would venture to add that the Sackbuts or Trombones (known at that day as "Trumpets harmonious") were also called Flat Trumpets because they alone, of all brass instruments, could give in their ordinary scale the flat third of the minor key, the stopping of the Horn by the hand being then unknown, and the use of the valves undreamt of. J. Sebastian Bach, with his usual desire to try unknown or newly-invented instruments, has given to the Discant Trombone, under the name "Tromba da tirarsi," important parts in his Church Cantatas, writing for it not like a Trumpet or a transposing instrument, but as a Trombone in its actual pitch. Gluck, in his opera "Orfeo," terms it the Soprano Trombone, and Altenburg (Heroisch-musikalische Trompeter und Paukerkunst, 1795) describes the Zug Trompete (Slide Trumpet), "which usually the Church and Town musicians use in sounding their sacred chorales," as "very like a little Alt-Posaune."

THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

For some unexplained reason the eighteenth century witnessed a marked decline in sackbut playing; it was so in France and Italy, and it was so in England. The Court musicians still practised the instrument, and sackbuts were played at the Coronations of George I. and George II., but as a popular instrument it almost disappeared, yielding to the peculiar charms of the Serpent and the Horn.

Dr. Burney relates that great difficulty was found in obtaining players for the Handel Celebrations in 1784. "In order to render the band as powerful and complete as possible it was determined to employ every species of instrument that was capable of producing grand effects in a great orchestra and spacious building. Among them the Sackbut or Double Trumpet was sought, but so many years had elapsed since it had been used in this kingdom that neither the instrument nor a performer upon it could easily be found. It was however discovered after much useless enquiry not only here but by letter on the continent, that in His Majesty's private Military Band there were six musicians who played the three several species of sacbut—tenor, base, and double base." [2] I may add that these were probably the players introduced by the Duke of York about this time for the new Band of the Coldstream Guards.

[1] Sammelbände der Internat. Mus. Gesellschaft, year IV., p. 225.

[2] Burney, Account of Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey, etc., Introduction, p. 7, 1785.

Early in the nineteenth century the Sackbut appeared again, but now no longer under its old English name; as an appanage of the Italian Opera it was called the Trombone. A strange form also appeared with the grotesque head of a dragon in place of the usual bell, and this was called the "Bucin," taking us back to Buzine and Buccina once more.

On this revival of the Trombone a writer in the Encyclopædia Londinensis (1819) makes some pertinent remarks: "Trombones and Double Drums are now so frequently used in the opera, oratorios, &c., that they are become a nuisance to lovers of pure harmony and refined tones; for, in fact, the vibrations of these instruments produce noise, not musical sounds, though in certain peculiar situations they have a noble and grand effect."

And since that day the association of the Trombone with military music has tended to make players force their notes unduly, while the addition of valves (first added in 1818) has still further enlisted the services of the instrument among "the soldiers in the park."[1] How Mersenne would shudder at the ordinary Trombone playing of the present day! Of the instrument of his time he says, "It should be blown by a skilful musician so that it may not imitate the sounds of the Trumpet, but rather assimilate itself to the sweetness of the human voice, lest it should emit a warlike rather than a peaceful sound." It was with this object in view that the old mouthpieces were made with a long conical taper inside (Plate III, letter A), more like that of the Orchestral Horn, whereas now they are made either with a short cone or simply cup-shaped like that of the Trumpet.

Would it not be possible to revive in this twentieth century the true Sackbut playing for which England was so famous in the sixteenth century? To have the complete quartet of instruments—discant, alto, tenor, and bass in F, *not* G—or (if the Discant Trombone is considered too small), the alto, tenor, bass, and contrabass? To aim at the full, round, quiet rolling tone which can only be equalled by the open Diapason of the Organ?

I quote once more from a passage penned by its writer in 1843, and yet one which might well be impressed on our young composers of to-day:—"The Trombone when judiciously employed is most efficacious in producing great and sublime effects; but by the followers of the ultra-modern

[1] A Trombone in which slide and valve were combined was produced by Messrs Besson some years ago. The one valve lowers the pitch of the instrument a minor third, so that the more extended positions of the slide are avoided. An instrument with the bell over the shoulder in a line with the slide section was in use in Belgium c. 1830, and similar or other bizarre models have been tried from time to time. To the French and American instruments "shake valves" are sometimes attached.

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school its power is exceedingly abused . . . . It is employed by the composer to combat that drowsiness which his dullness provokes and to direct the attention of the many from that insipidity which no brazen clangour can conceal from the few."

By the kind permission of Messrs. Boosey and Mr. D. J. Blaikley, I am able to give the following comparative measurements and details between Neuschel's Sackbut of 1557 and a high grade B flat Tenor Trombone of 1907 (Plate III., fig. 5)—the pitch being practically identical (b♭=479·3 or a¹=452·4).

	Sackbut, 1557	Trombone, 1907
Total length of model .	42½ inches	43⅛ inches.
Bore of inner sliding tube .	½ inch diam.	7/16 in. diam.
Width of slide between the tubes	3⅜ inches	2¾ inches.
Stays	Flat and detachable.	Round and fixed.

In the later instrument the inner sliding tubes are furnished with "stockings," small ferrules of hard metal on which the outer tubes slide instead of being in contact throughout their whole length. Whilst this invention of the last century renders the action easier, it emphasizes the difference in diameter between the outer and inner tubes with a corresponding effect upon the intonation of certain notes. Mr. Blaikley informs me that Messrs Boosey still occasionally construct trombones on the older system. Other additional improvements on the modern instrument are the tuning slide placed at the upper bend, and the water-key attached to the lower extremity of the slide.

The following is a comparison between some mouthpieces used at different periods :—

	16th or 17th century		Early and middle 19th century.			20th century.	
	In.	In	In	In	In	In.	In
Depth of cup or cone	15/16	1 7/16	1	7/8	1 3/16	13/16	1
Width of cup at rim	1	1 1/16	13/16	15/16	1 3/16	13/16	1
Width of rim ...	3/16	5/16	¼	¼	¼	3/16	¼
	Tenor.	Bass.	Tenor.		Bass.	Tenor.	Bass.

PLATE III.

1. Busine, by Sebastian Hainlein, 1460.
2. Folded Trumpet (earliest Mediæval form)
3. Sackbut by Jorg Neuschel, 1557 (A. Early shape of Bass mouthpiece)
4. Discant Trombone, by Johann Schmied 1781.
5. Tenor Trombone by Boosey & Co., 1907

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DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are all greatly indebted to Mr. Galpin for doing what he always does, and giving us a clear, exhaustive and highly pleasant description of his subject. We are also indebted to the performer, Mr. Martin, who has shown me in great propinquity to my back what energetic movements trombone playing requires. I have no antiquarian knowledge of the trombone, but I think it is quite evident on the broad basis of experience that the slide did not arise in the East, but in the West. In the first place, all the brass-instrument tube-work in the East is conical. Secondly, they do not want a scale there, brass instruments being used there exclusively for making a flare or noise. It was only in the West, when harmony began, and voices had sometimes to be accompanied in the open air without organ, that the need of trombones with a scale arose. They first flourished for this purpose principally in Italy. They fell from their high estate when strings came in.

MR. GILBERT WEBB.—There is no justification, I understand, for the use of the term sackbut in the English Bible; but the introduction of the word in early versions shows that it must have been known in England in those days.

MR. GALPIN.—The point was whether it was a legitimate translation. The word sackbut does not appear in Wycliffe's Bible, the original being simply rendered by "sambuke." In later times, however, translators seem to have tried to reconstruct Nebuchadnezzar's band on the lines of those of their own day; so that while the symphonia (the bagpipe) became a dulcimer, and cornet and flute replaced the "trumpe and pype" of the earlier version, sambuca was represented by "sackbut," an interpretation of the Latin word which had already become popular.

DR. SOUTHGATE.—I have taken the trouble to turn up some old authors on the subject of the sackbut. Shakespeare speaks of it in a passage where the various instruments are called "to make the sun dance," a curious expression, evidently intended to convey the idea of universal liveliness. In Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" he says that "he that plays the sackbut by pulling it up and down, alters the tone and tune." Burton was not a musician, but the passage shows how popular the instrument must have been that the reference should be intelligible. Michael Drayton, in a remarkable passage in his "Polyolbion" speaks of "the sackbut deep." With regard to the instrument of which our Lecturer has only a picture, it is curious that the consul should describe it as at "half cock." I suppose that, as in

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the case of guns, instruments are placed at half cock so that they should not go off. How thankful we should be that the instrument has not been sent here for Mr. Galpin to try!

Mr. BLAIKLEY.—I do not think I have anything to add to what has been said on the trombone, but one special point occurred to me when Mr Galpin referred to old drawings—though this has no particular connection with the trombone. One may very easily be misled by them. For instance, the old cornet à bouquin, with a cup mouth-piece, is in appearance very much like a shawm—an instrument in which the reed is protected by a covering piece which in profile looks almost exactly like the mouthpiece of a brass instrument. One may easily be led astray by references to old vase paintings and the like when one wants to find out what an instrument really was. Even our modern artists rarely draw an instrument artistically so as to give one an idea of the manner of handling it. It may be allowed that if an artist draws a man at the pianoforte, he generally puts him in a possible position, but when he represents a player on a wind instrument, he usually puts him holding or fingering it in quite an impossible manner.

(A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr Galpin and Mr Martin.)

Mr. GALPIN.—I am very much obliged to you for your kind attention, and also for the thanks given to the performer and myself. For the loan of this very up-to-date trombone I am greatly indebted to Messrs. Boosey and Mr. D. J. Blaikley, especially as it has enabled me to compare its construction and tone with the instrument of 350 years ago. Of the passage in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" I was already aware, but, as I had not had time to locate the passage in the original work, I am unable to say whether the simile is applied by the author to the man afflicted with religious melancholy or with love melancholy, or with the melancholy caused by indigestion. I quite agree with Mr. Blaikley that drawings are sometimes misleading. I trust I have exercised care in the selection of the drawings shown to-night. I do not think that the posture of the sackbut player in the Florentine Marriage Scene is impossible: in fact the little man seems very fairly seated for his work, and it will also be noticed that the instrument is not of the same model as shown in the sixteenth century and twentieth century trombones before us. The instrument is more compact, and the bell extends beyond the lower bend of the closed slide: in fact this model, which is representative of the earliest forms of the sackbut, is much more like that of the trumpet and the primitive folded Busine. Some have attributed the introduction of the later form to Hans Neuschel (*c.* 1500), but it is depicted in paintings before his day. As

regards the cornet, I do not think it could easily be confused with the shawm, because the latter instrument has a wide bell which was never applied to the mediæval cornet. But it is only too true that many artists take very little trouble about the proper representation of musical subjects. I well remember as a boy being taken by my father to the Royal Academy, and to my horror I saw a picture of a lady playing the violin with the bow on the wrong side of the bridge.

DECEMBER 11, 1906

J. A. FULLER MAITLAND, Esq., M.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

SPANISH MUSIC.

By Rev. Henry Cart de Lafontaine.

The *Gaceta Musical de Madrid* published, thirty years ago, in its number of March 18, a quotation from M Adrian de la Fage, in which he says: "How numerous are the difficulties and how obscure is the history of music, and how many points remain yet to be cleared up! . . . A proof of this is the almost complete ignorance which we are in concerning the ancient school of Spanish music before Palestrina."

Riano, in his interesting book on "Early Spanish Music," comments on this as follows: "These words of the French critic are applicable to the present day, for modern authors who have written on the subject barely allude to musical annotation or compositions by Spanish authors. This causes a sad break in the history of musical art; it is justified in a measure by the silence of the Spaniards themselves, who have hitherto shown little interest in collecting materials for a complete history of Spanish music from the earliest times."

As a prelude to any discussion of this tortuous question, the Spanish school of music, I think we ought to try for a moment and comprehend what Spain and the Spaniards really mean. We must always remember that Spain is to a large extent a country apart, both from its physical configuration and its warlike history it has not had the civilised advantages which so many other nations have for long enjoyed. You can go to Spain to-day and in some parts be at once transported back to a mediævalism which is in these times an almost unique possession of the Iberian peninsula. And then the Spanish character is and

always has been reserved to a degree, proud even to haughtiness, well content with its own things and desiring no traffic with outsiders. Many people seem to imagine that Spaniards are always executing wild national dances or strumming on the guitar and singing love ditties to their mistress's eye-brow, but I fancy they would be surprised at the actual sedateness and steady monotony of many Spanish towns. Spain wants to be freed from existing burdens before she can rise up and take her proud and proper place amongst the nations of the world; above all it is necessary that she should have, if such a thing were possible, a stable and secure form of government. The mention of government reminds me of an amusing story told by Mrs. Elliot in her "Diary of an idle woman in Spain." It is said that one day God called in assembly the patron saints of the various countries, and asked them what gifts would most benefit their lands and peoples, and then granted to all their desire. But finally "le Bon Dieu" said, "Where is that lazy Spaniard St James? What a fellow he is, always putting everything off to mañana!" (to morrow). Santiago then clatters in with much noise of horse hoofs, and, prostrating himself, demands for Spain wit and beauty, which "le Bon Dieu," being in the best of moods, promises. St. James, turning to leave, thinks suddenly of another request, that Spain may have the best government, to which request, when proffered, came the answer, "Now this is too much! To all the other saints I have only granted one wish; you have already two. To punish you, I declare that Spain shall never have any government at all!"

I think one may say without hesitation that Spain has a great heritage in her national music, and the richness and variety of this section of her tone-colour is unknown to, because unsuspected by, most of the peoples of Europe. There is no knowing how old may be the songs sung and the dances danced in the various provinces of Spain; there is no doubt that some go back to a remote antiquity, and it is characteristic of the people that the music to them has not been written down, but transmitted through generations by wandering minstrel or blind beggar. I have used the phrase "the various provinces of Spain," and I would beg you to remember that these provinces are each in themselves as separated by racial characteristics and traditions as the whole land is itself separated from the rest of Europe. And this strange remoteness in the various types of the race is now in force, and is still demonstrated by the fact that the ruling monarch is described as the king or queen, not "of Spain," but "of the Spains." This dividedness is further emphasized by the quasi-supremacy of the provinces of Old and New Castile. "Castellano a las derechas" means a

Spaniard to the backbone, and "Hablar Castellano," to speak Castilian, is the correct expression for speaking the Spanish language.

Now to come to our subject, the first name that looms forth very large in the beginning of the Middle Ages is that of San Isidoro, Archbishop of Seville, who is claimed as being a theoretical musician because in the third book of his great work, "Originum sive etymologium" (which was in twenty books), he makes mention of harmony as composed of consonances, and diaphony as composed of dissonances, grouping them under the generic term "polyphony."

You must not be surprised in such a country as Spain to find music in these early days almost entirely in the hands of the priests and monks, and whether it be as executants, theorists, or composers, you will generally notice that if not already priests, they make themselves so later in life, and one is fairly astonished at the number of bishops and archbishops who engage in the heavenly science Immediately after San Isidoro, we find his successor, San Leandro, engaging with San Braulio, Bishop of Tarragona, in composing mozarabic hymns, whilst San Ildefonso, of Toledo, the celebrated saint to whom the Virgin presented a chasuble, a circumstance pictorially dear to artists—this good man is composing masses which bear his name.

In writing of this epoch, Fuertes, in his interesting "History of Spanish Music," mentions that the Irish, knowing that music was being cultivated in Spain, asked for Spanish musicians to come and teach them an art which they considered as one of the principal adornments of a proper education. Pope Vitalianus eventually sent over a Greek, Theodore, and an African, Adrian, and it is said they were much struck with the music and dancing, the food, the clothing, and the military exercises of the Irish

Alphonso X., nicknamed the Wise, King of Castile and Leon, created at Salamanca the first public professorship that in Europe had ever been dedicated to musical instruction. This was the prince who in truly Spanish manner maintained that if God had, at the time of the Creation, called on him for advice, this world would have been in all respects better ordered. His father, Ferdinand III., was the founder of the "Fetes" of "Gay Saber" (Gai Savoir), assemblages of artists summoned as to a Court of Love

It was in Alphonso's time that William Adhemar wandered about, under his patronage, with a troop of artists, being himself a notable troubadour, from one castle to another, composing and singing love-songs, and reciting wittily satirical poems. Alphonso had a regular entourage of troubadours, jesters, and lute players. But he could be serious on occasion, as is proved by his musical compositions contained

in the collection "Cantigas o Loores de Nuestra Señora."[1] In many of these he incorporated the then prevalent songs of the people. The "Cantigas" consist of 401 poems written on devotional subjects in Gallego dialect.[2] There are unkind persons who say that they are simply a compilation of songs of the 13th century, written by different composers, but even should this be true, there is no doubt that it was done under the inspiration and with the patronage of this enlightened monarch.

Another Spanish prince, Don Sancho, who ascended the throne towards the end of the 13th century, gave food and clothing to fifteen drummers, seven trumpeters, and a large number of players of the tamboret, the ayabeba, the anafil, and the rota, as well as to the organ-players and the other musicians and singers.

Save the tamboret, which will easily be recognised by its likeness to "tambour," these instruments are not easy to identify, and Dr. Pedrell, in his "Technical Dictionary," simply says that ayabeba is mentioned by the celebrated arch-priest of Hita, Juan Ruiz, in his famous poem, in which he passes in review all the musical instruments in use in his day. The particular passage in which such mention occurs is far too long to be here quoted, but it is certainly of a most peculiar interest. Fuertes identifies the anafil with the trombone, and the rota he makes out to be a species of "vielle." Here I might mention, glancing retrospectively at the able lecture we heard last month from Mr Galpin, that because of the use by these bands of minstrels of the instrument called by the Italians "trombon," and generally by the Spaniards "sacabuches" or "trombon," it is believed that the said instrument, which I suppose is the sackbut, had its origin in Spain. The "Churumbelas" or "Chirimias" were used from the most ancient times in Portugal, Galicia, Castile and Catalonia, by the minstrels. This instrument is certainly of Spanish origin, and seems to be a species of roughly contrived oboe. There are four varieties, and when played together, they are called collectively "copla," but are severally distinguished by the names of "tiple," "alto," "tenor," and "bajo." It is said that the "chirimia" is still used in the province of Valencia, and also largely by the lower classes in Mexico. Fuertes says, "We had the pleasure to hear these instruments at Toledo Cathedral in 1837 at the Vespers of S. Peter." In the sacred dramas of Calderon, of whom I shall speak later, we find constantly the direction "let the chirimias sound and the actor enter, accompanied by" so-and-so.

[1] Chants or praises of our Lady

[2] Gallego = Galician, or Portuguese.

In the 14th century we are not allowed to forget the Arabian occupation and its consequent influence on the arts and sciences, for we find a certain Mohammed Ben Ahmed Ben Haber, writing a sort of handbook on the principles of secular music, and in the next century, Alschabi, a fellow-countryman, puts forth a work, "Opus de licito instrumentorum usu"[1] The manuscript of Mohammed's handbook exists, or is said to exist, at the Escurial, that palace tomb, a veritable death-trap to the tourist or student, erected by the fanatical Philip the Second, our Mary's husband, in the neighbourhood of Madrid.

The golden age of Spanish music may be said to begin with Ramis de Pareja, who was born in 1440. He taught music at Salamanca in Spain and, later, at Bologna in Italy, and his Bolognese lessons have been summarised by him in his work, "De Musica Tractatus, sive Musica Practica."[2]

So far as secular music is at present concerned, the most ancient document of the Spanish school is the composition for four voices, "Versos fechos en loor del Condestable."[3] This high and mighty personage, the Constable, was Miguel Lucas de Iranzo. This romance is found in his Chronicle, which, besides relating his political and military exploits, also sets dowo the magnificent festivals held by him in honour of music and poetry. The composer is quite a mystery, so far as name is concerned, though some have mentioned a certain Juan de Oli, or Olid, and others a Diego Gamez. The date, according to the original manuscript, would place this work in the year 1466.

About this time Cardinal Ximenes re-established or re-ordered the Isidorian or mozarabic chant in the Cathedral of Toledo. At the irruption of the Netherland folk in the days of Philippe le Beau, the husband of Jeanne la Folle, there were in Spain music schools with a regular system of instruction in every cathedral. The royal chapel of Isabella la Catolica (she was the mother of "La Folle") was very complete in its musical appointments; the list of singers containing the following names, Pedro de Palacio, Diego de Segovia, Francisco de Morales, Pero Ruiz Velasco, Pedro de Siruela, Diego de Casamenos, Alonso de Vama, and Juan de Santillana. It is said that this queen, in the midst of the arduous affairs of State, and in the intervals between enforced journeys, had always at her command a troop of poets and musicians who comforted and consoled her in her chapel with motetts and "plegarias," and in the royal apartments with "canciones" and "villancicos."

[1] A work on the proper use of instruments

[2] A Treatise on Music, or Music made Practical.

[3] Verses made in praise of the Constable

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The "plegaria" is a composition religious in sentiment and form, and corresponds to the French "prière," and the Italian "preghiera." "Canciones" may be grouped under the general term "songs," inclining towards the ballad form, and "villancicos" are songs in the old Spanish measure. These latter received their name from their rustic character, and were believed to have been first composed by the "villanos," or peasants, for the Nativity and other festivals of the Church. You will understand how simple and artless these people's songs were when I quote just one stanza selected from amongst the many to be found in a book dedicated to their consideration:—

> "Los pastores daban saltos
> Y bailaban de contente,
> Al par que los angelitos
> Tocaban los instrumentos."[1]

The "Ars Musicorum" of Guillaume de Podio was the first book on music printed in Spain, and Valencia claims the honour.

It was now that the more celebrated composers began to emerge from shadowy gloom. Peñalosa, "Cantor" in the chapel of Pope Leo X and "maitre de chapelle" to Ferdinand the Catholic, wrote motetts and "cantarcillos," or court-songs, in the style of the madrigal. Eslava says that of the many works he composed there have been preserved only ten motetts, which are to be found in Toledo, but Barbieri is certain that he has seen a manuscript copy of a Mass by Peñalosa.

Juan del Encina, the true founder of the secular theatre in Spain, was a priest, and one much skilled in the art of music. Like most Spanish composers of his time he made his way to the Pope's Chapel, and after leaving Rome a priory in Leon was given him, and on his death he was buried in the cathedral at Salamanca. His dramatic compositions attract naturally the most attention. They are generally in the nature of eclogues, based on the Virgilian model. They are all in some form of the old Spanish verse; in all there is singing; and in one there is a dance.

The 16th century was marked in Spain by a recrudescence of theoretical works on music, a stream we can only spare one moment to sip at, and our refreshment comes in the form of a quotation, curious I think, from a certain work written by a Father Bermudo, and called "L'Arte Trifaria." It was roughly thus: "There are three sorts of instruments in music. The first are called *natural*; these are men, whose song is called *musical harmony*. The

[1] The shepherds jumped about and danced with joy, whilst the little angels played their instruments.

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second are artificial, and are played by the sense of touch, such as the harp, the vihuela (or ancient guitar) and their like; the music of these is called *artificial* or *rhythmic*. The third are pneumatic—to wit, the flute, the douçaine, and the organ." The "douçaine" or "dulzania" seems to be a species of oboe, for its other name, and a more modern one, is "l'enor de oboe."

Escobedo and Galvez were both in the Papal Chapel at Rome, and from one of the motetts composed by the latter, Palestrina is said to have drawn some ideas for one of his masses. Amongst so many who left their own country to perfect their musical studies, I think there ought to be mention made of Tapia, who, when at Naples, founded the Conservatoire "della Madonna di Loreto," an institution which served as a model for future training schools in music. This you may think not uncommon, but it is not everyone who would go, as he did, from door to door to solicit subscriptions for the carrying out of this work.

We now come to a very familiar name, and as it is so familiar, I shall be correspondingly brief in speaking of him. The works of Cristoforo Morales placed him in high favour at Rome, where he was one of the singers in the Papal Chapel during the pontificate of Paul III. When Morales' first work was published, Palestrina had attained the age of twelve years. Fétis gives a long list of his works, and Eslava says there exist at Toledo eight masses, sixteen Magnificats, and thirteen motetts, written by him. Better known in Italy and Germany than here, his works, though essentially severe in tone and sometimes too rigid in treatment, merit the attention which any great composer is entitled to, whatever his nationality. There is put forward oftentimes, and there is even now, I believe, sung in S. Peter's at Rome, what has been thought to be one of the best examples of his style, the motett, "Lamentabatur Jacob."

Francisco Guerrero next comes before us. His talent seems early to have asserted itself, for at the age of eighteen he was made Maestro de Capilla at Jaen. A French writer speaking of this man, after describing his talent and beautiful character, says: "We are sometimes inclined to believe that one must go to the Spaniards to find the most authentic expression of Christian sentiment in music." Guerrero benefited much by the teaching of Morales. His collection of "villanescas" are notable amongst his secular compositions. I explained what a "villancico" is; a "villanesca" is only a variant on the other term, signifying a difference in the versification. Guerrero wrote, as did Bach, two settings of the Passion, one for St. Matthew's account, one for St. John's; a mass for four voices, "Simile est regnum coelorum"; his Magnificats he dedicated to Philip II,

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There is some sort of lingering tradition that he was for a time at Yuste with the great emperor Charles V. in his claustral life there, but the tradition lacks backbone; if only it could be proved, it would be a fact of no small interest. The emperor was a great patron of music, and besides his royal chapel at Madrid, he kept similar chapels, with bodies of singers attached thereto, at Vienna, Brussels the Hague, and Naples.

Cabezon was in the service both of the emperor and of his son Philip. He was a great organist and harpsichord player; indeed, so famous was he in his day that Pedrell names him "the Spanish Bach," while Fuertes says he was justly hailed as the Orpheus of his time. Unfortunately nearly all his works have disappeared, as have also two works on the organ, which contained some compositions by himself and his son.

Now appears another world-illustrious name, and about which little, I suppose, can be said that is not already known. It is disputed whether Tomas Luis de Victoria was a pupil of Escobedo or Morales, but I notice that Fuertes, to settle the matter, makes him a pupil of both these musicians. He was master of the music at the German College in Rome, and afterwards "maestro di capella" at the church of Saint Apolinare in the same city, and on his return to Spain he found a place ready for him in the Royal Chapel. He was the first composer to set to music hymns for the whole of the Church's year, and this work he dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII. Whilst it has been slyly hinted that he drew largely on the musical knowledge, as displayed in his wonderful compositions, of Palestrina, Spaniards declare that he was the equal of that master, and indeed in many cases overstepped the fame of his Italian competitor. His long residence abroad had the necessary result, as in the case of Morales, of making his works better known and more appreciated in Germany and Italy than in Spain. He is, for his epoch, the most thoroughly characteristic of all the great Spanish composers, and his individual style was not affected, as in so many cases, by the traditions of the Italian school. His praises are sung in an ultra-fervid manner by a Frenchman, and as the criticism opens up new possibilities for those engaged in such work, I cannot forbear from quoting it. "One might almost say that on his musical palette he has entirely at his disposition, in some sort, the gloomy colour of Zurbaran, the realistic and transparent tones of Velasquez, the ideal shades of Juan de Juanes and Murillo. His mysticism is that of Santa Theresa and San Juan de la Cruz." An Italian critic, not to be outdone by this bathos, speaks of Victoria's "Iberian cloak" and of the "Moorish blood which courses through his veins."

It must, however, be said in all seriousness that the names of such composers as Morales, Guerrero, Cabezon and Victoria, —and these stand forward amongst a crowd of others, who in a smaller way are all worthy of attention and study—prove most conclusively from the known worth of the individuals who bear them that Spain during her period of musical magnificence, which would seem to have attained its height in the 16th century, can claim to take a place, and an honourable place, with other nations at this time, if indeed she does not lead the way. I have pointed out that Spanish church music was at this time known through these composers both in Germany and Italy, I should also have indicated that it filtered through to France, for we are told that at Rouen the masses of Morales and the motetts of Guerrero were frequently performed.

A writer in the *Quarterly Musical Review* in 1821 remarks that "the Spaniards have been placed much lower amongst the musical European nations of the 16th century than they deserve, by those who imagine that Morales was their most distinguished musician, and that Salinas was the only theorist of the age. In fact, little is known of the state of music in the interior of the kingdom, but to judge by the musicians, singers as well as composers, that were sent to the pontifical chapel, it may be supposed that so powerful and rich a nation preserved many for its own service, and did not educate them all for this new species of exportation. Far from having neglected music, the Spaniards not only appear always to have had a taste for the art but to have included it amongst the sciences taught at their universities"

The mention of Salinas prompts me to say one or two words about that remarkable man, who, though he lost the precious gift of sight, pursued his classical and musical studies with so much ability that he was in due time appointed professor of music at the University of Salamanca, where he had been a student. Besides being a remarkable organist, he published a collection of his lectures, in seven books, under the title "De Musica" I frequently hear it said, "Oh, the Spaniards, they are a good-for-nothing, lazy people!" and yet here we have an example of brave and noble perseverance in the face of almost indomitable difficulties, for it seems certain that in addition to his bodily affliction, Salinas was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth

Before leaving this section of our subject, I suppose some mention will be expected of Cerone, but as he is an Italian and not a Spaniard he does not properly belong to our subject I notice that he was alluded to by Sir Gore Ouseley in an admirable lecture given to this Association and published in the Transactions of 1878 9 Sir Gore Ouseley on two occasions took as his subject Italian and Spanish musicians

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in the palmy days of their success, but he especially confined himself to those who wrote on the theory and construction of music. I can tell you I have been very careful about treading on the toes of so illustrious and learned a musician, and only in very few cases have I allowed my remarks to overlap what he has so ably stated. As regards Cerone, I must say, as Sir Gore said, that I do not feel ardently impelled to read his 1,160 pages of curious musical disquisition Sir Gore, I am glad to see, points out that he was not so original as would at first seem likely, but set out under his own name a mass of facts that had been got together by a fellow country-man, who died before he could publish the result of his research. Yet I am always filled with envy when I take out my friend Mr. Matthew's copy of the "Melopeo," so regally bound, and so handsome in production, and ponder with delight its musical oddities. I believe there are very few copies now existing; this one was printed at Naples in MDCXIII. It is characteristic of the man and his age that in the very forefront of the work there are a series of short prayers or collects to be used by readers before studying the contents of this ponderous tome. There are likewise two dedications; one to "the most holy child, Jesus, and his mother, Mary the Virgin, the empress of heaven, and most efficacious advocate of sinners", and the other to "the Majesty of the King Don Philippe III, king of the Spains." In the fifty-third chapter of the first book in the "Melopeo" Cerone inquires into the reasons why there are more professors of music in Italy than in Spain, and discovers that the cause is the great number of academies in Italy for the study of music, whilst in Spain there is only one, founded by Don Juan de Borja, major domo to the Empress of Austria. I think this a fitting moment to express my obligation to Mr. Matthew for so kindly allowing me the run of his splendid musical library, an amateur collection hard to beat, presided over by a man to whom musical students owe a deep debt of gratitude.

We must not forget that this 16th century saw the birth, besides the eminent musicians who have been mentioned, of two men who by their writings brought honour and greatness to Spain, as indeed they would have done to any country. I refer to Cervantes, who was born in 1547, and Lope de Vega, who saw the light in 1562. Calderon shone as brightly as these other two, but as he became an inhabitant of this world in 1600, you will see that he belongs to the 17th century. The advent of this triad gave a great impulse to the dramatic form of music, which had previously existed in Spain, though in a somewhat vague, hesitating manner, but this wealth of literature for the stage gave rise to the want of a corresponding series of musical compositions,

and Spanish musical history shows that these were forthcoming both for religious and secular plays. I suspect that the masterpiece of Cervantes is familiar to all, but it may not be matter of common knowledge that Weber took his opera "Preciosa" from one of Cervantes' plays. By the kind permission of Señor Arbos I have been able to look over a very interesting pamphlet that was written, on the occasion of the tercentenary of the publication of "Don Quixote," by a clever and learned musician, Senor Cecilio de Roda, a member of the Spanish Academy and the Fuller Maitland of Spain. He takes as his subject the musical references in the work itself, and shows with much brilliancy of writing their actual relation to the known usages and customs of Cervantes' day. I beg leave to direct your attention for a moment to this document, quite a "pièce justificative," as the French would say. After showing how Cervantes divides the instruments mentioned into four classes, viz., pastoral, military, popular, and aristocratic and after detailing their manner and use, our author comes to speak of harps, vihuelas, "laudes," and guitars, of which, he says, "more complete notice can be given." "The harp was, as to-day, the aristocratic instrument most favoured by women, and it would appear to be regarded in the 'Quixote' as the feminine instrument 'par excellence.' The harp figures amongst the favourite instruments of our composers of the 16th century, and it is minutely described in the 'Declaracion de instrumentos musicos' of Fray Juan Bermudo, printed in 1555." "The 'vihuela,' the prototype of the actual guitar, was much in favour in Spain in the 16th century," and during that epoch a perfect crowd of composers illustrated the capabilities of the instrument by writing for it pavanes, galliards, and other dances, and accompaniments for various kinds of songs. The guitar ousted from public favour the "vihuela," but it is remarkable that from the year 1586 till full a century later no publication concerning either of these instruments appeared in Spain, thus causing, as says our author, "an immense hiatus in our musical art." I might go on to quote much that is most interesting concerning this instrument, and the differentiation of the Spanish from those guitars known in other countries, but as you will perceive, time does not allow me to do so. I must content myself with remarking that the "laud" here mentioned is identified with the "liuto Italiano" or "luth" of the French nation. Lope de Vega, whose "unique renown is based upon the fact that he created a national theatre, that he did for Spain what Shakespeare did for England, became, after many adventures, a priest, as also did Calderon, whose full name was in grandiloquent Spanish, Pedro Calderon de la Barca Henao de la Barreda y Riaño,

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Both Vega and Calderon wrote, amongst a host of other things, "autos." The word "auto" was at first applied to any and every play; then the meaning became narrowed to a religious play, and finally an "auto sacramental" came to mean a dramatised exposition of the Blessed Sacrament to be played in the open on Corpus Christi Day. These "autos" may really be regarded as sacred operas, or acted oratorios. In an important work published at Madrid in 1881, entitled "Hommage à Calderon," I find the following remarks: "We understand by zarzuela a drama interspersed with songs, and by an opera a production which is set entirely to music—we cannot then say that Calderon was the first to create the genre of the zarzuela, unless we abide by this definition, for in 1629 was produced "La Selva Sin Amor," by de Vega, only in this case there was singing throughout the play. Therefore, though we may say that Lope de Vega introduced what was really opera, yet it must be admitted that even before Calderon's time there were plays associated with music, though they had not quite set in that concrete form known as the "zarzuela." "In Calderon's time music was cultivated with great assiduity in Spain, and no one could be said to have a good education who had no knowledge of music as also of dancing. One consequence of this enthusiasm for music was the formation of bands of comedians, of whom the greater part were sufficiently acquainted with singing, with dancing, and with the playing of some instrument, such as the vihuela, the harp, the guitar, or the bandurria. In these companies there was always one called 'musico,' who was generally the composer, master, or director of the musical part of the show, and on him and his leadership the rest depended." "At this time were to be found in the Royal apartments and the Royal chapel at Madrid the most famous musicians of Spain, and not only of Spain, but also of Portugal, Flanders, Italy, and even England, especially instrumentalists." "As to its form, the music in the 17th century exhibited a certain tendency to preserve a more or less religious character in the serious form of drama, whilst on the other hand, in the native joyousness of the 'entremeses'[1] and song dances, the spirit of the popular songs asserted itself, and the airs heard in other countries were quizzically treated, even to the point of ridicule" A motett or madrigal known as being of the "tono humano," was so named to distinguish it from a religious song or motett, which was classed as "tono divino." Of the instruments used in Calderon's time, a list is given which includes "organos, claviorganos, clavicimbalos, arpas,

[1] The "entremeses" were very short pieces containing music and dancing, which filled up lengthy "entr'actes"—"a sort of crutches that were given to the heavy *comedias* to keep them from falling."

laudes, torbas, vihuelas de mano,[1] guitarras, bandurrias, rabeles, vihuelas de arco, violines, pífanos, flautas, chirimias, orlos, cornetas-mutas, dulzainas, bajoncillos, bajones, trompetas y sacabuches," besides instruments of percussion. No wonder that Calderon quaintly describes the effect of the orchestra as an amazing mouthful of sound! Before quitting this part of our subject, it may be interesting to note the names of those who wrote music for the plays of these times. The most prominent were Hidalgo, Peyro, Miquel Ferrer, Juan de Navas, Sebastian de Navas, and Geronimo de la Torre.

We must now turn our eyes to Spain of to-day and its musical aspect. We here make a rapid descent, but the situation is not so discouraging as many seem to think. It must be remembered that Spain, that extraordinary and fascinating land, is rousing herself, is awakening from a little slumber, and though, like Rip Van Winkle, she finds many things changed, especially in surrounding nations, yet, in spite of the forms of her mountains being still the same, she begins to perceive the truth of the maxim "autres temps, autres mœurs." And, from what I am told, a school of musicians is again arising, many of whom are fitted to take their places with other great artists of to-day. I shall not trouble you with a long list of names, but there are some that really ought to be mentioned. I am not going to speak about the Spanish artists here present, as it would be an invidious task, and not pleasing to them. I only here tender to them and their English confrères—I am sure in the name of you all—a cordial welcome and a most hearty appreciation of their kind support, even before we have tasted of their quality. Señor Arbos now conducts every year in the Royal Opera House at Madrid, a series of concerts of first-class music, and I think we should feel proud in the fact that Miss May Harrison appeared at these concerts last year and was hugely appreciated by what is really a critical audience. For a Spanish audience is not the feeble, inanimate body usually to be found in an English theatre or concert-room, on the contrary, they have more than the courage of their opinions, and express approval or dislike in the most startling and forcible manner. Under the Bourbon rule music, as so many other arts, became demoralized in Spain, and Italian opera invaded the stage, and has remained ever since, except of course that at most of the Spanish theatres not given up to opera you have the zarzuela, which is really much like our present musical plays, though sometimes possessing far more

[1] "Vihuela" is more or less a generic term but "Vihuela de mano" would here seem to mean a guitar. "vihuela de arco," a kind of violin Rabel, a form of Eastern "rabab" "Orlos" a sort of Roman "lituus" The "bajoncillo" and "bajun" belong to the bassoon family.

merit, both from a musical and literary point of view, and engaging the attention of notable Spanish musicians As to opera, the idea is that it must be in Italian, as giving the necessary tone to that form of entertainment; it would be considered vulgar if in Spanish, the proper province for the conveyance to the spectator of Spanish life and music is the "zarzuela." I have heard that there is a sad lack of musical criticism in Spain, I mean criticism of any worth, the only critic of genuine ability being the Señor de Roda, whom I have already mentioned. I do feel myself, and I should like to express it most strongly, that it is matter for regret that concerning a nation so remarkable, so historical, so brave, with such splendid traditions in the past, and such high hopes for the future, we know so little either musically or in any other way. So far as national song is concerned, Señor Arbos fully confirms what I have already said—that there is no nation that has so rich, so varied, and so characteristic a collection, whilst as to the dances of the country, who that has ever been in Spain can forget their haunting rhythm, their vocabulary of motion, their alluring languorousness, their fascinating enthralment of the senses! The gipsy dances are the oldest and most characteristic, everything that is gipsy is in Spain classed under the heading of "Flamenco"—why or wherefore the use of this term no one seems to know. One more item under this head, and that one full of suggestion, as you will perceive, when I tell you that the songs the nurses to-day sing to their little ones as they croon over them are based on the old Gregorian tones, and these in turn with peculiar rhythmic additions become dances.

Amongst Spanish composers of to-day, the names of Chapi and Breton are well known, and need I remind you that Spain has in these latter years produced that remarkable man Manuel Garcia, and his so gifted daughter Madame Malibran, and Spain has sent to us with his wealth of artistic talent Señor Sarasate. And how many are behind these, all working hard to rehabilitate the Spanish school of music in its old splendour! Consider what a gift from a native to any nation is that splendid collection put together by Miguel Hilarion Eslava in the "Lira Sacro-Hispaña," a series of extracts from the religious works of Spanish musicians from the 16th to the 19th century, with biographical sketches of the composers! And how absorbing is the story of the growth and gradual development of the Spanish school by that distinguished son of this southern land, Mariano Soriano Fuertes, who in his "History" has laid a good foundation whereon others may build. I trust that I have faintly indicated that music is by no means in a moribund condition in the Peninsula; melody is in the veins of every

Spaniard, music is in his blood, and whether it expresses itself in song or dance, the national heirlooms, or whether it betake itself to higher flights, this divine gift will never decay in a nation which has the memory of so great a past.

I think now I have said enough and more than enough; I much regret that I have only covered half the ground that I had originally surveyed; I can only add that if at some future time the Association will allow me to give another lecture, I will certainly endeavour to make good my deficiencies. It only remains now for me to speak a few words about the music we are to listen to, a feature which will, I hope, prove to be of far more abiding interest than this too imperfect discourse.

The first item in our programme is a quartet by Arriaga, a work which has never before been heard in this country. Señor Arbos sent expressly to Bilbao for details concerning the life of this musician, and has kindly placed these details in my hands. Jean Chrysostome de Arriaga was born at Bilbao in 1808. He showed an extraordinary precocity in music, and, whilst almost a child, wrote an opera. At the age of thirteen he was sent to Paris to the Conservatoire, where he studied under Baillot for the violin and under Fétis for harmony and counterpoint. His remarkable progress can be best exemplified by his writing a fugue for eight voices on the words in the Credo, "Et vitam venturi," which Cherubini declared to be a veritable "chef-d'œuvre." Himself a virtuoso on the violin, Arriaga produced in 1824 three quartets which have excited immense admiration. These he dedicated to his father, and you will hear the first of them to-day. Then followed an overture, a symphony, a Mass, and some French cantatas and romances. But the end came too soon; at the age of twenty Arriaga passed to the realm of eternal music, and was quickly forgotten.

In a letter addressed to his relatives, Señor Albeniz, the eminent Spanish pianist and composer, says that both Fétis, Reicha, Catel, Boieldieu, Berton, and Cherubini considered that, had he lived, he would have become one of the most distinguished professors of the Conservatoire, and they regard his early death as a heavy loss to musical art. Manuel Garcia was so struck with the possibilities of Arriaga's opera, "Los esclaves felices," that he attempted, I am afraid unsuccessfully, to get it represented in Paris. It has, however, been played with much success in Bilbao. M. Alana, the founder of the first society of chamber music at Bilbao, was the first to present to the public some years ago the quartets of Arriaga. I am glad to know that in his native town of Bilbao a monument is now being erected to his memory. At the beginning of this year a festival was held in Bilbao, when most of his works were performed. To-day we honour this

young genius by giving him a hearing, already too long delayed, in this country. The quartet to be played is written on the classic model, somewhat in the style of Mozart. It has four movements: *Allegro, Adagio con espressione, Menuetto-Allegro*, and *Adagio-Allegretto*. The composer does not betray his nationality except in the Trio of the Minuet. The executants are Señor Arbos, Senor Rubio, and Messrs. Frank Bridge and Thomas Morris.

The next item is the performance of three trios, written by Señor Arbos, the first entitled "Bolero," the second "Habanera," and the third "Seguidillas gitanas." These are based on dance measures, and coming from a Spaniard of such ability, we shall be able to appreciate the genuine article. In these trios Señor Arbos will have the assistance of Señor Rubio and Señor Sobrino. After that, more of the genuine article, for Señor Arbos will, with Señor Rubio, play some real unadulterated Spanish dances, the "Seguidillas manchegas," the "Habanera," perhaps known to you through "Carmen," and the Aragonese "Jota."

One word, in conclusion, as to the names of these dances. The Bolero is a comparatively modern dance, and may be said to have found its way to Spain from Italy. The "Seguidillas gitanas" are gipsy dances, belonging more especially to the south, whilst the "seguidillas manchegas" are the dances of the people who inhabit La Mancha, the region of Don Quixote. The "Seguidilla" has the same rhythmical movement and time-measure as the bolero, but is, you will notice, much more animated and stirring, almost inducing you to jump up and foot it yourself.

The "Habanera" is like a Creole dance and comes from Cuba, where it was evidently originally taken by those Spaniards who settled in the island.

The "Jota," as I have said, belongs to the province of Aragon as also to Navarre, and is found as well in Spanish America. It is really a waltz movement, and is usually accompanied with the guitar, the "bandurria" (an instrument similar to the guitar), the "pandereta" (or small drum), the castanets, and the triangle.

I can only thank you for the patience with which you have listened to these remarks.

DISCUSSION.

The Chairman.—I am sure we must all agree to thank Mr. Cart most heartily for this very instructive lecture, and also those kind players who have given us these illustrations. I think that Ariaga quartet must be regarded as evidence of wonderfully advanced ideas on the part of the composer. To think of a master writing such an extraordinary quartet during the life of Beethoven! I think we must keep Mr. Cart to his kind promise of reading to us again, and I hope we shall then hear something more about that gipsy music and that extraordinary national music of Spain, which is so surprising to everyone who goes there.

(Votes of thanks were then passed to Mr. Cart and those artists, Señor Arbos, Señor Rubio, Señor Sobrino, Mr. Bridge and Mr. Morris, who had given the illustrations.)

January 15, 1907.

Rev. S. E. L. SPOONER-LILLINGSTON, M.A., Mus. B. Oxon.,

In the Chair.

CARL PHILIPP EMANUEL BACH.

By Emily R. Daymond, Mus. D. Oxon. (Exam:).

The striking example of heredity shown in the evolution and development of the Bach family is no doubt familiar to you all, so that a very brief mention of it will be sufficient. For generations, from the time of Veit Bach about 1555, they had been musicians, so well known that at one time town musicians in Erfurt were called "Bachs," whether they included any of the family or not. This steady development of their art culminated in the person of John Sebastian Bach, born 1685, and it is one of the curious facts in musical history that after his death it ceased in so short a time. True, his sons were all musical, and two or three of them made some considerable mark; but with the exception of the eldest, Wilhelm Friedemann, it was in a totally different line from that in which their father's genius had moved, though it is easy to trace the influence which his work had on their compositions.

Carl Philipp Emanuel, third son of John Sebastian Bach, was born at Weimar in 1714. He was not at first intended for a musical career, but, like several other musicians, for that of the law. With this end in view, he was sent to the Universities of Leipsic and Frankfurt on the Oder. All that we hear of him musically while at Leipsic is that he was employed for a year to tune the harpsichord in the Thomaskirche; but his musical gifts found a wider field at Frankfurt, for he composed a good deal for the Academy, and also directed the music there and elsewhere while still working at his University course. Shortly, however, he

determined to throw in his lot with music, and in 1738 he went to Berlin, where he was kindly received by Prince Frederick of Prussia, and in 1740, on the Prince's accession to the throne, was taken into his actual service, where, Burney tells us, "he had the honour to accompany his Majesty upon the harpsichord in the first flute piece that he played after he was King." Unfortunately, however, Bach did not find everything quite to his liking, for Frederick the Great was a warm admirer of Quantz, the flute player, and matters do not seem always to have been quite smooth, for Bach, in his book on clavier playing, speaks quite spitefully of the folly of keeping to one style of rendering certain ornaments and refusing to believe that anyone else's opinion can be right—"Progress is impossible when only one style is accepted and, as it were, adored,"—an evident hit at the King's partiality for Quantz, who not long before had written a similar book with rather different conclusions While in Berlin, Bach published a considerable amount of music, including many clavier sonatas, three concertos for harpsichord, and two trios for two violins and a bass in which he endeavours to portray a dialogue between two persons, "but," says Burney, "the opinions of the disputants remained as obscure and unintelligible as the warbling of larks and linnets."

Bach stayed thirty years in Berlin, for though he frequently wished to leave, some obstacle was always put in his way. However, in 1767, he was offered the post of Music Director at Hamburg, vacant by the death of Telemann, and after many entreaties was allowed to accept it, and lived at Hamburg till his death in 1788

An account of his surroundings and mode of life at Hamburg, given by Dr. Burney, the musical historian, when he visited Bach in 1772, brings him so vividly before us that I must quote a few sentences from it. Burney was presented to the great man by a mutual friend—Mr. Ebeling. "Hamburg," he says, "is not at present possessed of any musical professor of great eminence except Mr. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, but he is a legion! When I was presented to him, 'You are come,' said he, 'fifty years too late.'" Bach seems to have inherited some of the genial humour of his forefathers; "he told me," says Burney, "there would be some poor music of his performed in S. Catherine's Church the next day, which he advised me not to hear." One wonders why he mentioned it at all! Burney's opinion, however, does not coincide with this. "Some very good music," he says, "very ill performed to a congregation wholly inattentive" Speaking of the low level of musical taste in Hamburg, Bach voices a sentiment which would have scandalized his father. "Adieu music, now," he says,

"these are good people for society; . . . . after I was fifty years old I gave the thing up and said 'let us eat and drink, for to morrow we die.' and I am now reconciled to my situation; except, indeed, when I meet with men of taste and discernment who deserve better music than we can give them here—then I blush for myself and my good Hamburgers" One can imagine the courtly bows and smiles with which the last sentence would be spoken and received! Later, Burney spent a whole day with Bach, and was introduced to "Mrs Bach, his eldest son who practises law, and his daughters," together with "a few rational and well-bred persons, his friends" (The younger son took up painting for a career, but none of Bach's family seem to have followed music.)

Then follows an account of his clavier playing. There can be no doubt he was an extraordinarily fine player. Spitta calls him one of the greatest, if not the greatest, clavichord player of his age; he played both harpsichord and clavier, but the pianoforte (Spitta tells us) he said was "only fit for rondos" To return to Burney:—"Mr. Bach," he says, "sat down to his Silbermann clavichord, on which he played three or four of his choicest and most difficult compositions, throwing off, as if they were nothing, things that would have set other men up. . . In the pathetic and slow movements he absolutely contrived to produce from his instrument a cry of sorrow and complaint . . ." While playing, "he grew so animated and possessed that . . he appeared like one inspired. His eyes were fixed, his under lip fell, and drops of effervescence distilled from his countenance. He said if he should be set to work frequently in this manner he should grow young again. . . . ." After this, we are not surprised to hear that "Mr. Bach is of a cheerful and lively disposition."

That he possessed all the skill and knowledge necessary to make a fine player is shown by his book "Versuch über die Wahre Art das Clavier zu Spielen," published in 1753. In it he treats of fingering, the right and wrong way of playing "Manieren" (or grace-notes), the use of *rubato*, of *bebung*, in short, of every subject necessary to the finished performer. His method of fingering is based on that of his father, which had worked a perfect revolution in the ideas of musicians, Emanuel Bach does not adhere to it throughout—his own style of composition did not need quite the same rules—but in the very important point of the use of the thumb and little finger, he does not differ from his father's method.

I will now take his compositions, touching upon each department, and trying very briefly to give you some idea of the particular point of each before giving you the illustration.

The majority of Bach's works are for clavier alone—210 pieces, of which, Mr. Hadow tells us, more than 90 are sonatas; the rest are rondos fugues, fantasias, and tone-pictures. In the sonatas, Bach devotes his energies to making clear the form which he bequeaths to Haydn and Mozart and, eventually, to Beethoven—for he looks both ways, this descendant of generations of musicians, and hence arises his unique importance. He looks back over the old ground and he sees that his father has reached the culminating point in his own way of work, and that, much as he admires and venerates him, his point of view is not one which he, the son, can altogether profitably take. Chorale work, he admits, is the finest possible beginning in training for a young student, but mere counterpoint the dullest. It was a matter of no importance, he says, that Burney had found no contrapuntists in Italy. "After counterpoint is well known, many other more essential things are wanting, to constitute a good composer." Canons are "despicable pieces of pedantry," and no one worth considering will make them.

He cannot help being permeated with the spirit of change abroad in the world—and rightly so, the time is ripe for the development of harmonic form, the clearing of the parts. Of John Sebastian Bach, Burney says: "that venerable musician thought it so necessary to crowd into both hands all he could grasp, that he must inevitably have sacrificed both rhythm and expression." Differ as we must from this opinion, the practice described, is, we must own, the very opposite of Emanuel Bach's. Still, different as is his point of view, he yet retains a good deal of his father's earnestness of purpose. "I compose to live," says John Christian Bach, "my brother (Emanuel) lives to compose." He inherits Sebastian Bach's emotional, mystical nature, he is in full sympathy with it, but he will try to make it speak through another language—the language of harmonic form. The age of great, massive, choral works—the "Messiah," the B minor Mass—has passed for the present, the time has come when instruments must find their voices, and when, if music is to make further strides, it must be by means of a more purely harmonic expression. All this he sees clearly; let us see how he carries it out.

For one thing, he insists on the balance of keys, and, to a less extent, of subjects; the large majority of his clavier sonata first movements—developed, undoubtedly, from the form exhibited in some of Sebastian Bach's Preludes in the "Forty-eight," and in his suite movements—are in more or less definite binary form. The first section, in the tonic, is followed by a second section in some balancing key, generally the dominant, the free section follows, usually rather vague in character, as that demands a more mature experience to

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render it successful, and it is followed by the return of the first section and second section, both, now, in the tonic. Sometimes a *Coda* finishes the whole. This form, or some variant of it, is almost always present. True, the subject themes are seldom of great interest, except in the slow movements, but that must come later. Except in the slow movements, again, there is an almost entire lack of anything contrapuntal, the main point being clear key distribution and incisive rhythm.

The slow movements are the most musical of all, and abound in beautiful themes, treated with genuine feeling for effect. The last movements are slight in texture and of slender interest, but the binary form persists in the main throughout, and he does not use rondos in this place, probably because he has written so many as separate movements. The form that he adopts for his rondos is that introduced by Couperin, but enlarged and widened to an amazing extent. We have a foretaste of this treatment in Sebastian Bach's Rondo in the C minor partita, but Emanuel Bach carries it even farther. Instead of the previous somewhat monotonous exact repetition of the opening section, he gives it to us with every possible variety of key and treatment. The episodes, too, are as varied as the appearances of the first subject, and he occasionally adopts the modern method of repeating the first contrasting section towards the end in a different key. In some respects his rondos are the most modern of all his works; the themes are prophetic, not of Haydn even, but of Beethoven and Schubert. It seems hardly credible that a Bach only one generation removed from the great contrapuntist, could have written such a melody as that which begins the Rondo in E flat. His fantasias also mean very decidedly what they say. They are of different types; in one can be traced the influence of the semi-improvisations of his father's and brother's toccatas, in the other the treatment seems to be entirely his own. In those, we have themes which for sheer jollity and light-hearted gaiety rival those of Haydn; in a Fantasia in C, the vivacious little theme is transformed into a charming slow movement, and again, at the end, is converted into a bustling fugato which reminds one of the last movement of Beethoven's Sonata in F. At the end there is a sudden break, and then occur two bars of beautiful rhapsodical matter which bring a sudden thought of Brahms in his C major Clavierstück, and totally change the feeling of the close, showing us that the man who pre-figures Haydn is also the man who owes his first musical ideas to John Sebastian Bach. One very interesting feature of his music is his original employment of modulation between the different sections, which will appear again in the symphonies. It

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is often very naive, and sometimes it is too self-assertive, but it is an idea, and occasionally it makes its proper effect. At times, it must be confessed, his gaiety degenerates into empty conventional flourishes, and it is with these too exclusively in their minds that many people look upon Emanuel Bach merely as an empty formalist, a true product of the "Zopf" epoch. He is this, of course, at times, but he is far more often the genuine pioneer, the experimentalist who kept his mind on the points he meant to develop, the far-seeing musician who had the courage to own that new methods must be found and new paths trodden.

I must mention, in passing, his works for clavier with other instruments; he wrote concertos, sonatas for clavier and 'cello, and clavier and violin. Of the latter, a fine Sonata in C minor gives us a fair idea of his style. It has three movements—a solid *Allegro* movement, like, and yet unlike, his father's work of the same sort, a slow movement instinct with beauty and tranquillity, and a quick vivacious last movement in which the keys are more clearly defined than in the first movement, and which is largely reminiscent of the orthodox gigue, though treated on a larger scale.

To pass to his choral work. Neither he nor Burney considered this department of his work so important as his instrumental work, and I admit that, taking each *as a whole*, they are quite right. Nevertheless, among his choral compositions are found some fine works, notably one which seems to me one of the gems, if not the gem, of all his compositions, namely the oratorio "The Israelites in the Desert." Written in 1775, it expresses the thoughts and ideas of the mature musician. In its outward aspect it is leagues away from the style of his father, and at once one is struck with the unsuitability of the new and untried harmonic style to the expression of jubilant feelings, under which the precise movement of the voices in simple chords seems threadbare after the wonderful effects of contrapuntal music; but, in inward spirit, the first chorus, the recitatives, and some of the solos exhibit a wonderful likeness to the devotional and expressive parts of Sebastian Bach's work, and an extraordinary sense of the effective use of chromatic progressions that is even in advance of anything of the kind that he achieved.

The oratorio contains only one incident—the smiting of the rock by Moses—but there is nothing less than genius in the way in which the character of Moses is depicted, and in the touching beauty of the lamentation choruses, while for simple beauty of outline it is hard to surpass the song of the Israelitish woman in the desert. There is a curious similarity in scheme between this oratorio and the "Elijah," though it is on such a different scale; in the sentiment of the first chorus, the rugged boldness of the principal figure, and the rushing

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passages for the violins in the chorus of thanksgiving after the smiting of the rock.

Besides this, Emanuel Bach wrote twenty-two settings of the Passion, a Magnificat, a good deal of Church music, some settings of Gellert's poems, a setting of Klopstock's "Hymn of Creation," a simple but effective work with a beautiful opening movement, and a "Resurrection and Ascension of Christ," written in 1787, the year before his death.

In this last he shows, at the same time, a greater freedom in the use of the voice parts and a still more rooted feeling for chromatic progressions. Though most of the work is frankly harmonic, there is a fugue at the end to the words "Alles was Odem hat," but it is not very impressive. A better example is the "Amen" chorus at the end of the Magnificat, which is worked as an effective double fugue, but it is evidently not a very congenial form to him, and he seems to have assimilated the harmonic style with absolute ease, and to have found it the fit vehicle for his genius.

Throughout these compositions the orchestra has a fair amount of independent work. The orchestra he uses is large, and varies at different times—three trumpets, two horns, two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, drums, and the strings; in accompanying solos he uses only a few of these and adds the bassoon, to which he often assigns a good deal of elaborate solo work.

The last department of Bach's activity to be mentioned is the very important branch of symphony. He was the direct precursor of Haydn in his treatment of this form, and the first to attempt to infuse any individuality into the passages he writes for his instruments. He writes for a far smaller orchestra than in his oratorios, and though he includes a bassoon, he generally makes it double the violoncellos, next to which he writes it in the score. The horns, too, have largely dominant and tonic work to do. But the flutes and oboes have genuine passages to play, and he evidently appreciates the possible effects of changes of tone-colour, for he often uses the different groups in masses, for contrast. The movements have their subject themes clearly defined, the scheme of key distribution is quite obvious and modern, and the quaint device of modulating between the movements is carried out with decidedly more effect than in the clavier sonatas.

I feel strongly that I ought to apologize for having treated my subject in what has been a very inadequate way; I should have given more detailed accounts of the form and treatment of the various movements, but lack of time forbade this, and I was anxious to show you by practical examples that in Emanuel Bach we have a personality very little known, very little appreciated, but of a very real

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importance to the history of the Art, and of a musical interest quite apart from his historical worth. If what I have said should lead anyone to make his further acquaintance, or to edit a collection of his works, I shall feel amply repaid.

The following illustrations were given:

GROUP OF WORKS FOR CLAVIER.

First Movement from Sonata in F minor.
Slow Movement from the Sonata in F.
Rondo in E flat major.
Three-part Fugue in F.
Fantasia in C major.

MR. JAMES FRISKIN.

SELECTION FROM "THE ISRAELITES IN THE DESERT."

Opening Chorus (Israelites).
"Our tongues cleave to our parched mouths."
Second Chorus (Israelites to Moses).
"Thou art the source of all our woe."
Bass Recitative and Solo (Moses).
"Ungrateful folk."
"Lord, see Thy people in deep abasement."
Soprano Solo (Israelitish woman).
"In the glowing rays of midday."
Opening Chorus from "Resurrection and Ascension"
"Lord, Thou wilt not leave His soul in hell."

MISS FYANS. MR. STUBBS.
MISS EVEREST. MR. CHIGNELL.

SECOND AND LAST MOVEMENTS FROM SYMPHONY IN F MAJOR.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I have been called on to take the chair on many occasions, not perhaps in this place, but elsewhere; but I have never taken it with so much pleasure as this afternoon. I am sure my first duty is to move a vote of thanks to Miss Daymond for this most interesting paper, and also a vote of thanks to her kind illustrators for the very efficient way in which they have brought before us the works of the else almost forgotten C. P. E. Bach. He has been put before us in a new light. We can never again look upon him as a dry formalist, but as a great melodist and a master of expression. Those who have listened to the last example have heard something of the forcefulness and playfulness of expression that has perhaps been shown by none other but Haydn. We have seen, too, something of that harmonic basis on which his work is so clearly founded. I am sure we shall all look forward most keenly to reading Miss Daymond's paper when it appears in the Proceedings of the Association.

Dr. SOUTHGATE.—I have great pleasure in seconding the motion. I am pretty certain that what we have heard has been a revelation to many of us who knew of C. P. E. Bach chiefly from what we have read of him in books. Miss Daymond has not only told us much of his history, but has given us the opportunity of hearing something of his music, and I am sure we are all very much indebted to her for this.

(The votes of thanks were then passed.)

February 19, 1907.

W. H. CUMMINGS, Esq., Mus.D., F.S.A.,

Vice-President,

In the Chair.

THE ANTIENT CONCERTS, 1776 1848.

By James E. Matthew.

Although domestic music appears to have flourished in England during the Madrigalian Period, *i.e.*, from 1588 to 1638, as witness well-known and often-quoted passages from Morley's "Plaine and Easie Introduction," 1597, and Peacham's "Compleat Gentleman," 1620 (a work, by-the-bye, just reprinted by the University of Oxford), any idea of a public performance does not appear to have suggested itself. The professional musician of that day was either a member of a Cathedral choir or was attached to some family of distinction, as, for instance, Christopher Simpson to that of Sir John Bolles. The pursuit of music as a relaxation was of necessity confined to those who possessed means and leisure. The political troubles effectually put a stop to such pursuits, with the result that several well-known musicians, among them Captain Cook and Wm. Lawes, found their occupation gone, and from a feeling of loyalty actually took up arms in the Royalist cause, in which the latter lost his life.

It was not till after the Restoration in 1660 that music was again cultivated. Those musicians who had survived the troubles began anew to practise their art. Cathedral choirs were re-organized with difficulty, owing to the impossibility of finding boys with adequate—or, indeed, any—training.

The Hon. Roger North, to whose "Memoires of Musick" we are indebted for much information as to the condition and progress of the art at that period, tells us that "the Nation (as I may term it) of Musick was well prepared for a revolution. A great means of bringing that forward was the humour of following publick consorts, and it will not be out of the way to deduce them from the beginning. The first of these was in a lane behind Paul's, where there was a

chamber organ that one Phillips played upon, and some shopkeepers and foremen came weekly to sing in consort, and to hear and enjoy ale and tobacco, and after some time the audience got strong." We thus see that music had already descended from its high estate, and that the smoking concert is not entirely a modern invention. North goes on: "The next essay was of the elder Banister, who had a good theatricall vein, and in composition had a lively style peculiar to himself. He procured a large room in Whitefriars, neer the Temple back gate, and made a large raised box for the musitians, whose modesty required curtaines. The room was rounded with seats and small tables, alehous fashion. One shilling was the price, and call for what you pleased, there was very good musick, for Banister found means to procure the best hands in towne, and some voices to come and performe there, and there wanted no variety of humour, for Banister himself (inter alia) did wonders upon a flageolet to a thro' Base."

North then proceeds to describe the Gentlemen's Meeting, "whom I shall not name, for some of them as I hear are still living, that used to meet often for consort after Baptist's manner, and performing exceeding well with Bass violins (a cours instrument as it was then, which they used to hire) their friends and acquaintance were admitted and by degrees, as the fame of their meeting spread, so many auditors came that their room was crowded, and to prevent that inconvenience, they took a room in a tavern in Fleet Street, and the taverner pretended to make formall seats, and to take money, and then the Society disbanded. But the taverner finding the sweets of vinting wine and taking money, hired masters to play, and made a pecuniary consort of it, to which for the reputation of the musick numbers of people of good fashion and quality repaired."

"The masters of musick finding that money was to be got this way, determined to take the business into their owne hands; and it proceeded so far that in York Buildings, a fabrick was reared and furnished on purpose for publick musick. And there was nothing of musick valued in towne but was to be heard there. It was called the Musick Meeting, and all the quallity and beau mond repaired to it." York Buildings were in Villiers Street in the Strand. The Society appears to have lasted but for a short time, owing to the jealousy of the performers and the opposition of the playhouses, which started what North calls "semi operas." "The chief of these were Circe (by Dr. Charles Davenant, Sir W. Davenant's elder son, musick by Banister), the Fayery Queen, Dioclesian, and King Arthur," the two latter to Purcell's music.

Thus far the Hon. Roger North. It would seem that for a time the opera got the ascendancy. The meetings of

Thomas Britton, the musical small-coal man, founded in 1678, came to an end in 1710, and must have been confined to very small audiences In the latter year, the "Academy of Ancient Musick," under distinguished patronage, was formed at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand. It was founded "by a number of gentlemen, performers on different instruments, in conjunction with some of the most eminent masters of the time." From a pamphlet published in 1770, attributed by the late Dr. Rimbault to Sir John Hawkins, we learn that "under the direction of the late Dr. Pepusch, with the assistance of Mr. Galliard, Dr. Maurice Greene, Mr. Bernard Gates, and the gentlemen and boys of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal, the Academy continued in a very flourishing state till about the year 1728, when Dr. Greene thought proper to leave it and set up an Academy at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, which subsisted but a few years." The Society "continued to flourish till the year 1734, when Mr. Gates retired, and drew off with him the children of the Chapel Royal" An attempt was made to train a number of boys, but in spite of the countenance of the Abbé Steffani, Mr. Handel and Signor Geminiani, at the death of Dr. Pepusch, in 1752, the undertaking appears to have languished. The pamphlet of Hawkins was an attempt to revive public interest in the Society. It winds up with the words, "Esto perpetua," but the fond hope was not fulfilled, as it came to an end in 1789.

Many concerts were, of course, given by different professors, principally in Hickford's Rooms, many of which are recorded by Mrs Harrison in her excellent article on these Rooms in the new edition of Grove's Dictionary, and in THE MUSICAL TIMES of September and October of 1906, but it was not until the foundation of the "Concert of Antient Music" in 1776 that a Society of definite aim, at which the programmes should be entirely in professional hands, was formed.

An outline of the history of the Society will be found in the late Rev. Charles Mackeson's article in Grove's Dictionary, based on a short account by John Parry the elder, prefixed to the word-book of 1847. The founders were a committee of gentlemen—Lords Sandwich, Exeter, Dudley and Ward, Sir Watkin W. Wynn, Sir R. Jebb, and Messrs Morrice and Pelham. The Society throughout its existence maintained a somewhat exclusive and aristocratic position which, in our more democratic days, seems almost comical To go with your money in your hand was no passport; your social position had to be as carefully vouched for as for a ball at Almack's. No ordinary person could be allowed to be present at such refined musical banquets. This was in accordance with the habits and feelings of the

time, which now serve to amuse us; but apart from these ancient prejudices it must be admitted that, in its earlier and palmy days, the Society did much to maintain at its concerts a high standard both of selection and performance.

With these claims on the student of musical history and progress, I must admit that I have always felt much interest in the Society. When, therefore, a kind friend of mine reported that he had found a long series of word books of the Antient Concerts on a barrow in Shoreditch, by the Standard Theatre, at threepence apiece, I at once, regardless of expense, begged him to secure them for me. A further series I was fortunate enough to pick up in a more unlikely place. It formed part of the very fine library of M. Martin, a professor of Marseilles, which was removed to Paris for the purposes of sale. It was fairly complete, but Mr. Liepmannssohn, of Berlin, who attended the sale, allowed me to take those I wanted on equitable terms. I was quite satisfied with his treatment—but they cost more than threepence each! This left a few blanks only, which I have since had the good luck to fill up.

The series extends from 1785 to 1848, sixty-four volumes in all. The Society was established in 1776, but I believe no earlier books of the words were issued. A manuscript volume of the earlier programmes exists in the old Sacred Harmonic (now Royal College of Music) Library. They are octavo volumes, bound, with some attempt at uniformity, in red roan, but I have come across odd copies in quarto, so I suppose large paper copies were issued to subscribers willing to pay an advanced price.

I was thus in possession of materials for a history of the Society as far as manifested in its public work, but I was soon afterwards fortunate enough to secure a large quantity of materials at the sale of the effects of the late Mr. Lonsdale, of Bond Street, who for many years transacted much of the business of the Society in its relations with the professors engaged, and of payments to tradesmen, &c.—in fact, he was sub-treasurer. In this capacity he inherited many documents from Birchall, who was his predecessor in the office, as he was in the well-known Bond Street business. These consisted of a long series of receipts for salaries for principals, band and chorus, annual statements of expenditure from 1813 to 1848, tradesmen's bills, regulations for performers, specimens of the tickets, and a mass of correspondence. I may mention that the series of receipts for salaries is not complete, many, no doubt (and of course the most interesting), having been given away as autographs. There were, in addition, copies of the banking account at Child's from 1807 to 1813, when Mr. Keysall (possibly a member of that firm) was treasurer. He retired from the office in 1813, handing over the balance

to Mr. Hammersley, with whose firm the Society continued to keep its accounts until its extinction in 1848.

These materials shed an interesting light on the inner workings of the institution, on social habits differing widely from those of our day, and on the extravagant expenditure which concert-giving then entailed—at least, to satisfy the standard of excellence aimed at by the noble managers. The earliest place of meeting was the New Rooms, Tottenham Street, which must have been rather outside the fashionable radius. The building stood on the site afterwards occupied by the Prince of Wales's Theatre, which became a centre of attraction under the management of the Bancrofts, and has now in its turn given place to the Scala Theatre. In 1795 the Society moved to the New Rooms, King's Theatre, Haymarket, and in 1804 to what were then called the Festino Rooms, a title which was soon changed to that of the Hanover Square Rooms, by which name they have been familiar to many of us. This building became the home of the Society till its dissolution. The Directors took a lease of the building from the daughters of Sir John Gallini, a teacher of dancing, its original proprietor. The rent was £1,000 per annum, subsequently lowered to £800. Part of this rent was recovered by lettings for concerts and other purposes, not always profitably, as I find a memorandum ordering that in future all lettings must be paid for in advance.

The first detailed account of the expenditure in my hands is for the year 1813. From that date the statements are complete. The number of concerts for the season, till the latter period of the Society's history, was twelve. The accounts are very interesting. Taking the year 1813, the expenditure was £4,441 4s. 9d., *i.e.*, an average of £370 per concert. Of this sum, the payments to principal singers was £1,345 11s. The chorus amounted to £625 10s., but this included occasional extra payments for taking solo parts. Persons qualified to sing in choirs were so scarce in London that five ladies were brought up from Lancashire, and were maintained in London during the whole season at a further expense of £128. The chorus in all numbered sixty, the sopranos consisted of eight ladies, while the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's, and the Abbey each contributed four boys, at a charge of £6 6s each for the season. The altos were exclusively male. The cost of the band, consisting, with the organ, of fifty performers, amounted to £1,178 2s.—that is something under £100 for each concert. There were sixteen violins, and no invidious distinction, up to the end of the Society's history, was made between first and second violins. Of these, François Cramer, as leader, received 100 guineas for the season, and Moralt, who no doubt was, in fact, principal second violin, twenty-four guineas. A guinea a concert seems

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to have been the regular fee for the rank and file. Principals had two guineas, but Lindley, as principal 'cello, received forty guineas for the season. His inseparable companion, Dragonetti, does not appear in the list till 1816, and then for one night only, when he received £5 5s., but this was for taking part with Cramer and Lindley in a trio, described as by Handel and Martini, a performance which was repeated in the following season. He became a regular member of the band in 1817, when his salary was sixty guineas. The terms of members of the band included one extra night, when the "Messiah" was performed for the benefit of the Royal Society of Musicians. And since the cessation of the Antient Concerts, this performance has been continued to the present day, with the exception that for the last few years some other oratorio has been substituted.

It will thus be seen that the total expenditure for professional assistance at the twelve concerts was £2,746, leaving upwards of £1,500 for other expenses, i.e., about £125 per concert. Advertising, which in these days forms so large an item in concert-giving, was not so freely indulged in, newspapers were few, sandwich-men, if they existed, would, I am sure, have been repugnant to my Lords, and indeed, in a Society constituted on such lines, advertising was unnecessary except possibly in the interests of the principal singers. The charge for constables and doorkeepers was very large. Lighting was a serious matter. There was no gas; the bill of Barclay, in the Haymarket, a firm still existing, for wax candles (after allowing for the unburnt ends returned), was £151 4s. for the season. Printing, executed by Mr. Mallett, of Wardour Street, another firm still existing and mainly occupied in concert work, amounted to £212, while a Mr. Martin was paid £10 13s. for ordinary candles for use at rehearsals.

It was considered necessary in those days to provide refreshments, which was done at a cost of 100 guineas. Bills of tradesmen had to be met, and the whole business arrangements were carried on with a magnificent disregard of economy, as became the body of noblemen and gentlemen who managed affairs. In the list of expenditure there is no charge for rent of the rooms, possibly this was in part repaid in lettings for other concerts, but one would suppose that something should have been debited to the concert account. It is also puzzling that, while in 1813 a sum of £115 5s. 8d. is charged for King's taxes and £35 15s. 8d. for parochial rates, no similar payments occur in subsequent statements. One charge is not without interest—an annual one of between £70 and £80 to Mrs. Field, housekeeper, rising indeed, in later years, to over £90. Mrs. Field was, as far as I can trace, paid no salary; she was probably the wife of Mr. Field,

music porter, and no doubt they occupied pleasant lodgings with "a respectable address" in the building. Mrs. Field's bill is entirely for out of pocket expenses—firewood, charcoal, chimney sweeps, &c. Soap, house flannel, and dusters came to £8 18s, blacklead and emery to £6 14s. Doubtless Mrs Field kept the establishment in apple pie order, for she was assisted in her labours by a whole army of charwomen; on the approach of the season there was a regular spring cleaning! For three weeks in succession there is a charge of £2 12s. per week, and for fourteen subsequent weeks of £1 18s, which in those days, I should suppose, would have paid for nineteen charwomen. Her bill for the season included a supply of wine for the principal singers, generally about £4 10s., which, compared with other charges, seems moderate.

As I have said, the expenditure for 1813 amounted to £4,441 4s. 9d., and as the receipts came to £5,966 2s., there was a balance to credit of £1,524 17s. 3d. In that year one of the "ladies from Lancashire" was Miss Deborah Travis, whose voice greatly impressed the Directors. It was thought to be so promising that they determined to undertake her musical and general education. For a musician, in most cases an organist, to take an articled pupil is not altogether unknown even in our own days, but this was not the course adopted by the Directors. While prosecuting her studies, the Directors were anxious to secure her services, and with this aim she was actually bound apprentice to one of their number—to the Duke of Cambridge, probably the first and the last time that a Royal Duke stood in that relation. The bill of costs for this transaction, although made out to Miss Travis, was presumably paid by the Society, as it is among the other receipts. It is as follows:—

	Miss Travis of Shaw to H. Barlow.	*Dr.* £ s. d.
1813, Sept.	Attending and taking Instructions to prepare Draft of Indenture of Apprenticeship from you to His Royal Highness Prince Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, K G, one of the Directors of the Antient Concerts in London	0 6 8
	Preparing Draft accordingly and Copy for perusal	0 16 0
	Ingrossing two parts on Stamps ...	1 1 0
	Paid for Paper and Duty	1 11 4
	Attending the Execution and to read over same in presence of two Justices of the Peace	0 5 0
		£4 0 0

Having embarked on this enterprise, the Directors were determined not to starve the cause. During the season of 1814 in addition to £30 9s paid to Miss Travis for singing at performances, the following items paid on her behalf occur in the statement of expenses :—

	£	s.	d.
Miss Harwood's Bill ...	45	6	9
Mr. Greatorex, Teaching ...	26	5	0
Mr Kirkman, for a Grand Pianoforte ...	63	0	0
Bill for Music ...	6	7	6
Mr. Greatorex, for Teaching, to Midsummer	49	7	0
Miss Harwood's Bill for Education ...	91	11	0
Total ...	£281	17	3

Miss Dorothy Travis was evidently an expensive luxury. Miss Harwood no doubt, kept a very superior finishing establishment for young ladies, where probably Miss Travis was a parlour boarder. Of course, Miss Travis did not require a new pianoforte every year, but in 1815 her total expenses (excluding £30 9s paid as before for actual services) amounted to £252 5s 10d. The last payment to Miss Harwood appears to have been made up to Christmas, 1815, £65 5s. This includes sundry items of cash advanced, and £1 16s. 6d. mantua maker's bill, which does not seem an extravagant item for a young lady called on to make public appearances before the *élite* of society. Miss Travis had probably outgrown the resources of that establishment, and in 1816 she was for the first time allowed to appear as a principal, which she did at the opening concert of the season in an air from Handel's "Alcina," "Di, cor mio, quanto t' amai," not coming forward again till the fifth concert, in a duet with Mrs Vaughan, from "Alexander Balus." After this, her appearances were more regular. On leaving Miss Harwood's roof, she took up her residence in the house of Mr. Greatorex, where she was able to profit more readily from his lessons, of which she appears to have had three a week, at a charge of 10s. 6d., while board and lodging were at the rate of £60 a year. During this period, she took lessons in writing and Italian from Mr. John Dalton, whose receipt for two months' lessons, £6 6s, is in the flying penmanship of the period. Down to 1820, Miss Travis continued to take lessons from Greatorex, but in less number. As is well known, the kindness of the Directors was justified, for she became an excellent and esteemed singer, especially in oratorio, and in 1826 she became the second wife of William Knyvett, for many years the principal alto at the leading concerts and festivals, and from 1832 to 1840 the

conductor of the Antient Concerts. He died in 1856; his widow survived till 1876.

The best principal singers were always engaged, those resident in this country receiving regular engagements, while foreign singers of celebrity were brought forward when visiting this country. In 1785, the first year of the printed books of the words, Madame Mara and Tenducci appeared. In 1786 came Mrs. Billington, while Miss Storace was regularly engaged from 1787 to 1794. We first find Madame Banti, that singer by nature about whom Lord Mount Edgcumbe waxed so eloquent, from 1795 to 1801, Mrs. Billington from 1802 to 1810, Catalani from 1811 to 1813, Mrs. Bianchi Lacy from 1812 to 1814. In the latter year came out Miss Stephens—the famous Kitty Stephens—afterwards Countess of Essex, and the aunt of a much-respected member of this Society, the late Mr. C. E. Stephens. The Directors were most loyal to their performers, and Miss Stephens appeared regularly in the programmes till she retired from the platform. It need hardly be said that Miss Travis, as a daughter of the Society, was always engaged. After singing in the chorus she came forward, as already stated, in 1815, and appeared without interruption till 1839, although from 1827 as Mrs. William Knyvett. It would be tedious to continue these details, but among other famous prima-donnas we find Mmes. Fodor, Camporese, Salmon, Pasta, Caradori-Allan, Malibran (in 1829, and in 1836 as Madame de Beriot), Paton, Stockhausen, Masson, Cinti Damoreau, Schroder Devrient, Grisi (1834), Clara Novello (1833, and still living), Adelaide Kemble, Rivière (in 1831, who in the following year appears as Mrs. H. R. Bishop), Garcia (Madame Viardot), the sister of Malibran, Maria B. Hawes, Romer, Dolby (1839), Alfred Shaw, Anna Thillon, Albom, and many others. In the last year of the Society appeared Miss Emma Lucombe (who soon afterwards became Mrs. Sims Reeves), and the sisters Williams, one of whom soon afterwards married another promising tenor—Mr. Lockey—whose career was so unfortunately cut short by an affection of the throat.

If the male singers were not quite so well known to fame as the ladies, they were a well-chosen body. Tenducci and Pacchierotti (the latter a much respected *habitué* of Dr. Burney's social evenings) were the only members of a race of singers no longer existing. Harrison, Bellamy, Sale, Knyvett, were all held in estimation in their day. Bartleman appears for the first time as a solo singer in 1791, leaving to be principal bass at the Vocal Concerts, but returning in 1795, and from that time continuing regularly till ill-health forced his retirement. In 1825 we find H. Phillips, who for many years was the leading bass in

oratorio. In 1828 our great tenor, Braham, first appeared in a selection from "Jephtha," and no doubt moved all hearts with the recitative "Deeper and deeper still" and the air "Waft her, angels," in which he was unrivalled, although it is inconceivable that he can have excelled his great successor of our own times. In 1830 we find Donzelli and Lablache, Rubini in 1833, Tamburini in 1834, Ivanoff in 1836, Staudigl in 1843, Pischek in 1845, Mario and Ronconi in 1842, Roger and Gardoni in 1847 Of other noticeable appearances, we remark Balfe in 1836 and Mr. Parry, jun (our well known and beloved John Parry), in 1833, who did not sing "Wanted a governess" (no composition of less than twenty years' standing was allowed!) but Pergolesi's "Lord, have mercy upon me." A few years afterwards he joined Phillips in the duet "The Lord is a Man of war!"

If the general expenses of the Concerts appear to be extravagant, the terms paid to singers of celebrity were much more moderate than those of the present day, and this is more noticeable in the case of foreign singers. The earliest statement of expenditure is dated 1813—probably the time when Birchall became the medium through whom the expenses of the Society passed. In that year the sum devoted to principal singers was much larger than any subsequent year. It amounted to £1,345 11s. for the twelve concerts—about £112 per concert. This was accounted for by the engagement of Catalani, who sang at eight concerts, for which she received the large sum of £472 10s. for her services. It does not appear how this figure was arrived at, but it approaches £60 per night—an enormous sum for those days. No one in the subsequent history of the Society received anything approaching it. In the same year Mrs. Vaughan and Mrs. Bianchi Lacy each were paid £126, i.e., £10 10s per concert; Bartleman £200 for the season. In the following year payments to principals had dropped to £947 5s—something under £79 per concert Miss Stephens appears for the first time in my lists in 1814, singing on ten evenings at £15 15s., and these were her terms for the two following seasons, but in 1818 they were raised to £21, and in 1820 to £25, which is the highest sum she appears to have received. Mrs. Salmon made her first appearance in 1815 at £10 10s. a night. In 1817 this was raised to £15 15s., and in 1820 to £25, as no doubt she and Miss Stephens claimed to be on an equal footing Of foreign singers, both Madame Fodor and Madame Camporese took £21, and subsequently £25. Miss Dorothy Travis, the Society's *protégée*, was entrusted with solos for the first time in 1828, receiving £76 12s. 6d., which is no definite sum per night, but in the following year she was allowed £6 6s per night. It must be remembered, however, that she received collateral advantages

in the way of lodging and lessons, but to the end of her time she never had high terms—although as Mrs. Knyvett she became a singer of celebrity—being contented with £10 a night, probably in recognition of all the Society had done for her. Men singers seem never to have commanded such high terms; £295 for the season in 1820 to Bartleman seems to be the largest payment. Braham was by no means a regular assistant; he received £65 for three nights in 1828, and £15 15s. a night for twelve nights in 1832. It is when we come to foreign operatic stars that we are struck with the modesty of their demands in comparison with those of prima-donnas of the present day. Pasta was content with £30 a night; the bewitching Malibran sang four nights for £100; Grisi for £21 a night; Alboni for £15 15s.; £21 was paid to that invaluable support of the Society, Madame Caradori-Allan; while male singers of the stamp of Mario, Gardoni, Ronconi, Lablache, Tamburini, received £12 12s., Donzelli and Rubini alone taking £21. Returning to English singers, Miss Rivière appeared in 1831 for a modest £5, but in the following year, when she became Mrs. Bishop, her terms rose to £9 9s. In 1833 Clara Novello appeared once for £5 5s., and in 1834 sang "utility" at eight concerts for £21. For some years her name disappears, but in 1840 she commanded fifteen guineas, a fee much more in proportion with her merits. Among other well-known names appear those of Miss Birch, Mrs. Alfred Shaw, Miss Dolby, Madame Anna Thillon (English in all but name), and Adelaide Kemble, who, giving her services on one occasion, received twenty-five guineas for a single evening. But I must not weary you with further details, although not altogether without interest.

We have now to consider the other side of the account—the amounts received for subscriptions. The original subscription for members was £8 8s., which covered twelve concerts. The tickets were strictly non-transferable, and this absurd regulation was only relaxed comparatively late in the Society's history. The Directors had the privilege of paying twenty-four guineas, though why they should have done so when the office entailed such trouble and responsibility is incomprehensible. Possibly they were allowed to introduce a number of friends into the Directors' box. This was subsequently reduced to eighteen guineas in proportion to that of other subscribers, but Royalty continued to be charged twenty-four guineas. This was probably justified by the fact that a royal visit involved a certain retinue for whom accommodation had to be found. Up to 1795, as already stated, the concerts were given at the Tottenham Rooms. During this time, the list of subscribers in four years only exceeded 400—probably the room would not hold a larger number. On moving to the King's Theatre,

the numbers continuously increased, rising to 684 in 1803 In 1804 the Society moved to Hanover Square, and from this time to 1827 must be considered the palmy days of the institution. The largest number of subscribers was in 1825, when it rose to 742. After this it gradually declined, dropping from 618 in 1829 to 517 in the following year, to 411 in 1832, never again reaching 400, till the Society expired in 1848 with 158 subscribers only. It must, however, be pointed out that in the later years a large number of single tickets were taken.

Regular balance-sheets are, unfortunately, not available. The number of subscribers in arrears was something phenomenal. Royalty showed no greater alacrity in paying up than did commoners. The Duke of Sussex was at one time thirteen years behindhand, the arrears amounting to £302 8s. His brother, the Duke of York, in 1825, owed for eight years' subscription, £167 4s, but he was a notoriously bad paymaster, the column at the bottom of Waterloo Place having been said to have been erected by grateful creditors who could not get their money! In 1827 the total arrears amounted to £1,654 16s . . . Circulars were issued to the offenders, but the result was small. The amount thus owing was carried on year after year, but at uncertain intervals the list was cleared, apparently by the direction of the Archbishop of York,[1] who, for thirty years, in addition to the cares of his diocese (which in those days did not seem to have weighed so heavily on dignitaries of the Church as in our own times!), found time to devote zealously to the affairs of the Society. In 1830, a sum of £646 16s. was thus written off. From the year 1840 keener methods of business prevailed, and the amount outstanding was reduced to more reasonable figures.

In 1833 the position of the Society had become alarming. The receipts amounted to £3,306 9s., the expenses to £3,452 19s. 3d. It was quite time, therefore, that some reform should be affected. It took the shape of an announcement that "subscribers should have the privilege of introducing their friends to a single concert, by tickets, price one guinea each . . and as the number of such tickets will be limited, the priority of application will determine to whom such tickets will be given." This air of conferring a favour is very delightful, but the result was not very encouraging, it was therefore determined to reduce, in the following season, the number of concerts to eight, and to reduce "the subscription to six guineas for subscribers retaining the privilege of attending rehearsals, Five guineas for those who do not. That the transfer of tickets between Father and Son, and between Brothers, also between Mother and Daughters

[1] Vernon Harcourt

and between Sisters, be allowed." These modifications show some spark of good sense, but are still sufficiently preposterous Who was damaged if good music was listened to by a man instead of a woman? Probably the regulations were constantly evaded, for the door keeper could not possibly tell at a glance the relationship of the late comers, who invariably stream in as a concert is beginning These reckless alterations, however, proved inadequate to revive the drooping fortunes of the Society. The receipts gradually dwindled till they became insufficient to pay expenses, and in March, 1849, a circular was sent to the subscribers to inform them "that the number of subscriptions for the present year for which application has been made being insufficient for the maintenance of the Concerts on the accustomed scale of efficiency. the Performances will be discontinued this Season"; and so the Antient Concerts came to an end, as other musical efforts have before and since.

The reasons for this result are not far to seek. In the latter twenty years of the Society's existence social habits went through a great change. The whole country was in a state of ferment over the question of Reform, and the middle classes were claiming a much larger share in public life. The difficulties with which outsiders were met who wished to share in the pleasures of the Concerts were wholly out of harmony with the spirit of the age. Moreover, there was a great want of catholicity in the arrangement of the programmes. They were largely devoted to the works of one composer—Handel—whose genius none will underrate; but since his death other men of genius had arisen. It was a rule of the Society that no work should be performed until twenty years after its composition. It thus happened that the name of Mozart did not appear in the programme till 1826. As the great master died in 1791, there appears to have been no great alacrity to move with the times. In 1826 the "Jupiter" and E flat Symphonies and other works were performed. Haydn first appeared in 1834 with the "Surprise" Symphony, and in the following year Beethoven with the "Prometheus" Overture, several times repeated in after years. His Second Symphony was given in 1842, the "Egmont" Overture in 1841. That must have roused them! But as the latest of these works dated as far back as 1810, it was not the rule of the Society which delayed their production. In later years the choice of composers was widened, but the tendency was to cling to old favourite selections both from Handel and other composers, no complete oratorio being ever given, a single part of an oratorio, filling half the programme, being considered enough for the sustained attention of the audience Here, perhaps, I may mention one custom which has now quite died out,

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although I remember old professors in my youth who stuck to the habit—the parts of the Concerts were invariably called the 1st and the 2nd Acts, and this was the practice till the end.

With these drawbacks, can it be wondered at that the popularity of the Society waned, especially with the attractions of other undertakings covering much the same ground. The most formidable of these—the Sacred Harmonic Society—was just coming into note, a body of amateurs most humble in its origin, but which, under able management, was fast becoming a musical power. Beginning most modestly in a dissenting chapel in Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn, owing to difficulties with the authorities of that building it removed to the small Exeter Hall in 1834, and on the unexpected success of a charity concert in the large hall of that building, continued to occupy that room till it was no longer available. The concerts were organized on a scale with which the older body could not compete, even with the help of the ladies from Lancashire, and if, under the conductor of that day—Mr. Surman—the performances were sometimes a little rough and ready, they were frequently excellent, while the chorus produced a volume of tone which was really magnificent, as was borne testimony to by Mendelssohn and other great musicians who visited our shores. In 1848, the last year of the Antient Concerts, Mr. Costa became conductor of the younger Society, with a startling improvement in the excellence of the performances. No form of introduction was necessary. Anyone was at liberty to subscribe or to buy a ticket by simple application at the office of the Society, or at the music shops, for three shillings—one-seventh the price for which you could be *allowed*, if properly vouched for, to buy a ticket for the older Society. An average attendance of 2,000 per concert enabled numbers to succeed where exclusiveness failed. The surroundings were naturally less magnificent. No refreshments were served, no guards in bearskins and fixed bayonets were stationed at the doors, at an expense of 16s., with free tickets for "the Field Officer in waiting, Brigade of Foot Guards, and the Adjutant of the Battalion furnishing the Duties," who probably were immensely bored, and would have preferred passing the evening at their club or at Crockford's.

The general management of the Antient Concerts was vested in the Directors, a small body of about half-a-dozen noblemen and gentlemen; among their principal duties was to take charge of one evening in turn, for which they drew up the programme, probably taking counsel with the conductor, but naturally this arrangement led to narrowness in choice, each Director wishing to include his favourite pieces, or being

willing to listen to the persuasion of his lady friends. As I have already said, the Archbishop of York was for many years a most active Director, the Duke of Wellington was for a time in office, as well as Lord Burghersh, afterwards Earl of Westmorland, who was really a composer of some merit, and instrumental in founding the Royal Academy of Music. In later years, Prince Albert performed the duties, and at one of the Concerts, in 1847, under his direction, Mendelssohn appeared as organist, receiving no fee for his services. Another of the duties of the Director for the evening was to entertain his fellow-Directors and the conductor to dinner previous to the concert. When one considers the convivial habits of those days, it is to the credit of these gentlemen that they remained in condition to perform the duties of the evening.

The first conductor was Joah Bates. He filled the office till his death in 1799, and was succeeded by Mr. Greatorex. He died in 1831, when W. Knyvett, the alto singer, who had married Miss Deborah Travis, was appointed, and continued in office till 1839. At the next season it was arranged that each Director should choose his own conductor, and thus, during that year, Sir G. Smart, Messrs. Bishop, Lucas, and Turle officiated, but the plan naturally did not work well; consequently, Sir H. Bishop was appointed conductor in 1843. It should be pointed out that the conductor's duties were very different from those we attach to the position in these days. Till 1841 he occupied the organ stool, a position most unfavourable for making his influence felt. The leader was a much more important person than now, for it was to him that the band and chorus looked for direction. Mr. Hay (about whom I find no information) was first holder of the office. His successor was William Cramer, who, at his death in 1804, was succeeded by his son, François Cramer. It is on record that on his appointment by George III., the King sent a message to him—"Tell young Cramer to keep his eye on me, and watch my hand, with which I will give him the true time of the various compositions." François Cramer retired in 1844, and was followed by J. D. Loder, by T. Cooke in 1846, and in the last season by the late Henry Blagrove. In Parry's account of the Society, to which reference has already been made, it is pointed out that the assistant librarian and copyist, Mr. Hedgley, had belonged to the establishment for fifty-three years. His accounts for music copying and hire of music were a serious item in the yearly expenditure, in addition to which he received eighteen guineas for laying out the books in the orchestra and turning over at the organ.

It is to be regretted that the papers in my possession contain no proper balance-sheet. The finance of the Society

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was arranged in the following manner There was a treasurer, who was a member of the Society. In 1807, possibly earlier, Mr. John Keysall filled the office, and there are copies of the banking account with Messrs. Childs from that time to 1813 inclusive. In that year the office of treasurer was handed over to Mr H Hammersley, a member of the banking firm of Hammersley & Co., of Pall Mall, together with the balance at Childs' of £358 4s. 3d., and Exchequer bills for £1,500. From that date the banking account was kept with Hammersleys. Birchall, and afterwards Lonsdale, acted as sub-treasurers, paying in moneys received for subscriptions, and drawing the amounts required for tradesmen's bills and salaries to performers. The practice appears to have been to have a "treasury" day appointed soon after the conclusion of the season, taking proper receipts, the stamps on which the Society paid, which according to my recollection was not the usual practice.

On taking a lease of the Hanover Square Rooms, in 1803, the Directors found themselves landed in a peck of troubles. Many repairs and decorations were necessary to adapt the rooms for the Concerts? For this purpose they called in one of the most eminent and fashionable architects of the day, Mr James Wyatt, who had made a great reputation by the design of the Pantheon and of many noblemen's seats. The Directors appear to have given him carte blanche. When the work was complete, the architect sent in to the treasurer, Mr Keysall, a list of the bills incurred These amounted to the staggering sum of £9,744 18s. 8d., exclusive of the salary of the clerk of the works, £65 2s., which had been omitted This amount comprised £5,332 17s 10d for structural repairs and alterations, and £4,398 4s. 7d. for ornamental work and furniture. Of this, £2,795 4s. 1¼d. (admirable accuracy!) was for carpenter's work done by Samuel Wyatt, the brother of the architect, while Edward Wyatt, carver and gilder, and Matthew C. Wyatt, painter, who may fairly be assumed also to be members of the family, are down for £1,204 9s. 10½d. and £559 9s. respectively. Some sums had been advanced to the tradesmen from time to time, in the usual way, on the architect's certificates, but how much I have no means of telling. In the letter enclosing the list of these bills, Mr. Wyatt "has to request, on behalf of the artificers employed, a further advance of money, which I am sure will, at this time, prove very acceptable to them." Mr Keysall lost no time in sending a reply on the same day in the following terms:—

"SIR,—I received your account of the enormous estimate of the Rooms which, I am sure, if the Directors are of my opinion, they will never consent to pay. I have their orders

to pay you £500 more in addition to what you already had, and if you expect any more you must apply to them for it." It must be admitted that this was a little curt! Mr. Wyatt was evidently greatly nettled. He took Mr. Keysall's advice and addressed a long letter to Lord Chesterfield, one of the Directors, complaining of Mr. Keysall's letter as being "very extraordinary and personally ungentlemanlike towards me." He explains that the sum of £500 offered, in addition to the £1,500 already received, was wholly inadequate, especially as the amount he had already advanced from his own funds among the people employed was much more than the sum of £500. The original estimate was exceeded from the fact that the work had to be done against time, and the number of hours that it had to be carried on by candle-light. He points out that up to that time he had not examined the artificers' bills, the amount of which might be somewhat, but not largely, reduced, and that the people employed will very soon be greatly distressed if they should not receive a considerable proportion of the money due to them. This is not altogether comprehensible. It is inconceivable that the Directors should make such a proposition as to discharge bills amounting to about £10,000 with a payment of one fifth of the amount. The Directors appear to have put the matter in the hands of their solicitors, Messrs. Strong, Still, & Strong, with the result that Mr. Wyatt, in April, 1805, proposes to refer the matter to some disinterested person; consequently all the documents were handed over to Mr., afterwards Sir John, Soane, the designer of that remarkable piece of architecture known as Sir John Soane's Museum, on the north side of Lincoln's Inn Fields. It is worthy of notice that Mr. Soane was a connection of the Wyatt family, having married a niece of Mr. George Wyatt, described as a wealthy builder in the City. This circumstance, however, does not seem to have biased his judgment. The papers appear to have been handed to Mr. Soane before May 2nd, 1805, but in September of that year Messrs. Still & Strong report that it still will be some considerable time before he would be in a position to report on them. In the meantime he and Mr. Wyatt had a serious difference on a point of professional etiquette, which induced Mr. Soane to wish to throw the case up. Messrs. Still report that they have, with great difficulty, induced him to proceed with the matter, pointing out the disappointment it would be were he now to relinquish it. I am sorry to say that I have nothing to show the result of this negotiation—whether Soane persisted in his determination, or whether he ultimately gave his award—but there is a letter from Samuel Wyatt, whose carpenter's bill amounted to £2,795, dated as late as May 6, in 1806, insisting on the fairness of his charges, and begging for £1,000 on account,

"being at this moment much embarrassed." It would seem that he had not participated in his share of the £1,500 already paid by the Directors, nor in the funds advanced by his brother. But I notice that in the banking account for 1807 there is a payment of £1,000 on account of a loan of £4,000 from the treasurer, Mr. Keysall, which was probably borrowed to get over this trouble, and that it was extinguished in 1812 by a final payment of the balance, £300.

In the year 1822, Mr T Greatorex, jun., makes his appearance, with a salary of £50. This was as secretary. He seems to have got into a scrape with the Directors over the contract for lighting the rooms, having received something very like a secret commission from Messrs. Barclay & Co, the wax chandlers, which they allowed him (as, indeed, to his predecessor) on the score that the prices of wax and oil had fallen. There is rather a sad letter from his father, the conductor, admitting "that the whole system is very bad, nor can I defend any part of it. One thing I know—my son has it not in his power to repay the sum he has taken up, and I fear that I shall be obliged to discharge the obligation." Probably it was owing to this circumstance that the secretaryship was transferred to his brother, who retained the position till the dissolution of the Society. Mr. W. A. Greatorex was a solicitor, and in that capacity he was called on in March, 1838, to prosecute at Marlborough Street Police Court a person giving the name of John Jones for "intruding himself" at the Antient Concerts. Although, as his bill of costs states, Mr. Greatorex was "engaged a very considerable time in collecting evidence respecting the prisoner's behaviour and supposed object—13s. 4d."—it does not appear whether this was pure love of music which he wished to indulge without obtaining a proper introduction, but the result was that after two remands poor Mr John Jones was committed (for how long is not stated) as a rogue and a vagabond.

Among the documents preserved are a number of letters, mostly of no great interest except as autographs. They refer to subscriptions, choice of seats, &c., and include notes from the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Burghersh, and other names well known in those days. Lord Burghersh (and afterwards as Lord Westmorland), from his position of Ambassador at Berlin and from his familiarity with music and musicians, was very useful in obtaining both musical works and performers for the Society. But there is a certain old world flavour about many of them, showing how customs have changed. For instance, many are on gilt-edged paper, a thing quite unknown in these days. On the other hand, the unprinted address of the writer at the heading of notepaper, so universal in these days, was then quite unknown. Lord Westmorland's letters to

Mr. Lonsdale begin in somewhat haughty fashion: "Mr. Lonsdale, I have not heard of you for some time," or "Mr. Lonsdale, I am sending two parcels," whereas the Duke of Wellington invariably "presents his compliments to Mr. Lonsdale," &c. I remember that it used to be said that the Duke had his notepaper lithographed in facsimile: "F.-M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to," in order to avoid the trouble of writing this invariable commencement. I need hardly say that there is a fair number of letters from performers requesting an advance on account of salary. Double-bass players always send their instruments about with fear and trembling in dread of the accident which always arrives sooner or later. Poor Mr. Dragonetti suffered in this way. He sends in a bill for 16s. (1s. per journey) for sending his double-bass to Hanover Square, with a memorandum to the effect that "the porter employed by the Directors having broken Mr. D.'s instrument by conveying it in a van, which cost 30s. repairing, is the reason he employed the above person."

Among the correspondence is an interesting little series of letters with regard to the engagement of Miss Paton in 1830. It begins with a most business-like letter from her as to terms, on which the Directors desired some reduction. It is well known that in 1824 Miss Paton was married to Lord William Lennox, a son of the Duke of Richmond. The marriage was not a happy one, and in June, 1830, they separated. Early in July, Lord William Lennox wrote the following letter to Mr. W. A. Greatorex:—

"My Dear Sir,

"I addressed your Father a Letter a week since, and not having received any Reply, I fear he is unwell. Can you inform me to whom I am to apply for Payment of the terms due to Lady W. Lennox for the Antient Concerts?

"Yours ever and truly,

"Wm. Pitt Lennox."

The delay in sending a reply was probably not owing to any illness of Mr. Greatorex, but to the difficulty the Directors felt as to whom they should pay. The Married Women's Property Act was not, in those days, thought of. The Archbishop of York, always to the fore in the Society's business, had the happy thought of getting a gratuitous legal opinion from one of the subscribers. It was as follows:—

"My Dear Lord,

"It is often said that the opinion of a lawyer is worth nothing without a fee, and, a fortiori, the opinion of an ex-lawyer is still worse. But, as far as my opinion is good

for anything, I believe that you *may* safely pay Lord William the salary due to his wife. If an action were to be brought it must be brought in his name.

"Yours faithfully,
"W. COURTENAY

"*July* 16, 1830."

On this advice, the Directors appear to have acted, as, on July 20, Lord William Lennox gave his receipt for £225.

There arrives a sad time in the history of all choral societies when it becomes evident that the voices of many of the elder members show signs of wear. The conductor is placed in a position of great difficulty. It is always among the most diligent attendants at rehearsal, and among those who may be more relied upon to take up the points that this declares itself! But the quality of tone suffers, and the authorities are at their wits' end between the desire not to give offence and the wish to be quit of the old stagers. Even Lancashire larynxes will not last for ever! I find a letter dated January 12, 1832 (9d. postage), from William Knyvett to Lonsdale on the subject. It had been decided to discharge some of the female singers, and Knyvett instructs Lonsdale to undertake this unpleasant duty. He goes on to say: "In a letter from the Archbishop of York, a few days since, I find that it is the determination of the Directors to have only effective chorus singers, and for the same reason that the *old female Birds* have been discharged, so it must follow that the *male* Birds, for such as are not strong and effective in voice, cannot expect to be retained." He goes on to say, that he knows the "Directors would sooner make some little consideration to those discharged than to retain them and suffer the same weakened and reduced effects to follow another season."

Strict rules were in existence as to attendance at rehearsals and sending deputies, with a system of fines, which appear to have been rigidly enforced. A book was kept for performers to sign at rehearsals. This I much regret that I have mislaid, but there are two entries which I remember; the first in a boyish hand, with a specially bad pen, is "The Abey Boys," the next entry, "Mr. Hawes's Young Gentlemen"! Silence was to be maintained in the orchestra, no flourishing, and tuning only when the conductor gave the A on the organ.

But I must bring these somewhat disconnected remarks to an end. Reviewing the course of the Society's history, it must be admitted that the programmes showed an undoubted want of catholicity, in great measure due to their amateur selection. As a critic in the "Harmonicon" very justly says in the first volume of that interesting magazine

(1823). "It cannot be expected that so high and dignified a character as the Archbishop of York should descend to the examination of old scores," and no doubt the twenty years' rule was a cramping influence—although I cannot help thinking that there have been moments in our own experience when we should have welcomed such a law. The great English Madrigalian School was but indifferently represented, but it must be remembered that the number available was at that time small. The Musical Antiquarian Society was not founded till 1840, and the labours of Oliphant and Edward Taylor, the Gresham Professor, were of about the same date. The works of Handel had taken a firm hold of English taste, so that it was natural that they should form the backbone of the programmes. Many of his opera airs, now forgotten, were performed, which might with advantage find a place in the Selection Day of the Handel Festivals, and then some of the elders among us would hail an opportunity of hearing a selection of the works of Purcell, Marcello, Pergolesi, and others who fall within the scheme of no society of the present day, and are little more than names to the present generation.

The Society had outlived its time. A writer in the "Quarterly Musical Review," in a fine burst of eloquence, expresses himself in these words: "We regard the King's Concerts as the ark wherein is preserved, amidst the deluge of heterogeneous music which threatens to flow in upon us from all corners of the earth, the principles that are chiefly valuable, and out of which, if at all, the regeneration of good taste is to be expected." Though, with the wider outlook which an acquaintance with the subsequent development of the art enables us to take, we may not find ourselves in accordance with the views here expressed, we must at least acknowledge that for a long period the Concerts of Antient Music exercised an influence of the highest value, and that they deserve our grateful recollection.

DISCUSSION.

The Chairman.—We shall be very ungrateful if we do not return our thanks to Mr. Matthew for having prepared this paper, which must have given him a great deal of trouble and could only be written by one who had access to many authentic documents. It so happens that I have some 500 or 600 receipts of these concerts which I also obtained from Mr. Lonsdale, and which I value very highly, because they contain the autographs of many distinguished performers of past times It is worthy of note that in the earliest times when Mr Bannister commenced his concerts, which were the first public concerts of any character in London, advertising was not regarded as unnecessary. The Antient Concerts did not advertise, but Mr. Bannister did. I hold in my hand a copy of the *London Gazette* of December 30, 1672, containing the following

> These are to give notice that at Mr *John Bannisters* House (now called the *Musick School*) over against the *George Tavern* in *White Fryers* this present Monday, will be musick performed by excellent masters, beginning precisely at four of the clock in the afternoon, and every afternoon for the future precisely at the same hour.

That is an extremely interesting thing. That early advertisement I treasure, because it so happens that this tavern was in existence close to where my present Music School is situated. On looking over these records of the Antient Concerts I find several receipts for coals They had their coals from the wharf that stood just where my School is now built The firm was Baraud & Co., of which the principal was a distinguished musical amateur. I somewhat regret that we bave not in these days patrons quite so liberal as they were in the early days of the Antient Concerts. It would be a very fine thing for us if there were one Society, only one, where there was a considerable amount of money that could be expended for the promotion of the best music. Now it seems impossible to make any concert pay that does not cater for the popular taste, and I am not sure that that always tends to the progress of art. The works of the great masters are shelved, not because we do not appreciate them, but simply because the public will only come to hear the latest thing, no matter whether it be good, bad, or indifferent, so long as it is new. That, I think, is a great pity. I have here an account of Mr Lonsdale's in his own handwriting for the year 1816, and in that year I see his account came to £5,812 16s.—a magnificent amount of money, which would enable any orchestral society to do very great things. We must remember that this was an orchestral society, in which

madrigals would find no appropriate place. Such a society could surely do much to show the public what had been done in the past, which is equally good with what is being done in the present. There are one or two very notable facts in connection with the Antient Concerts. Mr. Thomas Greatorex seems to have lived by the Antient Concerts, he and his family. He took £300 for sitting at the organ at the twelve concerts; and though we can imagine he was a very efficient performer, he had a band also. And yet he was obliged to have a man to turn over the leaves for him, which cost £9 for the twelve concerts. Mr. Headley was paid £9 for turning over the leaves year after year. Mr. Greatorex, in addition to drawing his salary of £300 and taking, I think, £254 for the attendance of the Abbey Boys, also received money for teaching those "Lancashire witches"—one of them is constantly labelled in the Society's receipts "the Lancashire witch"—and he got several members of his own family put in for various offices connected with the Society; so I think he did pretty well. Then, how interesting it is to notice that Kitty Stephens went on receiving £300 for every season after the terms were once raised. There is also another curious fact that, although the people who attended the concerts were *crême de la crême*, they were obliged to secure the presence of the celebrated Bow Street runner Mr. Townsend. He was paid £21 every season for attending to look after the pickpockets, and he had several assistants who were paid very handsomely also. Then we heard of the enormous sum that was paid for lighting the rooms. But we must not forget that that £138 12s. paid for wax-lights was not all; there were also very large bills for lamps. The rooms, of course, were very fine, and it is interesting to remember the Society possessed some very valuable portraits of musicians, which were bequeathed to it under certain conditions; these conditions were so arranged that eventually those portraits come to the Royal Society of Musicians, in whose premises they now are. I can only hope that some day my relics of the Antient Concerts may be united with those of Mr. Matthew—they should never have been separated. Mr. Matthew mentioned the Sacred Harmonic Society as coming to replace the Antient Concerts. I possess the Sacred Harmonic Society's records from the earliest time, so that they form a very valuable record of the progress of Music in London during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Antient Concerts did an immense amount of good in their time, and I am glad that they treated people liberally. I have even found records of their paying annuities to certain old people. We cannot do that nowadays I know that, in the societies with which I am now connected, in many cases we have to put our hands

into our pockets to cover the expenses. I only wish the spirit of the times would induce royalty and nobility to take more interest in music. I think it is a kind of patronage that would not degrade the art, and would be very much to the credit of the nobility, and I regret there are so few examples of it.

Dr. SOUTHGATE.—We must all echo Dr. Cummings's regret that the aristocracy and those members of the upper ten who devote their time to bridge and horse-racing—I do not think he mentioned pigeon-shooting—and other excitements do not achieve something like what their forefathers did for music. It is quite astonishing when you hear of the large sums which were subscribed by those people so many years ago—they mean, of course, much more than the same sums given at the present day. How very much larger than what is given for music nowadays! One knows that the Philharmonic Society sometimes can hardly get through its season without help from the guarantors. It is impossible to hear music better performed than it is at these concerts; and the directors take enormous trouble to find all that is good in music both old and new; and yet with such assistance as that the Society practically cannot pay its way. If you look down the list of guarantors and, indeed, include the list of subscribers, I do not think you will find the name of a single peer or person with a title, except Lady Stainer, Sir Frederick Bridge and Sir Hubert Parry—I remember that Lord Chief Justice Coleridge used to be a subscriber. It is greatly to be deplored that the aristocracy do not come forward and help music as their forefathers did in old times. I think we must all see that the Society of Antient Concerts gradually got out of harmony with the times. Each director chose his own programme, no doubt with some assistance from the conductor. But that terrible rule that they were to do nothing unless it was at least twenty years old was introducing an element of decay. It is quite clear that if you have to wait twenty years before you can hear a new, fine piece of music, many would be where the novelty will no longer be of any interest. That does not happen now; but I cannot help thinking that the exclusion of the popular element in music was one cause of the Society's dissolution. It was really a collection of fashionable persons who had, or pretended to have, an interest in music. As Dr. Cummings has said, they certainly did something for music, but I am afraid there were the elements of eventual dissolution in their constitution. However, if those who represent the noble patrons of the Society in the present day would only do something like what their forbears did, possibly English music might stand in a better position than it occupies at the present time.

(A vote of thanks to the lecturer was then passed.)

Mr. Matthew.—I thank you very much for the way in which you have received my paper. With regard to your remark, Sir, that it was an orchestral society, that undoubtedly was the case, still, it occasionally gave madrigals such as "In going to my lonely bed," and one or two others of the better known examples. As a link between the Society and the present day, I may mention that I sent a copy of the programme to a lady who sang at the Antient Concerts in the year 1842. I am afraid the weather was too bad for her to come. I refer to Miss Macirone. And you yourself, Sir, have, I believe, a sort of link with the Society. In the year 1813 Master Hobbs appeared at the Concerts, and I think some years afterwards you married a daughter of Master Hobbs.

The Chairman.—That is so. I may also mention that I have a complete collection of the books of words from the commencement to the end of the Society.

Dr. Maclean.—I propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman. We are in special luck this afternoon. We often have generalizations, and they are not without value. But to-day we have a lecture from a gentleman who ransacks records, and gives us first-hand information supported by details therefrom. Then Dr. Cummings has contributed equally valuable matter from the stores of his experience. Regarding the magnificent close borough of which we have had the story, I really do not think that we can blame those who sit in high places that they do not act the same nowadays. Democracy has swept over everything, whether we like it or not, and it is the people, not social leaders, who must now support music. Society still plays its part in respect of opera. As a matter of fact, wealth does not now rest with the aristocracy, and many peers are as poor as we are.

THOMAS LEA SOUTHGATE, Esq., D.C.L.,

Vice-President,

In the Chair.

THE EMOTIONAL APPEAL IN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

By T. H. Yorke Trotter, M.A., Mus.D. Oxon.

The statement that music is the most emotional of the Arts will not be denied by any one. While the other arts awaken ideas, which in their turn act on the feelings, music acts inversely. It affects, in the first instance, the emotions, creating dispositions which we translate by the vague terms joy, sadness, tenderness, serenity, tranquillity, &c. (*cf.* Ribot, "Psychology of the Emotions," p. 103).

The position of music in this respect has been recognized in past ages, even when the art was in such a rudimentary condition that its emotional effect must have been much less than at the present time, and philosophers have laid stress on the importance of a proper education in music, in the belief that right conduct is dependent, not on the intellect, but on the emotions. "Music," says Aristotle, "produces in us certain conditions of character. This is proved by various instances, and especially by the musical compositions of Olympus, for it is admitted that they make our souls enthusiastic, and enthusiasm is an emotional condition of the character of the soul." "Melodies contain in themselves reproductions of moral qualities. This is a fact beyond dispute, as there is an initial distinction between the natures of different harmonies, so that we are variously affected by the sound of them, and do not experience the same mood

when we listen to all, but in listening to some, *e.g.*, the Mixo-Lydian, as it is called, experience a mood of comparative melancholy and restraint; in listening to others, *e.g.*, the lax harmonies, a more tender mental mood; and, again, an intermediate and sedate mood in listening especially to a third—for such is, as it seems, the effect of the Dorian harmony alone—while we are excited to enthusiasm by the Phrygian . . . . In fact, there seems to be a sort of relationship between the soul on the one hand and harmonies and rhythm on the other . . . . It is evident, then, that music possesses the power of affecting in a certain way the character of the soul." (Politics V, VI., VII.) Even in China, some 2,000 years before our era, the same opinions prevailed, for there was a Minister of Music, whose importance was continually insisted on by the sages of that country.

As to the effect of music in our own times, quotations might be indefinitely multiplied; the power and influence of the art cannot be disputed.

In order to understand the true nature of the influence of music on the mind it will be necessary, as briefly as possible, to enter into some explanation of our states of consciousness, for many misconceptions exist on this subject, leading to illusions which have seriously hampered the study of musical æsthetics. The first element is sensation, through which we gain acquaintance with objects, while perception gives us knowledge about them. Now sensation, though apparently a very simple matter, is in reality more complex than it appears to be. We do not receive simple sensations, except perhaps in early childhood, but each sensation contains many elements which are often difficult to analyse satisfactorily. These sensations may act on our feelings, producing what we call emotions.

An emotion is a tendency to feel, just as an instinct is a tendency to act, characteristically, when in the presence of a certain object in the environment (*cf.* James, "Psychology," p. 373). Now the emotions have their bodily expression; indeed, in the opinion of one of the leading psychologists of the day, the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact and our feelings of the same changes as they occur, *is* the emotion. Whether or not this is so matters little for our present purpose. What is important is the fact that an emotion is the tendency to feel characteristically. A very slight analysis of the mind will show that these characteristic feelings are made up of a number of elements. Our emotional nature is most complex. There are, certainly, what may be called rudimentary emotions, which appear at an early stage in our existence, and which can be easily recognized and labelled. But even these emotions are, in an adult, of a complex character, and they only form an

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infinitesimal part of our emotional system. There is no limit to the number of possible emotions which may exist and the emotions of different individuals vary indefinitely. (*cf.* James, "Principles of Psychology," Vol. II., 454.) Not only so, but our emotional nature is ever changing, it is filled with different elements, inherent in our nature and enlarged by the experience of our lives. As Mr. Herbert Spencer expresses it, "Emotions are composed of enormously complex aggregates of elements that are never twice alike and which stand in relations that are never twice alike" ("Essays," Book I., p. 336). And we must recognize the fact that there is a progressive scale in our emotional nature. We have ignoble and noble emotions; those which debase and those which elevate; the one kind directly connected with sensation, the other more remote from it. The popular use of the word "emotional" tends to hide the true conception of this part of our nature. We constantly use the word with reference to the lower order of our emotions, or to a want of self-control. And yet the emotional response is one of the most important elements in the constitution of what we call temperament. Intellectual and volitional attributes are also included, but the emotional factor is, perhaps, the most significant. The man who most influences the world is he who combines in himself a strong emotional nature with the power of clear, intellectual thought. Moreover, our intellectual and emotional natures act so closely together that it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which is the motive power of our actions. If we were able to analyse correctly our states of consciousness, we might find that many of our most cherished beliefs, religious or political, had their origin not in our intellect, as we imagine, but in our emotions. Unconsciously, the wish becomes father to the thought, and we imagine that the results are purely intellectual. And even when the intellect leads the way, it is the emotional element that gives strength and permanency to our beliefs and actions. Again, it is almost, if not quite, impossible to express in language what our feelings really are. Words are merely symbols, and as such are useful to convey the workings of the intellect, but we have no adequate means in language of expressing the subtle and complex flow of the feelings.

It is to this vast and vague emotional field that music makes its chief appeal. Its bearing upon our intellectual faculties, though by no means unimportant, must be omitted as having no reference to the subject of this paper.

The two elements of music, as we have it, are rhythm and tone. Now the earliest mode of expressing our feelings is in rhythmic movement. Primitive man found an outlet for his emotions in the dance, which was not to him so much a pleasure as a necessity for his activities. This is naturally

the case, for the emotions crave bodily expression, and rhythmic movement is the form of expression most suitable for the outlet of feeling. In process of time music came to be used as an accompaniment to the dance, so that we find in early times an inseparable connection between the two. And rhythmic movement still continues to be the basis of music that chiefly appeals to the emotions. We are familiar with the emotional effect of such music as that of the Hungarians, among whom the feeling for rhythm is very pronounced, and even in what is called classical music, we are conscious of the same power. To name only two movements out of many, the last movement of Schubert's Symphony in C and the second movement of Beethoven's ninth Symphony, will show the tremendous effect of strong rhythms.

The other element of music is tone. The sensuous delight given to us by even simple musical tones is one that is inherent in our natures. It cannot be gainsaid, and it is an important factor in estimating the effect of music. It is part of the higher æsthetic sense—the sense of beauty. It has been objected that this sense of beauty is of little account, since it varies in different ages and among different people. What one person admires, another cannot appreciate—there is no such thing as absolute beauty—only a varying fancy. The answer to such objections is easy. The sense of beauty is tinged with emotion and is like our other higher senses, the result of a long process of evolution. Naturally, therefore, it varies in different ages of mankind. But it is none the less a very important factor in our life. It exists in its higher forms only in the most cultured natures; it is one of the things that differentiates mankind from the lower animals. It would be just as reasonable to call our moral sense of no avail as to overlook our sense of beauty. Both alike have been evolved in long centuries; both vary in different ages and in different people. Indeed, in considering our moral sense, we find that what one nation looks upon as criminal, another nation, equally cultured, equally civilized, will regard with approval. We can claim finality for none of our senses. If such a claim could be made, if, for instance, we could show that it was not possible to get beyond the sense of beauty we now enjoy, the result would be fatal to the growth of the higher sensibilities of mankind.

The first effect of music on our natures is therefore the sensuous delight in tone, added to the feelings engendered by rhythm. These feelings can be experienced even by persons who have no knowledge of the art, or whose natural musical abilities are incapable of any high development. To others, whose faculties have been highly cultivated, and who have natural instincts and prepossessions to the art, the appeal is very great. For it will readily be noticed how the essential

qualities of our emotional nature are met and satisfied by music. Our emotions, as we have seen, are infinite in number; they cover a wide field, they are often vague, incapable of articulate expression, and they are ever-changing. But there are infinite modes of expression in music, vague and indefinite, calling up sometimes images of the past, sometimes affecting us by sheer beauty, sometimes by effects of climax or of contrast. And a great work of art is ever changing, exhibiting the principle of variety in unity and so satisfying our craving for change, while it yet remains a unified work. And, just as there is a higher and a lower order of emotions, so we recognise a higher and lower order of composition, not necessarily because of any technical differences, but because the mode of expression is different. We rightly condemn a composition or the interpretation of a work as sentimental, meaning thereby either that the expression is insincere, than which no fault can be greater, or that the appeal is to our lower emotional nature. We even classify composers from this point of view, rightly estimating that the sensuous beauty of such a composer as Spohr is not to be compared with the higher value of the works of other men, such as Beethoven or Brahms.

Music, as Mr. Herbert Spencer well says, may appeal to crude and coarse feelings or to refined and noble ones, and in so far as it does the latter it awakens the higher nature and works an effect, though but a transitory effect, of a beneficial kind ("Facts and Comments," p. 34). And just as our emotional and intellectual natures are closely combined, so we find running through music, which is in its character primarily formal, an emotional element which must not be overlooked. We all have felt the effect of this element in the work of that profound genius, John Sebastian Bach, even in such compositions as the forty eight Preludes and Fugues, which exhibit such immense technical excellencies.

Music, then, possesses in a pre-eminent degree the power of affecting our emotional nature. Some modern writers appear to think that it can express *one* emotion. This idea shows a curious misconception of our states of consciousness. The music that only expresses *one* emotion is either an impossibility, or, if it were possible, it would be a monstrosity. The fact is, that music does not so much produce emotions as an emotional state, and an emotional state is made up of an indefinite number of elements. In this respect Aristotle, in the passage previously quoted, seems to have gained a conception of the truth: "*ταῦτα γὰρ ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικάς*" (these make the soul enthusiastic), he says, and, as he adds, "*ὁ δ' ἐνθουσιασμος τῶν περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἤθους πάθος ἐστι*" (enthusiasm is an emotional condition of the character of the soul). The effect will, therefore, be not so much to create

a definite feeling which can be labelled and more or less analysed, as an indefinite mood of which we are conscious but which is difficult, if not impossible, to label, and which is incapable of analysis.

"The profoundest essence of our thoughts," wrote Richard Wagner, "is unconveyable in direct ratio as they gain in depth and compass and thus withdraw beyond the bounds of speech—of speech, which does not belong to our own real selves, but is given us second-hand to help our converse with an outer world that, at bottom, can only understand us clearly when we place ourselves entirely on the level of life's vulgar needs. The more our thoughts depart from that level, the more laborious becomes the effort to express them, until at last, the philosopher, at risk of being not understood at all, uses language merely in its inverse sense. Now, music is indisputably the fittest medium for the thought that cannot be conveyed by speech, and one well might call the inmost essence of all vision, Music."

This is a brief statement from the point of view of the psychologist of the appeal of music to our emotional nature. It will now be necessary to consider the subject more in detail, regarding the position of instrumental music in its development up to the present time.

We may divide instrumental music into two branches. The first, absolute music—that is, music which proceeds directly from the mind of the composer and is not dependent on any external stimulus; the second, programme music, which owes its origin to some external object or some other art work acting on the mind of the composer and which cannot be understood without the knowledge of the basis on which it rests. There is a decided difference between the two genera as seen in their extremes, but this difference tends more and more to disappear as the two methods approach each other, so that at times it is difficult to say to which kind some music must be apportioned.

For a proper appreciation of the emotional effect of absolute and programme music, it is necessary to consider them both from the point of view of the composer and the listener, so as to arrive at some idea first of what originates the music, and secondly, how it enters the consciousness of those that hear it. Here it is necessary to eliminate from our inquiry all music written, not from a purely artistic point of view, but from some other motive, such as to improve the technical dexterity of a performer, or to serve as a means for showing off either the proficiency of the player or the capacity of the instrument. Such music has its uses, but these uses are not pertinent to the subject of this paper. Only music written with high artistic aim, as the sincere expression of the composer's feelings, can be considered.

The history of instrumental music has shown a steady and continuous progress towards more passionate emotional expression. In the early days of the art, when the means at the composer's disposal were limited, his power of expression naturally was small, and not to be compared with that which now prevails. If he wrote for the orchestra he had no mass of instruments, giving endless varieties of tone colour, at his command; if his tastes led him to compose music for a keyed instrument, with the exception of the organ he could find nothing that was capable of full, loud tones or great changes of force and colour. What, then, were the emotional effects he sought to convey? In the first place came his sense of beauty. Now, this sense of beauty in a composer's mind is partly innate, inherited from a long series of ancestors—partly cultivated and improved by his own education. It guides him instinctively in his work, choosing the most appropriate form, moulding his sense of balance and proportion, and enabling him to produce what we call a finished work of art. The result of this developed sense of beauty, acting on the mind of a creative artist, is to give us works of high artistic aim. And in nearly all compositions of this class there are subtle emotional effects introduced, which, perhaps unconsciously, represent the emotional state of mind of the composer. In the earlier stages of instrumental music these effects are likely to pass unnoticed owing to the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of analysing them and labelling them as belonging to the more common and well-known states of consciousness. A great deal of what is called "chamber music" comes into this class. In such music, owing to the nature of the instruments employed, the more passionate emotional appeal is absent, and the effects are gained by less obvious and more subtle means.

How, then, does music of this kind effect the minds of the hearers? In the first place it is obvious that the artistic sense must be highly developed to understand the works performed. A man whose sense of beauty is still in a rudimentary stage can no more appreciate a work of art than a man who is colour-blind can take delight in the most beautiful varieties of colour. But, given a highly-developed artistic sense, the delight in such works will be great. There is a delight even in the sensation of tone, there is a delight in perfect form and accurate balance, in the interweaving of different melodies, in rhythmic motion, in effects of contrast and climax. Add to these the subtle emotional effect nearly always contained, and we can understand how such works are to many minds an endless source of the highest pleasure.

It is sometimes objected that such works, inasmuch as their effect is to give "pleasure," fail to attain to the high standard that should be desired; that art has a high moral

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purpose, and should exist for the betterment of mankind; in fact, that we are to get "salvation" through art. It is hardly necessary to answer such a curious misapprehension of the nature of art. But it may be noted briefly that the word "pleasure," when it refers to the effect produced by works of art, does not mean frivolity, but the delight caused by the satisfaction of the artistic nature, and that this delight is a physical, moral, and intellectual good to every healthy and right minded person, just as morbidity is unwholesome and harmful. The effect produced on the mind by these works is akin to the emotions which a grand landscape excites and suggests. We are conscious of feelings of a deep and noble kind, but we cannot easily give them verbal expression. We know, however, that they exist, and we know that the influence they have over us is elevating and ennobling.

But there is more than this to be noticed. As the power of expression in music got more and more highly developed, the emotional appeal became more and more pronounced, until in some of the works of Beethoven we find, joined to extreme beauty of subject and form, a passionate emotion. The appeal is unmistakable; it cannot be ignored.

In some quarters it is held that this passionate appeal must either be an attempt to represent some external facts or to be the result of some strong influence brought to bear on the emotions of the composer, and that, therefore, to enable the listener to appreciate properly these works, it is necessary for him to be placed in possession of the stimulating causes of the composition. But this contention ignores equally the nature of our states of consciousness and of a composer's work. Given a composer who combines with a highly developed artistic faculty a strong emotional nature, and we shall get works in which both elements are apparent. His emotional nature is born in him, modified or increased, no doubt, by the circumstances of his life. The desire to create impels him to composition, and he will be able to reproduce emotions inherent in himself without any external stimulus whatever. The inspiration of the moment will set up the emotional state. It is, of course, quite possible that external circumstances may produce a state of mind that finds its outlet in some composition, but a consideration of these circumstances is wholly irrelevant in appreciating the music. The mind of the composer is all that matters. Everyone knows how, in the case of a strong passionate nature, small things may set up results quite out of proportion to the cause. An undue insistence on the cause will, therefore, so far from throwing light on the results, tend to confuse the issue. Our emotional nature is not to be materialized. Words are often wholly inadequate to express

what we feel. The complexity and ever-changing nature of our emotions defy verbal interpretation.

And so, in composers of genius, we may get works not only independent of external facts, but even in apparent antagonism to those facts. Music of a lively, joyous nature has often been written in circumstances of sorrow and depression. Given a capacity for joy, and a composer can produce this emotion in almost any circumstances. If this were not so, it would be impossible for a composer to produce different movements in one work, expressing absolutely dissimilar emotional states.

How, then, can the listener understand such works? As we have seen, so far as what is called the artistic side of the work is concerned, it is necessary for the hearer to have his sense of beauty sufficiently developed to be able to appreciate the composer's intention. And, so far as the emotional side is concerned, it is only necessary for the hearer to have more or less the same emotional nature as the composer. Where this is the case, the work will speak with tremendous force directly to the consciousness of the listener. He will be able, without any help of programme, to assimilate it into his own nature. And the complex character of the emotional expression, though no doubt it makes the work more difficult of comprehension at the first hearing, will continually add new charms on each repetition. To the interpreters of the work also a great variety of reading is possible. To one the beauty of form will chiefly appeal, to another the emotion will take the first place. As long as the interpretation is sincere, it cannot be criticized because it is not the same as other readings.

That these statements are correct can also be shown from our practical experience. The works of Beethoven have been performed an enormous number of times, and the influence they have had has been very great. We still feel the same delight in hearing them; we still are moved when we listen to a fine interpretation. Their effect is beyond question.

Conversely, that they are not dependent on any programme can be shown from the ludicrous attempts made by men of ability to explain them by this means. In a recent work we read that in the Symphony in A, Beethoven "sings the praises of the dance, from the dance of the spheres when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy, to the dance of happy peasants in the riotous joy of life." Presumably this programme refers to the first and third movements. What dance the second movement represents is not clear. Perhaps the evening stars are singing a dirge while the sun and moon are indulging in a slow, mournful dance. The writer seems to imagine that this programme

gives the music a noble, ethical purpose, though what ethical purpose can be served by singing the praises of the dance is not apparent.

Again, a comparison of the different meanings assigned by programmists to the same work will enable us to arrive at the proper value of such interpretations. For example, one competent authority tells us that the *Scherzo* of Beethoven's third Symphony represents the crowd applauding the hero. But Herr Weingartner says this movement shows us the "image of those worldly folk who, always occupied in their little affairs, pass by with scorn, or neglect to see altogether the grandeur and high projects at their very side." In the last movement, the same authority sees "the multitudes running from all corners of the earth, all men bringing each their shrine to assist in the erection of a monument worthy of the now universally recognized hero."

This is all very pretty, but then another interpreter finds in the same movement an ideal presentation of the love of man and woman.

Surely such contradictory interpretations show how futile these attempts really are. Otherwise we must conclude that Beethoven was singularly inept in his efforts to convey his meaning in his music. We can have no objection to anyone imagining for himself an interpretation on listening to such works, but we *do* object to the statement that such a programme is a necessity. Even if we were able to affix moral copybook maxims to every one of Beethoven's chief subjects, we may venture to doubt if any good ethical result would be obtained. The fact is, that an attempt to put into words the feelings contained in musical works is similar to an attempt to bottle up sunlight. As Mr. Robert Bridges well says "The power of stirring emotion resides in pure musical beauty, and is dependent on its mysterious quality; for one may say that its power is in proportion to its remoteness from common direct understanding, and that just in so far as its sounds are understood to mean something definite, they lose their highest emotional power" ("Purcell, Commemoration Ode").

Metaphysicians have often divided thinking mankind into idealists and realists, and an analogous division of composers may be made. The absolute musician is little affected by externals; he derives his inspiration from within and not from without—his work is subjective, not objective. The programmist, on the other hand, is more a man of the world; he seeks to portray in music what he has seen and what he has read; his nature is moved by externals, and he tries to reproduce the things that appeal to him from outside. In the progress of civilization it is natural that the tendency to programme should more and more appear. Modern life, with

its stir and bustle, its distractions and amusements, is not well fitted for quiet and contemplation. Even the wider dissemination of culture and learning tends in the same direction. We cannot now work out our own salvation in the old way; we must mix with mankind and be caught up in the whirl and agitation of life; we are no longer idealists, but matter-of-fact realists. And so arises in some men the incapacity to perceive emotion without some material fact, the desire to visualize things, inducing them to invent programmes for music that was written in a spirit very different from theirs, and to found their own compositions on some external phenomenon. The association of words with music has always given composers the chance to portray externals—whether in the opera, oratorio, cantata, or in the song, but latterly the programme has more and more invaded the domain of pure instrumental music, and has had its effect on form, harmony, and characterization. Writers of absolute music have also not disdained the use of the programme for some of their works, so that no wide distinction can be drawn between programmists and absolute musicians.

The extreme form, however, of programme music is based on entirely different methods from those that underlie absolute music. Here the composer makes it his end to illustrate some story or some piece of poetry that appeals to him. Examples of this class of composition are Sterndale Bennett's "Paradise and the Peri" Overture and Strauss's "Don Quixote." These works would be unintelligible without a knowledge of the stories they are intended to illustrate. They are to be judged not solely for their musical worth, but having regard to their success or non-success in conveying the feelings they are intended to express. Of course they give the composer's ideas of certain situations, and so, in a sense, reproduce his own personality, but their inspiration is not self-produced; it depends on external factors and is more or less governed by them. There are certain advantages to be gained by this system. In the first place it is evident that where there is a story to bind together the musical ideas the formal construction need not be so strict as where there is no external help; the story itself will, to a certain extent, provide the proper form for the work. In absolute music, form is necessary not only to constitute a perfect work of art, but also even that the emotional feeling of the composer may be best conveyed to the listener. But in programme music where there is a continuous story to be illustrated, the formal development may follow the lines of the story, which will thus be perfectly intelligible to the listener. Form of some kind no doubt there must be, but the strictness of division may be freely infringed. Similarly, harmonic progressions that would be

meaningless in an absolute piece of music may be justified in programme music by their applicability to the situation. Justification for uncouth or ugly progressions can be claimed when by their means a situation is rendered more clear or a picture more vivid. And so, in process of time, our harmonic means may be enlarged.

Again, the listener, provided with an explanation of what is intended, will have no difficulty in understanding the composer's intentions. He has a statement in his hands which ought to make everything clear to him. Programme music is, therefore, much more easy of comprehension than absolute music, especially of that kind in which the complexity of its emotional utterance makes a long and complete knowledge necessary to its assimilation.

On the other hand, the disadvantages of programme music are no less evident. In the first place, the programme itself is a source of annoyance to the listener. He has to distract his attention from the music in order to read what is intended. He cannot give himself up wholeheartedly to his enjoyment; he must follow the lines of a story which may or may not be agreeable to him. And then the limitations of the musical art make it in many cases impossible to convey a picture by purely musical means. The very vagueness of music which, in the case of absolute music, is one of the reasons of its tremendous emotional power, stands in the way of the programmist. He finds it impossible to convey a definite image, so he is sometimes forced to have recourse to realism in the knowledge that otherwise no vivid representation is possible. Probably this is the explanation of certain passages in the works of Richard Strauss that offend many critics, for it is evident that realism, however clever it may be, is inconsistent with strong feeling. We may think it clever, but we can never be moved by it. It abruptly brings our minds down from the higher regions of our consciousness to very material conditions. It is, therefore, rightly condemned by earnest musicians, except in some few cases where it has been used with great care and reticence. In the words of one of our great modern composers and conductors. "It is the debasing of a sublime and noble art to a service far below its merits" (Weingartner, "Symphony Writers since Beethoven," p. 116).

With regard to the emotional appeal of such music, it will readily be seen that the utterance does not, as with absolute music, directly affect the feelings of the listener, but owes its power largely to the nature of the subject intended to be illustrated. The programme, therefore, should be one of absorbing interest; the commonplace or the superficial will be of no use. But the number of subjects fit for musical expression is very limited. The most appropriate are those

such as the ride of Mazeppa, or any dance or march forms in which strong rhythmical treatment is necessary. And yet such subjects cannot, in the nature of the case, carry us very far. Rhythms, however strong they may be, will invariably become monotonous if too often repeated without sufficient variety. One strength of music consists in its variety. The emotional nature is a quickly changing one, and demands varied expression for its satisfaction Hence such subjects are only useful for short movements. To find a subject suitable for a work written on a large scale would seem to be a matter of great difficulty, for while variety is necessary, there must be a certain unity and cohesion in the music to make it a real work of art, and stories do not readily lend themselves to an interpretation that meets the requirements of the canons of the art. Again, though the emotional utterance may be more obvious, it is more than doubtful if it will be either as strong or as lasting as that of absolute music. The appeal is made not to a wide field of our consciousness, but to certain definite sentiments and feelings, and it would seem, from a psychological study of the mind, that the wider appeal will also be the stronger. The vagueness of the utterance is no bar to its appeal. But in programme music, if the story is not of sufficient interest, its effect will be small: in any case the appeal will be confined to one set of feelings, and will not be capable of the unlimited expansion which absolute music can obtain. And just as the effect is not so great in programme as in absolute music, neither can it be as lasting The constant appeal to one set of feelings must in time grow wearisome, however enchanting it may be at first We may even get tired of the tricks of a rogue, and be apt to wish that his punishment had come sooner or that he had been suppressed altogether before we had heard the tale of his misfortunes. A picture, however vivid, will not bear unlimited musical exposition. We long for variety and freedom, and chafe in the end at the necessity which compels us to fix our thoughts in one channel and one only This explanation may account for the fact that as yet no piece of programme music written on a large scale has obtained unmixed acceptance.

But, as has been noticed before, there are many kinds of programme music, and much that has been given this title is really indistinguishable from absolute music. Where there is no attempt at a definite picture, but only an expression of an emotional state, the programme may be absolutely unnecessary. Dr. Percy Buck, in an able paper read before this Association, mentions the case of a musician lost in admiration of a beautiful sunset He returns home in a definite, though perhaps indescribable, mood, and his creative impulse, aroused to action, leads him to produce a piece of

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music, the object being the irrepressible desire to communicate his mood to those who may at any time come across his work.

Now suppose this composer endeavours to picture the natural phenomena connected with the sunset—the evening bell, the return home of the weary peasant, the gradual sinking of the sun and the slow progress of darkness stealing over the earth—his work will be a piece of genuine programme music. But suppose, on the other hand, what he tries to do is simply to reproduce the emotional state caused in his mind by the beauty of the sunset, his work will not be programme at all. A similar mood might easily be produced by quite different causes; the fact that it was engendered by a sunset is wholly irrelevant. To the listener also the cause of the composer's mood will matter nothing. It will not be in the least necessary for him to picture a sunset; the work, if it is composed with sincerity and art, will appeal to a blind man equally with one who sees. It is to our emotional nature that the appeal is made, and if, as has been previously shown, an emotional state can be produced irrespective of any external facts, or if different stimuli can set up much the same mood in different persons, it is obvious that an objective interpretation is not only wholly unnecessary, but may even be a hindrance to the proper appreciation of the music. Good music will speak for itself, and every intelligent hearer can assimilate it into his own consciousness in the manner most suited to his nature.

It is, therefore, in the nature of the art that a great deal of what is known as programme music is indistinguishable from absolute music. Where there is no realism, where the appeal is a purely emotional one, the result must be vague and indefinite. It is true that there are certain conventions that can be used to explain a situation without the aid of realism. The rhythmic movements of the march or of the dance will convey certain ideas to the mind of the hearer, and conventions such as the breaking of the sea waves or the quiet flow of a river have constantly been employed. But such means cannot be carried far; convention is fatal to the growth of an art which is in its nature free. Nothing is more wearisome than a continuous use of such means. Programme music, therefore, tends to become simply an expression of certain emotional states, and as such cannot claim for itself any advantage over absolute music. In fact we find, in accordance with the natural principles that have been enunciated, there is in the hearer a tendency to discard even the interpretation of the composer, and to listen to what was certainly written from an objective standpoint as if it was absolute music pure and simple. Do we always find it necessary to think of the story of Tristan and Isolde when

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we hear the prelude to the opera of that name given on a concert platform? Is it quite impossible for us to appreciate the "Meistersinger" overture without picturing to ourselves the stately company of musicians, clamorous apprentices and the ardent lovers? The fact is that, just as some natures wish to materialize everything they hear, with others exactly the reverse process takes place. They long to get away from the actual world of facts and to gain an ideal world of their own imagination. To tell such persons that without what is called a poetic basis, music can have no effect, is not only to ignore the character of the art but also to betray ignorance of the very constitution of our mind. "In answer to the question which has been asked me," says Herr Weingartner, "as to why, after writing down such thoughts as I have expressed in my book, I have had the impertinence to write two symphonies myself, and what intention I had in writing them, I may say that I had no fixed intention at all. I simply wrote my two symphonies because the ideas contained in them came into my head." That is to say, that even a man who is anxious to label himself a programmist has to acknowledge that in the case of his greatest works the utterance is spontaneous, arising from his own nature, and is quite independent of any external stimulus whatever.

To sum up briefly what has been said, we must notice that our emotional nature is a vast and complex aggregate of many factors, varying in different individuals, ever-changing, incapable of adequate verbal expression; comprising in itself both high and low elements; that music, from its nature, is adapted to appeal with the greatest force to this emotional nature; that the appeal may be either the vague and indefinite appeal of absolute music or the more defined and circumscribed appeal of programme music; that each has its special uses, but the more vague appeal is likely to be the stronger and more lasting one.

What direction the music of the future will take is a matter of considerable doubt. Probably there will be attempts to gain vividness by an extended use of realistic effects. But the obvious limitations of programme music carried to its highest point will become more and more manifest as time goes on. Indeed at the present moment there are not wanting indications which show that thinking musicians are beginning to see danger ahead in this direction. The tide seems to be flowing more towards what may be called "atmosphere" than towards realism, that is to say, the aim of composers is tending not to produce a clear picture, but to induce a vague feeling or mood. Debussy, whose great skill and high artistic aims are undoubted, is the prophet of the new school, a school which is rapidly gaining

disciples. The curiously subtle, intangible, effects of this composer's work are, perhaps, the most recent features of modern music. But however effective on a small scale such music may be, it seems doubtful if it will ever reach the highest realms of the art. There is about it a sensuous element, appealing not so much to our highest nature as to the lower emotional order. Probably "atmosphere" will be found in the future to be more suitable for the purposes of the opera than for instrumental music. Except in short compositions, effects of this nature are apt to become wearisome, if not nauseating. If music is to advance and not to deteriorate in the future, the two main essentials of the highest order of the art must be observed. The one is perfect expression, that is to say, the mode of presentation of the composer's thought must be cast in the best mould; the design must exhibit symmetry; the workmanship must be correct; there must be nothing to jar on the hearer's sense of beauty; the whole must be constituted as a work of art. The second essential is that the appeal must be to the highest emotional nature. As such it must of necessity be complex, not easy to assimilate at first hearing, for the complexity of our emotional nature requires an utterance that will satisfy it in the long run. Nothing superficial or sensuous can ultimately meet our requirements, however fascinating it may appear at first. And, as far as the history of music goes, it would seem as if these two elements have been found only in what is known as absolute music. It is just because we find them both in the works of Beethoven that that composer still appears to us as the genius who has had the greatest effect on the development of instrumental music. Since the days of Beethoven the resources of the art have been immensely developed. Orchestral effects, impossible to him, have become a commonplace; our knowledge of the laws of harmony has made large strides, chord and key relationships that in his day would have appeared incomprehensible, are now perfectly easy to understand, we are no longer bound by the same rules as were the old masters. The formal exposition of a work of art may therefore be different from that adopted by the great classical composers, and may follow lines unknown to them, but in the ultimate analysis the same principles will be evident, for it will readily be granted that the mode of presentation of the composer's idea must be as perfect as possible, otherwise the utterance will fail in its effect. The more noble the thought, the more it demands perfect presentation. Whatever changes in formal design may be made, the same underlying principles must be observed. And as regards the emotional appeal, if we consider the vast groups and strata of feeling, the complex aggregate of forces that go to make up our mind, the lower

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and the higher order of emotions, we must conclude that the highest art is that which most satisfies the cravings of our nature, which appeals not so much to any definite feeling, but to the wider fields of our consciousness, and which aims at the expression of all that is high and noble, not the fleeting and transitory moods of a day, but the eternal aspirations of mankind.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN—Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure you have heard with great interest the valuable paper which our Lecturer has given us. It must have been the result of a very considerable amount of thought on his part to set down an analysis, not only of music as an art, but of the feelings with which we hear and regard that music. He might almost have given another title to the paper, which occurred to me during the progress of his lecture, and that is "What is the art value of Programme Music?" I cannot but feel that he has tackled his difficult subject in a very masterly way, and has shown us that, so far as programme music is concerned, in comparison with absolute music it must rank far below. I was glad to hear him say so, because I do not belong to the young race of people who want programmes set before them when they hear a piece of music, and think that unless that is done the music does not appeal to them properly and they fail to understand it. Dr. Yorke Trotter has given us reasons why we should appreciate absolute music, and for my own part I feel those are the right and proper reasons. It invokes in us an appeal to our emotions and recalls the sense of beauty with which we all are or should be endowed. As he went through his paper there were a few suggestions which I put down, and on which I will say a few words. Of course this is one of those papers that needs to be read very carefully and slowly, perhaps twice over, before we grasp the full extent of its meaning. In dealing with absolute music, our Lecturer, I think, did not mention one particular part of it which always strikes me as making a strong appeal to our emotions, that is, military music and music of the march type. Though I am not a soldier, or even a volunteer, I cannot help thinking that no music can appeal so strongly and so passionately to our natures as the music which (shall I say?) goads the soldier into action. It must make a very striking appeal to him, and is indeed a valuable adjunct to the army. Perhaps of all kinds of absolute music this is the

most direct in its appeal. Dr. Yorke Trotter made a few remarks at the beginning of his paper on the question of Greek music, and quoted from some of the old Greek philosophers pregnant words in eulogy of music and its advantages in education and what it did for us. It is very difficult for us at this period of time to gauge the music of the ancient Greeks and assess its real value. I must confess I once looked upon it with contempt. When one remembers how limited was their scale, the modes to which they were confined, and their sparing use of harmony, and experience what a poor effect it produces on us, such contempt, at first sight, seems natural. But as one grows older and finds how much more one has still to learn, one often alters earlier crude opinions. Speaking for myself, I have now come to a different conclusion, and think the music of the Greeks produced a much greater effect than some of us fancy, something more than the imaginary one eulogised by the poets or than we usually attach to accounts of the Art. To a great extent their music was closely associated with words or the dance, therefore it did not come rightly under the definition of absolute music. I did not know there was a Chinese Minister of Music 2,000 years ago. I almost wish we had copied their method, for, though the Education Office does look after music to some extent, it confines itself to the Normal Schools, and leaves higher development alone. But my impression is that the time for that indifference is passing away; the authorities have been endeavouring to level up music in all schools, they cannot possibly be ignorant of what is going on in the higher schools. May I say, in passing, that there are now nearly one hundred schools, from Eton downwards, where they have orchestras and play symphonies quite well. Possibly when we have a Minister of Fine Arts as is found abroad, music as an adjunct to education will be found quite as valuable and should be just as much cultivated in the higher schools as in the lower. Please forgive my remarks on this point, because this hardly comes within the scope of Dr. Yorke Trotter's paper. If, as our Lecturer has pointed out, absolute music appeals to our sense of beauty, I think we must admit that this sense of beauty is not universal. Some persons are delighted with pictures, poetry, oratory, and so on, and are moved by them; but there are a great many who care very little for these things. Still there is possibly a chord or some little spot in their nature which can feel the beauty of absolute music. They would hardly appreciate a Beethoven symphony; still there are certain things they do appreciate. So, though the sense of beauty is not quite universal, still this must exist in some measure; and I do not think the paper we have had supplies an explanation of this condition unless we agree it is a question of education and

ear training! There are many musicians who cannot appreciate Bach's fugues, which I hope everybody here loves and reveres, still they do not appeal to all Comparisons, it is said, are always odious Our Lecturer mentioned Spohr in connection with Beethoven and Brahms Each I think has his own function and his own mode, and I do not see why one should not admire the depth and emotion of Beethoven and the beauty of Brahms, and yet still have a corner in his heart for the colour and delicacy of Spohr's music. Fortunately, music is not all written at the same level and in the same form, and it is a common fault with musicians to pin their faith too much to one composer. I always feel we ought not to sneer at Spohr; he was a great musician. It would be interesting if our Lecturer would tell us whether the same effect, or anything like an analogous effect, is produced when we hear a piece of music that is associated with certain words and then hear it played in the orchestra without words? I am thinking of a piece such as Sullivan's "Lost Chord." Now, does it produce the same effect on the occasion of its being given as a piece of absolute music, or is it that we associate with it the words with which it was originally wedded, and derive a certain amount of pleasure from the appropriateness it had in its original connection? Our Lecturer seemed to me to be rather inclined always to connect beauty with passion. That is open to dispute, I think. To take an illustration from another art, if we look on the "Venus of Milo," with its simple placid beauty, we can all appreciate it, and possibly we are never tired of looking at its charm. But what a difference you have in the "Laocoön"! There, certainly, you have intense passion. We get quiet beauty in Handel's "Pastoral Symphony." In the poignant "He was despised" there is art of a very different type Then our Lecturer pointed out that in the case of a large work which was supposed to represent the feelings of the composer at the time, it did not necessarily mean that a man who might be sorrowful might not write a joyous piece of music; consequently in a work like Beethoven's "Eroica Symphony" there would be very different tones in different movements. But those movements must surely have been written at different times, some days apart; the composer must have got very jolly, if you like, before he wrote another movement. I fully agree with the Lecturer that it is quite impossible correctly to interpret absolute music. I recollect my dear friend Grove's programmes to the Crystal Palace Concerts. He was always anxious to give the impressions of the music, such as "Fate knocking at the door." I remember that in his annotations to a symphony of Schumann's he tells us that the slow movement reminds him of a lady imprisoned in a tower appealing to some giant to let her out. But it is quite useless to attempt to interpret

such music for others; we must each take it as we find it. The moment you attach a definite meaning to absolute music, especially symphonic movements, I think you have done much to destroy the satisfaction you received from hearing it. When Beethoven chooses to label a movement "On the death of a hero," you know what he means; then you may judge of his success. In making that which seemed to be an apology for ugly music, our Lecturer is much too good, but sometimes the apology is made on the ground of characterization. May one ask the question: Are all things that we try to characterize in music appropriate subjects for characterization? It seems to me that some programme music should never have been written. One suggestion that Dr. Trotter made was a novelty and, I think, one of value. He said, If a composer has written something which has been suggested to his mind by visual objects, say a beautiful landscape, would the music appeal to a blind man? Undoubtedly it would. He may never have seen a landscape, still I cannot but think that the music in its simple beauty and in its intelligible form would appeal to him just as much as it would to us—that is an excellent and sufficient justification for pure absolute music.

Mr. F. Gilbert Webb—Dr. Yorke Trotter's paper has come most opportunely, for Professor Niecks has recently issued a book on programme music, against the sweeping assertions of which Dr. Trotter's paper may be taken as a healthy antidote. Certainly few musicians will agree with the professor's assertion that all good music has a programme. What is termed absolute music has of late been having rather a hard time of it, and so much misunderstanding prevails on the subject that a discussion should prove beneficial, particularly as it is not generally recognized that there is a debasing tendency in programme music which is absent in absolute music. The former offers great opportunities for realistic effects which are incompatible with the latter, the natural tendency of absolute music being to express an ideal chiefly of lofty character. I do not quite agree with Dr. Trotter that composers should strive for beauty of effects. It seems to me that beauty is rather incidental, the consequence of a composer having beautiful ideas, and of having thought rationally and coherently. I do not think any great masterpiece has resulted simply from a desire to write beautiful music, but that it was the outcome of a highly imaginative and artistically balanced mind controlling intense desire to achieve truthful and impressive expression. At the present time there appears to be a great lack of sense of beauty amongst modern writers, perhaps arising from musicians living so greatly in towns where there is so much that is ungrateful to the eye; but, whatever the

cause, we seem to have lost in great measure the keen sense of balance and appropriateness which makes for perfection of workmanship. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that a great deal of modern music is unnecessarily ugly, unnecessary because it does not convincingly express the idea of the composer. With regard to Dr. Trotter's remark that a story connected with music is disturbing to the listener, I doubt if this is so with the majority; in point of fact, I am induced to think that English audiences like a story. Artistically, this is one of the disadvantages of programme music. I presume it will be admitted the highest aim of music is to excite the imagination and to cultivate uplifting thoughts, but this is checked by a programme being attached to music, the ordinary listener being chiefly occupied in connecting certain phrases and passages with the incidents of the story. This is why I place programme music on a lower artistic level, unless it is so perfect in form and so replete with suggestion as to be pleasurable to listen to without its programme. At the same time it must be admitted that the writers of programme music have done an immense deal to increase the expressive power of the Art. The attempts to express in sound what is often inexpressible by such means has led to the invention and adoption of different devices, many of which have been accepted, and can now be used legitimately in absolute music.

Mr. THELWALL.—I should like to say how very completely I agree with almost all that Dr. Trotter said about programme music. To my mind the programme, instead of being a help to the understanding or appreciation of the music, is a source of irritation. I like to listen to music without any suggestion of what the weather or the scenery was. I very often do not look at the programme, and try to find out what ideas the composer tried to represent. I never succeed in the least, as I find when I come to look at the programme after the performance. I like to shut my eyes without having any of those ideas put forward by it. I was rather hoping Dr. Trotter would have gone into the question why music of one kind produces one kind of emotion, and music of another kind produces another. That is a question to which I have devoted a great deal of thought, but I cannot say I have come to any very definite conclusion; but, as it is not a part of the paper, I will not introduce the subject here; but I always like to take an opportunity of bearing my testimony against music which requires for its right understanding that the hearer should have a programme before him.

Mr. MACDONALD SMITH.—A remark was made to me the other day by a lady who is an occultist and possessed of considerable psychic powers. She said that she hoped I

would do everything I could to further the cause of music, because she was convinced that music was essential to the development of the soul: in fact, was really a food upon which the soul fed. I thought I would just like to repeat this remark, because if such an assertion were true, it would seem to explain much of what we have been arguing about. A food of the soul must necessarily be of a spiritual nature, and therefore any attempt to materialize it would take from its value: in fact, when programme writers try to explain absolute music in words, or in terms of material things, they are—according to this view—guilty of the same sort of offence as a man who, being asked for bread, gives his neighbour a stone.

MR. J. PERCY BAKER—There always seems to be a difficulty in defining what is and what is not programme music, and where exactly the line should be drawn between that and abstract music. Mr. Webb alluded to Professor Niecks's recently-published work on "Programme Music," in which he defines everything that has any expression or emotion whatever, apart from a declared story, as programme music. That is not the only recent instance. There was a book published a little while ago by Mr. Streatfeild in which he took very much the same line. It would almost seem as if the advocates of programme music had so felt the difficulty of drawing the line that they had come to the conclusion that "poor music is absolute music; we claim all the rest as ours"! I do not think that is quite fair to absolute music, and I do not think it is quite a judicial standpoint to adopt.

(A vote of thanks was then passed to the Lecturer.)

DR. YORKE TROTTER—I am very much obliged to you, Dr. Southgate, and to all present to-day for the kind way in which you have received my paper. I was induced to write it because I felt that there was a great want of clear definition on this subject. Mr. Baker has referred to the fact that Professor Niecks and other writers are claiming all music of an emotional nature as programme music, and it seemed to me necessary to get at some idea which would enable us to differentiate the various kinds of instrumental music. The only way we can possibly do this is to start with a definition of absolute music. I think we may safely say that absolute music proceeds directly from the mind of the composer and is not dependent on any external stimulus. It is, in my opinion, rubbish to say that all music of an emotional kind must be programme music. In the nature of the case many of the feelings conveyed by music cannot possibly be expressed by words, and therefore there can be no programme whatever. One question Dr. Southgate asked was, whether or not, when words were taken away from a piece of

music, it was necessary to think of the words on hearing the music? That, I think, depends entirely on the character of the music. Where there is a definite attempt to give musical expression to the words we must think of them in connection with the music. But in many compositions, such as some of the songs in Handel's operas, the words do not matter a bit; we can listen with satisfaction to the music without any reference to the words. Dr. Southgate said very truly that the movements in a symphony are composed at different times. This is so, but what really happens is that the composer lays out a scheme for his composition beforehand, and the contrasted character of the movements is to be regarded in the light of their relation to the total effect of the entire cycle. The composer, no doubt, in certain cases is influenced by external circumstances On the other hand, he can produce emotional music of a joyous or sorrowful nature according as he feels the balance of effects requires it. The artist is a man whose emotions quickly change, and he can produce what he wants without any external stimulus whatever. Beethoven goes for a walk with a pupil and gets into a state which he calls a "raptus," in which he sings to himself, absolutely unconscious of the presence of his pupil He goes home and plays on his piano the ideas that have occurred to him in his walk The inspiration for the moment in question was most distinctly not produced by anything he saw in his walk I did not mean to lay too much stress on "beauty" in composition I quite agree with Mr Gilbert Webb that what really matters is expression. The sense of beauty I had in view was chiefly with reference to the earlier composers, where emotional effect was not so evident as in later compositions. I was struck with what was said about music being the language of the soul. The idea is much the same as that expressed by Herbert Spencer in his Essays: "Just as there has silently grown up a language of ideas, which, rude as it at first was, now enables us to convey with precision the most subtle and complicated thoughts, so there is still silently growing up a language of feelings; which, notwithstanding its present imperfection, we may expect will ultimately enable men vividly and completely to impress on each other the emotions which they experience from moment to moment." He means to say that he considers music to be the language of the emotions, and that a man can in music convey to others the feelings he himself possesses I did not go into the question of *how* music comes to convey different emotions, because it is a very intricate one. It has bothered me a great deal. It is almost impossible to say why we feel certain emotions on hearing certain music. We are really trading on the past experience of generations We have stored up in us feelings

derived from many ancestors. We cannot explain why certain feelings arise, because it is impossible for us to know what has gone before.

The Chairman—I have not yet had the advantage of reading Professor Niecks's book, but it seems extraordinary that he should claim all expressive music as programme music. There is a little difficulty as to when it is expressive. Dr. Yorke Trotter has given us an instance of Beethoven's being rapt and forgetting everything around, and producing music in which he reveals what was in his mind. Can we determine that on such an occasion he was producing programme music? When one has some story in mind, it seems to me that programme music is then produced. As Mr. Thelwall says, programmes sometimes weary us. Of course we can always shut the book and form our own ideas; I must confess I usually do that myself. Mr. Macdonald Smith quoted a lady who spoke of music as the food of the soul. Shakespeare infers it is the food of love. I agree with Shakespeare rather more than with the lady.

April 16, 1907.

W. H. CUMMINGS, Esq., Mus D., F.S.A.,

Vice-President,

In the Chair.

THE ENGLISH ORGAN OF A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

By Charles W. Pearce, Mus.D. Cantab, F.R.C.O.

Perhaps no musical instrument has been subjected to greater constitutional changes during the last hundred years than has the English organ—in the various directions of size, compass of key-boards, character of stops and methods of controlling their use and last (but not least) its system of tuning. Changes are still being made, even to the extent of affecting the uniformity of those "playing arrangements" which the College of Organists endeavoured to regulate, systematize and *settle* more than a quarter of a century ago. It is an open question if the organ is being developed at the present time upon logical and really artistic lines, as a musical instrument deserving a separate and individual existence of its own; or whether it is daily becoming a merely servile (and therefore a *degraded*) mechanical imitation of the orchestra. It may help us to see more clearly in which direction we are *now* moving if we turn our thoughts back to the English organ of the first decade of the nineteenth century—when it was a comparatively small instrument, but one with a character all its own, and in many ways admirably adapted to fulfil the one great purpose of its existence—the accompaniment of the human voice. In making the retrospective survey to which I have the privilege of

drawing your attention this afternoon, I have been materially assisted from three different sources of information :—

(1) A manuscript account of English organs, by Mr. Henry Leffler, organist of S. Katherine's Chapel, Regent's Park, written between the years 1800 and 1810, which contains upwards of 300 specifications of organs as the writer found them. This book has been kindly lent to me by Mr. William Windsor.

(2) Another manuscript account of English organs, written about the year 1850 by Mr. J. W. Billinghurst, Vestry Clerk of S. Margaret's, Lothbury. This book was given to me by the writer on his death bed a few years ago.

(3) Many interesting conversations on organs which I have enjoyed with Mr. F. W. Jardine, our oldest living organ-builder.

The first thing which strikes one is the *extreme smallness* of the English organ of a century ago as compared with the size of organs then existing on the Continent. You will all remember that Dr. Burney, in his 'German Tour' (published 1773), constantly speaks of the *large* organs he found abroad. There were, for example, those in :—

The Old Kerk at Amsterdam and S. Michael's, Hamburg, each containing sixty-four stops; the Cathedral of S. Bavon, Haarlem, with sixty stops, the Dominicans' Church, Antwerp, the Frauen Kirche, Dresden, and S. Martin's Church, Groningen, each containing fifty-four stops, and so on.

In 1807 our two largest cathedral organs were S. Paul's and York Minster, each containing twenty-seven stops; Canterbury came next with twenty-four; Durham, Lichfield, Rochester and Salisbury could each boast of twenty-three; the cathedrals of Bristol, Dublin (S. Patrick's), Hereford, Wells, Winchester and Westminster Abbey were each contented with twenty-two stops; Cork had twenty-one, Chichester, Exeter, Gloucester and Norwich had twenty each, the rest had less than twenty. Mr. Leffler makes no mention of pedals in connection with the cathedral organs at Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Chichester, Durham, Ely, Exeter, Gloucester, Lincoln, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Wells, Winchester and Worcester.

Like the present, the age was not then remarkable for the number of its really distinguished cathedral organists, but it is at least worthy of attention that the largest organs of that day had the best musicians to preside at them. At any rate, S. Paul's could boast of Attwood, York had Camidge, Samuel Spofforth was at Lichfield, Arthur T. Corfe at Salisbury, Chard was at Winchester and Robert Cooke at Westminster.

The only organs to be found in England outside cathedrals and churches, were the small instruments built for theatres and

concert-rooms. The little one-manual organ, by Jordan, burned with the old Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in 1808, contained seven stops only, one of which was a trumpet. The organ which replaced it in the new theatre in 1809 was by Russell, it also had seven stops, but there was no reed. An organ by Allen, built in 1810 for the oratorio performances at Covent Garden Theatre, had only one "sett of keys" with eight stops, but one of these was an oboe from middle C upwards, enclosed in a Swell box. Drury Lane Theatre possessed an eleven-stop organ, built in 1769 by Byfield and Green, its four swell stops were played upon from the single (Great) manual, it cost £180, and was burned with the theatre in February, 1809. Samuel Green's organ built in 1794 for the concert-room at the Opera House, had two key boards and fifteen stops, seven of which were on the Swell, which went down to Tenor F Elliott's eleven-stop organ, built in 1801 for the Hanover Square Concert Rooms, had three on the Swell, and boasted of as many as nineteen pedal pipes, it cost £700. The same builder erected in 1811 a six-stop one-manual organ for the private music-room of Mr. Fritch, the then organist of All Saints' Church, Derby; this instrument had a general Swell and was enclosed in an "elegant mahogany case"

The *largest organ* in England at that time was in Christ Church, Spitalfields, it was originally built by Richard Bridge in 1730 for the sum of £600, and contained thirty-four stops. Here is its specification as given by Mr. Leffler:

"Three setts of keys, Great and Choir, from GG long octaves (*with* GG♯) to D, 56 notes. Swell Fiddle G to D, 32 notes. A C Drum Pedal with 4 pipes.

"GREAT (16 stops).—Open Diapason No. 1; Open Diapason No. 2, Stopped Diapason, Principal No. 1, Principal No. 2; Twelfth; Fifteenth, Tierce, Larigot, Sesquialtera V. ranks; Furniture III. ranks; Cornet V. ranks, from Middle C♯ upwards; Bassoon, Trumpet No. 1, Trumpet No. 2; Clarion.

"SWELL (9 stops).—Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason; Principal; Flute, German Flute; Cornet III. ranks, Trumpet; Hautboy; Clarion.

"CHOIR (9 stops).—Flute to C *fa ut*; Stopped Diapason, Principal, Flute, Fifteenth; Mixture III. ranks, French Horn (to Tenor D); Cremona; Vox humana. *A very fine organ all through.*"

A Swell of nine stops, even though it began on Fiddle G, must have been a great luxury a century ago, for the Swell at S. Paul's Cathedral, although it began a fifth lower (on Tenor C), had only six stops But this was greatly in

advance of many other cathedral organs in the country. Those at Chester, S. David's, Ely, Lincoln, Norwich, Christ Church (Oxford), Worcester, and S. Patrick's, Dublin, had no swell at all, in spite of the fact that the swell had been invented and first applied by Abraham Jordan to the organ at S. Magnus, London Bridge, nearly a century previous, viz., in 1712. Little wonder, then, that Burney, writing in 1773, said that in Amsterdam "the organists have just heard of such a thing as a swell in an organ, but it is difficult to make them comprehend, by description, its construction and effect." At Berlin he inquired "in vain of musical people whether they knew of any such machine as a swell worked by a pedal in any of their organs, no such contrivance had ever been heard of, and it was difficult to explain it" This, too, was after Handel had asked Snetzler to send to a friend of his in Berlin a written description of the manner in which the swell was produced, and Snetzler had informed Burney that he had complied with Handel's request.

Venetian swell shutters were only just coming into use a century ago Dr. Hopkins tells us that they are not to be found amongst Green's latest work, but that they are constantly to be met with in old organs by England and Avery. Consequently the "nag's head" must have been very much in evidence Thus, as you know, was the "swell" invented by Jordan, who substituted a sliding shutter like a sash-window for the fixed front of the box which formerly contained the pipes of the "Echo" organ.

Frequently when a Swell was added to an older organ which had previously consisted of Great and Choir only, expense was spared by making the Choir keys act upon the Swell stops. Father Schmidt's organ in S. Katherine Cree, Leadenhall Street, retained its two "setts of keys" in this way so recently as 1864. Sometimes the later builder who added the Swell got as many of the previously existing Choir pipes as he could into his Swell box. Thus, in the case of Renatus Harris's organ at S. Dunstan's, Stepney, we find that in 1807 the whole of the original Choir pipes were located in the Swell box with the exception of the basses of the Stop Diapason, Principal, and Vox Humana, and the entire Flute stop A favourite device of the old builders—Renatus Harris in particular—was to make the lower portion of a stop (or even an entire stop) act upon two different key-boards "by communication" as it was called. Harris "borrowed" some of his Choir stops from the Great at S. Andrew's, Holborn, in 1699, and in many other organs as well, the younger Harris did the same at S. Dionis Backchurch in 1722, and Bridge at S. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, in 1731.

Sir John Sutton (author of "A short account of organs built in England from the Reign of King Charles II. to the present time") was the possessor of a chamber organ of exquisite tone built by Father Schmidt. It had two rows of keys (Great and Choir) and six stops, three on each manual. The Choir Organ had an Open Diapason, Stopped Diapason, and a Principal, *all made of oak*, and of extreme delicacy and beauty. The Great had a Stopped Flute, Fifteenth, and two rank Mixture, *all of metal*. The Choir Stopped Diapason could be played upon the Great by borrowing, and there was a coupler to unite the two manuals.

Mr. Leffler was of opinion that "one of the best Swells in London" in the year 1800 was that added by Byfield (with a keyboard of its own) to Father Schmidt's organ at S. Dunstan's in the East, Tower Street. This Swell began at Fiddle G, and consisted of only five stops, viz.:—Open Diapason; Principal; III. rank Cornet; Trumpet; Hautboy. In the great majority of English organs, a century ago, the number of stops assigned to the Swell could only be said to be about one-half the number of those assigned to the Great. At the Church of S. Maurice, Winchester, however, during the organistship of Dr. Chard, we find a Swell of six stops added to a Great of Father Schmidt's, which consisted of seven stops. In the Chapel of S. Mary's College, Winchester (where Dr. Chard was also organist), Samuel Green added in 1786 a Swell of five stops to an organ which already contained a Great of five stops and a Choir of four. Green was also the maker of the Swell which had the deepest compass in England in the year 1819; it went down to FF in the bass and had eight stops; it was in the organ of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. Green must be credited with still greater efforts in the direction of swell extension and development, when we remember that at S. George's Chapel, Windsor, in the year 1807, the entire Great organ still remained within the "general swell" with which he had enclosed it in 1790.

On the other hand, we find from a note in Mr. Leffler's book that in 1800 the Swell at S. Margaret's, Westminster, which began at Middle C and had a separate "set of keys" assigned to it, was "never us'd"! It may have been rendered unplayable by being extremely dirty. If so, the organ at S. Margaret's, Westminster, by no means stood alone in its neglect. Mr. Leffler speaks of Harris's organ in S. James's, Piccadilly, as being "worn out," and of Father Schmidt's organ in S. Olave's, Southwark, as being "*quite* worn out." Mr. Billinghurst states that when he visited Father Schmidt's organ at S. James's, Garlickhythe, on March 30th, 1856, he found the instrument almost (if not quite)

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in its original state, with black naturals and white sharps, no couplers, no pedals, no "shifting movement" and with the wind supplied by two diagonal bellows. In fact, Mr Billinghurst's description of this organ in 1856 tallies so completely with that of Mr. Leffler written in 1800, that it is quite evident nothing of importance had been done to the organ for at least fifty-six years. In the *Musical Standard* for January 25th, 1868, Mr. A. W. Hammond describes the organ at All Hallows', Lombard Street, built by Renatus Harris in 1695, as standing in its original state, with only one manual, and with neither pedal board nor pedal pipes. But when we read that "the *lady* who was organist there for many years took very good care that no too-knowing strangers should invade the organ-gallery," we may cease to wonder at this strange neglect. Foreign as well as English organs were equally neglected Burney states that in 1773 he found the organs in some of the principal churches of Leipsic "very fine, and very dirty"; but he adds as a reason that "in Charles the Fifth's time, before religious disputes were adjusted, a kind of truce was agreed upon between the Catholics and reformers under the title of *Interim*, which stipulated that the ornaments, &c., of the church, as well as some of the ceremonies should remain in *statu quo*, till by a general council religious peace should be finally concluded." Some such remarkable "reason" may possibly explain why the grand organ erected in the Abbey of Weingarten in 1752 had (according to the *Musical World* of July 26th, 1856) not been cleaned since its erection.

The next thing which strikes a present-day organist is the remarkable variation which existed a century ago in the *compass of organ key boards.* Some instruments had "short-octave" GG manuals for Great and Choir, others had GG manuals with "long octaves." Some Great and Choir key-boards descended a note lower, to FF, others as low as CCC, whilst a fifth class began with the note *we* are so familiar with, viz., CC. We have already seen that the shorter Swell compass of those days varied quite as much as its companion key boards.[1] What was the reason of all this variety? The answer is not difficult to give, but it requires close attention. Up to the time of the wholesale destruction of organs at the "Commonwealth" (1649-1660), and indeed until shortly after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, the manual range generally consisted of four octaves from CC to C³ in alt. In *The Connoisseur* for February, 1906 (p. 119), there is a photograph of an old chamber organ now in Great Cheshunt House, near London, an instrument which is

[1] Some organs had three manuals all of different ranges, amongst them were S. Paul's Cathedral, the German Lutheran Chapel, Savoy, and S. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

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said to have been made by one of Cardinal Wolsey's monastic retainers, this has a four-octave compass from CC upwards. Previous to the year 1770, the one-manual organ in Wigan Parish Church, Lancashire (said to have been the work of Father Schmidt), had this same CC four-octave compass. At the beginning of the last century the organs at S. Margaret's, Westminster, and S. James's, Piccadilly, had the same compass, and (as we have already seen) the old organ built by Renatus Harris in 1690 for All Hallows', Lombard Street—where it was still standing in its original condition in 1868—had nearly the same compass; there being, however, in this last-named organ no CC♯, and the top note was D, not C.

The organ played upon by Handel, Worgan and others still remained in the Vauxhall Gardens a century ago. It was a one-manual with seven stops, having a compass from CC (*without* CC♯) to E in alt, *i.e.*, fifty-two notes. This historic instrument was either of so primitive a character, or in such bad repair, as to elicit from Mr. Leffler the following sarcastic remark: "built about six weeks after Adam was breeched."

With the restoration (more or less) of the choral service in the reign of Charles II., in which the unisonous plain song of former times was happily superseded by vocal harmony, it was felt desirable—in the absence of both "pedal pipes" and 16 ft. stops on the manual—to have a soft manual bass going below CC, so as to duplicate the bass voice an octave lower than the vocal pitch. This will account for the notes GGG and FFF being found at the bottom of most Great and Choir organ key-boards a century ago; they represented the lowest notes of a bass voice doubled an octave below. Dr. Hopkins observes that these notes were more frequently than not played by using the pull-down pedal keys of the period, instead of being manipulated by the organist's left hand, because the ivories on these lower keys were found to be quite perfect, whilst most of the others belonging to the middle and upper portions of the same manual were much worn by constant use. But the addition of any notes lower than CC was found to be an expensive luxury, owing to the extra size and length of the pipes required for each stop. This expense had to be curtailed. Moreover, the "unequal temperament" which governed the tuning of those days made playing in certain keys absolutely intolerable by the production of "the wolf." Powerfully influenced as they were in both of these directions, the organ-builders—always an inventive and ingenious race—devised the compromise of *short octaves*, by means of which only *one* extra big pipe was required for each stop, and indeed only one extra key to the manual.[1] This additional key was

[1] *See* Hopkins and Rimbault, Original Edition, p. 203, § 887.

placed immediately to the left of the CC key, and had pipes sounding GG assigned to it. GG♯, AA♯, BB♮ and CC♯—four bass notes not often required under unequal temperament conditions—were left out, and pipes sounding AA were assigned to the CC♯ key, instead of those sounding its proper tone. The lowest manual keys stood thus under the "short-octave" system :—

the chromatic arrangement of the rest of the key-board being undisturbed.

The following was quite *the* favourite compass of those days: *Great* and *Choir* GG to d³ in alt, short octaves, 52 pipes to each stop. *Swell* Fiddle G (the lowest note of a violin), 32 pipes to each stop. The pedals, being mere "pull-downs" with no speaking pipes of their own, are seldom (if ever) mentioned in accounts of organs a century ago.

The compass just described was to be met with in the organs of Norwich and Chichester Cathedrals, S. John's College, Oxford, Doncaster Parish Church (Byfield), and a host of other important churches. That the Fiddle G Swell was not altogether confined to the performance of purely melodic passages can be clearly seen by the way in which the Swell is written for in the best organ music of the time. A voluntary in F by John Bennett, organist of S. Dionis Backchurch, 1752-1784, begins with an *Adagio* in four parts for the Swell, which is quite a complicated piece of contrapuntal writing. The following table will prove how well the builders of a century ago contrived to cut their coat according to their cloth, how well they cut it, and what a variety of ways and means were open to them.

The most extensive manual compass of a century ago which I have been able to discover is that of the organ built by Avery in 1786 for Colonel Lemon, and which now stands in the Private Chapel of Lord St Levan's seat at S. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, having recently been restored by our member, Mr. Casson. Each Great and Choir stop had 65 pipes, which gave a compass from CCC to f³ (without CCC♯).

63 pipes gave	CCC to d^3 (with CCC♯), as at S. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol (Harris and Byfield, 1726).
60 "	CCC to c^3 (no CCC♯), as at S. Paul's Cathedral (Schmidt). FFF to f^3 (no FFF♯), as at New College, Oxford (Dallam).
59 "	FFF to e^3 (no FFF♯), as at Greenwich Hospital (Green, 1789). GG to f^3, as at Mr. Fritch's Music Room, Derby (Elliott, 1811).
58 "	GG to f^3, "long octaves" (no GG♯), as at S. Mary Aldermary (England, 1781).
57 "	GG to e^3, "long octaves" (no GG♯), as at S. Mary-at-Hill (Green, 1788).
56 "	GG to d^3, "long octaves" (*with* GG♯), as at S. Helen's, Bishopsgate (Griffin, 1744).
55 "	GG to e^3, "long octaves" (no GG♯ BB♭ nor CC♯), as at Wandsworth Parish Church (1800). GG to d^3, "long octaves" (no GG♯), as at Covent Garden Theatre (Jordan, 1808). GG to f^3, "short octaves," as at S. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside (Russell, 1802).
54 "	FFF to c^3 (no FFF♯), as in the *Choir* organ, S. Paul's Cathedral (Schmidt). GG to d^3, "long octaves" (no BB♭), as at S. Mary Tower, Ipswich (Great) (Harris and Byfield). AA to d^3, "long octaves," as at Hereford Cathedral (Elliott, 1806).
53 "	AA to d^3, "long octaves" (no BB♭), as at S. Mary Tower, Ipswich (*Choir* organ). GG to c^3, "long octaves" (no GG♯), as at Whitehall Chapel (Schmidt, 1672).
52 "	CC to e^3, (no CC♯), as at Vauxhall Gardens. GG to d^3, "short octaves" (in very common use).
51 "	AA to d^3, "short octaves," as at Danish Chapel, Wellclose Square (Schmidt).
50 "	CC to d^3 (no CC♯), as at All Hallows', Lombard Street (Renatus Harris, 1695). GG to c^3, "short octaves," as at Christ Church, Oxford (Schmidt).
48 "	CC to C, as at S. James's, Piccadilly (Renatus Harris, 1687).

These different ranges of manual compass apply only to the Great and Choir organs of the instruments referred to. It will be clearly observed that "*long* octaves" by no means meant "*complete* octaves." Long octaves only meant that at least *one* of the four notes omitted in the short-octave system was included in this longer compass.

The most extensive Swell compass mentioned by Mr. Leffler is that of the organ in Greenwich Hospital built by Green in 1789. It ran thus:—

48 pipes gave FF to e^3

Other Swell manuals were thus limited :—

42 pipes gave Tenor C ("C fa ut") to f^3, as at S. Ann's, Blackfriars (Gray, 1808).
37 " { Tenor F to f^3, as at New College, Oxford (altered by Green). Tenor C to c^3, as at S. Paul's Cathedral (Craig).
36 " Tenor F to e^3, as at Salisbury Cathedral (Green, 1792).
35 " { Fiddle G to f^3, as at S. Martin Outwich (England, 1805). Tenor E to d^3, as at S. Dunstan, Stepney (Russell, 1807-8).
34 " { Fiddle G to e^3, as at S. Michael, Queenhithe (England and Russell, 1779). Tenor F to d^3, as at S. Clement, Eastcheap (Jordan, 1713).
32 " Fiddle G to d^3, as at S. Martin-in-the-Fields (Schreider, 1727).
30 " A to d^3, as at Danish Chapel, Wellclose Square (added by Avery).
29 " { Middle C to e^3, as at Dulwich College (England). Fiddle G (no G♯) to C^3, as at Whitehall Chapel (*Echo*, Schmidt, 1672).
27 " Middle C to d^3, as at Rugby Church (1800).
25 " { Middle C to c^3, as at Eton College Chapel (1800). Middle D to d^3, as at Lincoln Cathedral (*Echo*) (1800).

It will be seen from the above statistics, that the extended basses of the Great and Choir manuals only served to *starve* the Swell organ.

We pass next to a consideration of the evolution of the English pedal-board, which is a matter of considerable interest. Dr. Hopkins was of opinion that the first English organ which had a pedal-board was that built by G. P. England at S. James's, Clerkenwell, in 1790. According to the terms of the original specification, it had "pedals to play by the feet." Pedal-boards had been introduced into Germany some three centuries previous to this date. Avery appears to have added a pedal-board at Westminster Abbey *before* 1793. In vol. ix. of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (for the year 1827), Dr. Edward Hodges, of Bristol, states that : "As usually constructed, the pedals are a set of clumsy pieces of wood, measuring from an inch to an inch and a half in width, and varying in length from a few inches to about two feet. In many instruments they are so short that the foot cannot be placed at length upon any one of them. They are called 'toe-pedals' to distinguish them from 'German pedals.' The latter affording room for the employment of both toe and *heel*, are therefore much more convenient to the performer, and lead to the legitimate (viz., the *legato*) style of organ playing." Dr. Hodges thought that each natural pedal-key ought to have four inches of working room, because he estimated that the average width of an ordinary boot or shoe sole was about three and a half inches, and that half an inch was the least possible

further allowance which could be made in the direction of "working-room." Defining the "working-room" allowed to the foot as the width of the pedal key itself, plus that of the space on each side of it, and assuming the width of the pedal key to be an inch, he estimated the proper distance from centre to centre of two adjacent natural pedal-keys to be two and a half inches, but he afterwards reduced this centre to centre measurement to two and a quarter inches. Mr. Billinghurst gives several pedal-key measurements which I here place side by side with those of Dr. Hodges (1827) and the College of Organists (1882) —

	Width of Pedal Key	Width from Centre to Centre.
	Inches.	Inches.
Dr. Hodges' suggestions (1827)	1	2½ or 2¼
S. Margaret's, Lothbury, 1½ octaves of GG pedals (G. P. England, 1801) ..	1½	2¾
S. James's, Bermondsey, GG pedals (Bishop, 1829) ...	7/8	2⅞
S. James's, Clapham, GG pedals (Bishop, 1830) ..	7/8	2⅜
S. Mary Woolnoth, 2½ octaves, CCC to F (Groves, 1850), and Whitechapel Church, CCC to D (Hill, 1854)	¾	2⅜
College of Organists' "resolutions" (1882)	—	2⅜

S. James's, Bermondsey, had the distinction of being the largest GG Pedal organ ever made, it had three stops each of twenty five pipes (two octaves), viz., *Double* pedal pipes 21⅓ ft., *Unison* pedal pipes 10⅔ ft., and Trombone 10⅔ ft. We have seen that there were at least two organs with a great manual compass from CCC upwards, viz., S. Paul's Cathedral and S. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. Both had "pull-down" pedal-keys, but S. Mary's had in addition a "spring of communication" or sub octave coupler, which gave octaves on the pedals. Mr. Leffler adds, "but it has a bad effect."

A single octave of GG "pull down" pedal keys would appear to have been the ordinary thing one hundred years ago, but some organs, as those of S. Clement, Eastcheap, S. Michael, Cornhill, and Rochester Cathedral, are described by Mr. Leffler as having pedals up to C (viz., Tenor C), which with a "short octave" keyboard would mean only fourteen pedal-keys all told. The first step towards the evolution of an independent pedal organ was the introduction of what was called a "drum pedal." This was a single pedal key which, when depressed, admitted wind to certain pipes tuned so as to produce beats resembling the effect of a drum-roll. We have already seen that the largest organ in

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England (that at Christ Church, Spitalfields) had a drum pedal of four pipes tuned to C, *i.e.*, there were two pipes tuned to C itself, and two others tuned to the semitone above. The organs of S. Botolph, Aldgate (Harris, 1676), S. Nicholas, Deptford (Schmidt, 1697), and S. John of Wapping, had each a drum pedal tuned to D and the semitone above. Mr. Leffler's references to actual "pedal-pipes" are few and far between. At Westminster Abbey at the beginning of last century there were thirteen open wooden pipes from GGG to GG *unconnected with the key-board*. These were of very large dimensions, and though only unisons with the Diapasons, had by reason of their scale, a tone-quality which produced an effect of deeper pitch.

Although of GG compass, Samuel Green's organ, built under the direction of Joah Bates in 1778 for S. Katherine's-by-the-Tower, had an octave of Open Diapason pedal pipes from CCC, 16 ft length, this was the organ played upon by Mr. Leffler himself. The organ built by Elliott in 1804 for the Hanover Square Concert Rooms had nineteen large pedal pipes from CC to F♯. Elliot added pedals and pedal pipes to Hereford Cathedral organ in 1806. On October 16, 1808, Charles Wesley re opened the organ at S. George's, Southwark, which then contained one long octave of pedals with separate pipes. We are not informed as to the pitch of these pipes, nor can we assume that they were of 16-ft. tone, since some of the earlier pedal pipes were merely bass continuations of a unison Diapason stop which did not run through on the manual. Thus, at Sevenoaks Parish Church, Avery's organ in 1798 had one of the Great Open Diapasons speaking to Gamut G♯ on the keys, the lower octave of the same stop had large wooden pipes speaking with the pedals. At S. Anne's, Limehouse, in 1811, the six lowest notes of a new Open Diapason were treated in the same way. The "return pedal pipes," so severely criticised by Dr. Hopkins in his Organ Book, belong to a slightly later period than a century ago. In 1811 Hugh Russell added pedals and large pedal pipes to Hancock's organ in Chelmsford Parish Church. Gray's organ, played upon by Vincent Novello at S. Patrick's Roman Catholic Chapel in Soho Square, had pedals from GGG to FF♯ with eleven Double Diapason *stopped* pipes of wood, this is perhaps an early use of the Pedal Bourdon, which Mr. Jardine informs me was first called "Double Stopped Diapason." Mr Jardine also thinks that the scale of the early "pedal pipes" was large to a disagreeable extent; the 16-ft. C pipe was sometimes more than 16 inches square. Mr. Jardine's master, J. C. Bishop, was an excellent maker of pedal pipes. His organ at S. John's, Lambeth, opened by Wm. Horsley, Mus.B. Oxon., on November 3, 1824, had independent pedal pipes of the largest

dimensions, yet they were so admirably voiced as to be properly effective when used as a bass to the softest manual stop.

The first real *Manual "Double"* to which I can find any reference is that in Loosemore's organ in Exeter Cathedral. Originally this stop consisted of fourteen pipes only; these were of metal, and were placed in two separate "towers" of seven pipes each. "At a distance from the organ," writes Mr. Leffler, "this stop is very fine with the Diapasons and Principal: it has no effect alone." To this bass Bridge added a treble in 1740, but, says Mr. Leffler, "the organist [William Jackson?] dislikes the Double Diapason in the treble, and makes use of the Choir for the right hand to accompany its bass played with the left hand." Dr. Hopkins gives the following dimensions of the largest pipe (GGG) of this Double: *circumference*, 3 ft. 11 in.; *diameter*, 1 ft. 3 in.; *length of speaking part*, 20½ ft.; *cubic contents*, 3 hogsheads 8 gallons.

England's Double Diapason in the organ at the Portuguese Chapel, South Street, was of wood and a bass only (2 octaves). On the other hand, the following Doubles did not begin with the lowest note of the keyboard: S. Ann's, Blackfriars (Gray, 1808); S. Margaret's, King's Lynn (rebuilt by Lincoln in 1816). Mr. Jardine considers that the English builders of a century ago erred on the side of large-scaled Diapasons. This was especially the case with Stopped Diapasons, which were very often made of metal. But these old craftsmen were particularly careful in choosing wood for their Stopped Diapasons. Richard Bridge's organ at S. George's-in-the-East (built in 1733) had an *open* Diapason of fifty-two wooden pipes on the *Choir* organ, in addition to a stopped Diapason of wood on each of the three manuals.

Although the *Dulciana* was introduced by Snetzler in his organ at King's Lynn in 1754 (under Dr. Burney's direction), very few Cathedral organs in 1800 could boast of this stop, which was not to be found in the organs of S. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, the Chapel Royal, S. James's, and the Temple Church, even though Mr. Leffler describes the last-named as "the finest organ in London."

It must be admitted that the English organs of a century ago had specifications of a very similar character. An article in the *Quarterly Musical Review* for 1820 states that the stops in common use at that time were "open and stopped diapasons, which are the foundation of the organ, the principal and flute an 8^{ve} above the diapasons; the 12th, 15th, tierce, sesquialtera, mixture, and furniture, which are the harmonics of the note to which they belong; the trumpet, a reed stop of the pitch of the diapasons, the clarion an 8^{ve} above the diapasons, both used in the full organ; the bassoon,

hautboy, and vox humana, imitative stops of the pitch of the diapasons, and the great cornet, consisting of five ranks of pipes, viz., Stopped Diapason, Principal, 12th, 15th, and tierce, used only as a solo stop."

The flute stops of a century ago were not very varied in character. Mr. Jardine describes them as being mostly *open* flutes. We find, however, the Nason—a *stopped* wooden flute of 4-ft. pitch—in Father Schmidt's organ which he built for the Banqueting Room, Whitehall, in 1660, as well as a metal "Block Flute" of 2-ft. pitch, the pipes of which were several scales larger than those of the Open Diapason. Both the Nason and the Block Flute were to be found in the Great organs at S. Paul's Cathedral and Trinity College, Cambridge; and there was a Nason in Avery's 1804 organs at S. Margaret's, Westminster, and King's College, Cambridge, and a Block Flute in Hugh Russell's 1808 organ at S. Dunstan's, Stepney. The earliest example of a Flageolet stop was that in the Echo of Thomas Schwarbrook's 1716 organ at S. Chad's, Shrewsbury.

The *mixture stops* now claim our attention, and the three kinds just mentioned may be thus briefly defined:—

Sesquia tera was the name originally given to a II.-rank mixture composed of 12th and Tierce. The interval of a 6th between these two ranks gave the name to the stop. In England the name was usually given to a III.-rank mixture stop beginning in the bass with 17th, 19th and 22nd above the unison, *i.e.*, a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord. The *mixture* generally consisted of pipes of smaller dimensions than those of the Sesquialtera, beginning with the 26th or compound 5th of the unison. The *furniture* consisted of higher ranks still, but the ranks broke in every octave on account of its longest pipes being so short and small.

Mr. Leffler occasionally complains of what he calls a "noisy chorus," *i.e.*, the ensemble effect of so many mixture ranks sounding together. Renatus Harris was rather fond of a "noisy chorus." When my organ at S. Clement's, Eastcheap, was rebuilt in 1889, my old master, Dr. Hopkins, advised me to make a clean sweep of all the ranks except three, with the result that the full organ is now bearable. Mr. Leffler particularly objected to Harris's VI. ranks at S. Giles's, Cripplegate, and Byfield's X. ranks at S. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. At S. Paul's, Bedford, he remarked that the Tierce and Sesquialtera were of too large a scale, and spoiled the organ in consequence. In some Sesquialtera stops he found the number of ranks became less towards the top of the keyboard; thus Harris's III.-rank Sesquialtera at Christ Church, Newgate Street, became II. ranks after Treble D, whilst the III.-rank furniture in the same organ became II. ranks after Middle C. Hancock's IV.-rank Sesquialtera at S. George-the-Martyr,

Queen's Square, became a III rank after Gamut G, but this was "a very bad organ all through." There were two Sesquialtera stops, each of *one rank only*, on the Great organ at S. Nicholas's Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne (now the Cathedral), the one running to Middle C as a Larigot, and from thence becoming a 15th, the other running to Middle C as a 22nd and from thence breaking into a Tierce. "Such a division," writes Mr. Leffler, "could only have been made with a view of making a great show of stop-handles." The III rank Sesquialtera on Mr. Leffler's own organ at S. Katherine's by the Tower (Green, 1778) is fully described:—

> From GG to Middle C: 17th, 19th and 22nd, or the 1st Inversion of a Triad.
>
> From Middle C♯ to B above: 15th, 17th and 19th, or an Uninverted Triad.
>
> From B to the top: 12th, 15th and 17th, or the 2nd Inversion of a Triad.

But he found fault with Green's II.-rank mixture, which was thus laid out:—

> From GG to Tenor F♯, 22nd and 24th, *i.e.*, a 3rd.
>
> „ Fiddle G to Treble C, 17th and 22nd, *i.e.*, a 6th.
>
> „ Treble C♯ to the top, 15th and 17th, *i.e.*, a 3rd.

He thought the mixture would have been better thus:—

> From GG to Tenor C, III. ranks, 22nd, 26th, and 29th, *i.e.*, a Triad without a 3rd.
>
> From Tenor C to Middle C, II. ranks, 22nd and 26th, *i.e.*, a fifth.
>
> From Middle C to C above, II. ranks, 12th and 15th, *i.e.*, a fourth.
>
> From Treble C to the top, II. ranks, 8^ve^ and 15th, *i.e.*, an octave.

I have been much interested in comparing this suggestion of Mr. Leffler's with an improvement in mixture composition which was carried out about fifty years later by Mr. Walker, in his organ built for Prestbury Church, Macclesfield, in 1855. A writer in the *Musical World* for April 14th of that year says: "The Great organ Sesquialtera is of IV. ranks, the largest rank being a 15th, and in this order it proceeds to the C on the third treble space; from this point it breaks gradually, until at the F above the four ranks stand thus: Open diapason, principal, 12th and 15th. By this arrangement, the weakest portion of a Great manual is reinforced by pipes of greater gravity and sonority than usually inhabit its mixture work—brilliancy meanwhile being secured by the acute pitch of the notes themselves."

The *Cornet* has already been described as a solo stop But this was an abuse; the original intention of the Cornet was to strengthen the treble of the Full organ. Its range was usually from Middle C or C♯ to the top of the keyboard, but it was sometimes continued downwards as a Sesquialtera, as in the old CC organ by G. P. England's father at All Hallows', London Wall. A V.-rank Cornet comprised Stopped Diapason (sometimes Open Diapason), 8 ft.; Principal, 4 ft.; 12th, 2⅔ ft.; 15th, 2 ft.; and Tierce 1⅗ ft. In a IV.-rank Cornet the 8-ft. pipes were omitted, and in a III.-rank Cornet both 8 and 4 ft. pipes were left out. The Cornet stop was quite a complete little organ on its own account; and to render its tone more prominent, its ranks of pipes were sometimes mounted upon a soundboard of their own in a rather elevated position in the interior of the organ. The stop was then called a *Mounted Cornet*. The Cornet pipes were of enormous scale, and were voiced with a fluty tone character: they extended throughout their compass without "breaking" like those of an ordinary "compound stop." By the kindness of Mr. Alfred Kirkland I am able to let you hear the tone-quality of a single Cornet "rank." I have been told that the quality of some of the better Cornet stops had a melancholy, reedy character of tone something like that of a modern orchestral oboe; this may throw a little light upon a remark made by John Marsh—a well-known writer of Cornet voluntaries—who in the preface to his collection of such pieces advises the restriction of the Cornet to solos in the minor key. Many organs had Cornet stops on both Great and Swell manuals. The Swell Cornet (which went the whole range of its keyboard) was usually of III. ranks only. Swells like those of S. Sepulchre's, Holborn (1799), and S. George's-in-the-East (Bridge, 1733), each of which possessed a IV.-rank Cornet, did not have a separate Principal, that being the lowest rank of the Cornet. So recently as 1855 there was a Cornet stop on the Swell at S. Andrew's Undershaft. For some reason or another the Swell Cornet was the first to disappear. In 1800 the Swell Cornet at Christ Church, Newgate Street "drew, but did not speak." In 1802 the Swell Cornet at S. George's, Hanover Square, was reduced to a Principal, the three remaining ranks having been taken out by the desire of the organist, Mr. C. Knyvett. But in each of these organs the V.-rank Cornet on the Great was suffered to remain. In 1811, however, we find that IV.-ranks of the Great organ Cornet were stopped up at Gravesend Parish Church during the organistship of Mr. Killick. "The Stopped Diapason is the only rank that speaks," writes Mr. Leffler, "and the 15th is the only rank that speaks in the Swell Cornet; the 12th and Tierce are stopped up." The glory of the Cornet was departing!

There is a popular fallacy that before the time of Henry Willis (if not *afterwards*) all *reed stops* by other builders had (or have) that peculiar quality of tone usually associated with the frying of sausages. It is therefore somewhat reassuring to be told by Mr. Leffler that in 1799 the reeds in the organ at S. Sepulchre's, Snow Hill, were "extremely good", and that Byfield's Trumpet on the Great at Magdalen College, Oxford, was "remarkably fine." A writer in the *Musical Standard* for October 15, 1862, describes the Great reeds in Byfield's organ at Doncaster Parish Church (destroyed by fire in the "fifties") as "glorious reeds which blazed forth in beauty and brightness like the rising sun in an eastern clime—every pipe worth its weight in silver." There were two Trumpets and a Clarion in this twelve-stop Great at Doncaster, and the reeds of the Clarion were carried up to the top of its compass. My own organ at S. Clement's, Eastcheap, had two Trumpets on the Swell, added by Jordan in 1713 to the original Great and Choir built by Renatus Harris in 1695.

Undoubtedly the reed-stop which was most frequently used for solo purposes a century ago was the Vox Humana. We find this stop everywhere, and by no means confined to the Swell. England's two-manual organ at S. Mildred's, Poultry, had a Vox Humana on the Great, which remained there until the church was unnecessarily pulled down in 1872. Harris's organ in Cork Cathedral had a Vox Humana remaining on the Great in 1805. England's Vox Humana, placed by him in the Choir organ at S. Stephen's, Walbrook, remains there to this day in the same instrument, which is now (1907) in the grand old Priory Church of S. Bartholomew, Smithfield. I found it a stop of quite a pleasant tone when I played on it two years ago. Mr. Leffler has the following curious note concerning Jordan's Choir Vox Humana at S. Dunstan's-in-the-West: "This stop was taken away in 1805, after having great celebrity in consequence of Mr. Reading having been afflicted with palsy." Harris's organ at S. Botolph, Aldgate, had *two* Vox Humana stops on the Choir, one of fifty-two pipes (running throughout), the other of thirty-nine pipes from Tenor C♯ to the top D. Snetzler's four-stop Choir organ at Chester Cathedral had no reed. To a certain extent, the Choir Vox Humana may be said to have been superseded by the Cremona or Krum-horn, which is now generally known as "Clarinet." A Cremona was co-existent with a Vox Humana in Harris and Byfield's Swell at S. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol (1726), and in both Choir and Swell of Byfield and Green's organ in Wigan Parish Church, Lancashire (1770).

I have already spoken of the "spring of communication," or sub-octave coupler (as we should call it), which gave octaves on the pedals at S. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, in 1726.

Dr. Hopkins was of opinion that this was the first *coupler* ever made in England. We may safely say that a century ago couplers or "springs of communication" (as they were first called) were rare luxuries. At S. George's, Hanover Square, the pedals pulled down the Choir organ keys; but, adds Mr. Leffler, "there was a stop to make them take the Full (or Great) organ keys in addition." "There is a copula," is mentioned in connection with England's rebuild of Dallam's organ at S. Alphege, Greenwich, in 1803, but its functions are not defined. When we remember that the Great and Choir were invariably the only complete manuals, we must not be surprised to hear of the Choir to Great coupler before we find any mention of Swell to Great. Choir to Great couplers existed in Snetzler's organ in the German Lutheran Chapel, Savoy, in Avery's organ at S. Margaret's, Westminster, 1804, and in Elliott's organ at All Saints', Derby, in 1807. The Father Schmidt organ at S. Giles-in-the-Fields, which Mr. Billinghurst describes in 1856 as remaining "very much in its original state," had *then* three couplers, Swell to Great, Great to Pedal, and Choir to Pedal, but I have no evidence of when these were added.

Organists of a hundred years ago are to be congratulated upon the fact that the word "stop-control" was not then invented; they enjoyed the manipulation of their stops with little or no mechanical aid. Their registering was wholly eclectic. In 1809 J. C. Bishop invented *Composition pedals*, which took the place of the "shifting movement" invented by Ralph Dallam and introduced by him into his one-manual organ at S. George's Chapel, Windsor, about the year 1661, where there were two pedals, one of which reduced the Full organ to the Diapasons and Principal, the other to the Diapasons alone. The only "shifting movement" I have ever seen was in an old organ built by a son-in-law of G. P. England for the Parish Church of Midsomer Norton, near Bath, where—in his early days—the late Dr. E. G. Monk (of York) was organist. This movement acted in very much the same manner as the French "ventil system," by cutting off the wind from certain stops.

In the *Harmonicon* for 1824, a correspondent stated that the *pitch* of the organ in S. Paul's Cathedral was then a semitone above the usual standard. Mr. Leffler makes a note to the same effect, and adds that the organ in S. Paul's, Bedford, was tuned three-quarters of a tone too sharp. Writing in 1855, Dr. E. J. Hopkins observed that the organ pitch had within three centuries varied to the extent of two tones; that there had been at different times three distinct pitches, the oldest being the *highest*, and that in use at the beginning of the 18th century the *lowest*. The pitch when he wrote was about midway between the extreme high and

low pitches of former times—being as nearly as possible identical with that of Father Schmidt, whose pitch was as a rule higher than that of Renatus Harris.

English organs of a century ago were all tuned to *unequal temperament*. In a paper "A Parting of the Ways," which I read at a meeting of musicians held at Buxton in January last, I pointed out that the unequal system of temperament may have been the result of transposing the Ecclesiastical Modes to the melodic range of the First or Dorian Mode D to D, that being a conveniently pitched compass for male voices generally. At any rate, the fusion of the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian Modes into the one common range of D to D produces the actual chromatic formula of unequal temperament:—

By this system of tuning, some of the 5ths and 3rds were made nearly accurate; so that the easier and more frequently used keys (C, G, D, A, F and B♭) were made to approximate the purity of just intonation by throwing the error into keys with signatures of more than three sharps or two flats. In his Organ Book, Dr. Hopkins points out that steps were taken here and there to get rid of the "wolf" caused by this "error." Father Schmidt (probably aided and advised by Henry Purcell) introduced two additional keys (A♭ and D♯) into every octave of the organ at the Temple Church. In 1759 the organ said to have been presented by Handel to the Foundling Hospital had two further additional tones in each octave (viz, D♭ and A♯), and about the year 1808 a Mr. Hawkes took out a patent for obtaining two distinct sounds from the only remaining black key (F♯ and G♭). Equal temperament (which consists in dividing each octave into twelve precisely equal semitones) came into use in Germany before it was introduced into France. Two of its earliest advocates in England were Dr. Crotch and Samuel Wesley the elder. It is therefore an extraordinary circumstance that a son of the latter (Dr. Samuel Sebastian Wesley) should have remained all his life an adherent of unequal tuning. He refused to admit that J. S. Bach's "well-tempered Clavier" was an argument in favour of equal tuning for organs, because the immortal "48" were not composed for the organ; and that, further, Bach almost invariably wrote his *organ* music in the keys best suited for unequal tuning. In a letter dated June 24th, 1863, Dr. Wesley discounts his father's advocacy for equal tuning, because the latter had never heard it! and excuses his own predilection

for the "wolfish" key of E major in his church music on the ground that his musical thoughts were so influenced by the voice parts, that he disregarded the organ tuning. Dr. Wesley attributed the progress of equal tuning in this country to the influence exercised by the writings of Seidel, Rimbault and Hopkins.

A century ago there were no mechanical appliances for lightening the touch. The first organ builder who appears to have conceived the idea of making *helpful use* of the force of wind resistance was Joseph Booth, of Wakefield, who in 1827 attached small circular bellows (which he called "puff-valves") to the pull-downs of the pallets belonging to the lowest notes of a wood Open Diapason of a GG manual at Attercliffe, near Sheffield. This was followed shortly after by Barker's invention of the pneumatic lever.

The blowing was entirely done by hand, the larger organs having two or more blowing levers. The first instance I can find of blowing by water power is that mentioned in the *Musical World* for April 25th, 1857, viz., a "hydro-pneumatic engine" affixed to the organ in East Parade Chapel, Leeds, by a Mr. Holt. Mr. Leffler only mentions wind appliances once, and that is in connection with Harris and Byfield's organ at S. Mary Tower, Ipswich, where there was a stop called "Spiramen," which, when drawn, let the wind *out* of the bellows. It is to be hoped that this "stop" was under the sole control of the organist.

The external appearance of the organs of a century ago was often as similar as their internal contents. Mr. Leffler observes that the following case designs were identical: Chichester Cathedral and S. Sepulchre's, Snow Hill (both by Renatus Harris); the same master-builder duplicated his case-design at Ely Cathedral and S. Andrew's, Holborn. Renatus Harris may also be claimed as the builder of the organ at S. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne (now the Cathedral), because the instrument had a front like that of S. Sepulchre's, Snow Hill, and a back like that of S. Andrew's, Holborn. Avery duplicated his cases at the parish churches of Croydon and Sevenoaks, and also at S. Margaret's, Westminster, and Christ Church, Bath. John Harris's case design for S. John's Chapel, Bedford Row (1703)—the organ upon which Dr. Worgan used to play—was so much admired by Byfield (Harris's partner and successor), as to be reproduced later on in the eighteenth century at the parish churches of Grantham (1736) and Doncaster. Snetzler repeated a case design at four different places: S. Mary's, Nottingham, S. Martin's, Leicester, the German Chapel Royal, Savoy, and S. Mary's, Huntingdon. Gray duplicated a case at S. Anne's, Soho (1795), and at S. Paul's, Covent Garden (1798). The only instance in which I can find an organ

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builder imitating a case-design by some one else, is that of S. Luke's, Old Street, which Bridge in 1733 appears to have copied from Harris and Byfield's design for S. Mary's, Shrewsbury, in 1729.

These old case-designs were not without considerable artistic merit; the show-pipes being effectively grouped in "towers" and "flats," with the corbels of the towers and other portions of the case enriched with excellent carving. Fifty years later it was the fashion of the times to give the organ as ugly an appearance as could well be contrived, by making it look like a row of unadorned stove-pipes planted on the top of the meanest possible wainscot. From this miserable state of things we are happily beginning to emerge, thanks mainly to the cultured taste of organ builders like Messrs. Hill and Son. There is no reason why an organ should be offensive to the *eye* as well as to the ear. It is a monstrous shame that an organ builder should be turned loose in the aisles of a mediæval cathedral, and be allowed to spoil the architectural beauty of an ancient building to the extent of the disfigurement which the late Henry Willis inflicted upon the north-west transept of Salisbury Cathedral with his hideous 32-ft. metal pedal pipes, &c. That these enormously overgrown modern organs offend the *ear* by their wasteful extravagance as much as they torture the eye, there can be no doubt. More than sixty years ago the late Rev. Canon Jebb, writing in 1843, said, "I must avow an utter distaste for these enormous music-mills. Their barbarous crash is more fit for Nebuchadnezzar's festival than for that sweet and grave *accompaniment* for which our old Cathedral organs were fully sufficient. Modern instruments may have gained in *loudness*, but have certainly lost in sweetness and equality of tone. The English Cathedral organ, it must be remembered, is intended to be *an accompaniment of a choir*, and is not a vehicle for Voluntaries and Concertos, as abroad, where its choral use is generally subordinate." With this opinion of a learned and cultured ecclesiastic who was well skilled and versed in music, I conclude a paper which, although mainly archæological, may yet, I venture to hope, have some practical bearing upon present-day errors and difficulties by inviting criticism of a prospective as well as of a retrospective character.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN—We are all greatly indebted to Dr. Pearce for the great amount of industry he has displayed in bringing these important facts together It is difficult to deal with the points raised on a single hearing, the full consideration of them must be left till we can have the advantage of seeing the lecture in print, which I hope will soon be possible. I am deeply interested in the lecture because some of it takes me back to my early life. This illustration of the organ that used to be in Cheshunt evidently shows that the case has been considerably altered, when I knew it sixty years ago the ugly upper part did not exist. Then with regard to the nag's head swell, I well remember when I was a boy being sent to play at a chapel in Long Acre. The organ had formerly stood in the Chapel Royal, St. James's. I found the swell pedal was very large and very heavy to put down, and, as I was only a child, I am sorry to say that in the middle of a very interesting part of the service my foot slipped and down came the shutter, and I thought the roof of the chapel had fallen in. Then I remember the toe-pedals, I have played on them more than once, and very comical they were. The use of pedals in this country is a very modern thing indeed A large number of organists of my young days knew very little about them. There was a story that Sir George Smart, who was on the Music Jury at the Exhibition of 1851, when asked to try one of the organs that was furnished with pedals, replied, "My dear sir, I never played on a gridiron in my life." And I believe he never did. The drum pedal I never saw, but it is certainly interesting. Possibly it accounts for a practice followed by organists in my time for the close of a piece, they used to hold down two adjacent pedals, say G and F sharp, simultaneously I wonder whether that was a survival of the drum pedal. In 1842, when I went to the Temple as a choir boy, the organ had been removed from the centre, under the arch, to the side, where it now stands, but so far as I remember there was then no pedal. This is strongly impressed on my memory by a practice of the organist of the time, who was not Dr Hopkins, but Mr Warne, a blind man At that time we sat upstairs, not downstairs as the choir does now, and I remember seeing him lift his leg and hold down a bass note with the knee-bone. I remember the introduction of the first pedal stop into the Temple That stop was so tremendous in its effect that it used to shake the spectacles on the noses of the Benchers, and therefore they thought it was a magnificent stop—but we poor singers did not. I have often wondered how our

forefathers could have borne so much mixture and sesquialtera I wonder it did not drive them out of the churches But then I think of some of the sounds we stand nowadays, and I can only suppose that each generation is tempered to the particular wind that blows. I believe there is still a mounted cornet in the chapel at Dulwich College. I have seen it many years ago, and I hope it is there now. I am always very sorry when these things are destroyed I am very glad that the organ at Mount St. Michael's has passed into the hands of Mr. Casson, who has sufficient reverence not to alter it. Some of the cruellest things which our repairers ever did was when they cut the organs off from CCC to CC and from GG and FF to CC. If they had left them alone, there was already a magnificent Pedal organ. But they cut off the whole of these notes, and then they presented the organist with a pedal keyboard with a single stop in its place. This stop was called Bourdon, and it was indeed a bourdon. I have enjoyed this paper immensely, and now invite you to add anything in the way of criticism or information that may occur to you. But I have first to thank Dr Pearce very heartily, we could not have had anything more interesting or more admirable

Dr. Pearce—I have a few old Father Smith pipes, which I shall be pleased for you to hear—also one old reed pipe.

Mr. Casson—I prepared a few words with regard to old organs in order to show that the modern in several most important respects falls short of the excellence of the old one. In whatever terms of ridicule you may speak of the old English organ there are matters in which it can give points to the modern organ. In nothing is the incapacity of the modern builder more conspicuously shown than in the wasteful way in which he has treated his Pedal organ and the mechanism for controlling it and its couplers. A properly-equipped CC organ is of course superior to any long-manual organ. But in England it never is properly equipped, especially in regard to the pedal basses, including those for the swell. The old English organ had true basses for its manual stops, at whatever cost, as has also the German organ, but it is only from the muddle which followed the alteration from the long manual that the modern English builder has evolved his stupid and brutal machine As regards the cornet, there were no doubt such stops as have been shown to us, but I have met with them, as in the remains of Green's organ at Nayland, in such form as closely to resemble in tone the modern orchestral oboe. Another thing I would remark on is the emasculation of the organ by the omission of proper mutation and chorus work It is a modern craze totally at variance with the teaching of Hopkins, Best, and other artists. The mutation stops impart a certain roundness and

fulness to the general organ tone by filling up some of the bare octave sounds of the foundation stops by the mixture therewith of certain intermediate harmonic sounds of fixed and determinate pitches. They have also the further effect of binding together the extreme sounds of the compound stops, and the unison and double stops, and of blending the whole together into one great mass of musical sound.

Mr. WEDGWOOD—First of all I should like to express my great appreciation of Dr. Pearce's lecture. It is a perfect mine of information. It has been most interesting to me, as it has proved, I am sure, to everybody here present. With regard to the manual bass and the question of "long manuals," I cannot think it is a good thing that the bass should be drawn from a similar quality of tone to the manual stop in use. Supposing we are playing on a gamba, I do not think the right quality of tone for the bass is a violone or contra-gamba; a stop of flute tone, such as a bourdon, makes the manual tone sound much better by contrast. Dr. Pearce's remarks on the cornet were of interest. I have had the pleasure of hearing Silbermann's cornets at Dresden and Strassburg, and they certainly made all the difference to the ensemble effect of those instruments. They welded the tone together into one glowing mass. There is a queer old organ at Mayence Cathedral, with several stops enclosed in what is one of the very few surviving instances of the old echo box, unprovided with any facilities for opening it to let the tone out more strongly. As to the pneumatic lever, which has so transformed organ-building, I have a certain amount of evidence that Barker's invention was anticipated by Hamilton, of Edinburgh. At any rate, Barker's lever was submitted to Dr. Camidge, of York, and I have it on the evidence of Dr. Camidge's son, Mr. Thomas Simpson Camidge, who is still living, that it proved a gigantic failure, for which reason it was not adopted at York. About the same time Hamilton arrived at the idea independently, and employed his lever in an Edinburgh organ with such excellent results that it remained in use till a few years ago. With regard to Dr. Pearce's quotation of somebody's glowing description of early English reed-tone, we must recollect that the standard of appreciation of reed-tone was not then quite the same as it is now. This is evident from the way in which oboes were used in Handel's works. Changes do take place in our power of appreciation in different ages. We have it on record that the sixth or seventh century organ sent from the East to Aix-la-Chapelle so impressed one good lady that she forthwith expired from the effects of hearing its beauty and softness of tone. I do not know that it would strike many of us in the same way nowadays! Personally, I think that the old reeds are very gimcrack, and cannot believe, from

their very mode of construction, that they were ever anything else.

THE CHAIRMAN—We must bear in mind the difference between cornets. Here it was used as a solo stop.

Mr. WEDGWOOD—But I think it was also used as an accompaniment.

Mr. CASSON—What Mr. Wedgwood stated about the pedal bass is distinctly in opposition to Dr. Hopkins. He says "In Germany also the CCC, or 16-ft. range, is viewed as the most correct one for the organ *stops*, even more generally so than in England, but not for the organ *manuals*. The *pedal* is justly considered as the only proper place for the *bass*. This is conclusively shown in German specifications, where may frequently be seen disposed to a 'principal 8 ft' on the manual a 'principal *bass* 16 ft,' on the pedal; to the 'octave 4 ft' on the manual an 'octave *bass* 8 ft.' on the pedal, to the 'flöte 4 ft' on the manual a 'flöte *bass* 8 ft.' on the pedal, to a 'quint $5\frac{1}{3}$ ft' on the manual a 'quinten *bass* $10\frac{2}{3}$ ft' on the pedal, and so on."

Mr. H. H. STATHAM—I have a recollection of an old organ with a mounted cornet, and of playing on it a concerto of Handel's period—I cannot remember whether it was actually Handel's or not—with a number of solos marked "cornet," and I had the pleasure of playing that as it was intended to sound, with accompaniment on the lower keyboard. It was interesting historically, but not musically. Another thing I have been reminded of is the first organ on which I ever accompanied the Church Service, which was one with an EEE compass. It was at St. George's, Everton, near Liverpool, put up under the direction of Dr. Camidge. I was told Dr. Camidge was not very brilliant on the pedals, but very brilliant with the left hand. On the Swell there was a Cremona of quite a different character from that stop of the present day. The builders were Bewsher & Fleetwood, a firm of some reputation in their day. When I was at school one of my schoolfellows boasted of a chamber organ by England. It was an organ of six stops, three on each manual, and the whole encased in an outside swell—a rising glazed shutter. Some remarks were made on the very few couplers on old organs. Was not that an escape from temptation? Is there not too much use of couplers now? Surely the manuals were made for contrast of tone. Then with regard to the cases of old organs, many of them were very fine and if modern builders repeated them, I do not think it is to be regretted. In regard to the size of cathedral organs, it seems to have been suggested that the organ is required chiefly to accompany the voices, but surely there is something to be said for the "out-voluntary" after the service. The want of what used to be called the

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"chorus" in some modern organs is a serious defect I saw the specification of the organ of Giggleswick School Chapel; the Great organ with the usual combination up to the 15th (including an harmonic flute), and then a trumpet, and nothing else I think the tone of that must be exceedingly hard and commonplace in comparison with the old organ. The mixture may be shown theoretically to be illogical, but the effect proves that it is the right thing, if there is not too much of it It produces in the full organ that special organ tone which nothing will adequately replace, and I think the tendency to do without it is a serious mistake

Mr. Munro Davison—When I was a boy I played at Christ Church, Spitalfields, where there was a very interesting specimen of an organ with pedals, from low D to the top D. There was a diapason right down to the bottom, the rest stopped at bass G.

Mr. Conrath—Besides the so called nag's head swell, some old organs had a gridiron swell, consisting of two frames sliding one behind the other, similar to the sliding ventilators used in railway carriages. I believe that the old organ at St. Magnus, London Bridge, was fitted in this manner. In some old G organs, built by the late Mr. J. C. Bishop, CCC pedals were provided, and he introduced two couplers, viz, CC to pedals and GG to pedals, thus utilizing the lower notes on the manuals. An example existed at St. Mark's Church, North Audley Street, Grosvenor Square, where the late Dr. Pole used to play, and he presented a mixture stop to this organ consisting of 3 ranks (12th, 15th and 22nd), which fact is recorded on a brass plate on the jamb and near the stop knob I think it is a great pity that more of the beautiful old organ cases were not retained when the instruments have been rebuilt; the charming carved mahogany case in 15th century style from St. Mildred's, Poultry, was erected in a modern church at Tottenham with which it was very much out of harmony, and was eventually sold to an antique dealer in Wardour Street and converted into a chimney piece; also the old case (undoubtedly the work of Grinling Gibbons), said to have been originally in Westminster Abbey, but latterly in Barnsbury Chapel, Islington, has now been made into a china cabinet It would be interesting to know the reason for some old organs having keys with black naturals and white sharps; there is still one of the kind at St. Leonard's Church, Shoreditch, London, and I saw one also at a church near Creuznach, in Germany. I hope some of these old keyboards will be preserved in glass cases as curiosities, either in the vestries of their respective churches or in the local museums. The very fine old case at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, still remains, but with new front pipes, and this example could well be followed, because

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although old metal pipes become so soft that new ones must be supplied, the old woodwork could still be utilized with advantage.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I remember the organist of Exeter College telling us that the reason why they had black keys instead of white was that the cathedral was not heated, and that the black keys felt warmer than white. That was certainly in accordance with a physical fact.

Dr. SOUTHGATE.—I should like to point out that the black naturals are not so uncommon even now. I remember seeing them in the cathedral at Freiburg; if I recollect rightly the stops in this organ are not pulled out but made to slide on one side. As to some of the old stops being so offensive to us, the question of tone is one of education. I do not think we could now bear the oboes of Handel's orchestra, but people were then used to these coarse reeds, and I suppose they did not mind the mounted cornet stops. I have a book of voluntaries made for the Chapel Royal about 150 years ago, and there are several pieces with this stop direction written specially distinctly over them. I was rather surprised to hear Mr. Wedgwood talk about the balance of tone for the lower part of the music. I understand him to mean that the bass required a different quality of tone from that of the rest of the parts. That is very extraordinary. It would be like having a bassoon in place of the 'cello in a quartet of Mozart and other writers. As to the old carving, I suppose there must be an end of all these things. I would rather see them made into cabinets than burned. I remember dear old Dr. Longhurst, of Canterbury, showing me some from the ancient organ case that he had got made into picture frames. There is a useful adaptation on a humbler scale in Sir Frederick Bridge's house. He has had the baluster rails of Purcell's old house cut in two and used for the doors of his music cabinet.

Dr. PEARCE.—I am sure I thank you for the kind attention you have given me. I must apologize for the length of the paper, but it was impossible to compress it into less time. It interested me enormously to write it, and I am sure from the kind and patient way you have listened that it must have interested you.

Dr. SOUTHGATE.—It may be of interest to you to hear that Miss Willmott, who is here this afternoon, has an organ of three stops in playable condition.

After the meeting Dr. Pearce showed the specimens he had brought to illustrate the lectures.

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JAMES E. MATTHEW, Esq.,

In the Chair.

FRENCH OPERA BEFORE 1750.

By John E. Borland, Mus.D. Oxon.

French opera before 1750 is interesting, apart from its intrinsic musical value. It affords an example, not uncommon in the history of music, of specialisation carried to a remarkable degree: an example of the establishment of a convention which, because it served admirably the purpose it was intended to fulfil, maintained an unbroken tradition for more than a century, and was affected by changes of detail only. With few exceptions, also, the composers were entirely devoted to its cause and made little reputation outside its sphere. The exceptions, strangely enough, were men who also achieved something of a reputation in Church music. None of them had any lasting fame in the realms of secular absolute music, the exceptions to this statement being Marin Marais, who is remembered rather for his solo music for viols than for his operas, and Rameau, whose works for the clavecin and researches in acoustics would by themselves have won him a niche in the temple of fame. Of the whole group of composers, only two, Lully and Rameau, have any existence in the minds of the average musical man of to-day, and even their personalities are but shadowy.

The development of French opera was quite distinct from its history in other countries. To this result two causes contributed: one was the love of the French nation for the spectacular, the other was that opera in France was an affair for the King and the Court, not for the people. Royal and courtly tastes were studied in every detail, and although this led to a rigid conventionalism, it also conduced to the maintenance of a certain seriousness and dignity which this form of art might have lost if its patrons had been of a lower

social grade. The royal family and the aristocracy were moreover not only patrons but active participants in some of the spectacles.

Long before France obtained the idea of serious opera from Italy, she had possessed a native form of entertainment in which dancing, singing and gesture were utilised, namely, the "Mascarades," "Divertissements Dansées," or "Ballets-Divertissements." One of the earliest of which there is exact record was the "Balet Comique de la Royne," composed by Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx, Valet de Chambre to King Henry III., in honour of the marriage of the Duc de Joyeuse in 1581. The complete text, with pictorial illustrations, and music of the songs and dances, was published by the privileged printers, Robert Ballard and his partners, and the rare volume forms a valuable early record of a unique class of entertainment. Similar productions took place in connection with various festivities down to about 150 years later; and these, with the musical and dramatic elements growing steadily in importance, dictated to some extent the form which French opera, properly so-called, was destined to assume.

The final impulse, however, came from Italy, where the "Dramma per Musica" had established itself fifty years before anything which could rival it was produced in France. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Frenchmen seem to have been as diffident of their own powers, and of the possibilities of their own language for operatic purposes, as English musicians have seemed to be down to quite recent times. It was thought impossible to acclimatise in France any form of serious music drama on account of a supposed incompatibility between the French tongue and the art of music. In 1645, Cardinal Mazarin, wishing to entertain the Queen, Anne of Austria, brought to Paris a troupe of Italian performers who gave a representation of Strozzi's "La Finta Pazza," with music by Francesco Sacrati, and "les machines" designed and managed by Giacomo Torelli. This was not an opera in the full sense of the word, for there was much spoken dialogue as well as singing and dancing. The staging was magnificent, scenery and costumes were in great variety, and among other features a contemporary chronicler mentions that "a ballet executed by monkeys and bears finished the first act. At the end of the second there was a dance of ostriches which stooped down to drink at the fountain. The spectacle finished with a dance of four Indians offering parroquets to the hero".[1] This piece, though so varied and so slight in texture, yet contained more music and a more continuous plot than its hearers had

[1] D'Origny. *Annales du Théâtre Italien*.

been accustomed to, and one at least showed little enthusiasm for the new venture, namely Madame de Motteville, who wrote in her memoirs, "Those who understand esteem highly the Italians for my part I find that the length of the spectacle diminishes greatly the pleasure, and that lines simply declaimed represent conversation more easily, and touch the soul more than singing delights the ear." In another passage Madame de Motteville wrote "On Shrove Tuesday (1646) the Queen had one of her Comedies in Music performed. . . . . We were not above twenty or thirty persons in the place, and we thought we should die of cold and boredom." In the same year a tragedy entitled "Ackebar, Roi du Mogol" was supplied with music by the Abbé Mailly. The scenes, in musical recitative, were accompanied by several instruments, and it was said to be "a great success," although "it had not then been discovered how to put our language into vocal recitative, as has been done since." In 1647, another Italian troupe performed "Orfeo ed Euridice," libretto by the Abbe Francesco Buti, music by Luigi Rossi. Parisian opinion was no more favourable than it had been towards the lighter production, "La Finta Pazza," and a rhymed skit of the period runs

> "Ce beau, mais malheureux Orphée,
> Ou, pour mieux parler, ce Morphée,
> Puisque tout le monde y dormit."

French society, however, received with enthusiasm the one factor in this "Orfeo" which it understood, namely, the mounting. This seems to have been gorgeous, and there was a call for more work of the same kind. The poet Corneille was commissioned to write a "pièce-à-machines" on the Italian lines, and the result was "Andromede," with music by d'Assoucy. The music however took quite the third place in importance. According to C rneille himself, even his verses were only accessory to "les machines." It must be remembered that French drama pure and simple was already in a high state of culture, so that it was only the prejudice which existed against the possibility of successfully uniting the French language with music, in anything more than simple ballads, that hindered the earlier development of true French opera. This prejudice was s firmly impressed upon the minds of the lyric poets of the first half of the seventeenth century that even the famous writer of lyrics, Benserade, so successful with his ballets, never dared to venture on a scene completely set to music.

The solution of the problem was at hand. PIERRE PERRIN, commonly, but erroneously, called L'Abbe Perrin (a native of Lyons, where he was born about 1625), held an

official post under the Duke of Orleans which led to his making the acquaintance of Cardinal Mazarin and of Robert Cambert the musician. Perrin was a poor poet, but an astute man who made up for lack of art by adaptability. He was convinced of the possibility of using the French language for music-drama, and in conjunction with Robert Cambert he produced at Issy in 1659 "La Pastorale," and afterwards repeated it before the King at Vincennes. The work was singularly successful and was followed by others on similar lines, culminating in "Pomone" (1671). Only fragments of "Pomone" have survived, and very few copies exist of Perrin's introduction to the libretto. This is a document of sufficient interest to justify the quotation of a few passages from it. After describing what is signified by the term "opera" he wrote:

"Those who have never seen such pieces are scarce to be persuaded that they can succeed. They compare them with Greek and Latin masterpieces of antiquity, or rather with what they have seen represented of these subjects in the theatres of Italy. They cannot conceive that the passions and the emotions of the soul can be treated as naturally and as powerfully by means of singing as by the spoken word; and even if this were so they cannot imagine how a piece for the theatre can be satisfactory without plot, or how a plot which consists of serious reasoning, and which naturally fits the speaking voice, can be appropriately declaimed in singing, which has for its domain the finer emotions of the mind and the expression of pathos. Even those who have seen the operas of Italy in our theatres are of similar sentiment, and believe that these performances would have no better success in our own language."

Perrin went on to say that the problem was indeed a difficult one, but by no means impossible of solution.

"The composer requires a marvellous genius, a perfect knowledge of the language and of French poetry and music, and an adroitness not common, to embody nearly all the plot and all the serious discussion in the piece, particularly in a space of time so short as that of our French spectacles. The thing is difficult, nevertheless I dare to say that it is possible, since you will see that it is accomplished in this piece, which contains as much plot in 500 short lines as the longest spoken piece could contain in 2,000, in which moreover I am assured that the most critical will have difficulty in finding any faults against either the music or the lyrics.

"I confess nevertheless that the brevity to which one is compelled in order to please the national taste prevents the development of the action so completely as in spoken comedy, or even in the Italian pieces with their length of six or seven hours in performance; but it must also be allowed that

expression by means of music has quite another force than that of spoken words, since the music can often touch more powerfully the heart in two phrases than can the others in fifty, and that words sung with change of tone, inflections, accents, ornaments, the softening and raising of the voice, express more vividly, more agreeably, and with more variety the transports of the soul than can the monotone of the spoken word.

"If we add to this the beauty of harmony, which softens the heart and prepares it for expression, the advantage of making several persons utter the same sentiments at once, sometimes of making them say the same words simultaneously with contrary meanings, of the rondeaus, the repeats, the interchange of phrase, and a thousand other devices in words and music—it will not be difficult to give it the preference in all points, and to exact the confession from the most obstinate that these kinds of spectacles comprise all great and honest pleasures, that they uplift the whole man, that they charm the eyes with the sight of magnificent costumes, of superb scenery, of admirable mechanic devices, and of agreeable ballets, the ear by the excellence of the song, the accompaniment and the symphonies, the mind by beautiful designs, and the heart by depicting the passions in the most vivid and touching manner, which uplifts and transports it. . . . . .

"But how make these things agree with experience to the contrary, say the second critics, and if these pieces are so charming why have they displeased so much when they have been given on our stage in the Italian language? To that I answer in three words: They have been too long, they have been full of faults, and of these two things we could correct them: but the third admits of no reply—they were in a foreign language, and while they were able to touch the eyes and ears by the beauty of the spectacle and of the music—the mind and the heart, the most noble parts of man, were left untouched . . . . ."

Perrin next dealt with a third class of critics whom he called "the most dangerous and the most reasonable"; these are they who doubt whether the French language accommodates itself to music as well as do Greek, Latin and Italian. This doubt he combatted vigorously, with frequent illustrations which are too long for quotation. His argument was that the French language must be dealt with by those who understand it and are in sympathy with it. The remainder of the preface consists mainly of a summing up of the musical forces of the French capital, and eulogies upon the skilfulness of its musicians, the culture of its patrons, the grace of its dancers. Perrin added

"I have now satisfied the incredulous ones, and shewn that not only can these musical pieces be as good and better than

spoken plays but even that we can in our operas equal and surpass the Italians in every point."

ROBERT CAMBERT, who was associated with Perrin in this work, was born in Paris about 1628. He was a pupil of Chambonnières the famous clavecinist, and commenced his career as an organist, but having become chief of the Queen's musicians and head of the King's violinists, he had opportunity of becoming acquainted with the light music of the Court in the Mascarades. In association with Perrin, Cambert gradually acquired further experience in dramatic composition, and these two were undoubtedly the creators of French Opera, though to the public the name of Lully bulks much more largely in the musical history of the seventeenth century. Opera, it seems, is a natural forcing house for intrigue, and French Opera began its career in the midst of quarrels and cheatings as disgraceful as any that have ever disfigured the annals of music. After all their work, Perrin and Cambert were juggled out of their just reward. Cambert complained bitterly that as long as the work was experimental and only partially successful no one gave them a helping hand, nor was tempted on the other hand to envy them of the results But "Pomone" was a great success, and JEAN BAPTISTE LULLY (1633-87), who had previously laughed at the idea of opera in French, and had used his influence in Court circles to put every hindrance in the way of Cambert and Perrin, now cast his envious eyes upon their success. Unfortunately, quarrels took place about the same time between Cambert and Perrin and those associated with them in the undertaking, and the cunning Lully took advantage of the situation to secure the patent rights of opera for himself. The story of the Academie Royale de la Musique is too long to tell here in detail, but any who are interested can find the whole facts set forth in Nuitter and Thoinan's "Les Origines de l'Opéra Français" and in Pougin's "Les Vrais Créateurs de l'Opéra Français" Perrin died in great poverty in 1676. The fate of Cambert has always been somewhat of a mystery. He came to England and worked here for a time, possibly in the service of Charles II., and some of his operas were produced here and are said by Pougin to have formed the models upon which Purcell worked. Cambert is supposed to have died in London about 1677, some say he was murdered at the instigation of Lully and his associates, but the story lacks confirmation. Even, however, if the charge is untrue, the fact of its being made is sufficient indication of the strained relations between them, and of the estimate of Lully's character which was formed by his contemporaries. The charge of murder against Lully, whether true or false, formed the basis of the extraordinary little brochure published at

Cologne in 1688, the year after Lully's death, entitled "Lettre de Clement Marot, A Monsieur . . . touchant ce qui s'est passé à l'arrivée de Jean Baptiste de Lulli, aux Champs Elisées." In this satire the author imagines the scene in the Elysian fields when Lully arrived there to take his place among the spirits of the illustrious departed. His entry was not without opposition, and amongst the crowd of his opponents there were naturally Perrin and Cambert. Perrin made a strong appeal against the reception of Lully, and demanded even his severe punishment as a thief of the labours and the reputation of others. He described how he himself was the real creator of French Opera, but that the cupidity of Lully had deprived him of his reward, and this "Corsair," abusing the credit which his official post gave him, had had the cunning to persuade the King that he himself was the only man in the kingdom capable of sustaining the dignity of the art, and had thereby obtained the exclusive privilege which had cut the throats of so many people.

"'Yes, yes, cut the throat,' cried terribly a furious shadow who, pushing aside the crowd, was recognized at once for the poor Cambert, still quite disfigured with the wounds by which he had been assassinated in England. 'You see, madame,' continued he in the same tone, 'to what the tyranny of Lully has reduced me; the applause which I received from the public for the beauty of my compositions excited his indignation; he wished to become possessed of the lands which I had discovered, and to reduce me to the cruel necessity of going to seek for bread and for glory in a foreign court, where envy found means to complete, by killing me, the crime which had been commenced in exiling me from my country. But by whatever hand the blows were given which took my life, I impute them only to Lully, whom I consider my veritable assassin and against whom I demand justice. And it is not for myself alone, madame, that I implore your equity; it is in the name of all those who were distinguished in his time by some rare talent in music, whom he has not ceased to persecute in all sorts of ways.'"

This satire has never been taken too literally; but, allowing for exaggeration due to the bitterness of feeling which was common against Lully, it is in the main a correct summary of the position. Lully undoubtedly by unjustifiable means ousted Cambert from his hard won place, and posterity has not been able to do justice to the earlier composer on account of the disappearance of his scores. But there is sufficient evidence in contemporary records that the best feature in Lully's work, namely, his management of the recitative, was not only anticipated but also equalled or even surpassed by Cambert. Saint-Evremond, for example,

was no particular lover of opera, for he described it as a "Bizarre work of poetry and music, in which the poet and musician, equally impeded the one by the other, give themselves much trouble in making a bad thing." Saint-Evremond said, nevertheless "Cambert has had this advantage in his operas, that the ordinary recitative does not weary, through being composed with more care than the airs themselves, and varied with the greatest art in the world." And again: "Cambert has a very fine genius, sufficient for a hundred different kinds of music, and all well husbanded, with a just economy of voices and instruments. There is no recitative better conceived nor better varied than his." A contemporary journal also, *Le Mercure Galant*, announcing the death of Perrin, and speaking of the great success of Lully, says: "Nevertheless, since the time of the operas of Cambert one has seen no recitative in France which has appeared new."

While measuring out justice to Cambert, however, it is necessary to avoid going too far in the disparagement of Lully, who was undoubtedly an able man, and a capable musician with a keen sense of dramatic fitness. There is moreover, a courtliness and dignity in his music, if not an actual nobility, which commands respect, and a measure of admiration is also surely due even to the less desirable aspects of his character. Cleverness, even in a rogue, still has its attraction, and Lully certainly possessed this in a marked degree or he could not have risen from his humble beginnings to the position he held during the last sixteen years of his life. His biography is too accessible to require noting at length here, and two facts suffice to prove his unbounded worldly success. He came from Italy as a poor boy, and he died one of the wealthiest and probably the best hated of men in France. There is something even attractive about the cool impudence to which he owed so much of his advancement, and his relations with the King are well summed up in one little anecdote, which tells how a messenger came to him before the beginning of a performance to say that His Majesty had arrived and was waiting. Lully's answer was: "His Majesty is master here, and he is perfectly free to wait as long as he likes."

Enough of the composer, let us turn to his works. These are cast in such a uniform mould that description is easy. The form of Lully's overtures is well known. They begin with a stately movement in chords, usually with a dotted rhythm. This is followed by a quicker movement of the Canzona type, but the imitative writing is of a curiously deceptive character. He keeps his string parts very busy, and the effect to a casual listener is that of fugal work; but closer examination shows that it is far from strict, and is as

much a deception of the ear as painted scenery is of the eye; but it serves its purpose, and Lully was too clever a man to waste good work merely to cover the noise of conversation and late arrivals. Another slow movement follows the quick one and ushers in the Prologue, in which mythological and other characters discuss in lively manner, with choruses and dances interspersed, anything but the subject of the opera which is to follow. Then the Overture is played again, as entr'acte—another example of economy of resources. The overture was probably not heard the first time, so it will do to play again. Then follows the first act of the piece proper. The libretto is completely set to music, and one of Lully's merits is the way he seizes on important points and makes them stand out from less important surroundings. The supreme merit of all French Opera, from Cambert to Rameau, is the continuity of the music. Whereas the Italians early forsook the dramatic ideals of Monteverde, and made their operas mere occasions for the display of solo voices, to whom were allotted strings of arias complete in themselves, and neither bearing any definite relationship to each other nor serving in any rational way towards the development of the plot, the dramatic instinct of the French people saved the national opera from that special form of degeneracy. Waves of Italian influence affected French Opera from time to time, and Lully himself was an Italian; but he became a naturalised Frenchman, and his operas only contain the Italian style of aria at times in order to burlesque it and raise a laugh. (It will be remembered that more than a century later Gluck had to Gallicize his operas in order to secure their acceptance in Paris.) It is difficult to draw the line in the works of Lully and his successors between recitative proper and developed aria. Lully graded his music with such nicety, and with such accurate fitting of the French language, that in continuous scenes in which the vocal parts are ostensibly all in recitative style, he varies that style by imperceptible degrees, from the simplest monotone to completely articulated and balanced phrases, according to the importance of the words for the time being. The frequent "full-close" of the Italian recitative is happily avoided, and the pair of tonic-dominant chords so affected by the Scarlatti-Handel School is rarely heard. Of definite airs, apart from dance tunes, there are few, but such as there are show him to have had a fine ear for melodic outline and balance, and an instinct for working up to a climax. The familiar "Bois Epais" in the opera "Amadis" (1684) is a good specimen of Lully in his most serious and dignified mood. The Funeral scene in "Alceste" furnishes examples of a medium style, neither dry recitative nor complete aria. There is in this scene also a short but most impressive "Pompe Funèbre" for orchestra

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alone, full of fine discords similar to those familiar to us in the works of Purcell! Another side of Lully's versatile genius is shown in the "Air de Caron" in the same opera, where Charon, the ferryman of the Styx, is made a *buffo* character, who haggles with the disembodied spirits over the fares for carrying them across the river, and is especially rude to one poor creature who has no money. This is a combination of Aria and Recitative, and the cynical remarks of the old curmudgeon are well contrasted with the pathetic appeals of the "Ombres."

Lully and his followers employed the chorus in two ways. In the Prologues and in some of the lighter scenes they sing dances such as the Gavotte and Minuet, sometimes accompanied by the orchestra and sometimes in alternate verses with it. The other employment is in a truer dramatic manner, where the chorus is the "crowd," and takes a share in the action, as in the Sacrificial Scene in "Cadmus et Hermione" (1674). Here the chorus, singing antiphonally with the "Grand Sacrificateur," rises to a fine declamatory pitch. But the voices are never treated contrapuntally, solid masses of tone being entirely relied on for effect. It should be noted also that the voices are commonly in four parts, the present French custom of writing in three or six parts (soprano, tenor and bass) being more modern.

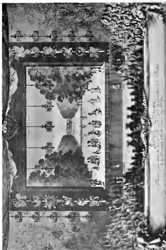
Besides the dances in which the chorus takes part, these operas are full of other dance movements, including the Passacaille, Bourrée, Minuet, Gavotte, Loure, Canaries, Passepied, Rigaudon, la Forlana, Sarabande, several kinds of Branle; special dances for sailors, for savages, for soldiers, and so forth, Gigue, and Chaconne. All these dances, with the exception of the last named, are very short, consisting usually of two divisions, and obviously they were to be repeated as many times as occasion required. The Chaconne nearly always occurs quite late in the opera, and was looked upon as a *pièce de résistance* to be saved for a final effect. The Chaconnes of Lully and his imitators followed closely one model, being constructed on a ground bass more or less freely varied, with modulations into related keys, and especially alternations from major to tonic minor and *vice versa*. The Chaconne persisted as a feature of French opera down to a late date, and it will be remembered that even Gluck had to give way to the importunities of the famous dancer Vestris and allow a Chaconne to be interpolated in a Greek tragedy.

As to the details of the staging of these operas, nothing can now be ascertained with exactness. The reports of contemporaries must be received with caution, because such expressions as "magnificent" or "astounding" possess only a relative value. The pictures, also, in the engraved scores,

PLATE IV.

MOLIERE'S "LE BALLET DE LA PRINCESSE D'ÉLIDE." MUSIC BY LULLY.

Performed in the Park at Versailles, 1664.



According to the picture, a handsome stage front had been erected at a point where a beautiful vista with the palace at the far extremity was revealed on the raising of the curtain. The orchestra, which seems to consist of about forty players is in front but screened stage-high from the onlookers who consist of the king and his party, in the centre facing the stage, flanked by a brilliant company on either side.

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may or may not be reliable, much in them may be due to the artists' ideas of what might be rather than what was; but where the "spectacle" was the chief thing, it is not assuming too much to conclude that the productions really were on a scale of dignity which would by no means appear despicable to-day. There is an engraving of a fine scene in "Le Ballet de la Princesse d'Élide" (1664), which was performed in the park at Versailles before the King and Court. According to this picture, a handsome stage-front had been erected in an avenue at a point where a beautiful vista, with the palace at the end, was revealed at the raising of the curtain. The orchestra, consisting of about forty players, was screened, stage high, from the audience, which included the royal party in the centre, with an open space before them, flanked by a brilliant company on either side. After Molière's death in 1673, Lully was fortunate in having the use of his theatre in the Palais Royal, which was fully stocked with needful accessories, and had a spacious stage with a front opening of thirty feet. Here it was that Lully's most notable works saw the light. His predecessors had not been so lucky. Perrin was obliged to hire a tennis-court in the Rue de Vaugirard; and after the split with his associates, one of them, Sourdeac, hired another "jeu-de paume" for the continuance of the operas. Notwithstanding the costly alterations which were made, these places cannot have been particularly admirable as opera-houses, but no doubt audiences were not very exacting, and often accepted the will for the deed when a specially difficult problem in stage-machinery was solved as well as circumstances would allow. The setting of Jupiter's vengeance on Phaëton, or the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus, for example, could have been no easy tasks for the stage-manager and machinist, even if the pictures of these scenes are admitted to contain fifty per cent of artistic imagination on the part of the engraver.

One of the most valuable records of the French Opéra is the catalogue of the Opéra library compiled by Théodore de Lajarte and published in 1878. M. Lajarte gives a complete list of the operas in the order of their production, from Cambert's "Pomone" (1671) to the year 1876, dividing the whole into six periods, two, and part of the third of which are under consideration to-day. The classification is a convenient one, and M. Lajarte has performed an invaluable service by gathering information as to the performances, the orchestra, the dates of repetitions, the items which were most successful, and other particulars not accessible elsewhere. Between 1671, when Cambert disappeared, and 1687, when Lully died, the latter absolutely monopolised the stage, but with his death came some chance for other men. First appeared PASCAL COLASSE (1636-1709), a pupil of Lully,

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who is said to have filled up many of his scores, and who now added four acts and a prologue to a single act which Lully left on the subject of "Achille et Polyxène." Colasse wrote a prelude of his own, and had Lully's overture played only once, before the first act. This work, like many under similar circumstances, had little success. No better fate was in store for an opera-ballet by two of Lully's sons, "Zéphyre et Flore" (1688), but Colasse had a great success with his tragedy, "Thétis et Pelée," in the following year, and it was re-staged at intervals down to 1750. Many other attempts were made by Colasse, Louis Lully, Marais, Gervais, Lacoste, Desmarets and Charpentier, to fill the place of the great Lully, but M. Lajarte's catalogue records but poor success for most of them, while Lully's best works continued to be produced again and again, so that he not only kept the stage during his lifetime but remained a serious rival to his successors after death. The finest musician in this group was undoubtedly MARC ANTOINE CHARPENTIER (born 1634), but he despaired of rivalling the great monopolist, and only one opera is placed to his credit, namely "Medée," which had a single performance in 1693, and the composer devoted himself mainly to the service of the Church. He had been a pupil of the great Carissimi, and his Motets show him to have had serious aims. It was about ten years after Lully's death before the younger composers, so long prevented from gaining practical experience, were able to break away from the Lullian thraldom. The year 1697 marks the beginning of a new epoch. There was no revolution to take place, for the Lully model was too firmly established to be cast aside easily, and composers still continued on the same main lines. But important modifications were introduced. ANDRÉ CAMPRA'S "L'Europe Galante" was the first of a long series of operas of a new type, having the flimsiest of plots or sometimes no plot at all, each act or "Entrée" being complete in itself. These "Spectacles Coupés" were somewhat like the lighter kind of musical comedies of the present day, inasmuch as they could be altered to an unlimited extent to suit changing fashions. Campra began life as a Church musician, and for a time found it necessary to conceal his identity under his brother's name, when he took to writing for the stage, on account of the prejudice of the clerics against the theatre. A popular rhyme of the day runs:

> "Quand notre archevêque saura
> L'auteur du nouvel opéra
> M. Campra decampera.
> Alleluia."

However, in a short time Campra was able to become independent of Church patronage through the enormous

success of his operas, and more especially the famous "Fêtes Vénitiennes," which made its first appearance in 1710 and held the stage for nearly fifty years, achieving no less than thirty performances so late as 1759. Campra had a real gift of melody, especially of the light, piquant variety, and his treatment of the orchestra was varied and skilful. He was undoubtedly the most gifted of the composers of the intermediate period, and it is pleasant to add that he was so far unspoiled by his success that he warmly advocated the cause of Rameau, who in his early days met with much opposition on account of his innovations. When questioned as to his opinion on Rameau's opera "Hippolyte," he replied, "There is stuff enough in it for ten operas; this man will eclipse us all." A good example of Campra's lighter vocal style is the soprano air in "Les Fêtes Vénitiennes"—"Accourez, hâtez-vous." A specimen of his more sustained style is the air "Seuls confidents de mes peines" in "Iphigénie en Tauride" (1714), an opera which had been planned and commenced by HENRI DESMARETS (1662-1741). The story of this collaboration is a romantic one. Desmarets in his youth had been a page at the Court, and apparently belonged to a somewhat higher social grade than most of his colleagues. Having married a lady of position secretly and without permission, he was condemned to death, but managed to escape into Spain, where he took service as Maître de Chapelle to Philip V. It was during this enforced absence that Campra took up his unfinished work. The items contributed by the respective composers are carefully distinguished in the published score.

André Cardinal DESTOUCHES (1672-1749) was another able composer who owed assistance to Campra, whose pupil he was. His career also was a varied one. Originally destined for the Church, he nevertheless accompanied a diplomatic mission to the King of Siam, and on his return changed his vocation a second time, for he entered in 1692 the second company of the "Mousquetaires du Roi," and in this capacity took part in the siege of Namur. His final change of career took place in 1712, when he became "Surintendant de la musique du roi, et inspecteur-général de l'Opéra." [He held these posts from 1712 to 1721, and also was Director of the Opéra from 1728 to 1730.] His most successful operas were "Issé" (1697), "Omphale" (1701), "Callirhoé," and (in association with LALANDE (1657-1723), famous also for his Church motets) the extraordinarily successful *ballet-du-roi*, "Les Eléments" (1721), ten performances of which were given so late as 1780. At the first production the King himself (Louis XV.) appeared in the Ballet, and the *Gazette de France* kindly remarked that "his Majesty danced with much grace." "Les Eléments"

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furnishes an example of the kind of problems offered by the librettists of these spectacles for solution by the stage managers and machinists. In the Prologue: "The stage represents Chaos. It is a mass of clouds, of rocks, of waters immobile and in suspense, of fires issuing from volcanoes. . ." Later "Fire ascends to its sphere, the clouds are spread out, trees covered with flowers and fruits issue from the earth, and at the two wings of the stage are discovered the Gods of the Elements, namely *Of the Air*—Juno, Æolus, Sol, Aurora. *Of the Fire*—Vesta, Vulcan, the Cyclops. *Of the Water*—Neptune, Thetis and Sirens. *Of the Earth*—Cybele, Ceres, Bacchus, Pomona, Flora."

One other composer of this group demands more than a passing word. MICHEL PIGNOLET DE MONTECLAIR (1666-1737) was a member of the Opéra orchestra for some years. As a boy he had been a Cathedral chorister. Two facts in his opera career mark him out for special mention. One was his bold stage setting of the Biblical story of "Jephtha" (1732), which was reproduced at intervals down to 1761. In this the usual group of heathen deities appear in the prologue, but are appropriately chased from the scene by Truth and the Virtues; an ingenious method of retaining the conventional prologue with a certain amount of justification. The book was by the Abbé Pellegrin, to whom Rameau was later indebted for similar service. Notwithstanding an attempt by the Archbishop of Paris to interdict its performance, "Jephté" had a great success. The other matter upon which Monteclair's fame rests was the introduction of the large double-bass into the Opéra orchestra. Of this I shall have more to say in a later paragraph.

The year 1733 was an important one for French Opera, for it saw the appearance of JEAN PHILIPPE RAMEAU'S (1683-1764) "Hippolyte et Aricie" M Lajarte says that the work "Provoked astonishment rather than enthusiasm among the listeners at the first performance The public of that period could not understand at first hearing the close-packed harmonies of Rameau and the loftiness of his style, after the platitudes which the successors of Lully and Campra had offered. Nevertheless we find in the *Mercure de France* a clear proof of the successwhich the work had obtained . . ." "The opera of 'Hippolyte et Aricie' continues with great success and appears ever more tasteful; but we believe that one would see here *an air* with pleasure."

Campra's appreciation of "Hippolyte" has already been quoted. The librettist, the Abbé Pellegrin, showed his approbation in something more solid than words. He had made Rameau sign a bill for 500 livres as security against the failure of the opera, but was so delighted with the music that he tore it up at the end of the first act.

In general features "Hippolyte" stood indebted to the school of Lully. We find an overture in the usual form, then a mythological prologue, then the repetition of the overture, just as in Lully's works. But already there are indications of change, especially in the orchestra, and it is said that some bigoted members of the band did their best to make the opera fail by deliberately playing wrong notes. The fact is that Rameau's score not only gave them more to do, but contained so much of new idiom that it was no doubt troublesome to players who had been accustomed so long to conventional models. One beautiful and original item from this opera is still frequently heard on the concert platform in France, and has lately been sung at a Philharmonic concert here by Madame Marchesi. This song, "Rossignols Amoureux," is accompanied by solo flute and violin, with a figured line for harpsichord which during the greater part of the song never descends below middle G.

Rameau's first undoubted success was "Castor and Pollux" (1737). A number of instrumental movements have had the advantage of a modern reprint, and show the musician to have been possessed of a fertility of resource both in melody and in variety of scoring which is in strong contrast to the comparative monotony of the overtures and dances of the Lully period. "Les Fêtes d'Hebé" (1739) also contains much fine writing, and Lajarte says with justice that "this score of Rameau's is ravishing from one end to the other. It is truly inconceivable how it should be so little known to artists and to the public even in the form of detached pieces."

To Rameau belongs the credit of having endeavoured to make his overtures a true foreshadowing of the dramas which they preceded. In this he anticipated Gluck. In Rameau's "Naïs" the overture was an attempt to represent in tones a combat of Titans; in "Platée" a forest scene is depicted, with cries of animals and voices of birds. In "Zoroastre" (1749) Rameau used a good deal of music which was originally written for his unfortunate early opera, "Samson," performance of which had been interdicted on account of its subject, notwithstanding that Montéclair's "Jephté" was allowed a hearing. Rameau himself gave a description of what he intended to represent by the overture to "Zoroastre": "The first part is a powerful and pathetic picture of the barbarous power of *Abramane*, and the groans of the peoples whom he oppressed; a sweet calm succeeds—new hope is born. The second part is a smiling and lively image of the beneficent power of *Zoroastre* and of the happiness of the peoples whom he has delivered from oppression."

Rameau was laughed at for indulging in such ideas, but his theories were in the main adopted by Gluck, Beethoven,

Weber and Wagner; and after 160 years composers seem to find the possibilities of the "programme" in music still unexhausted. "Zoroastre" called forth so much opposition that a casual reader of the history of the time would almost be justified in writing it down a failure. Nevertheless the following paragraph appeared in the pages of a contemporary journal:—

"A gentleman presented himself at the fifth performance of 'Zoroastre' and asked for a seat in the boxes, in the balcony, in the amphitheatre, in fact *anywhere*. He was told that all seats were occupied. This, said he, is the strangest thing I have ever experienced in my life. I cannot enter a house in Paris without hearing something horribly bad about this opera; yet I have come four times already without getting a seat. The French are the only Nation in the world capable of such a contradiction."

Rameau was unlucky in arousing much opposition throughout his career. In his early days he had to face the jealousy of the followers of Lully. When success came to him he had to pass through the troublesome time of the "Guerre des Bouffons," when an Italian troupe of players divided musical Paris into hostile camps. Jean Jacques Rousseau also deserted the national cause and wrote strongly in favour of the Italian party. He said:—

"I believe I have shown that there is neither rhythm nor melody in French music, because the language is not susceptible of it: that French music is only a perpetual barking, unbearable by ears not hardened to it: that its harmony is brutal, without expression, and fit only for the exercises of novices: that French airs are not airs at all, French recitative is not recitative. From which I conclude that the French have no music, and cannot have any: or if ever they do have it, it will be so much the worse for them."

The value of such sweeping condemnations is considerably discounted when we remember that Rousseau was musically only a half-educated person who could see no good in any form of art which passed his own comprehension, and who even had the temerity to assert that no human ear could appreciate two simultaneous melodies. Rameau replied to his outburst indirectly but effectively by means of a pamphlet exposing the numerous important mistakes made by Rousseau in his paragraphs on music in his Encyclopedia. Rameau lived down all the opposition of his early and middle years, and, indeed, lived long enough even to see his own innovations lose their newness. His chief failing had been in underestimating the value of a first-rate operatic libretto. He thought good music was strong enough to bear the weight of the poorest of plots told in the most wretched style, and he

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is said to have once remarked that he could set the *Gazette de Hollande* to music. Lully, a far less able musician than Rameau, and labouring under the disadvantage of living two generations earlier, never made this mistake, and a great deal of his success was due to his long association with an exceptionally capable librettist, Quinault. Rameau saw something of his mistake in his last days, and is reported to have said to the Abbé Arnaud:—

"If I were twenty years younger, I would go to Italy and take Pergolesi for my model; abandon something of my harmony and devote myself to attaining truth of declamation, which should be the sole guide of musicians. But after sixty one cannot change; experience points plainly enough the best course, but the mind refuses to obey."

A peculiar use of time-signatures in the French operas from Lully to Rameau calls for passing mention. Changes from duple to triple time, and *vice versa*, are frequent, and in addition the notational unit is often changed without warning. For example, a modern reader may be forgiven for not at once realizing that—

Lent. (RAMEAU "Castor et Pollux.")

Non, je ne ver-rai plus que vos char tés fu - nè bres

means—

(♩=𝅗𝅥) (𝅗𝅥=♩)

THE GROWTH OF THE ORCHESTRA during the century under review demands brief notice in conclusion. Its development in French opera was not quite on lines parallel to those of other branches of music, and this is another respect in which French opera before 1750 was a thing apart.

In the *Lully Period*, the regular score consisted of viols in six parts or less, the two upper parts being written with the G clef on the first line; three medium parts appeared with C clefs on the first, second, and third lines respectively, and the basses were written with the F clef on the usual

fourth line. The bass part was figured, and long passages of the less important recitative were accompanied only by the clavecin and basses. Hautboys played with the violins, and occasionally played similar parts alone (The hautboy, as distinguished from its predecessor, the Schalmei or shawm, first appeared in Cambert's "Pomone," 1671.) Flutes also appeared in some of the scores, and both hautboys and flutes were evidently used in considerable numbers, for we find such directions as "all the first flutes," or "all the second flutes" In Lully's "Psyche" (1674), Act I, Scene 2, two first flutes, two seconds, and two bass flutes are added to the five-part score of viols. Trumpets and drums appeared in military scenes, their purely orchestral use, for colouring, having not yet been conceived. The large stringed double-bass had not yet appeared, the bass part being sustained by the seven-stringed viol, with bassoons and harpsichord. The bass pommer gave place to the bassoon, for the first time, in "Pomone."

In the *Second Period* the arrangement of the scores underwent slight change. A full page from an opera by Matho ("Arion," 1714) gives the following orchestral staves: Two violin parts, C clef first line, two medium parts, C clefs, second and third lines. Then follows a part for the viol da-gamba, written sometimes with the baritone clef (F on third line) and sometimes with the alto clef. Another stave is labelled "Quatre basses de Violions a cinq cordes" (usual bass clef). Another bass line is allotted to four other basses with four strings. Another shows a separate part for bassoons, and a most interesting note occurs, indicating that "M. de Montéclair, M. Théobald and two serpents are to play the bass part an octave lower." This was apparently the first attempt at the French Opera to obtain the effect of the modern contra-bass, which provides the sixteen-foot fundamental tone of the orchestra. (It is now generally stated, though not absolutely proved, that the true contra-bass probably first appeared in Montéclair's own opera, "Les Fêtes de l'Été," in 1761[1]) It is noteworthy that Colasse, Lully's pupil, who followed so closely the form of his master's operas, shows in his scoring a good deal of the variety which did not become common until a few years later. The third act of "Achille et Polyxène" (1687) had a great deal of important and independent work for flutes. His "Thetis et Pelée" (1689) (besides many picturesque touches of a lighter nature, such as "Flûtes Douces" for an entry of Sirens) has in the second act a "Tempest" in which the string players have to put forth all their energies, and there is this additional

[1] The whole matter is discussed in Voillard's "Essai sur Montéclair" (1878)

note. "On entend ici une tempête, ou l'on se sert d'un tambour, pour imiter le bruit des vents et des flots, en frappant doucement quand le dessus est bas, et fort quand il est haut" His opera of a year later, "Enée et Lavinie," contains some simple but ingenious directions for obtaining variety in repeats by exchanging places, some instruments playing an octave higher, others an octave lower, and so forth. After examining page by page a very large number of scores I came across a solitary example in this opera of the use of the obsolete Cromorne (Krummhorn). This occurs in Act 3, Scene 4, where a March in honour of Bacchus is scored for hautboys in two parts, cromorne and strings. After the march a stage direction says "fury seizes the whole company."

In the *Rameau Period* we find something approaching modern instrumentation. The figured bass becomes less and less important. Flutes, hautboys, and bassoons are now free from the monotonous duty of playing in unison with the strings, or passages similar to theirs, or other passages which would do equally well for voices. Rameau anticipated many of the orchestral effects of Haydn himself. I have already referred to the nightingale song in "Hippolyte." Other varieties of scoring in the same opera include some extended arpeggios across the strings to imitate the sound of waves: a Hunting Scene in Act 4, where two horns in D are used sometimes with violins and hautboys, and sometimes independently. In the same opera the *tremolando* of Strings, associated with drum rolls, produces the effect of thunder. A lively Dance for Sailors in Act 3, Scene 8, is noteworthy for an idiom which is probably very ancient, namely, a skipping down of an octave, with the lower note played twice. It would be an interesting study, if one had time, to trace this idiom in sailors' tunes of all ages and countries. It is frequent in these French operas, and has persisted down to our own day —

In "Platée" (Act 2) there is a striking bit of realism, imitating the confused sounds of a large number of birds in

a grove. The effect is produced by violins in three parts, with syncopated semiquavers against triplet quavers of two flageolets:—

"Platés"

Vl. 1.[1] &c.

Vl. 2. &c.

Flageolet 1 &c.

Flageolet 2. &c.

Vl. 3. &c.

In the same opera there is a Minuet in D scored for strings with double, treble and even quadruple stopping, the effect of which doubtless would be extremely resonant. A little later there is a movement, played entirely *pizzicato*, in imitation of a lyre. A point upon which I have been able to obtain no exact information is how the effect of mutes was produced in France at that time. There are many places where they are directed to be used ("avec les sourdines"), without a single beat allowed for mutes such as we now use to be fixed on the bridges. Either the muting process was quite different from the modern one, or else some players must have been prepared with muted instruments beforehand, and played such passages alone. In Rameau's scores there is a growing use of expression marks, and of additional directions more minute than were common until quite recently: for example, in "Les Fêtes de Polymnie" (1745), we find, in connection with a *diminuendo* of the violins, the direction "filez en adoucissant," followed by "doux." This same work has some well developed choral writing, and in one scene has an effective chorus in four parts simultaneously with three independent florid solo parts. "Pigmalion" (1748) gives an instance of the use of double-basses as

[1] Old French Violin clef on the first line

non transposers, the true sounds being written, down to A in the sixteen-foot octave :—

Pigmalion.

Violons.

Basses Contre-basses.

&c.

"Pigmalion" also has some dances for violin, hautboy, and two independent piccolo parts, also for violin, hautboy, flageolet, bassoons, and basses. Similar scoring is found in "Les Fêtes de l'Hymen et de l'Amour" (1747), besides a movement for musettes, hautboys, bassoons, and strings, and a "Contre danse" in the key of E, with a trumpet part going as high as top B. (Rameau wrote for trumpets, by the way, as non-transposers.) In "Pigmalion" there is a passage, where the Statue comes to life, which is distinctly anticipatory of the opening bars of Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" overture. It is scored for flutes, violins "à demi-jeu," basses, also "à demi jeu," and bassoons. If time permitted, numerous other interesting anticipations of later practice could be cited, from "Zoroastre" and other works, but for the present these must suffice.

In closing, a few words of warm acknowledgment are due to Mr. James E. Matthew for the free access which he has allowed to his large and valuable collection of scores and of books on the subject. A few years ago, in making a somewhat extended survey of the history of Musical Notation,

I had occasion to examine these works, amongst others, at the British Museum, and was then struck by the almost homogeneous character of the whole output of the French opera composers prior to 1750, and have lately been somewhat surprised to find that so interesting a subject has not hitherto been considered at the meetings of this Association. Under the arrangements which the authorities of the British Museum Reading Room have made for the present summer, it would have been impossible to renew acquaintance with these scores at Bloomsbury, and Mr. Matthew's assistance has been not only generous and valuable, but indispensable. Besides the scores, his fine library contains many unique and rare old books which have also been laid under contribution.

Vocal illustrations to the paper were contributed by Miss Oswyn Jones and Mr. Daniel Price, and included:—

"Air de Caron" (*Alceste*)	*Lully.*
Funeral Scene (*Alceste*)	*Lully.*
"Bois Épais" (*Amadis*)	*Lully.*
"Belle Hermione" (*Cadmus*)	*Lully.*
"Seul Confident" (*Iphigénie*)	*Campra.*
"Accourez, hâtez-vous" (*Fêtes Vénitiennes*)	*Campra.*

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—It is our duty, as I am sure it is our pleasure, to thank Dr. Borland for the very excellent lecture he has given, and also to thank Miss Oswyn Jones, and Mr. Daniel Price for their excellent rendering of the illustrations. I am afraid that the subject of the lecture we have heard is one for instruction rather than for discussion, but there are one or two things that struck me during the lecture, and on which I should like to speak. One is that the history of the opera in Paris is an epitome of the history of the opera all through the civilised world; and there is no place where this has been so evident as it has been in Paris. It began, you see, almost immediately Peri's "Euridice" was printed. That was in 1600; and in 1645 an Italian opera company was already performing in Paris—not, indeed, in public, but before Anne of Austria. And from that time there has never been an occasion, except perhaps for a short time during the Revolution, that opera has not been represented in Paris, and generally it has been represented by the most prominent productions of the time. There are certain things about Lully that have always been a puzzle to me. Of course his youthful history is well known—how he was brought from Italy and given as a present to a great lady who had no further use for him than to employ him as a scullery boy. He had some skill in playing on the guitar, which is not an instrument that has usually done much for the development of great musicians. He had also some skill on the violin, which he had taught himself, but all he learned seems to have been from an obscure Parisian organist; so it is certainly strange that he should have mastered the business of the stage so well. The same really applies to Cambert. It is very strange that the French opera should have shown so finished a condition as it did in its early days. Lully, of course, was not a Frenchman, although they changed the last letter of his name, and the French people firmly believed he was really French. It is very remarkable that with the exception of Rameau, French opera is indebted much more to foreigners than to native musicians, because everyone knows that at the time of the Serva Padrona controversy, which was succeeded shortly after by the Gluck-Piccinni quarrel, it was the foreigners who were hailed as the champions of the respective sides; so it is very remarkable that the opera should have taken such hold of the Parisians as it actually did. I hope some gentlemen or ladies will have something to say arising out of the lecture.

Rev. SPOONER LILLINGSTON.—One question I should like to ask: I want to know exactly how the kettledrums were used—whether they were tuned, or used as mere instruments of noise.

Dr. BORLAND.—They certainly were tuned, for different notes are written for them, usually D and A, less commonly C and G; I have met no instance of any other tuning. In the earlier works only single strokes appear, later we find occasional rolls written out in full, with semiquavers, demi-semiquavers, &c.

Rev. SPOONER LILLINGSTON.—I suppose the more varied tuning and the regular use of the roll came in Handel's time?

Dr. BORLAND.—Even *after* Handel, I think.

Dr. MACLEAN.—I think that for the sordini, where there is no rest allowed, the men probably knocked off one at a time to put the mutes on. I have myself seen this done in small orchestras.

Dr. SOUTHGATE.—I think the account Dr. Borland has been good enough to give us of the rise of French opera is an admirably succinct notice of what really happened, and it agrees with the opinion I have always held that, whereas the Italian opera commenced with an imitation of the ancient classical dramatic art, the opera in France arose through their national fondness for dancing and ballets. One might ask, Did not our opera also come from the masques? I think it did. It is very interesting to compare this feeling of different countries for music of the stage. The statement made by a French writer that very likely Purcell was indebted to Cambert for some of his ideas requires some amount of proof. It is impossible to prove the assertion unless we have the scores before us. It seems a novel view to me, and I cannot think it possible. The artificiality of Lully, which must be very apparent, surely arose from the fact that he was dealing with vocal music, and getting, as it were, out of the country's fondness for the dance. The whole thing was artificial, and vocal music was for a long time regarded as a mere adjunct to a dance. That capital song which Mr. Price sang so finely, about Charon and the bargaining, is an echo of a very old writer, Aristophanes. I remember seeing his "Frogs" at Oxford some years ago. The bargaining of the corpse to be carried over the Styx was carried on to an absurd extent. The undergraduate who represented the corpse offered various sums to Charon, and, if I remember rightly, at last offered to fight him, and the gallant boatman ran away. I think that, besides satirising, Euripides intended to ridicule the idea of Charon, the river Styx and all those fables. Probably he went as far as was safe in those days, but the French composers could of course go much farther. The song which Miss Oswyn Jones sang struck me all

through as showing a close resemblance to Purcell's "Full Fathom Five." A passage recalls this and is repeated again and again, and the close especially reminded one of Purcell. I should be glad if we could have the dates.

Dr. BORLAND.—The date of the song is 1714, Purcell's was written long before that.

Mr. SOUTHGATE.—Then I cannot help thinking that the man who wrote it must have heard Purcell's "Full Fathom Five."

(A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer, and also to Miss Jones and Mr. Price.)

Dr. BORLAND.—There are only two very small points on which I should like to say a word. Mr. Southgate casts doubt on the suggestion of Pougin. Of course it is not proved, but it is rather natural for a Frenchman to try to claim some of the honour for a fellow-countryman. It is quite certain that Purcell got the idea of his string sonatas from the Italians, for he himself says so. But who was his model for a long time was not so evident. It was, at one time, supposed to have been Corelli, but this seems impossible when we consider how few of Corelli's works were published during Purcell's life-time. It is now generally received that his chief model was Nicola Matteis, who came to England in 1672. Similarly, if Cambert was over here when Purcell was working, it is quite possible that Purcell may have learned something from him. As to the foreigners having done so much for opera in France, it is clear that French opera was certainly much influenced by foreigners, but they were obliged to become practically Frenchmen before they gained a hearing. It was so with Lully, who quite lost his Italian style, so it was with Gluck, who had to Frenchify his works before they were accepted in Paris.

T. H. YORKE TROTTER, Esq., Mus.D. Oxon.,

In the Chair.

SOME THOUGHTS UPON THE POSITION OF JOHANNES BRAHMS AMONG THE GREAT MASTERS OF MUSIC.

By H. A. Harding, Mus.D. Oxon.

May I say at once that what I have ventured to call "my thoughts" upon Brahms, are not intended to be dogmatic. I do not presume to press with undue force any opinion of my own in regard to the position which Brahms does, or should, occupy among the great masters of music. With his high ideals of art and his lofty conceptions of duty in regard to it, he is assuredly the one composer who irresistibly commands our attention at the present time, and it is upon this fact that I rest the hope that I may ask you to spend a few minutes this evening in considering the question *Why is there still some hesitancy to place him among the greatest composers?*

Johannes Brahms, as a *man* and as an *artist*, opens up to us many interesting vistas of study. First of all, we know so little about him. I suppose no genius in musical art has ever hidden his personality and courted obscurity as he did—not that I think we lose anything valuable by this lack of knowledge—as to the secret thoughts of his mind, the exact sources of his inspiration, or the petty details of his everyday life; indeed I feel that the mystery which shrouds his personality is most attractive in this age of "interviewing," and that he is thereby set in a niche by himself among the hierarchy of musical composers.

We know that he never took any pains or made any efforts to secure recognition, notoriety, or reward, and this at any rate is a gain.

To the casual reader of musical history it seems remarkable that there should ever have been, and still is, so much controversy as to Brahms' artistic position. It is now pretty

well known that there was little reason for much of the "sound and fury" which was spent in the conflict between the *Wagnerites* and the *Brahmsites*. Time, the impartial arbiter, has pronounced that Wagner and Brahms are giants in quite dissimilar departments of our art. Much of that early fighting was the result of mere personal animus on both sides, of the absurd notion that it was impossible to praise Wagner without disparaging Brahms, and *vice versâ*. I am content to admit that some of Brahms' early reputation may have been of a somewhat adventitious character, in so far as it was founded upon animosity to Wagner rather than upon genuine and intelligent appreciation of himself. Brahms, like Wagner, has had to suffer from his friends. But this early controversy is now of little account, though the embers of it are not yet quite extinct. What, however, in these much more impartial days appears extraordinary, even to educated musicians who have never studied the matter, is that Brahms, who was avowedly a gatherer-up of what was before him, an assimilator—one whose life's work was to effect the fusion of styles which others invented, viz., to combine the classical with the romantic—should meet with so much hostile criticism. It might have been reasonably anticipated that he would hit the musical public with both barrels, so to speak, as Mendelssohn did. Even now, at first sight, before the true import of Brahms' mission is grasped, his music does not appear to be calculated to excite controversy, nor to indicate that he was a pioneer in the sense to challenge opposition; and yet we are told that "he is the standard-bearer in one of the bitterest fights ever fought in the cause of music."[1]

Does not this seem to furnish us with the elements of the conviction that he was indeed the revealer of a new style, and that he is only paying the penalty which every great leader of a new crusade has to pay? Does not the very existence of this bitter contention over Brahms' works seem to suggest that there *was* something to fight about?

It would weary you were I to repeat, to any extent, the volumes of vituperation which have proceeded from anti-Brahmsites. Tschaikowsky denounced Brahms as "ungifted, pretentious, and lacking in all creative power." You will remember, lest this testimony should carry too much weight, that creators in art are not necessarily impeccable as critics, Chopin found the Finale of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony "vulgar." Others, not quite so gifted as Tschaikowsky, have professed to trace in Brahms' works a "tendency to pomposity and grandiloquence," a "merely negative quality," a "lack of charm, soul and personality", much of his music, it has been said, is "bad, ugly, dead music", he was a "pompous duffer,"

1 Streatfeild's "Modern Music and Musicians."

"not a great creative musician"; finally, among other negative virtues, he had not "the intellect of an antelope"

On the other hand, from Schumann to the new editor of Grove's Dictionary, men who have had at once the ability and the opportunity to appreciate Brahms have expressed exactly opposite opinions. Not too much stress, however, can be laid on Schumann's words, because he referred to Brahms' early works—probably Opera 1 to 6—which were supposed to be written under the immediate influence of the Romantic movement, and which many of Brahms' devotees now dismiss as comparatively unimportant. Personally I think this depreciation of the early opera requires to be re-examined, as I shall presently try to prove, but it is notable that Schumann "proclaimed the advent of a genius in whom the spirit of the age should find its consummation and fulfilment—a master by whose teaching the broken phrases should grow articulate and the vague aspirations gather into form and substance."[1]

The latest, and to my mind most weighty, pronouncement upon Brahms is that by Mr Fuller Maitland. He says: "As years go on it is more and more generally realized that he is not only among the great writers, but that he must be assigned a place with the very greatest of them all."

To many, such idolatrous enthusiasm on one side and such sweeping iconoclasm on the other appear quite inexplicable. Why should the modern apostle of music written mainly upon traditional models be the cause of so much controversy and contention? I would ask, may not the mystery be solved by the fact that Brahms was in reality the pioneer of a new style of composition? The answer to this question cannot, of course, be conclusive, but I leave the reflection for those who can discover nothing new in Brahms' style

Now before I venture to express my thoughts upon the question why Brahms is not more readily and generally placed among the great composers, it seems necessary to premise that there are two classes of musical people—one consisting of more or less educated musicians (professional or amateur), the other of what, in default of a better term, I call the ordinary amateur.

The educated musician looks upon a great composer as one whose works are not only great in themselves, but give some new presentment of musical art-work either by evolution or invention one who is not simply an imitator, or a follower in regard to style, the ordinary amateur considers a composer great who writes what *he* thinks is great music, without caring for any new development of style. In fact, the less a composer disturbs preconceived notions, the more popular he

1 Hadow. "Studies in Modern Music."

is with this class. I think all educated musicians who have gone into the matter without prejudice admit that Brahms did write really great music, and all that remains necessary seems to be that they should add to this conviction that Brahms was indeed the leader, the instigator of a new movement. I do not disguise the fact that personally I fully recognize that Brahms *was* the pioneer of a new style—that he developed musical design and combined it with a purified romanticism, and I accept without surprise much of the opposition which the advent of his music must necessarily provoke. I venture to think that if this view of Brahms were more fully recognized, his works would have a much better chance of being appreciated, for besides the mere prestige of novelty which has much to do with popular interest in any sphere of art, the interpreters of it would try to grasp the new elements which, for the most part, at present they are not aware of, or ignore. Are we not tired of the oft-repeated cry that audiences must be "educated up" to the Brahms level? Surely this can only be accomplished through the executants themselves. If they are fully conscious of what they are interpreting, Brahms will soon come to his own. To the acceptance of the works of any great genius there is always an obstacle in the difficulty of adequate interpretation. The majority of music-lovers do not possess the power of assessing the value of music by reading scores, and it is obvious there must be adequate interpretation before it can be appreciated. May it not be the case that many of those who see little or no beauty in Brahms, and hesitate to place him among composers of the first rank, have never heard his music adequately performed? The deep impression made by the Joachim concerts of Brahms' chamber music proves that when his compositions are rendered perfectly, with a devout reverence for, and true conception of, his style, success invariably follows.

We must confess that his compositions are difficult to interpret. I do not refer so much to the technical difficulties which beset them, as to the enormous intellectual and spiritual difficulties which they present to those who have not grasped the full import of his message. Our conductors and public performers as a rule have not had opportunities, nor indeed the incentive, to appreciate any development of musical design beyond that enunciated by Beethoven. They have, it is true, exploited the Romantic school with superlative efforts, but notwithstanding their enormous personal technical powers, they have not, with few exceptions, as yet proved themselves to possess that power of expression and interpretation, that deep insight into the possibilities of the further development of organic design combined with the artistic spirit of romanticism, which the exposition of Brahms' works demands.

I can imagine that some will say, "Surely our conductors and performers are able to give us splendid performances of Beethoven, and he surely combined these two different species of style?" But I maintain that in Brahms we have a further development of Beethoven's manipulation of beauty of outline, and we must also remember that what we now call romanticism can only be discerned in Beethoven's works dimly; it is the light of dawn, not of noontide! In Brahms we have the most difficult problem which has ever been presented to us, the unmistakable combination of two apparently antagonistic styles—the classical and the romantic. Of the latter it may be said that its popularity is at present unbounded—it has been paramount for the last sixty years—and not only has it, through Wagner's genius, revolutionized Opera, but it has permeated everything musical. Moreover, the development of the Romantic school has had all the advantages of the increase of instrumental resources, not only in regard to the progressive skill of the players, but also to the improvement of the instruments. On the other hand, the Classical school is unpopular, and further, it has, to a certain extent, lain dormant since Beethoven's time. Is it any wonder that the fusion of these styles should be difficult of comprehension? I need not enlarge upon this point. I will only repeat that personally I consider the reason why only a comparative minority of musical people appreciate Brahms, is because so few performers of his works realize the nature of his message to the world of music.

Hitherto I have been chiefly concerned in pointing out why Brahms' position is not more thoroughly realized by the educated musician. Now I hope you will allow me to refer to one or two reasons why, in my opinion, his music is not accepted by the ordinary amateur, to whom the subtleties of style are not so important. First of all, it is deficient in some of those characteristics which constitute main elements of popularity at the present day. One of the greatest appeals to popularity is personality, not of the composer, mark you! but of the conductor and the performer. In romantic music there is copious room for this element, and it is just the exciting anticipation to hear how Mr. So-and-So will read the work he essays to perform, that is so attractive. Why is it that some of our eminent pianists utterly fail when they attempt Beethoven? Is it not that they try to intrude that aggressive personality which they are accustomed, and are expected, to exhibit in playing Schumann and Chopin? So they fail with Brahms, for with him self-abnegation is even more absolutely necessary, the identity of the executant must be entirely lost in the work he interprets. So, what with the absence, on one hand, of the performer's personality, or, on the other, the incongruous and ludicrous

effect of its presence, performances of Brahms do not often excite the enthusiasm of the ordinary amateur. Then there is another and more important reason for this alleged want of popularity Brahms' orchestral music does not furnish us with many new sensations In striking out fresh paths of expression his particular effects of orchestral *colour* are very few and far between. Orchestral music, in which "the mode of expression is more important than the ideas expressed" is nowadays the particular phase which the majority of musical people most appreciate. Take, for instance, Wagner and Tschaikowsky; their works will always attract large audiences (I am not regarding, in any way, the intrinsic worth of their compositions), and this attraction may be said to be due mainly to the fact that these composers have given us characteristically novel expositions of the expressive power of the orchestra Brahms can hardly be said to have accomplished this; he seemed oblivious or careless of the possibilities of new beauties of orchestral colour *as such*, he probably considered that orchestration was only *one* of the departments of art, and not by any means the highest. I cannot altogether agree with the able admirer of Brahms who, referring to this matter, says that orchestration "is in a very definite sense the lowest department of technique," that it is "simply a frame to the picture", to me it is the colour of the picture; however, this does not concern us now. Brahms chamber music may never have been surpassed, his pianoforte music may be stamped with conspicuous individuality, his symphonies may exhibit the wonderful possibilities of the development of classic form wedded to romantic expression, in fact he may have, and I believe he has, done more for the preservation and advancement of pure instrumental music than any composer of modern times. He may be one of the greatest song writers the world has ever known His choral works—the "German Requiem," the "Schicksalslied," the "Harzreise," the "Triumphlied"—and his part-songs may rank as high, if not higher, than anything ever produced in the field of choral art, but these manifestations of genius will, even when intelligently performed, never be appreciated by the ordinary amateur until he moderates his passion for exciting sensational music, expressed in brilliant orchestral colour, and enhanced by exaggerated emotional contrasts. I would even go a step farther. Even if Brahms *had* cared to study the colour-making constituents of the orchestra, I doubt whether his orchestral writing would be approved by the ordinary amateur, who is simply enamoured of some of the worst features of programme music, for, notwithstanding Prof. Niecks' clever, and, may I say, fascinating paradox, that Brahms was a writer of programme music, I think most of us will continue to look upon him

rather as the great composer of absolute music. The favourite distinction between "programme music" and "absolute music" is always unsatisfactory and often misleading, owing to the ambiguity of the terms used. I need hardly say, however, that titles affixed to certain movements do not necessarily bring them under the category of programme music in the commonly accepted sense of the phrase. Surely romantic music is not necessarily programme music, although they both belong to the school of direct expression.

There is another circumstance which I think militates against Brahms' popularity. The ordinary amateur is repelled by what he imagines to be a certain Pharisaism exhibited in the cult, fashionable especially among University men, which affects the exaltation of this composer to the disparagement of all other modern writers. He doubtless thinks that this attitude on the part of Brahms' votaries is due to a desire to pose as musically more intellectual than ordinary mortals. So in literature, thirty years ago Browning was the shibboleth and the criterion of intellectuality. That sort of Brahms-worship which consists merely of intellectual pose will probably go the way of the Browning Societies, but, though the efficacy of true championship may be impaired for a time by the exaggerations of these champions, the tactics of advocacy after all matter little in the long run. Romantic music has been defined as that which "puts the interests of expression definitely before the interests of structure." If this be true, many will ask, "How is it possible to recognise in Brahms the presence of romanticism at all?" Of course it may really be that any further development of the combination of styles which he attempted is impracticable, and that the Beethoven style must die with Beethoven, leaving us only the Romantic school, which is fast "running to seed." I am aware that its latest offshoot, the new tonal system promulgated by Debussy, Max Reger and, to a certain extent, by Strauss, is one which in many respects commands (perhaps even deserves) our attention, and it is possible that this, to me, somewhat monotonous new school of composition, which seems to threaten the annihilation of all key tonality, is to be the nucleus of a new departure which will be an important step in the evolution of our art. That it possesses a certain amount of fascination cannot be denied, nor can we help acknowledging that even in its infancy it is eschewing some of the more inartistic elements of the Romantic school. But we are so entirely wedded to the present tonality that I should not be greatly surprised if the latest development of vagueness and restlessness does not prove to be a dying gasp! I cannot fully sympathise with the attempt to ignore the evolution of the qualities which are necessary to any art-work, viz., beauty of design

and warmth of expression. Brahms showed us that these two were capable of being associated. Anyone who gives thought to the matter must admit that since his death, ten years ago, his position has vastly improved in this country and in America. As time goes on there will come more comprehensive and intelligently adequate performances of his works, with the result that they will become more and more appreciated, and so confirm, ever more surely, the belief that the principles which he adopted have laid the foundation for a new era of music, which will save our art from the injurious effects of a too persistent pursuit of that romanticism the dawn of which was so charmingly full of the brightest hopes for the future.

It is not my intention to inflict upon you any further considerations on the question why I think Brahms has not yet, in the opinion of the majority, attained to the position which he seems to deserve. I will only refer to a department of his work which, more than any other, has suffered from the criticism even of some of his admirers: I mean his early pianoforte compositions. Some of this criticism seems merely to follow conventional lines. Nearly every writer on Brahms seems to depreciate, more or less, these early Opus numbers, 1 to 10. Opus 11 is looked upon as the starting-point of Brahms' artistic career. No doubt the Serenade in D major does mark a transition period of his life's work; from that onward he was more thoroughly under the influence of the "formal perfection" of Beethoven, but when the dearth of sterling pianoforte music is considered, it seems unfortunate that at least the Pianoforte Sonatas Op. 1, 2 and 5, which to my mind contain much of the beauty of Brahms' style, should be so little appreciated and so carelessly criticised. The fact is, these first ten Opera are lumped together as being written under the influence of the Romanticists, and therefore they are "out of bounds." I admit that thirty years afterwards he did revise the Trio, Op. 8, and this one immature work seems to be the peg upon which to hang the argument that in none of these early works did he announce his style with original conception. That some of his songs, Op. 3, 6 and 7, are irreproachable, seems to have escaped notice altogether. The writer of a very valuable paper on Brahms, read before this Association, says that his early pianoforte works are "steeped in Schumann"; that the Pianoforte Sonatas, Op. 1, 2 and 5, as far as structural technique is concerned, "show little or no indebtedness to Beethoven," and, when compared with Brahms' later style, we see "how great are their structural defects."

The author of "From Grieg to Brahms" states that the three Sonatas and the Ballads, Op. 10, are frequently turgid in

emotion and ill considered in form. Another esteemed author, whose recent book on Brahms I value very highly, tells us that his early works exhibit romantic tendencies, a leaning towards the music of the future, and yet he goes on to say that they are characterized by an over-maturity, a leaning toward over-display of erudition. Excessive scholarship is not usually associated with romantic tendencies. Of course Brahms is afterwards patted on the back by being told that these dreadful tendencies were eventually controlled by the chastening influence of his massive intellect. Deiters talks of the "gulf which separates Opera 1-10 from the succeeding ones," and suggests that in his early works he may be reprimanded for a lavish expenditure of thought, a certain licence of imagination and a tendency to overstep the line of beauty by his daring combinations. Then, having satisfied conventional demands, he proceeds to exhort us to study the development of the first movement of Sonata, Op. 1 "and say if we find anything lacking in originality, expression, or beauty of form", he bids us look at the second movement of this Sonata, the Scherzo of the second Sonata, &c.; and he affirms we shall truly say that "in genuine sentiment, in harmony and in richness of colour, Brahms has scarcely ever again equalled these works." Again, in speaking of the early songs, he says "the majority of them are so clear, so truly inspired so pure in form, that it will be difficult to make a distinction between them and his later works." Remember, this is the writer who points out to us "the gulf which separates Opera 1-10 from the succeeding ones."

Please remember that all the writers I have recently quoted are "within the fold," are more or less admirers of Brahms, and admit the importance of the meaning of his later style. That nearly all of them seem to contradict themselves gives me confidence to express my personal opinion, that the usual depreciation of Brahms' early compositions is, as I have said, a mere matter of conventionality; none the less it has undoubtedly had a harmful tendency in regard to Brahms' reputation. I was delighted some years ago to hear one learned and impartial critic (Dr. Maclean) express his opinion that Brahms was one of the very few great composers who announced their own idioms from their earliest works.

You will remember that Schumann was rapturous in his appreciation of these works. It is evident that he looked upon Brahms as the genius who should "direct the art into new paths." Schumann said, referring to these early opus numbers, he had never heard anything before like Brahms' music. Is it not significant that Schumann himself attempted to adapt romantic ideas to the classic form of the Sonata in his Pianoforte Sonatas, Op. 11 and 22, and also in his D minor Trio; and may it not have been that the small success which

rewarded his efforts led him the more readily to appreciate Brahms' success in this direction ?

It would be useless for me to attempt to prove, in the few minutes at our disposal, that much of the criticism to which I have referred is uncalled for. Just think of refuting the assertions that these works belong entirely to the Romantic school; that they are steeped in Schumann; that they show no indebtedness to Beethoven; that they are frequently turgid in emotion, ill-considered in form, that they overstep the line of beauty, contain great structural defects, &c.!

It seems to me that the meaning of all this is that even his admirers contend that in these early compositions Brahms did not announce his particular style, viz., the association of organic design with the romantic element. Now I take it that the presence of the latter element, as conveying the sense of poetical suggestion by musical means, is admitted. I need not therefore argue that point, but I should like to try to show, however feebly, that this music does indeed also conform to the demands of organic design. I am quite aware that orthodox subject-matter, or indeed structural outline, in themselves do not satisfy the exigencies of musical form; there must be balance of keys, unity and proportion, not to mention other qualities. I shall, however, only attempt to prove that the structural defects in these Sonatas, Op. 1, 2, 5, are not "crying ones," and though Dr. Markham Lee will be sadly handicapped by having to play isolated movements and disjointed extracts, I shall leave him to demonstrate to you the fact that in other ways they do not deserve the disparagement to which they have been subjected.

(Dr. Harding gave a detailed analysis of the Pianoforte Sonatas, Op. 1, 2, 5, several movements of which were played upon the pianoforte by Dr. Markham Lee.)

In conclusion, I must again disclaim any purpose of attempt to furnish you with clearer insight into Brahms' music on the whole, or to assess the final value of it. I do not think it matters whether in any department he was absolutely unrivalled, whether his works contain technical faults, whether what his devotees call profundity is rather obscurity, and due sometimes to inability to express his thoughts, rather than to the profundity of the thoughts themselves, &c. I think it much more important that we should try and discover whether he has "assimilated all that is best in a previous tradition, and has himself advanced that tradition towards a fuller and more perfect development," than that we should try to defend him from all adverse criticism. I admit he had his dull moments. For myself, much of Mozart I have heard is dull, and much of Handel and Haydn, little of Bach, and of Beethoven nothing as yet; of Wagner only the "Philadelphia" March and the Overture to "Rienzi," which

are indeed monstrous deserts with one or two bars of oasis. The question upon which I have ventured to give you my random thoughts is *not* whether Brahms has, in all respects and on all points, successfully carried out his noble aims, but whether, notwithstanding his present lack of general popularity, some causes of which I have tried to give, he is indeed the revealer of a new style which combines those elements without which music must become a decadent art. If he is this, I would point out how desirable it is that the pronouncement of this fact should be made with all possible force, for upon its recognition very largely depends the attainment of that consummation which is so much to be desired, viz., that his works shall become more widely known and appreciated.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—You will all agree with me in thanking Dr. Harding for his very interesting and instructive paper. I am sure you will all voice that unanimously, and I do not think we need put it to the vote. At the same time we must also thank Dr. Markham Lee for having undertaken his task at such short notice, and for having played those examples with so much taste. There are a few remarks I should like to make on the subject. Dr. Harding said at the beginning of his paper that there was always a contention about a great man, and that is perfectly true; and in the case of Brahms, I think there is a special reason why there should be more contention about his reputation than in the case of any other composer. At the time when Brahms lived there was a great wave of realism going over the world that found its expression in the opera and later in programme music. Now Brahms was not a programmist in any sense. He was an idealist. The great aim of programmists is to find a story in everything the composer says, and they find this very difficult in Brahms' works—rightly so, because no story was ever intended. Music parted off into two streams, one, that of realism, which has found its latest exponent in Richard Strauss, and the other, that of absolute music, which has found its greatest exponent in Brahms. Then again the difficulty of performing Brahms' works is a great obstacle in the way of their becoming popular. As regards Brahms' orchestral works, he is the most difficult composer to conduct that I

ever came across, because there is hardly ever any attempt at sensuous effects. His orchestration is simply subservient to the character of the music, and therefore a conductor cannot get those delightful effects that he is so fond of. If he tries it on with Brahms he at once gives a wrong interpretation. On the other hand, the tendency of many conductors of Brahms' music is to make it dull. He was a very big man. All his subjects are big subjects, and it requires a man with a fine mind to cope with work like that. So in Brahms' pianoforte music there are great difficulties to overcome; the bigness of the conception alone makes it very difficult for the ordinary performer. He did not go in for orchestral colour, nor for the matter of that for pianoforte colour. His great idea was the expression of what he felt. At the same time anyone who is not prejudiced must admit that in his works there are some of the finest examples that can be found of such expression. His songs, his "Requiem," and his pianoforte music are all intensely great. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to bend the bow of Ulysses. Brahms, you must remember, came after Beethoven. And after contemplating Beethoven's work in Sonata and Symphony, you feel there cannot be much beyond it. Brahms was certainly somewhat heavily handicapped in this respect. I am very glad Dr. Harding noted one point in Brahms' form, and that is the symmetry in the whole of the work produced by the relation of the subjects. While other composers had made experiments in this direction, Brahms made it an essential part of his system.

Mr. Langley.—I should like to make a few remarks on this very interesting paper. First let me say how thoroughly pleased I was to hear Dr. Harding dissociate Brahms from the name of Schumann. That his name was connected with Schumann's I suspect was due to Schumann having been the first to recognize Brahms' genius; and at that time when Brahms' works were not known, what is more likely than that those who wished to exploit the works of Brahms should avail themselves of Schumann's opinion? But, as Dr. Harding has shown, nothing is really farther from the truth than that Brahms was really a romanticist in the sense that Schumann was. Then, referring to Dr. Harding's placing of Brahms as a romanticist, I note that he said that in the romanticism of Beethoven we were at the dawn, and in Brahms we were at the noon.

Dr. Harding.—I never said that. It was certainly not my intention to associate Brahms with the full light of present-day romanticism.

Mr. Langley.—Well, in romanticism I am inclined to put Beethoven on a somewhat higher level. Dr. Harding's definition of romanticism was, I think, the interest of the expression raised above the interest of the structure. That

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is a very good idea. Now in Brahms' works so much of the interest lies in the structure, *e.g.*, metamorphosis of themes. I think I am quite justified in such a statement, and indeed supported in it, by the way in which Dr. Harding has brought it out in his analysis of the pianoforte sonatas. Therefore, Beethoven is more romantic than Brahms. Dr. Harding also referred to certain similarities between bits of these sonatas and previous works. I do not know whether Brahms reproduced these things unconsciously or not, but they are very frequent in these works. First, I would draw attention to the Intermezzo in Op. 5. How very strongly that smells of Wagner's "Tristan" and "Götterdämmerung" in certain passages constructed on the chords of the major 9th and minor 9th. Then in the *Scherzo* of the same sonata the opening strain is almost identical with that of the *Finale* of Mendelssohn's C minor Pianoforte Trio. Also the second part of the *Scherzo* of Op. 1 reminds me very strongly of a passage with which I am very familiar, occurring, I believe, in Beethoven or Mendelssohn, I cannot for the moment recall the exact reference. Then with regard to his structure, there is another matter I would call attention to, *viz.*, the question of balance in tonality. I wonder whether it has ever struck anyone present that the *Finale* of the F minor Sonata really ends in effect in the dominant. The context always leaves in my mind the impression of a close in a dominant, and that to restore the balance another phrase is wanted closing in the key of B flat. I very much appreciate Dr. Harding's efforts to encourage enthusiasm on behalf of Brahms' works. He arose at a time when his work was greatly needed, and I am sure we ought all to be grateful to the man who would recall us to the paths of true art, when so many are being led aside by that spurious form of music—effects in sound. All of a piece with this false view of musical language is that tendency to a chromatic *genus* without recognition of any tonic, which Dr. Harding thought was coming. These and their kindred devices are doubtless resorted to because the writers have nothing genuine to say, and therefore, to show some pretence of novelty, they give us merely new colouring, not any ideas. It is like a man trying to be a second Shakespeare by inventing a new language. It is quite possible that Brahms may never be as popular as Beethoven, probably because so many of the beauties of his works are only revealed by very close study, and because he does not make that direct appeal that Beethoven does.

Dr. SOUTHGATE.—Dr. Harding spoke of the classical form becoming dormant after the death of Beethoven. I think he was surely nodding, as Homer does sometimes. Surely he must remember the name of Mendelssohn. However much romanticism you may find in his music, you will

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certainly find a large amount of classicism, and that of the most perfect form, so far as my judgment goes. Dr. Harding has chiefly confined his attention to Brahms' pianoforte pieces and has not said much about his works for orchestra. For our acquaintance with these we are mainly indebted to the late Sir August Manns. When director of the Crystal Palace orchestra he was the first to perform here Brahms' Symphonies, and he gave them again and again. I know myself many who thought they were turgid and involved and over orchestrated. But in time they became converted, and acquired a liking for Brahms and his music which I am sure they would never have had or, at any rate, not till considerably later, had it not been for the famous Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts. In Brahms' orchestration there are none of those colour contrasted effects that you get in Tschaikowsky, but still there are effective passages as regards the employment of various instruments. Let me recall to you that very remarkable series of Variations on a Theme by Haydn. I used to think them most delightful to listen to. There he uses the double bassoon with extraordinary effect. That is a bit of orchestral colouring for which I think we should give him credit. Our audiences are now somewhat more educated with regard to Brahms, and I think they will become still more so. With regard to the *Andante* that was so beautifully played by Dr. Markham Lee, Dr. Harding, I thought, dismissed it rather curtly from the programme music type with the remark that it was headed by some verses which deal with moonlight. I do not think he could have observed the second line, "Da sind zwei Herzen in liebe vereint." Certainly there were two loving hearts there, and I hope my friend has not yet lost his feeling for that emotional condition of mind. I cannot think that Brahms inserted those lines at the head of his music without some purpose of elucidation of his music text.

Dr. Markham Lee.—Several things Dr. Harding said interested me very much indeed. I know that a Musical Association audience does not need educating up to an appreciation of Brahms, and therefore I do not feel so uncomfortable as I might have done seeing that I have been the unworthy exponent of his music. At the same time I do not know that I quite agree with what has been said about the executant rendering Brahms' works palatable. The ordinary amateur who goes to a concert and hears certain things may get to like them, but I do not think he will ever get the same appreciation for them that he would by studying them. For my part I would give Brahms' pieces even to pupils who had no hope of learning to play them really well. I believe it is the student who will appreciate Brahms rather than the hearer. With regard to his orchestral music there

are some very beautiful things; but I must say that when I hear his Symphonies I feel he might almost as well have expressed his ideas by the string quartet, or possibly the pianoforte or the organ. They do not seem to stand in absolute need of orchestral technique for their interpretation. They are not the sort of music that can only be expressed by the medium of the orchestra. Tschaikowsky's or Richard Strauss's orchestral works can only adequately be rendered on the orchestra, just as truly as most of Chopin's works can only be expressed on the pianoforte. I am sorry that all the learned gentlemen present have had a slap at programme music. They do love to tease it. But after all there is a lot of very good stuff in programme music that can never be expressed in the old classical forms. What amuses me is that Dr. Trotter and Mr. Langley should say they do so admire the symmetry of Brahms' last Sonata, in that its structure depends so much upon the constant use of a single idea. Why, what are all the tone-poems of Richard Strauss but the use of the same themes over and over again? In "Zarathustra" Strauss does this far more than Brahms does I fail to see the logic of my opponents' position in decrying programme music for the very same reason to which they give praise to Brahms. Dr. Harding, in a very eloquent peroration, gave us to understand how extremely individual all Brahms' writing was; and then he came to the pianoforte and showed us how much Brahms was indebted to Beethoven This seemed to me rather inconsistent. There are various little points in Dr. Harding's analysis in which I do not quite agree with him. If you will refer to your copies of Op. 5, you will see he pointed out the return of the first subject as coming on the fourth line on page 6 To my mind it is on the second line of page 6 that the return commences (in the bass). There are various other trifles of non-agreement, but these need not be discussed now. It will suffice if I add my quota of thanks to Dr. Harding for his excellent and helpful paper.

Dr. SOUTHGATE.—It is not so much the programme music as the programme that we object to. The programme of Sir Sterndale Bennett's "Maid of Orleans" is something very different from the programme of a certain gentleman whom I will not name, who has given us such things as the imitation of a coffee-mill at work.

THE CHAIRMAN.—What I object to is people sticking programmes into what is not programme music

Dr. HARDING.—There are two questions raised by Mr. Langley to which I must reply. First of all I never said that "in Brahms we were at the noontide of romanticism," my exact words were "What we now call romanticism can only be discerned in Beethoven's works dimly, it is the

light of dawn, not of noontide." I did not mean to say that the noontide was what we find in Brahms, but what prevails at the present day. Then, doubtless from want of clearness on my part, Mr. Langley did not understand that one of the definitions I gave of romantic music (the interests of expression being put above the interests of structure) was not my own, and that I had, in fact, tried to show that such a definition was rather an impossible one! In reply to Dr. Southgate, I was referring to the *development* of classical forms since Beethoven's time compared to the development of romanticism. I was perhaps a little too emphatic and I should have said "to a certain extent the *development* of the classical school has lain dormant since Beethoven's time but for Brahms." I certainly think it has, notwithstanding the classicism found in Mendelssohn's works. As far as I am concerned, I fail to perceive the need for Dr. Markham Lee's spirited defence of programme music. I am not conscious of saying one word against programme music, or, in this connection, against Richard Strauss or any of his school. Before I sit down I wish to thank you very much indeed for the attention you gave to the reading of my little paper, and I should also like to thank Dr. Yorke Trotter for the charming way in which he has presided over this meeting.

APPENDIX.

List of Contents for the sixth, seventh and eighth years of the publications of the International Musical Society.

[E = English, F = French, G = German I = Italian]

ZEITSCHRIFT (Monthly Journal).

In addition to the Leading Articles specified below, each number of the ZEITSCHRIFT (about fifty pages royal 8vo) contains information, written either in German, English, French or Italian according to source of origin, under the following heads —(a) Music reports from various countries, by Special Correspondents (b) News about Lectures, (c) News connected with Academical Institutions (d) Occasional Notes (e) Reviews of all important Books on Music appearing throughout the world, (f) Reviews on Music, (g) Catalogue of all important Articles appearing in the Musical Press throughout the world, about 200 monthly, (h) Record of Booksellers' Catalogues, (i) Queries and Answers among members, (j) Comments on previous articles by members, (k) Official proceedings of Branches

N B —Prefixed to each month's Journal is an "English Sheet" giving abstracts of the German matter, etc

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Report on the Reorganisation of the Society (G.)
The Aims of the International Musical Society, an address (G.)—H. Kretzschmar (Berlin)
New General Regulations of the Society (G.)
A German Music College at Prague in 1616 (G.)—E. Rychnovsky (Prague)
Music of the Caucasus (F.)—B. D. Korganow (Tiflis)
Tchaikovsky's Early Lyrical Operas (E.)—Rosa Newmarch (London)
Swiss Festivals (G.)—A. Thürlings (Berne).

PART 2. NOVEMBER, 1904

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Peter Cornelius, Man and Artist (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).
African Instruments (E.)—A. S. Rose (London).
Second Bach Festival at Leipzig (G.)—R. Münnich (Berlin).
Second Music Educational Congress at Berlin (G.)—G. Borchers (Leipzig).
Graun's "Montezuma" (G.)—A. Heuss (Leipzig).

PART 3. DECEMBER, 1904.

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Address to Local Branches of the Society (G.)—H. Kretzschmar (Berlin).
A lost work of Bach's (G.)—F. Spiro (Rome).
Liszt as Pianoforte Writer (E.)—F. Niecks (Edinburgh).
Should Bach's Motetts be Accompanied? (G.)—A. Haass (Leipzig).
Music Piracy (E.)—C. Maclean (London).

PART 4. JANUARY, 1905.

Is Handel's "St. John Passion" Genuine? (E.)—E. D. Rendall (Godalming).
Music and the Plastic Art (G.)—C. H. Richter (Geneva).
A Musical Humoristic Poem (F.)—J. G. Prod'homme (Paris).

PART 5. FEBRUARY, 1905.

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The Music of Classical Antiquity (G.)—H. Riemann (Leipzig).

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Robert Eitner, deceased (G.)—A. Gohler (Leipzig).
The Question of the Concerto (F.)—J. G. Prod'homme (Paris).
Regarding English Glees (E.)—J. Spencer Curwen (London).
Instrumental Works of Melchior Franck and V. Hausmann (G.)—A. Heuss (Leipzig).

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Peter the Great and Russian Music (G.)—N. D. Bernstein (Petersburg).
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A Three-line Stave (G.)—T. Jarichau (Copenhagen).
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The future of the Cadence? (E.)—E. Markham Lee (London).
Works of Hans Leo Hassler (G.)—H. Leichtentritt (Berlin).
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The Schumann Commemoration (G.)—H. Abert (Halle).
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Part 12. September, 1906

Further Notice as to Basle Congress (G.).
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The Dalcroze Training Method (G.)—H. Hammer (Gottenborg).
Music Cataloguing (G.)—H. Springer (Berlin).

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EIGHTH YEAR.

PART 1. OCTOBER, 1906.

Basle International Congress, Official Report (G.)
Joseph Lanner's Waltzes as Folk-songs (G.)—Blümml and Zoder (Vienna)
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Mozart Festival at Salzburg (G.)—Fr. Spiro (Rome)
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Animals, effect of music on (E.)

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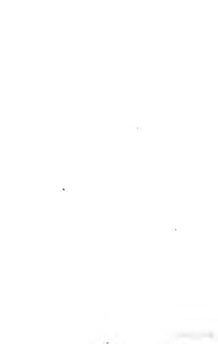

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