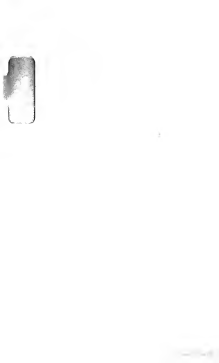
Proceedings

Royal Musical Association, International ...



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Indexed

Music
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MUSIC

IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONALE MUSIKGESELLSCHAFT.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

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

FOUNDED MAY 29, 1874.

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1899-1900.

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RULES AND REGULATIONS

Passed at Six Special General Meetings, held on February 7 and April 3, 1876, on January 6, 1879, on December 6, 1886, on June 2, 1890, and on January 7, 1895.

OBJECTS AND CONSTITUTION.

1. THIS Association is called the "MUSICAL ASSOCIATION" and is formed for the investigation and discussion of subjects connected with the Art, Science, and History of Music, and is intended to be similar in its organisation to existing Learned Societies.

It is not intended that the Association shall give concerts, or undertake any publications other than those of their own Proceedings, or the Papers read at their Meetings.

MEMBERS.

2. The Association shall consist of practical and theoretical musicians, as well as those whose researches have been directed to the science of acoustics, the history of the art, or other kindred subjects.

Any person desirous of being admitted into the Association must be proposed by two members. Foreigners resident abroad and distinguished in the Art, Science, or Literature of Music may be nominated by the Council for election as Honorary Members of the Association.

Elections will take place by ballot of the members present at any of the ordinary meetings, and one adverse vote in four shall exclude.

No newly elected member shall be entitled to attend the meetings until the annual subscription be paid.

SUBSCRIPTION.

3. The annual subscription to the Association is one guinea, which shall become due on the 1st of November in each year.

Any member *may*, upon or at any time after election, become a life member of the Association by payment of a composition of £10 10s. in lieu of future annual subscriptions, but in addition to any annual subscription previously paid or due from such member. Such sums shall from time to time be invested in legal security in the names of Trustees, to be appointed by the Council.

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, otherwise he shall be liable for his subscription for the ensuing year.

MEETINGS.

4. An ordinary meeting shall be held on the second Tuesday in every month, from November to June inclusive, at 5 P.M., when, after the despatch of ordinary business, Papers will be read and discussed, the reading to commence not before 5.20 P.M.

5. An annual general meeting of members only shall be held at the end of the financial year, to receive and deliberate on the Report of the Council, and to elect the Council and officers for the ensuing year.

6. Special general meetings may be summoned whenever the Council may consider it necessary; and they shall be at all times bound to do so on receiving a requisition in writing from five members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. At least one week's notice of such special meeting shall be given by circular to every member, and ten members present at any general meeting shall constitute a quorum.

7. Every member shall have the privilege of introducing one visitor at the ordinary meetings, on writing the name in a book provided for that purpose, or sending a written order.

COMMUNICATIONS.

8. Papers proposed to be read at the meetings may treat of any subject connected with the Art, Science, or History of Music, Acoustics, and other kindred subjects.

Papers will be received from or through any member of the Association.

Experiments and performances may be introduced, when limited to the illustration of the Paper read.

9. All communications read will become thenceforth the property of the Association (unless there shall have been some previous arrangements to the contrary), and the Council may publish the same in any way and at any time they may think proper.

REPORTS.

10. A Report of the Proceedings of the Association, including the Papers read or abstracts of the same, and abstracts of the Discussions, shall be printed and distributed to the members as soon as possible after the end of each session.

This Report will be arranged and edited by the Secretary, under the direction of the Council.

COUNCIL AND OFFICERS.

11. The management of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council, to be elected by ballot at the general meeting of the members.

The Council shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, and ten ordinary members of the Association.

The Secretary of the Association shall be *ex officio* an ordinary member of Council.

The President, Vice-Presidents, Auditors, and five ordinary members of the Council shall retire every year, but shall be eligible for re-election.

12. At the annual general meeting, the Council shall present a balloting list, showing the names of the persons

whom they propose for the offices of President, Vice-Presidents, and ordinary members of Council for the ensuing year. A copy of this list shall be given to each member present.

In voting, each member may erase any name or names from the balloting list, and may substitute the name or names of any other person or persons whom he considers eligible for each respective office, but the number of names on the list, after such erasure or substitution, must not exceed the number to be elected to the respective offices as above enumerated. Those lists which do not accord with these directions shall be rejected.

The Chairman of the meeting shall cause the balloting papers to be collected, and after they have been examined by himself and two scrutineers, to be appointed by the members, he shall report to the meeting the result of such examination, and shall then destroy the balloting papers. Auditors shall be appointed at the annual general meeting by the members, and the statement of accounts shall be sent by the Treasurer to the Auditors, and be remitted by them to the Secretary in time to enable the Council to judge of the prospects of the Association, and to prepare their report in accordance therewith.

13. The Council and officers shall meet as often as the business of the Association may require, and at every meeting three members of Council shall constitute a quorum.

ENACTMENT OR ALTERATION OF RULES AND REGULATIONS.

14. No rules and regulations can be enacted, altered, or rescinded, except at a special meeting of members summoned for the express purpose, the summons stating distinctly and fully the matter to be brought under consideration.

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MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

(IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONALE MUSIKGESELLSCHAFT)

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

FOUNDED MAY 29, 1874.

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Those who are also Members of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft are indicated by an * to their names

MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1898-99.

REPORT.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the Royal College of Organists on Tuesday, November 14, 1899:

Sir John Stainer in the Chair.

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

The Council beg leave to present their Report of the Twenty-fifth Session.

Papers have been read by Dr. Shinn, Dr. Sawyer, Mr. Henry Davey, Dr. W. J. Treutler, Mr. D. J. Blaikley, Mr. Towry Piper, Dr. Ernest Walker, Mr. William Wallace, and Mr. Joseph Goddard. The Council desire to express their cordial thanks to these gentlemen for their valuable contributions to the Proceedings of the Association. The papers, with the discussions thereon, have been printed and distributed as usual to the members.

Appended to the volume will be found a complete Index to the Subjects and Writers of the papers which have been read before the Association from its foundation in 1874 to the present time; the Council trust that this will prove useful for purposes of reference. In addition, it is valuable as showing over what a wide field the papers have ranged during the last twenty-five years. It may be recorded that during that period there have been 201 meetings, at which 217 papers or shorter communications have been read, while it is also well to remark that no less than 129 musicians, scientists, historians, and other writers have freely placed the fruits of their labours at the service of the Musical Association. The Council are deeply sensible of the generosity with which their efforts to maintain the high standard and efficiency of the Association have been met, and are confident that everyone seriously interested in the Art and Science of music cannot fail to be struck with the value of the work that has been achieved in the past and that may yet be accomplished in the future.

The Council have pleasure in saying that the Membership of the Association continues to increase satisfactorily.

The finances are in a thoroughly sound condition, and the year closes with a substantial balance in hand. Three Life Subscriptions having been received recently, the amount arising therefrom was invested in accordance with the Rules, together with about £20 from the general funds. The invested funds now consist of £470 consols.

In accordance with the Rules, the President and Vice-Presidents retire from office. Five ordinary Members of Council—Dr. Pearce, Messrs. C. A. Barry, Clifford B. Edgar, A. H. D. Prendergast, and T. L. Southgate—also retire by rotation. All the above officers offer themselves for re-election. The Council remind members of their right to make, in accordance with Rule 12, any other nominations they choose.

On the motion of Mr Belsham, seconded by Mr. Fox, the Report was received and adopted unanimously.

The Hon. Treasurer presented his Statement of Income and Expenditure, which was likewise passed unanimously.

All the retiring Officers were re-elected, and votes of thanks to the Officers of the Association and to the Chairman concluded the Meeting.

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.

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 Secretary.

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 Internationale Musikgesellschaft.'"

The English Committee of the latter Society (International Musical Society) consists of: Sir Hubert Parry (President), Mr. Otto Goldschmidt (Vice-President), Professor Armes, Sir Frederick Bridge, Dr. Cummings, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Dr. Maclean, Mr. Fuller Maitland, Professor Niecks, Professor Prout, Mr. Barclay Squire, Sir John Stainer, Professor Stanford. 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.

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.

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

Hon Treasurer's Statement of Income and Expenditure from October 19, 1898, to October 24, 1899.

Dr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in Hand				84	2	8
,, Subscriptions, 1895-96 (2)	2	2	0			
,, ,, 1896 97 (5) ...	5	5	0			
,, ,, 1897-98 (11)	11	11	0			
,, ,, 1898 99 (123) ...	129	3	0			
,, ,, 1899 1900, in advance (3)	3	3	0			
				151	4	0
,, Life Subscriptions (2)				21	0	0
,, Dividends on Stock				10	16	6
,, Sale of "Proceedings"				2	3	3
,, Tickets for the Dinner (72) ...				18	0	0
				£287	6	5

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Printing—Novello & Co.	74	0	6			
,, C. F. Thorn	21	0	6			
				95	1	0
,, Expenses of Session—						
Room for Meetings	8	8	0			
Refreshments	8	14	0			
Reporting	8	8	0			
				25	10	0
,, Advertising				1	4	0
,, Postages & Petty Cash (Secretary) ...	5	13	2			
,, ,, (Novello & Co.)	2	14	10			
				8	8	0
,, Stationery				1	10	6
,, Bank charges				0	1	3
,, Purchase of Stock				52	16	3
,, Secretary's Salary				30	0	0
,, Dinner (79)				19	15	0
,, Balance in Hand				53	0	5
				£287	6	5

A H D PRENDERGAST,
Hon Treasurer.

Examined and found correct, October 24, 1899.

D. J. BLAIKLEY, } *Hon Auditors*
C BOWDLER, }

NOVEMBER 14, 1899

SIR JOHN STAINER, M.A., D.C.L., MUS.D., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HIGHER BEAUTY OF MUSIC.

By JOSEPH GODDARD.

PART II.

CONTRAST IN SCENIC EFFECT AND IN MUSIC.

IN endeavouring to discover the larger foundations of the influence of music we have had to travel somewhat far into the region of hypothesis; but there are several striking features of its influence which rest on causes closer at hand: in attempting to explain these we stand on firmer ground. One of these features has been already touched upon—namely, the influence of those effects which arise out of the fact that the musical faculties and sensibilities are, so to speak, grafted on those involved in utterance and hearing; the others may, I believe, be explained from a point of view which, whether it be original or not, I have, I believe, taken up independently—namely, the position of hearing among the senses.

Why do we call the sight of things the things themselves, and the sound of things only sounds? Thus in coming within view of the sea we should consider that we spoke precisely if we said "that is the sea." But if we could only hear the sea, yet made the foregoing exclamation, we should know that we were speaking graphically. To speak precisely in the latter circumstances we should say: "that is the sound of the sea." That is to say, the visual effect would stand for the object itself; the auditory effect would only stand for the sound of that object.

At the root of this difference is the following fact: light has the property of giving us a definite impression of all objects which it strikes or from which it proceeds, but our receiving such an impression depends upon the space directly between the object and the eye being clear of any opaque body or medium. Thus it is by means of the visual impression that we acquire that correct knowledge of our practical relation with an object which is necessary in daily life, and hence an inseparability between the two has become established in our minds. Sound, on the other hand, being reflected from an object, brings away no impress of it, and though when the object itself emits the sound this may suggest the object, the two things (the object and the sound) remain distinctly separate to the perception. We may confront directly an instrument which is being played, or a singer in the act of singing, and the result to the ear in either case will be simply a sound—it may be a sound of a particular kind, but it can never be an object. Thus much as to the answer to my question: "Why do we call the sight of things the things themselves, and the sound of things only sounds?"

This answer, however, places us in a position to define fully the difference between a sight and a sound. As the visual impression is to us the object from which it proceeds, in that impression are merged and co-ordinated the experiences of that object which have been acquired by the other senses. Hence the fact referred to and partly explained in the first part of this paper—namely, that various senses contribute to form our ideas of the things we see though we seem to exercise the visual sense exclusively.*

The distinction then between a sight and a sound beyond that involved by different senses being called into activity may be thus defined: the sight is a composite impression, the sound a simple one, the one involves various sensations coalescing into that due to the visual sense, the other is a single sensation—that is to say, a sensation the character of which is pure and unmixed.

CONTRAST IS LESS PERFECT IN MUSIC THAN IN SCENE.

The above considerations help to explain that difference between music and visual effect which consists in the more definite individuality of the various features of the latter; for, notwithstanding the great variety of effect which music is capable of unfolding, it never displays the clearly defined variety of a natural scene or its representation.

The ordinary contrasts as observed by the eye between the various objects of nature are not only unmistakably definite and clear, but they are realised without effort. Take

* P. 165. Proceedings, 1898-99.

the contrast of lake and meadow. There is no contrast in music so complete and yet so *quiet* as this. By quiet contrast I mean a distinct change of impression (bringing, it may be, change of sentiment) without there being a break in the general mood of feeling. The contrast between day and night or between a stormy and a calm sea involves what I term a change of mood. Music can unfold contrast in which there is the change both of sentiment and mood, as in the case of the melody in the opening of the Overture to "Der Freischütz" and the *tremolo* passage which follows; but it cannot unfold the kind of contrast which we realise in looking at lake and meadow.

At the base of this difference is the fundamental fact that the action of the sense of sight is attended naturally with a greater feeling of repose than that of the ear. But there are secondary causes. In the instance of lake and meadow the distinct nature of the contrast is, to a great extent, due to the unique effect of water on the sense of touch combined with the opposite feelings of muscular resistance which water and land produce. The division between these two effects—that is, meadow and water—is further strengthened by the gulf which separates our experiences of the organic and inorganic worlds. This leads me to remark that the contrast between visual impressions is much deepened by the varying sentiments produced by the different associated experiences. With the sight of a house, for instance, are associated not only the sense effects but also certain feelings—such as those of security, shelter and rest, together with the sentiments attaching to home. With the sight of open country are associated both sense impressions and feelings of out-of-door life—such as the feelings of action and effort—as well as those mental sentiments due to the contemplation of nature. Now the various feelings and sensations thus associated with visual impressions contribute towards our realising the latter in the distinct way we do by supplying additional elements of contrast.

By the foregoing remarks I wish to suggest how largely the distinctiveness of visual impressions is due to their composite nature—to the fact that various senses contribute to their formation, and that this is the case not simply in virtue of the proper—the local—action of the senses involved, but also in virtue of the sentiments associated with that action.

Two potent causes, however, of the clear separateness of visual effects still remain to be considered, one relating to physical, the other to physiological circumstances. The first is the permanent individuality of colours. The second is the faculty by means of which we realise mainly difference of form. The general character of a colour is realised when the colour is exhibited alone. This is the case not only with

such different colours as red, green, and violet, but also with intermediate colours. It may be said that musical sounds have also a permanent individuality as degrees of the scale. But the degrees of the scale only compare with the different colours of visual effect in the case of simple themes—of which a single note is an important part. In more elaborate music—where the design is larger—a passage or section would represent more truly that proportion of the effect which is analogous with colour in a scene. Now, however such a passage or section might be calculated to give the impression of individuality, this impression cannot be compared with the easily recognised individuality attaching to a colour. Even in the case of a simple melody, special and trained attention is required to recognise the individuality of each note as a member of the scale. To ordinary ears neither a single note nor any conformation of notes has distinctive character except as part of the *æsthetic* effect of the piece. On the other hand, colours may be said to have for every eye a fixed individuality and familiar character irrespective of the particular elements they contribute to the æsthetic effect.

The reason of this permanent individuality of colours seems to be the existence of a fixed standard of comparison in the effect of white light. The observation of a colour is generally attended by the realisation of white light. There is nothing vague or uncertain about the latter effect; it is unique. White light containing all rays may (notwithstanding the varieties it embraces, each of which stands for it)* be said to be the highest power of light and the strongest stimulus the sense of sight can have. Thus it is the standard with which other effects of light are compared; and being always present and the same for practical purposes, like relations to it are the same and produce each a distinctive sensation.

Whereas, then, in scene the constituent colours have a generally and unfailingly recognised individuality apart from the æsthetic effect, in music the constituent sounds or passages have not. Thus it is that all eyes in looking at an object or scene observe certain well marked differences mechanically—at the first glance; whereas in listening to a piece of music corresponding differences would not be observed without special attention or until the æsthetic effect had become to some extent unfolded.

I now come to the second of the two causes of the distinctiveness of visual impressions—namely, the faculty by which we realise difference of position in space. This faculty, as you are no doubt aware, is based largely on the muscular sense. Although differently shaped objects produce different

* For instance, the white of this paper by candle-light is very different from what it is by day-light, but our conception is the same in both circumstances.

retinal impressions our comprehension of their forms is largely due to the association of muscular actions with those impressions. For instance, we are cognisant largely of the shape of a circular object by the association with a certain retinal impression, of that sweep of the eye-balls which is involved in following the outline of a circle; of an angular object by the association with its retinal impression, of sudden changes of direction in the sweep of the eye-balls. And in looking at a scene and surveying solid objects other muscular actions enter—namely, the action of the ciliary muscle and that involved in bringing about the various necessary degrees of convergence of the axes of the eye-balls; the former being concerned mainly in our realisation of near distances, the latter in our realisation of distances both near and far, and in our comprehension of objects of three dimensions. Further, besides all this action of the delicate muscles connected with the eye, other kinds of muscular activity contribute to our conception of space and form, as when the head and body move in order to extend the sweep of the eye, or when the limbs move in the field of vision. As I have just implied in referring to the convergence of the lines of sight, the close correspondence of the retinal impressions with the details of varied movement is aided by our having two eyes and thus two points of survey. Even when the retinal impression of an object is small enough to be embraced completely by the region of clear vision without muscular movement, our realisation of its form is still associated with the muscular feeling because our ideas of form begin with experiences of the larger kinds of muscular exercise. The fact, then, that two objects give us two distinct impressions involves also this: we perform two respective muscular movements or series of movements, each of which, when the objects are surveyed simultaneously, are again contrasted with another—namely, that involved in glancing from one object to the other. Thus we realise the two objects as occupying two definitely separated places. These are the reasons why two leaves, or two pebbles, whose pure retinal impressions are similar, and whose associated experience must be the same, create in us two clearly defined impressions.

The secondary causes then of the quiet, clear contrast in scene as compared with contrast in music may be thus summed up. I now give the more material ones precedence. First, the action of the eye involves muscular movement out of which arises largely the definiteness of our impressions of difference of position in space and difference of form. Secondly, whereas the colours of nature have each to our sense an abstract individuality obvious to all without effort, and which is conferred by the ever present absolute standard,

white light, the different parts of a musical effect have not. Thus, whereas in a picture, beside the æsthetic contrast of the colours, that arising from their fixed characters is always realised, in a musical composition it is only the æsthetic contrast which in the main is felt. Thirdly, whereas the contrast of musical effects is a contrast of the impressions of a single sense, that of visual effects involves the contrast between the impressions of different senses.

We are now in a position to understand fully why we feel a sense of clear contrast amid perfect repose when we survey ordinary natural scenes. I have alluded to the fact that in music two strongly contrasted effects are generally attended respectively by two different moods of feeling. This is owing to the single character of the auditory impression. As I have already stated, a similar change of mood is produced by light when the simple sensation of light operates alone, as in passing from shadow to sunlight, or when day is contrasted with night. When objects appealing to the eye produce clearly contrasted impressions attended by an undisturbed mood of feeling, it is largely because the associated sensorial impressions—muscular, tactile, or other—involve respectively such differences as create the clearest contrast without the pure retinal impressions being strongly opposed. Thus, in looking at different houses, different animals, different trees, there may be scarcely any difference in the pure light-impressions in each case, yet we have distinctly separate ideas owing to difference of muscular and other sensorial impressions being associated with the light-impression. Even where there is a strong difference in the light sensation, as supposing the glance takes in a lake, and we have the contrast of land and water, the scene is still surveyed in one emotional temper because the pure light-impressions do not involve the extreme differences of light sensation.

DIFFERENCE OF POSITION IN SPACE AS SUGGESTED BY MUSIC.

In referring to that association of muscular actions and retinal impressions which gives us our ideas of form, I mentioned that these ideas begin with experience of the larger kinds of muscular exercise. The history of the process may be as follows:

A child moves its arms and hands in the field of vision, or produces changes in this field by movements of its head or its body. From the association of the muscular feelings involved in these movements with the different impressions produced on the eye it derives its first definite ideas of difference of position in space. Ideas thus formed become subsequently associated exclusively with the finer—the

purely optical—muscular feelings involved in the movements of the eye. The finer muscular feelings are thus, so to speak, educated by the grosser from which, what I may term, our *standard* of difference of position in space is in the first place derived. It is thus not difficult to understand that our appreciation of difference of form begins with comparatively large differences.

Turning to the ear, though we may acquire through it vague ideas of difference of position in space—as when a sound is heard at a distance, or when two sounds proceed from different directions—this organ cannot approach the eye in the discrimination of distance and direction. Being the *passive* recipient of impressions it has, in the case of two or more sounds issuing simultaneously from different points, no power answering to that which the eye possesses in its muscular endowment by means of which it is directed to various retinal effects, each of which thus becomes associated with different portions of a muscular action. But when the voice executes certain pitch-intervals, then certain muscular actions (connected with the larynx) are, so to speak, registered by the auditory sense. To this, I think, is due much of the power which music has of giving us ideas of difference of position in space, and of form. A common experience in listening to music is the distinct suggestion of difference of position in space in the perpendicular dimension. With difference of pitch passing towards acute we associate an upward change of position, and *vice versâ*. This association is probably derived from the fact that in singing comparatively low notes the set of the larynx is such as to direct the vibrations downward to the chest, whilst in singing some high notes the set of the larynx is such as to direct the vibrations towards the head. There are intermediate settings of the larynx which appear to correspond to the different registers, but while each setting prevails, the changes which occur as the notes rise are chiefly directed to an increasing tension of the cords. There is thus no doubt that in the production by a singer of extreme differences of pitch, the sounds are felt to proceed from distinctly different regions of the body in the perpendicular dimension. Whether in singing the scale gradually upward the reverberation actually proceeds from a higher point at each step, as felt, or at what points it does so, seems to one who is neither a physiologist nor a singer to be doubtful. Possibly we only really feel it coming from a relatively higher or lower region in the case of a few different general positions of the larynx, yet this may be sufficient to cause us to associate change of pitch generally with high and low, so that the smallest change of pitch is felt as a change in altitude. That this is also the experience of the listener may, I think, be

explained as follows:—Although laryngeal muscular feelings due to conscious actions only occur in connection with music when we sing, feelings due to that extremely restricted, faint, yet real action which occurs when we think we are only exercising our senses in imagination, might possibly take place in a pure listener—a listener not only to vocal but instrumental music. As the imagining of sounds is considered to be true *inward hearing*, so perhaps actual hearing may be conceived as, to some extent, inward singing.*

Instances of composers suggesting a picture of height by pitch-effect are numerous enough. Thus, in the passage, "The waves stood upright as a heap," in "Israel in Egypt," a series of notes not varying in pitch between themselves stands out from the musical context in virtue of being declaimed at a comparatively high pitch of the voice. Rossini is moved by the same instinct in his "Stabat Mater," at the passage "Dum pendebat filius."

It is possibly on some principle of complementary feeling that passages not characterised by variation in pitch help to suggest the other two dimensions, particularly when used in connection with passages varying in pitch. It seems that as passages which rise or fall in pitch suggest the perpendicular dimension, those passages which contrast with them the most—by prolongation or reiteration of notes—tend to suggest sometimes one, sometimes the other of the two remaining dimensions, both of which contrast as much as possible with the perpendicular. This probably explains the fact that music consisting of passages in which pitch-change *in various degrees* is combined with reiteration or prolongation of some of the notes, may be so devised as to impress us with a comparatively definite feeling of visual form. Thus, in the chorus to which I just referred, Handel represents the waves of the sea by figures rising and falling gradually in pitch, and following one another rhythmically and continuously.

Another idea belonging to the outer world, which music suggests, is motion. This is sometimes due to the effect of rhythmic impact when it proceeds at a perceptible pace. The main reason why this effect, whether in music or poetry,

* This appears less improbable when we consider the very close association that exists between auditory sensations and the voice. Dr. M. Foster says: "They (auditory sensations) are in a way essential to the very utterance of the voice; the dumbness which is so conspicuous a concomitant of congenital deafness is in most cases due not to deficiency in the muscular apparatus or even in the nervous mechanism on what we may call its motor side, but to the lack of afferent (incoming) impulses from the auditory nerve. And in popular language we recognise this dependence of the management of the laryngeal muscles on auditory sensations when we talk of such or such one as 'having no ear.'" Inversely, then, may not auditory sensations when operating alone imbue some feeling of laryngeal action?

suggests motion seems to be that it is a frequent concomitant of motion in the physical world. The triplet figure in the accompaniment to the passage in Mendelssohn's "Elijah," where the words "there came a fiery chariot" occur, is a striking illustration of the suggestiveness of the above three forms of effect in combination :—

The effects of the pitch change and the reiterated notes of the triplet would tend to suggest the chariot wheels (in so far as the mind would receive impressions of form in the upright and horizontal dimensions), whilst the rapid rhythmic repetition of the figure thus formed would tend to suggest their revolution.

But music can suggest motion very vividly without striking effects of rhythmic impact. As in the general world form (or that element of it which involves change of position in space) can be described by motion, so music as it impresses change of position in space can impress a feeling of motion following the form of that change. Perhaps it may be said that this feeling of motion and the visual sense of form mingle or alternate more or less throughout all our experiences of change of pitch in music, the muscular feeling being at the root of both impressions. It is not easy—perhaps it is impossible—to conceive motion without arousing more or less vaguely some action of the visual sense. In music it is possibly where the muscular feeling is relatively strong that the sense of motion supervenes. In the following figure, which comes in both the vocal part and accompaniment of "Waft her, angels," the muscular feeling is invoked in sufficient strength to suggest not only motion but a fine kind of action—

But in the second bar of the Overture to "Der Freischütz" the muscular feeling aroused is very palpable; it not only

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gives rise to the sense of motion, but the motion seems to overcome a certain resistance.

The fact that in listening to music we are not visited with impressions of colour or any effect of light having the definiteness and vividness of those ideas of form and motion which arise in the same circumstances, tends to corroborate the assumption that muscular feeling is the bond between form and motion in the general world and in music.* Light and colour are passive sensations; they can be realised in fulness without muscular action. There is thus no factor in common between the sensations of colour and sound; and thus the muscular feeling which conducts the mind of the listener to music to positive impressions of form and motion does not lead it to similar impressions of colour.

A feeling of spacial breadth and depth is sometimes imbued by change of harmony, as at the word "lay" in the following example—

This kind of effect lends itself to the suggestion of increased largeness in space generally. Probably increased massiveness of feeling produced by the harmonic change suggests the massive impression produced by a vast space.

* It is probably because the muscular setions involved are all internal, do not embrace movements connected with the ear itself, and are registered in that abstract world of sound from which we do not in the main get our impressions of outward things, that the ideas of form which they suggest are partial and impalpable

These likenesses of the general world, though partial and transfigured in relation to that world, are not only perfect and harmonising features of music, but aid largely to articulate its expression. In vocal music and programme music they are rendered additionally vivid by a definite action of the imagination. Observe, for instance, in the following extract from Mendelssohn's "Hear my Prayer," what a limitless new extent of flight is suggested where the soprano part (continuing the ascending movement expressed in the first bar) simply rises through a major third in the second—

THE TENDENCY OF TUNES TO WEAR OUT.

Another peculiarity of music, which perhaps may be to some extent explained by considering the position of hearing among the senses, is the tendency of tunes to wear out. A musical composition, if repeated at comparatively short intervals, soon begins to lose its freshness. Highly original and, when first heard, most striking effects tend, after persistent repetition, to become ultimately stale and vapid. This came upon John Stuart Mill as a disappointing fact, and perhaps few music-lovers have escaped feeling somewhat saddened by it. Effects that thrilled, kindled, enchanted, seem after a certain time trite and flat. It is true that different pieces manifest this tendency in different degrees. Some melodies seem to have escaped the seeds of decay. Frequently it is not the so-called classical strain that wears best, nor does a melody necessarily possess the quality of fadelessness in proportion to its originality. Some distinctly original, sharp cut melodies soon become stale. As a rule the melody which takes a deep root in our admiration is largely pervasive; as well as charming, it penetrates to the depths of feeling; it has in some mysterious way a particularly deep and broad hold upon our susceptibilities. The general fact remains that music grows old. On the other hand, a beautiful visual effect, whether in nature or art, is permanently fresh, permanently attractive; its freshness only declines with the daily ebb of our energies, with their renewal it is daily restored.

MUSIC LOSES ITS FRESHNESS SOONER THAN VISUAL EFFECT, BECAUSE THE FEELINGS OF PHYSICAL LIFE ENTER FAR LESS INTO ITS INFLUENCE.

This decadent principle which lurks in musical beauty seems connected with the single nature of the auditory impression, whilst the ever renewing freshness of visual effect seems connected with its composite constitution. For, as we have seen, a large part of the influence of this latter effect consists of feelings relating to physical life—such, for instance, as arise out of the sensations of light, touch, temperature, and muscular action. I have already referred to the fact that a large range of feeling may be associated with visual effect. In looking at a picture, beyond experiencing the sensations connected directly with sight, we may enjoy ideally the warmth of the sun, the freshness of the atmosphere—of wind or of wave, the sensations of exercise and movement, of rest and repose, and in many ways the feeling of zest in existence. It is the property of feelings which we experience continually or regularly to never pall, though the pleasure attending them may vary from simple absence of unpleasantness to a very luxurious feeling. For the reason that plain food never palls upon the taste—its perfect adaptation to our physical organisation—so, under ordinary circumstances, we never tire of light, of the feeling of the air as it blows upon the skin or as we breathe it, or of the various muscular feelings involved in the actions of daily life. But effects of light and form themselves tend to be felt as insipid or monotonous if all influences are abstracted which appeal to our fundamental physical feelings. Displays of colour unassociated with the physical feelings are rare. The feebly pleasing influence of such displays is evidenced by fireworks. It is not that such effects lack beauty, but compared with effects of colour rich in associations of physical life they lack it to emptiness. In the domain of form not only the main effects of the various styles of architecture, but the details of their ornamentation arose out of principles of construction. These effects must consequently, to some extent, appeal to those physical feelings which are associated with utility. The fact then that those visual influences into which the feelings of organic life enter in a certain fulness and variety do not pall, whilst music, which does not present to us the outer world, soon loses its pristine freshness, seems to suggest that it is to the leaven of organic feeling (which is part of the feeling of life itself) that the former influences owe their vitality, whilst the absence from the musical emotion of definite organic feelings is the cause of its ephemeralness. This explanation may apply to the fact recently alluded to—namely, that the more permanently pleasing melody is, as a

rule, largely pervasive—that it penetrates to the depths of feeling. If there is any truth in Darwin's hypothesis of "inherited association," the permanently pleasing melody depends upon inherited association in a special degree; thus organic feeling enters into its influence—it smacks of physical life—and hence its holding power upon us.

As music differs from painting in not being imitative—in unfolding its own forms—it has been compared to the arts of architecture and design. In the above respects music certainly resembles these arts. There is, however, this difference: the idea of utility enters largely into architecture and design, and as this idea alone tends to lend a certain dignity to that with which it is associated, it may impart an element of strength to the æsthetic effect of the above arts which, nevertheless, are still in this position: to the us infinite splendour and variety of nature dwarfs and dims all human devised forms of visual impression. Hence, notwithstanding the great impressiveness which architecture and design may have, we cannot help regarding the scope of visual effect in these directions as comparatively limited. Music, on the other hand, does not suffer from nature having already developed to the limits of our conception the species of effect to which it belongs. Though then there is a certain analogy between music and the above arts, their respective effects cannot be compared.

THE LIMITATION INVOLVED IN MUSIC BEING THE WORLD OF A SINGLE SENSE, IS A SOURCE OF ITS POWER.

The consideration here arises that the very limitation involved in music being the world of a single sense is a source of its power. Music has been always considered peculiarly fit to attend such ideas as eternity, immortality; allusions to that which no eye has seen—to another world; that is to say, the religious and poetic order of ideas. Now its fitness in this connection has much to do with its freedom from other sense associations. It attends the idea of the infinite with peculiar effect, because it is free from many features of the finite; it suggests the spiritual the more appropriately in that it does not present the tangible; the unseen because it does not present the visible. Notwithstanding it is, speaking strictly, an objective influence, we do not altogether realise it as one, particularly in the case of instrumental music, the least important associations of which are the instruments from which that music proceeds. In part I. of this paper I referred to the fact that the stream of sound, though reflected and absorbed by objects, gives us no impressions of them. The sound thus remains an abstract influence. Hence we feel music as something external yet

immaterial. There is thus some resemblance between our mental attitude to music and that we bear toward the religious and poetic conceptions to which I have just referred. These we regard as referring to something external yet immaterial. As I have said, these advantages, which music has as a medium of expression, spring out of the very limitation involved in its being the world of a single sense.

The sense of hearing being perhaps, of all the senses, that which is least associated with the leading sense, the region of effect into which it leads us has been comparatively little explored. Thus it may be said that music is relatively a new experience; that in his essays in it man is pushing into a new world of effect, and that in listening to it we enter upon a new form of being. This is perhaps why its deeper imaginative effects tend to produce in us a vivid feeling of the novel and strange—to influence us somewhat as if we gazed on an unexplored ocean.

When music is produced by the human voice it ceases to be naked in associations, being then enrobed in the manifold associations of humanity. Thus, philosophy alone points to the possession by music of the human voice as a fact of capital importance. It is this vast change from abstract sound to sound rich in human associations—from tones strange to tones familiar—which we feel as so striking and grateful when human voices break in upon instrumental music. In vocal music the mystic features of musical sound have a human aspect. Thus it is that high musical emanation in vocal form has something of the character of inspired utterance. Like sacred prophecy it has in it the note of human sympathy, with a boding of the infinite. Thus it would seem to have been a true æsthetic instinct which impelled Carlyle to speak thus of music: "Nothing among the utterances allowed to man is felt to be so divine. It brings us nearer to the infinite, we look for moments across the cloudy elements into the eternal sea of light, when song leads and inspires us. Serious nations, all nations that can listen to the mandate of nature, have prized song and music as the highest, as a vehicle for worship, for prophecy, and for whatsoever in them was divine."

In the light of the consideration that instrumental music is so largely isolated from the world of the other senses, it is not surprising that resources of expression depending upon associations attaching to certain instruments and styles should be utilised by composers. I refer to the connection of instruments of primitive character with pastoral scenes; of that of the harp with spiritual conceptions and a certain class of poetic ideas; of that of the organ with religious expression, and of that of brass instruments with the stirring emotions associated with war. All these accidental yet fixed

associations open up for the musician scope of effect of great value to him. They enable him, while he works his special spell within, to revive certain familiar ideas and feelings, and thus escape occasionally from *the world of a single sense*. He has, however, and has always had, the means of escaping from this world at will by arbitrarily associating his strains with life and outer nature as in song.

THE PRINCIPLE OF ARBITRARY ASSOCIATION.

INWARD FEELING OF A FERVENT NATURE TENDS TO BE STIMULATED INORDINATELY BY SLIGHT HARMONISING INFLUENCES APPEALING TO OUR MORE SUPERFICIAL SENSIBILITIES.

Thus far I have been occupied in attempting to explain the expression and beauty which are inherent in music. I shall now try to show the philosophical basis of that expression and beauty which music acquires in virtue of its alliance with words.

In the case of this alliance the words are one thing, the music is another; there is no essential connection between them. The music might go with other words or stand alone, the words could go with other music. The two things are associated arbitrarily. At the same time they mutually strengthen and enhance one another. It has probably struck many people that the vividness with which we realise an inward flow of pleasurable and absorbing feeling, whatever may be its source, is apt to be heightened inordinately by the slightest accession of pleasantness in outward sensation. This kind of action is particularly marked when the inward feeling is of a raised temper—a fervent character. Love, for instance, may be greatly intensified by the simplest accession of adventitious charm in its object—the smallest decorative trifle. The poet's finer phrenzy may be raised in a like degree by the simplest natural beauty—by the emergence of a star, a gleam of sunshine, a flower, or even the humble grass of the roadside. What I wish to bring out clearly is that an inward feeling—however deep and settled—may be increased inordinately by influences more or less superficial—appealing mainly to our outer sensibility. But in the field of art this principle is of great importance; here its action being deliberately and elaborately prepared is very striking. It may be observed in that tendency which the poet and graphic writer betray, to link widely separate phenomena—to strike simultaneously the deep and inner, and the outer and more superficial notes of feeling, and thus influence us in a peculiarly extended and massive manner. Shakespeare almost invariably accompanies the development of a serious climax by allusion to certain incidental facts of nature

possessing accordant tone. The sense of terror at the yet undiscovered murder of Duncan is deepened by allusions to the "unruly night," and "lamentings heard in the air." In "Julius Cæsar" the sense of the imminent tragedy is made more vivid by the "unaccustomed terror of the night." All poetic writers betray this tendency to light up some striking extraneous natural fact, not when outward nature is engaging attention, but when the reader is held by some special inward feeling. Tennyson, in depicting a sombre parting of lovers, concludes with this dash of phenomenal accompaniment, "and above them roared the pines" The allusions to the "moonlight" and "silvery mist" in the last page of "Great Expectations," and the grand and protracted reference to "the golden water on the wall," in the touching description of the death of Paul in "Dombey and Son," are also instances of this beautiful feeling.* Now the intensity which the effect of extraneous phenomena adds to the emotional impress in these examples, and the intensity which music gives to literary expression and even scenic effect, are produced on the same principle—the principle of blending with deep inward feelings certain harmonising, yet independent, outward sensations. This "unruly night," these "roaring pines," thus "moonlight" and "silvery mist" and "golden water" are the writers' *aiding phenomena;* they fulfil a function which is the same in principle as that which music fulfils when allied with language. There is, it is true, the following difference between the two cases, but it does not affect the unity of principle which underlies them. In vocal music the sensuous influence (the music) points to the mental or emotional subject and to nothing else. That is to say, not being drawn bodily from nature it is, as I have shown, free from all associations but those connected with the attending words, thus, it bears undividedly upon those words. On the other hand, in literature, as in the instances given, the aiding phenomena or sensuous influence being drawn from nature in its regular and spontaneous manifestation, has other and often dominating associations. Whilst then in song the aiding phenomena (that is, the music) is something newly created, in literature it is drawn from the natural world. This is why in vocal music the two influences, though really arbitrarily associated, are felt to coalesce so completely.

The fact that there need be no essential connection between the two orders of influence employed under this principle—that they have only to be placed side by side—both explains and justifies the practice in composition of employing the same phrase in conjunction with different mental or emotional circumstances. However well a certain musical effect may suit a particular idea it can often be effectively allied to

* See "note" to this paper.

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another. Music abounds in structural effects which, though they arose probably in the first instance out of originating power, have become common available material. Climacteric effects, the various melodic and harmonic cadences, idiomatic melodic turns and harmonic successions are examples. Nor are these merely perfunctory effects; on the other hand, many of them are so powerful in expression that a large part of the composer's task is to lead up to them in a new way. That it is in the nature of a single musical effect to be versatile in poetic expression is shown by the fact that in vocal music we are continually meeting the same turn of effect associated with a different idea or sentiment.

Whilst emphasising the fact that no special connection is necessary between the subject and the aiding phenomena, I do not of course intend to convey that certain principles of selection have not to be observed. Though there may be no likeness between the two influences brought side by side, there may be still a likeness of relations. To give an instance, let the reader observe the change of harmony at the word "smiling" in the following passage in Gounod's "Abraham's Request":—

In the action of smiling facial movements of the most delicate nature occur, yet slight as they are the change made by them in the effect of a smile is most striking; it is the change from shade to sunlight. These relations are reflected in the music of the above extract. At the word "smiling" the pitch change is the slightest that can be made—namely, a semitone, whilst the harmonic change is peculiarly smooth; yet the effect is a striking and beautiful contrast. The appropriateness in the selection of effects of detail, in this example, may be regarded as an enhancement of the action of the principle of arbitrary association, to which principle alone the broad and general expression in vocal music is due.

A noticeable circumstance connected with recent music is the leaning of composers towards definite expression. Wagner, I believe, thought that in abstract music Beethoven had said the last word, and that the larger forms of the art would in the future be allied with language and scene. At the same time there exists a feeling that it is only in a vague sense that music can be said to express anything. Notwithstanding the innumerable striking instances of vivid and faithful expression which music exhibits, the fact that the same abstract composition may admit of different poetical interpretations tends to puzzle the mind in its attempt to unravel the principles of musical expression. The present statement then of the principle of arbitrary association may tend to place music in a clearer light in this connection by showing that as, what I term, *aiding phenomena*, it occupies a position analogous to that which in literature is occupied by those transcendent and august effects of the natural world which are infinite in their powers of poetic suggestion.

SUMMARY.

The philosophy of the higher beauty of music as unfolded in this enquiry may be thus summed up:—

The natural effect which adumbrates music is language. Language and vocal music (which is music's fountain-stream) involve the same physiological machinery in their production, and work upon us through the same sense. Thus musical phrases have frequently an emotional complexion in virtue of their likeness to certain inflections and cadences in speech. Yet this accounts neither for the pure beauty of music nor fully for its expressiveness.

Musical charm is fundamentally primal charm—one of the many happy coincidences which arise between the infinitely various influences without us, and that liberal margin for versatility and free play which exists as a rule in the constitution of all our faculties. Our sense of hearing is so subtly constituted that we can distinguish not only different

degrees of pitch, but the most delicate differences of *timbre*; thus we can recognise the lowest whispers and even breathings of different individuals. Yet in these powers, conformed originally for our protection or in some way for our material benefit, are couched those faculties which are necessary for the perception of melody and harmony.

Absolute charm in music may then be conceived as being in line with natural beauty.

But the inordinately expressive power of music—that power by which it stirs the depth of feeling within us as no other abstract influence does—seems to demand further explanation. Upon this power the hypothesis of Darwin relating to music when duly considered tends to throw light; the special part played by the stimulus of sound throughout the long course of organic life, in connection with the deeply laid principle of association, may be at the root of music's penetrative power. The objection that primeval feelings relating to love alone would be unlikely to leave within man that sensibility which under the influence of music kindles into such manifold emotion, disappears when we take into consideration the long and ramified backward course through which the life of feeling extends, the probability that it was at certain stages portion of a raised consciousness comprising many emotions, and the transfiguration which these may undergo in their partial re-awakening—thus, terror may revive as awe, love as devotion, savage exultation as elevated triumph. I have often been struck with the facility with which music lends itself to the expression of triumph. When the composer becomes kindled the note of triumph seems to sound. The jubilant choruses of Handel and Mendelssohn, and the last movement of Beethoven's C minor Symphony are some among innumerable instances. These considerations suggest how deeply the musical stimulus may penetrate into the sources of all our feelings—though starting from the sensation of hearing and traversing its tributary streams of association, how subtly and interminably pervasive within us must be its influence.

The above hypothesis does not imply a likeness between music and past sound effects. It may be only necessary for the retrospective sensibility to be touched at certain points, and yet for this to take place the systematic stimulation involved in art may be essential. The special enlargement of emotional consciousness thus suggested may be the truth to which those praises of music point which connect sensitiveness to music with elevation of the nature, as in the case of Shakespeare's allusion beginning "The man that hath no music in himself."

This hypothesis—that music acts upon an inherited emotional sensibility—is further corroborated by the fact

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that it tends to explain that specialty which music has of arousing strong and deep feeling *directly*, without presenting to us any objects or circumstances, such as constitute the natural and ordinary incitations of feeling, as in the case of the other arts. Musicians, with their instruments, assemble, and without word, scene, or pantomimic action, play; and strong, deep feeling wells up in the breasts of the listeners. It is probably the possession of this remarkable property of penetrating directly the innermost recesses of the emotional side of our organisation which caused music's influence in primitive times to be regarded as something mysterious and supernatural.

The following lines from Byron's poem, "The harp the monarch minstrel swept," seem to evince a sense of the inward transforming and creative influence of music which I have attempted to explain. The italics are mine.

> "It softened men of iron mould,
> It gave them virtues *not their own*."

To pass to causes of some features of musical influence which lie closer to hand.

Certain considerations from the point of view of the position of hearing among the senses tend to explain many peculiarities of musical effect The sense of sound may be regarded as a sense by itself. It perhaps takes the least part in that mingled action in which various senses are drawn to co-operate with vision. This latter sense being in continual exercise, the consciousness due to it is also continuous. As well as giving us passive impressions of objects, it involves an active (a muscular) form of sensitiveness (which aids us materially in our perception of form), and being that central, leading sense with which experiences of the other senses are associated (as, for instance, muscular movement, resistance, touch, odour, and temperature), it is man's main feeler in his exploration of the outer world. Thus it is that the impressions of this sense teem with mental and moral as well as physical associations. Musical sound, on the other hand, is a single sensation, and music, notwithstanding the transfigured ideas of space and movement which it suggests (in virtue, as I submit of the associations of vocal muscular action with pitch effect and rhythm), is the world of a single sense.

The absence from the musical sensation generally, of suggested experiences of the other senses; from musical sounds, of a fixed, familiar individuality realised spontaneously; and from the ear, of a sensitiveness due to a muscular action of its own, combine to render music's

power of contrast greatly inferior to that possessed by visual effect, as shown particularly in the inability of music to unfold that absolute yet quiet contrast which reigns in the visual world.

The ideas of space and movement which music suggests, though vague and imperfect in comparison with these ideas as impressed by visual effect, are integral and harmonising features in the musical sensation, and aid greatly in the articulation of musical expression.

As the ever renewing freshness of visual effect is connected with the composite constitution of its impressure, the tendency of tunes to please only for a time (as in the case of effects of form and colour when divested entirely of natural associations) is connected with the single nature of the auditory impression—that is to say, with the comparative absence from this impression of a variety of organic feelings.

Allied with language and scene, another principle of expression enters into musical effect—namely, *arbitrary association*, the influence of which rests upon the fact that a current of inward, absorbing feeling is strengthened inordinately by the accession of certain harmonising outward sensations. This principle operates in literature as well as in music. In the former it is visible where, in order to broaden, deepen, and vivify inward feeling, natural allusions are introduced—allusions unconnected inherently with that feeling, yet still calculated by their broad, sensuous influence to amplify it. But in music the action of this principle is peculiarly clear. Whilst in literary effect the sensuous influence or aiding phenomena is drawn from the general world and thus possesses other associations, in music (music being an abstract effect) it bears undividedly upon the attending language This, combined with the physical and physiological connection of music and language, is why in the case of vocal music subject and aiding phenomena seem to coalesce so completely.

Thus, from the single nature of the musical sensation proceed the following important qualities, both negative and positive, which characterise musical art:—

On the one hand, its inferiority to art based on vision for defining contrast, and its soon fading freshness.

On the other hand, its seeming immateriality, its power of aiding the expression of religious feeling and idea (due to absence of suggestions of material life), the impressiveness which its comparative strangeness gives to it, its perfect coalescence (in vocal music) with the influence to which it is allied; and the unique character of its beauty.

To take a broad glance in conclusion.

From the point of view attained in this enquiry absolute beauty in music is a coincidence; whilst its deeper expression

depends upon its influencing, through the sense of hearing, the terminals of lines of association reaching backward to far past emotions.

Genius may be regarded as the instinct for discovering two things: first, the outward factor of that *coincidence* from which results absolute charm; secondly, the magic note which touches the terminals of past feeling. It is through the unsearchable action of these two principles—namely, coincidence and inherited association, that a strain not differing from the dullest in the general character of its constitution, or superior on any visible structural grounds, may have the surpassing quality of inspiration.

This attempt to account for the influence of music only applies, as intimated by the title of this paper, to the higher beauty of the art. In every field of effect, whether natural or devised by man, there is a general continuity passing from that which gives a merely superficial pleasure, to that which raises high the wave of art-feeling. Thus, under the appellation of music, there is an extensive range of effect which demands no æsthetical explanation at all.

DISCUSSION.

The Chairman.—Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure all who have listened must have learned a great deal from Mr. Goddard's admirable paper. We must give him the credit of being able to state everything he thinks most plainly. I was particularly struck by that in reading the first part of this valuable contribution to the Philosophy of Music in our last volume of Proceedings; he is so thoroughly clear. I hope he will be persuaded to go on with it because there is still a great deal to be thrashed out in connection with this subject. All that he stated about the influence of associations in causing the excitement of our emotions by music in its various forms is very true, but I think there is a great deal more to be said about it. I always feel in cases of this sort that it is rather dangerous to present readers with musical examples, from this very fact of our unconscious associations Mr. Goddard, for instance, quoted from Gounod. A very excellent musician said to me the other day, "All French music is rot." That man, if you quoted Brahms or Wagner to him, would probably agree with you; but he would say, if you quoted Gounod's

presentation of a smile, "Hang it all, that's nothing to do with it." The association, as Mr Goddard rightly pointed out, which causes us to receive different impressions from music is most remarkable, because it does not always depend on the actual value of the music itself. Sometimes the most trumpery melodies which impressed us in our childhood give us the greatest delight to the end of our days. We know them to be silly, but we cannot help it. The association of musical emotions must necessarily have a very deep effect on musical criticism. I suppose the ideal musical critic ought never to have had any associations at all, so that he could give his judgments on music according to the admirable principles just now laid down. It is dangerous to quote cases, because the cases from mere association may affect people so differently. I was very pleased to hear Mr. Goddard's excellent remarks about "colour." That term in music has come down to such a point that it does not mean much more than contrast. Sometimes it is even used of style. One often hears people speak of the colouring of a movement of Palestrina and of a movement of Wagner, and so on. But I am sure you will all agree with me that this subject is one that we can much better discuss a month hence, after we have read over the paper. It always seems to me that a great difficulty in laying down principles is to know how far the education of each recipient of musical sounds may not influence his actual power of appreciation. Of course, as Mr. Goddard pointed out, the eye needs enormous education. His description of the process of its learning angles and circles and other shapes from muscular movement is remarkable, but is it not necessary also for the ear that it should go through a similar education? It always seems to me that in laying down principles in the philosophy of music—even the scientific part, to say nothing of the æsthetics—a writer must not assume that all who read him have been equally educated in the art or science. With regard to outward effects that are sometimes brought to bear upon it, I was discussing with Sir George Grove as to what would be the effect of having pieces of music performed in rooms painted with different colours. It would be very strange to hear the "Hallelujah" Chorus performed in a room painted entirely black. Once I was asked what colour I thought they should paint the interior of the Albert Hall. They tried it with white first and that would not do; then they tried dark brown—too dark, I think; and it may have had a very bad effect on the appreciation of the music performed. I would not go so far as the lady who asked her cook what colour each dish would be in order that she might have them all in a succession, pleasing to the eye as well as the taste. The Lecturer spoke very learnedly about the palling of music on the ear. I think he must have observed

the fact that people who live in the most magnificent scenery lose some of their appreciation from seeing it constantly. There is one thing I should like to suggest, and that is that I think a good deal of mischief has come to the philosophic study of music from people getting the idea that sound (and therefore music) is objective, and that music has its own physical and mental effect in itself. The beauty is inside us; it is not music until the sounds have been analysed and taken into the brain, assorted and analysed, and a series of judgments formed. I think if we could only get people to consider that the interpretation of music, and the pleasure of music, is all inside the ear, we would not find in annotated programmes such vapid nonsense about what the music is intended to describe. Every educated hearer of music gives it his own special interpretation. Of course if a man likes to say: "When I heard that I thought I saw a lover standing over an open grave with a dagger in his hand" —that is his business; and I often think he is a great fool for thinking so. It is important that people should realise that music is purely subjective, and has no existence outside each individual brain. It is the education of the mind, therefore, that makes the difference between a good or bad hearer, and also dictates the interpretation of music. Samuel Sebastian Wesley in one of his anthems introduces a most beautiful combination in praying God for mercy, which has often been pointed out as one of the most beautiful touches of genius on his part. The progression happens to be identical with that which Wagner puts into the mouth of the temptresses of Venus's mount in "Tannhäuser," "Come to the bowers." I have often heard those who are ignorant of the opera say that Wesley has here hit on a purely religious musical expression, while those who know the opera describe the same passage as being remarkable for its expression of low sensuality. So much for the notion that music can tell its own story.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Goddard was passed unanimously.

Mr. Goddard.—I just rise to thank Sir John Stainer for his very appreciative remarks, which do not strike me as demanding a discussion. I agree with most of them, and, in fact, regard them as passing comments suggested by my paper rather than as criticism requiring elaborate reply. I have no doubt that when those who wish to do so read the paper they will understand it better than is possible by simply listening to it. It is a kind of composition that really cannot be thoroughly digested at first hearing, especially by those who are not accustomed to philosophical, metaphysical, or scientific writings. I should be most pleased if some arrangement could be made giving time for comments or remarks made upon papers read here, to be considered and deliberately

replied to. Then there would be, I think, some value both in the discussion and the reply. I have noticed, in some of these discussions, that the speakers do not fasten on the main argument of the paper, but refer to some incidental point; and that often there is a long discussion on something quite extraneous to the paper. But if those who wish to discuss a paper had an opportunity of thoroughly digesting it, and then made remarks on it; and if the writer had also opportunity of digesting the criticisms, then probably our knowledge of the subject would be much extended. I again thank Sir John Stainer for his very favourable remarks, and am gratified at finding that the matter has evoked so much sympathy.

Mr. DAVEY.—It is of course impossible to discuss at length so very elaborate and profound and richly illustrated a paper as this, and as you have said, Sir, so lucid in expression. But I should like to give one illustration, despite what you have said about not giving examples. I do not see how one can make one's meaning clear without a few. When I heard the illustration from Gounod on the word "smiling," it suggested to me another which is, I think, a better one, and that is in Haydn's canzonet, "She never told her love." You will find in the way the words "smiling at grief" are set one of the most wonderful things in music. It is simply a chord on the sixth doubled by the two hands, but in its context I think it is marvellous. I should further like to say, Mr. Chairman, that what Europeans call music, not what other nations call it, consists of two parts—the formal side and the expressive. The expressive side we borrow from association, and from other arts sometimes; it is something external. But the formal side of music is music—the artistic arrangement of sounds—pure and alone. It is the one point in which music is especially a modern art, unknown to the ancient world, unknown to the uncivilised world. The modern composer takes a phrase, an abstract succession of notes, and treats them as musical material; but he does that all by two means, by externals and internals, and I think it is a most important point in the apprehension of music and in the apprehension of the history of music if we remember that it is the externals that appeal to men most, and that they appeal to the vast majority of musicians also. I have had some strange experiences in that way, and there have been others hundreds of years ago. It is in the memory of you all, I should imagine, that there were people who would not see any beauty in the works of Wagner, but admitted that his orchestration was wonderful. That is a case in point: the externals were appreciated, the internals were not. I have met musicians who had just heard Wagner for the first time; and what they said was "The orchestral effects that man has produced are wonderful; I never heard anything like it." They did not

think of the harmony or the melody: that would grow on them in due time. Exactly the same was said eighty or ninety years ago, by John Stafford Smith, of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. He said they certainly possessed greater knowledge of instrumental effects than was known before, but they did not cultivate melody. They appealed to him, as they did to others and to the public also, by their externals. He could not appreciate the melody and the construction till he got used to the style. I think that is the way that all composers appeal to the public and to the vast majority of musicians; and when I read ancient criticisms and when I see written how composers were regarded in their lifetime, I find that what struck the public was the external music—what we can briefly call the orchestration or the colouring. You see this even in the case of Palestrina, who had a singular trick of using one choir as a double choir. Bach's works were similarly regarded in his lifetime as brilliant show pieces; we know it was the same with Handel; it was the same with Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, as I have shown you from Stafford Smith and others whom I have read, and it was the same, as we all remember, with Wagner. What at first appeals to a very small proportion of intelligent musicians only is the internal—the melody and harmony; but it is in that melody and harmony that the eternal lasting beauty lies, and I think it is what we should particularly think of when we are criticising an individual work; we should try to, at least. We hear now of the Russian school—"what wonderful effects they produce!" We heard it when Rachmaninoff's orchestral compositions were introduced to us about six months ago. It is apparently the internals which are most hard to judge of, and this is why new composers are not fully appreciated. I should say that one point in which our English composers fail is the use of externals; and the reason why they do not come to the front is that they neglect externals and think only of internals in the beauty of music.

Mr. Southgate: Might I for one moment suggest to Mr. Goddard that when he puts his most excellent paper into order for printing he should make clear the exact meaning he attaches to contrast and colour? I think there is a little indefiniteness about it, because in music we use the term "colour" not only for harmony, but also for orchestration, and I am sure he would not say there is no colour in music as compared with the different colours we see with our eyes. If, for instance, a passage is played by the strings and then by the brass, there is a remarkable contrast of colour tone. He used for his illustration a meadow and a lake. Of course, as you pointed out, Sir, it is not quite safe to make these comparisons; but there is a very decided illustration of what

can be done in music if one plays a similar passage on the strings and then the same on the brass—there is a very strong contrast. And even with regard to colour itself, may I remind you of a remark made by a blind man to whom some one attempted to describe the colour scarlet? "I think it must be like the tone of a trumpet"—a very natural remark to make. I would only suggest that Mr. Goddard make it quite clear what he meant in speaking of colour. I think he must have used it with reference to our chromatic harmonies, and I need hardly remind you that the descriptive adjective comes from the ancient Greek χρῶμα, colour.

The Chairman.—I think I sympathise with Mr. Goddard entirely in his limitation of the rather wild use of the term colour in music. I thought his comparison of the functions of the eye and the ear in that respect most admirable. I did not understand him to mean there was nothing analogous to the sense of colour in sound, but I think he rather limited it to the wild use of the term at the present time. Of course it is a difficult thing to criticise a learned paper like that at a moment's notice.

Mr. Goddard.—I meant that in pictures there are such obvious contrasts as are recognised by everyone. I showed there was nothing analogous to that in music. In listening to a composition you hear contrast of musical effects, but there is nothing recognisable similar to different colours. What is recognised is the æsthetic contrast. There is no other essential contrast in music, but there is in nature.

Mr. Gilbert Webb.—I think the difficulty arises from the want of a term. We are obliged to borrow this term colour. If we avoid *timbre* we have not a word for it. *Klangfarbe* is equally clumsy.

A Member.—We have *Klangfarbe*, but we have not different terms for different colours, as we have for red, blue, green, &c. We have nothing describing string tone, horn tone, flute tone—no single distinctive words describing or suggesting to the mind the difference of tone colours. I believe it may be a matter of growth of language. I am not a Greek scholar, but I believe it has been noted by Greek scholars that Homer only uses six or seven colour names in the whole of the "Iliad," while a modern poet would use twenty or thirty. The names were not given to slight differences of colour in old Greek times. There were not half-a-dozen different hues in music; and we have not yet got to the stage of having one colour name for each.

Mr. Southgate.—But we use adjectives which convey to our minds different sensations; we speak of the wailing oboe, the bright trumpet, the soft flute, the strident brass, and so on; but of course we do not use definite colour terms, as applied to the *klang* tone of these instruments.

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The CHAIRMAN.—Language is deficient in every respect. We speak, for instance, of music being sweet, but we do not mean that it is pleasant to the mouth.

Mr. DAVEY.—But there are such terms in other languages

A MEMBER.—We can express the distinctions with the ear, but have no terms for it with the eye.

The CHAIRMAN.—What I think the last speaker is driving at is that he thinks that we may have a series of names for different qualities of tone, like we have red, blue, pink, green, &c., for colours. I suppose it could be done with regard to sound, but we must find someone to invent the names.

Mr. GILBERT WEBB.—Do we want it all the way through? We use words for so many different things—*e.g.*, the word tone. When you have to argue with an opponent, you have to define the meaning of all the terms you are going to use.

Mr. GODDARD.—I did not mean to convey literally that there was no contrast in music, but that the contrast was not so palpable, quiet, and easily recognised as contrasts presented to the eye are. A composition for the violin only has to be extremely original for you to feel a distinctly marked contrast. It requires a great genius to produce true—*i.e.*, æsthetical - contrast in music. There are many and marked varieties of effect possible with an orchestra, but these are not so much effects of musical composition as of musical presentation. They are contrasts of mass and *timbre*. I was referring to contrast produced more by the art of music in the act of composition. You rarely find in music a quiet contrast like you observe in nature—*i.e.*, clearly defined contrast without change in the mood of feeling. The greater the genius in music, the nearer he gets to that.

Mr. BELSHAM.—I should like to do more than I have done by merely holding up my hand to thank Mr. Goddard for his paper this evening, and for the previous one which I have read with great interest. The subject is one I have had in my mind and wondered about often and often, but never could arrive at anything satisfactory. Mr. Goddard has given me, and I am sure others, food for thought, for which I should like to express my thanks.

NOTE.

CONTRAST AND THE PRINCIPLE ON WHICH MUSIC AIDS EXPRESSION WHEN ATTENDING WORDS OR SCENE.

As intimated by me in the foregoing discussion, the species of contrast to which I refer in the paper is that arising out of the nature and arrangement of the musical ideas themselves. John Hullah, speaking of Haydn's quartets, remarks that perhaps the greatest test of a composer's powers is to write an effective quartet for stringed instruments; the reasons being—(1) he is limited to four parts, (2) he has little margin for producing increase or diminution in the amplitude of the effect, (3) he can obtain little variety in virtue of the different genres of sound, due to different instruments. Thus in a composition of this kind he is driven to depend on the musical faculty in its essence; on the mother wit of musical invention.

I have often thought that contrast of theme is a great test of power in a composer—the being able to produce just when it is wanted a new theme standing well out from that which, up to the point in question, has been developed. A familiar instance of this power occurs in the chorus, "For unto us a Child is born." Now the opening theme of this chorus is no doubt very effective and appropriate; in it simple, natural exultation is combined with distinct musical charm. But greater evidence of musical power is shown, in my opinion, in the effortless introduction of the second subject—that to the words, "And the government shall be upon His shoulder." The composer is not here helped by the suggestion of a new mood of feeling, for if in the music of the above phrase the note of exultation is not so marked as in that to the first exclamatory sentence, the mood is still bright. Yet how easily the two subjects are separated in the listener's mind!

With regard to my attempt to explain why the most perfect contrast of the kind, to which I have just referred, is inferior to that we realise when we survey a scene, I take this opportunity of entering a little more fully into illustration. Let us take any effective movement in an instrumental work, whether for one instrument, a few instruments, or for full orchestra. We recognise the varying themes and their varying treatment. There is clearness of impression amid variety. At the same time we have to exert a certain

amount of attention, and all the while have the feeling of being in a special world—a world in which all variety is produced by changes in a single character of sensation.

Now let us imagine ourselves regarding any natural scene or its presentment in a picture. We observe, say, hills in the distance, then forest, meadow, and river, with perhaps a boat upon it and a man in the boat. The contrasts are far more fundamental in their nature than in the case of the musical work; and all is realised not only without effort, but amid a feeling of restfulness and repose.

It here occurs to me that in this connection the art of sculpture occupies a position largely similar to that of music. Sculpture, though it approaches nature so closely, is still far inferior to nature in power of contrast, and this inferiority is due generally to the same causes as the weakness of the power of contrast in music; moreover, it involves, as in the case of music, strength in another direction. Take a subject in sculpture, comprising one or two figures. Now, with a little attention, we observe clearly not only the different members of the group, but various points in their artistic treatment; we may, in fact, realise all that cunning faithfulness to nature which, in the case of masterpieces, causes the marble to seem almost to breathe and speak. At the same time we have also here the feeling of being in a special world. Notwithstanding life is suggested, and in certain particulars most vividly, we yet feel that between this life and ourselves is the veil of the art-medium. We are in a world of marble, where if we are not, as in music, confined to the exercise of a single sense, the play of the various senses is considerably restricted. The world of colour is withdrawn; form and surface-configuration remain in isolation; yet so perfect these may be as to suggest vividly such varied qualities of touch as may exist in the original.

Thus in the world of sculpture, as in that of music, we are shorn of certain sources of impression which exist in nature. The two arts differ in the following respect: there is nothing in sculpture which stands for that direct kindling power which music possesses. But, on the other hand, music's appropriateness for expressing abstract conceptions is reflected in sculpture. Here, as in music, limitation is a source of power. The very unnaturalness of the cold, white medium gives to sculpture a certain spiritualistic import—renders it particularly fitted to articulate ideal conceptions in that it gives to their expression a certain chasteness and permanence which are inconsistent with natural conditions.

To pass to another point—the extract in which the word "smiling" occurs. Perhaps my interpretation of the changes

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in the music to this word is a little fanciful. I intended to illustrate that which must be a familiar experience to the listener to music—namely, the suggestion, in the form of the music, of certain prominent associations belonging to the idea which it attends. To try another illustration. the air, "The people that walked in darkness," is in the minor mode, and this fact in itself tends to render the precise constitution of the intervals less obvious to the ear than the intervals of a melody in the major mode usually are, because the relation of the various degrees of the scale to the tonic is less simple in the minor than in the major mode. But the above intervals are rendered still more difficult to grasp by the introduction of accidentals. Now the necessity of careful admeasurement by the singer and of perception by the listener thus occasioned seems to render the music in question illustrative of the uncertain, tentative movements of people walking in darkness. The correspondence here involved I term a "likeness of relations." I, of course, do not refer to it with the idea that I am pointing out anything new. And so far from there being anything deep, there seems a certain naiveness in the impulse which moves composers to bring about a superficial resemblance between the form of their music and the ideas it attends. But it must be remembered that in many instances this impulse has led them to very happy results. Why I now allude to this resemblance is simply to notice, in passing, the fact that there is occasionally thus far a connection between music and the idea it attends.

But the principle which I term "arbitrary association" I consider infinitely more important, and perhaps my statement of it is new. In that general fulness and power of expression which is obtained by the alliance of music with language, scene, or situation, I think we may observe the action of a mode of influence and principle of expression which extends beyond musical art. With a view to demonstrate this as convincingly as possible, I will here take the liberty of going a little further into detail in the case of two examples which I have given of the action of this principle in literature.

In the third scene of the second act of "Macbeth" we look upon a court inside Macbeth's castle. It is morning. We have seen some fearful signs of what has been done within during the night, and feelings of dread and horror mingle with the influence of the expression of profound moral stirrings. But Shakespeare is not satisfied with working upon our inner and deeper sensibilities only. While the above emotions are still fresh within us—before they are, as it were, dissipated by the discovery of the murder—our attention is drawn to natural phenomena having

accordant tone. When Macduff has gone in to call the supposed sleeping king, the following dialogue occurs:—

"*Lennox.*—The night has been unruly: where we lay,
Our chimneys were blown down: and, as they say,
Lamentings heard i'the air; strange screams of death;
. . . . The obscure bird
Clamour'd the live-long night: some say, the earth
Was feverous, and did shake.

Macbeth.—'Twas a rough night.

Lennox.—My young remembrance cannot parallel
A fellow to it."

Thus the whole gamut of sensibility is played upon from inner to outer.

In the illustration from "Dombey and Son" the boy Paul is dying. His sister, Florence, holds his head upon her arm. We are touched, but with the master hand that is tender as well as strong—that impresses us with what is purest and loveliest in life, as well as with what is sad and solemn. But Dickens, like Shakespeare, is not satisfied with moving us inwardly: he also works upon our outer sensibility. As the pathetic scene proceeds, amidst the general local colouring and incidental filling up, a particular allusion stands out as relating to the central motive. Not once or twice but five times Dickens refers to the sunbeams that "quivered on the opposite wall like golden water." This is the first allusion. The following are the others:—

"Thus, the flush of the day, in its heat and light, would gradually decline, and again the golden water would be dancing on the wall."

. . . .

"How many times the golden water danced upon the wall; how many nights the dark river rolled toward the sea in spite of him; Paul never counted, never sought to know"

. . . .

"Sister and brother wound their arms around each other, and the golden light came streaming in and fell upon them locked together."

The last allusion begins the reflection upon Paul's death:

"The golden ripple on the wall came back again, and nothing else stirred in the room."

Now here, as in Shakespeare, there is something far deeper and more earnest than any feeling for local colour or actuality. Amid the stress of heart-sympathy some subtle combination of poetic idea and moral insight prompts Dickens to conjure

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up this supreme natural splendour, which to our finite sensibility seems a link between us and the inscrutable source of all beauty.

In these illustrations, then, I think there is, in principle, a likeness of the circumstances of vocal music. In them, as in vocal music, while thought and feeling move within, our outer sensibility is appealed to; side by side with the influence which works upon us mentally, morally, or emotionally, are presented to us certain striking or beautiful effects appealing directly to our outer sensation. A generally similar instinct thus seems to move the literary and musical artist. If this is so, then in these considerations we discern the principle of expression—the larger law—that operates when music is applied to words.

J. G.

December 12, 1899

SIR JOHN STAINER, M.A., D.C.L., Mus. D.,

President,

In the Chair.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SIGHT-SINGING.

By W. G. McNaught.

The design of this paper is to draw attention to the mode in which our minds work in the act of sight-singing. The subject is one mainly for the consideration of teachers, but it should be of interest to musical students generally. Every rational attempt at an educational classification of the details of such a subject as music must be governed by a knowledge of the way in which the mind develops its latent powers. As singing has exclusively to do with conceptions of sound, I have ventured to style this modest investigation the "Psychology of Sight-singing." The title may appear to promise a more deeply philosophical enquiry into the elusive subtleties of mental phenomena than I contemplate, or am capable of making. But I trust I may succeed in avoiding a path where discreet angels fear to tread and that I may be able to appeal throughout simply to the every-day musical experience of my audience. There are hundreds of books upon sight-singing. Some pay their possible disciples the compliment of assuming that their capacity is so great that the whole matter can be mastered in a very short time and may be presented in a nutshell. These nutshell methods conveniently assume the skill they affect to impart, and, consequently, are hard for common folk to crack. More elaborate methods claim to ensure success if you only succeed

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in succeeding. If you do not succeed, the individual is to blame, not the system, which is infallible. It has already been remarked that every system of teaching worthy the name must assume in pupils the existence of certain potential capacities that can be developed. So every teacher is a psychologist, or at least he ought to be if he is worth his salt. It is far from my intention to discuss or advocate any particular method. I design simply to endeavour to tabulate the faculties which all methods assume their pupils to possess in a greater or lesser degree. I propose to omit all reference to rhythm and to confine myself to the relationship of musical sounds to one another.

What is Sight-singing?

Sight-singing is the ability to conceive with the mind and execute with the voice musical effects indicated by musical notation. Practically, sight-singing is an act of memory. The notation having been duly associated with musical effects induces a conception of musical material previously observed and memorised.

Any investigation of the psychology of sight-singing must at the outset involve reference to the whole behaviour of the mind to musical effects. Listening to music involves:

(1) The observation of what is heard at any given moment.
(2) The recollection of what has been just previously heard.
(3) The comparison of what we hear now with what we have recently heard.

These mental processes are automatic and unconscious. The comparisons made in this way between different sounds result in the realisation of what we call relations. This power of memorising and realising relations is absolutely essential to the appreciation of the most elementary music. Persons who do not possess it are hopelessly unmusical. They belong to that well-known class of the community, many of whom preside at musical functions and who take pains to state that they do not know one tune from another.

But sight-singing makes greater demands than mere listening. This is obvious, for in listening, the material (a convenient, although not a precise word) to engage our mind's ear comes ready-made from the outside, whereas in sight-singing the force of imagination or conception has to summon material from within. But although they are thus differentiated the mind process is much the same

Pitch Memory—Permanent and Temporary.

It was stated above that one effect of listening is the impression of absolute pitch made on the memory. The power of retaining a pitch varies greatly in individuals. Some persons, no doubt many in this room, can permanently remember pitch and associate pitch names with sounds. This permanent sense of absolute pitch is not essential to the appreciation of music, because music, as we all understand it, consists of relations. The permanent sense of absolute pitch, however useful in some circumstances, is then dispensable, and fortunately so, for if it were otherwise music would be the art of the select few, instead of being, as it is, the art of the many. As to the sight singing value of this sense, remarks will be made later on. But the power of temporarily memorising absolute pitch is a different case. *It is this temporary memory that is the first essential of a musical ear.* You cannot compare if you cannot remember. All musical effects are based upon the assumption of the existence of this power in listeners and singers. A piece of music, or movement, ends in the key in which it begins in obedience to this sense. All musical form is based upon the assumption that the ear remembers and expects. Much stress must be given to this capacity to memorise pitch temporarily in considering the problems of sight singing.

The Comparison of Pitches.

As stated above, the automatic comparison of pitches results in the realisation of relations of sounds Two distinct, and, for the sight singer, highly important kinds of relations are observed by the mind. One is the effect of the step or leap from one pitch to another—*i.e.*, the Interval. Every interval has its own specific effect. It may be modified and disguised in various ways, but it still retains enough of its own peculiar effect for identification by the educated ear. This interval effect then is wholly derived from the comparison of one pitch with the last heard pitch. The other kind of effect is the result of the comparison of a pitch with all that can be recollected of what has gone before. In a series of duly ordered relations this sense of manifold relations is the key-sense—that most marvellous faculty of the mind by which we collate effects and colour sounds as tonics and dominants, &c. Each degree of the scale gains a property, or mental effect, or colour, compounded of its observed relations to *all* the other degrees, and not merely to the pitch just previously heard, as in the case of an interval. This key-sense is often called

key-relationship. But the term is not a good one, because it suggests the relations of various keys to one another instead of what is intended—viz., *relationship of a degree of a scale to every other degree of the series.*

Summary.

The results of the power of the mind to observe, memorise, and compare musical sounds may then be briefly summarised under the following heads:—

(1) The memory of absolute pitch:—
 (*a*) Permanent (rare and dispensable).
 (*b*) Temporary (universal and indispensable).
(2) Interval effects (apart from absolute pitch or of position in a scale).
(3) The key-sense. Effects derived from position in a scale series.

I think these are, roughly, the chief psychological data with which we have to reckon in teaching sight-singing. How to develop and utilise these potential faculties is the problem of a sight-singing method. I now propose to discuss these data in detail.

The Permanent Memory of Absolute Pitch.

First as to the permanent memory of absolute pitch. If it were possible to enable singers to easily acquire this special sense it would be wholly unnecessary for sight-singing purposes to spend time in cultivating any other musical faculty. We should become simply living pianoforte key-boards upon which our imagination could play at will. Sight-singing would then become practically the same thing as the performance of a familiar air. There would be little or no conscious constructive strain. Whether it is probable that civilised humanity will ever universally evolve this capacity is doubtful, but, without concerning ourselves about posterity, it is obvious that only a small proportion of the present generation, even of those individuals who devote considerable time to the practice of music and who strive to permanently remember pitch, are able to claim possession of the "sense." It may be said that a large proportion of musical students would develop the sense if they began the study early and pursued it resolutely. It also may be pointed out that nearly all the sight-singing methods of the day make little or no endeavour to train pupils to acquire this sense, and that this accounts for the rarity of the accomplishment. This argument reminds one of the special

Providence which has benignantly made the rivers run near the large towns. The real truth of the matter is that methods are popular because they are feasible, and they are feasible because they are born of an insight into common capacities. They indicate the line of least resistance. The cultivation of the sense of absolute pitch is good for students and musicians generally; but in view of the present condition of the average civilised brain ear it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that it would be irrational to base a sight-singing method, designed for popular instruction, upon an assumption that such a sense could be universally developed in the time and under the circumstances in which the great majority of singing pupils have to learn. We must, therefore, look in other directions for the most useful psychological bases upon which to construct sight-singing methods.

As an addendum to the foregoing I may state that in the R.A.M. sight-singing classes the cultivation of the absolute pitch sense is steadily pursued. There is nothing to be said against this. The students there are a select body, they give all, or nearly all, their time to music, and they are in every way fit subjects for such teaching. As a result, many of them emerge from the training with a full possession of the pitch sense.

[Two R.A.M. students—Miss Harding and Miss Elsie Horne—were present to illustrate sight-singing by memory of absolute pitch. Miss Harding sang the following test at sight quite fluently at the correct pitch without any sound being previously given]:—

THE TEMPORARY MEMORY OF ABSOLUTE PITCH.

The place the faculty of temporarily memorising absolute pitch occupies as one of the resources of a sight singer is not generally sufficiently recognised.

When we say that a key is established in the ear, we mean partly, if not wholly, that its absolute pitch is memorised. In practice I think it cannot be doubted that even the elementary sight-singer, after a preliminary canter in the key, hits its various degrees neither exclusively by measurement of interval nor exclusively by recalling mental effects, but chiefly by sheer memory of absolute pitch. The memory is, as it were, temporarily indented with the pitches of the scale degrees, and the will has but to select the rut. Some times this memory is exclusively drawn upon, and especially

by weak singers; but more often its use is involved with the memory of mental effect. The two faculties generally work so amicably together, it is difficult to say which is governing the execution more than the other. It is only when they fall out and pull in different directions that we become conscious that they are two separate forces.

In some circumstances the absolute pitch memory is a stumbling-block in the execution of a passage. This is peculiarly the case in modulations, in which the new key is near in pitch to the key quitted. The pitch memory of the old scale degrees seriously hinders the realisation of the mental effect of the degrees of the new key. Another explanation of this well-known difficulty is given later on.

[This was illustrated by some tests applied to four children from the Haselrigge Road (Clapham) Board School (teacher, Mr. W. T. Stuart). The children were asked to sing changes of key, sol-faing on the movable doh method from a tonic sol-fa modulator. Although generally accurate in their performance, they failed occasionally in passages involving such removes of key as the following:—

d s m l r s d ʳd l m s d

At * A (the lah of the old key) was sung instead of B.]

In this connection it is interesting to note that beginners with somewhat dull ears will very curiously realise relations more accurately than they can temporarily memorise pitch. You pattern a key chord or short phrase to such individuals and they will immediately reproduce the melody in a totally different key. Now to perform this feat is a difficult exercise for a fairly advanced sight-singer of average natural capacity, because in his case the memory of absolute pitch is bound up with the memory of mental effect, and it is only by a strong mental effort that he can disentangle the two now conflicting memories.

[This was illustrated by the children. Each child was asked in turn to reproduce in another key a short phrase sung by Dr. McNaught. It was very evident that this task was felt to be difficult.]

Intervals.

It has been already stated that the specific effect of an interval is the result of the observed relation of two separate pitches to one another. This effect is practically independent of absolute pitch. At any pitch the effect is constant if the

vibrational ratio of the two pitches is constant. But it is necessary to point out at once that the difference between an interval, the two pitches of which are heard simultaneously, and the same interval when the two pitches are heard in succession is considerable. In the case of the simultaneous presentment there is no demand made upon the memory and the specific effect is sharply defined. A major third (isolated) is easily felt to be sweet and full, a perfect fourth as ghastly, and so on. But a melodic presentment of the same intervals is but a fleeting adumbration of the harmonic effect. Hence it is difficult for singers with ordinary capacity to sing entirely by interval measurement. My own observations lead me to conclude that the possession of musical capacity to memorise intervals and to sing at sight by this means alone is somewhat rare. It is, however, not nearly so rare as the capacity to permanently memorise absolute pitch. Only really good students can gain a useful control of the interval sense. Personally, I have always regarded the practical study of interval effect as necessary to the complete equipment of the advanced sight-singer, but it should only be attempted after considerable skill has been otherwise attained.

Many methods of sight-singing begin with lessons on intervals, and are mainly founded throughout on interval observation. The fixed doh method, as taught in this country by John Hullah, is a noteworthy example. I do not think the teaching of absolute pitch was seriously attempted by this method. Certainly Mr. Hullah had no intention of teaching absolute pitch. The reason for the failure of the method to make sight-singers, was that it over-rated the capacity of the vast majority of the pupils whose musical salvation it aimed to provide. The result of this optimistic experiment proved that the average man is not musically saved by intervals alone.

[One of the R.A.M. students, Miss Elsie Horne, now read by interval observation the following test] :—

INDIRECT INTERVAL CALCULATION.

One indirect plan of interval calculation is found to assist advanced singers whose habit it is, as a general rule, to draw only upon mental effect. The interval being discerned in the notation as a major third, &c., the next step is to quickly call up the most easily conceived scale degree model and then to

apply it to the execution of the interval regardless whether or not the scale degrees thus summoned truly represent the prevailing tonality. Experienced singers find that this power of banishing considerations of proper tonal relations and resolutely conceiving an interval, it may be in a totally wrong key, a most valuable resource when they are cornered in tracing a modulation.

[The children now sang the following test, using the sol-fa syllables as noted]:—

d m t_1 ᵃn d f ᵇd m ᵃr f

Mental Effects of the Degrees of the Scale. The "Properties" of Scale Degrees.

I have just described melodic intervals as having somewhat weakly defined specific effects and, therefore, as being difficult for average pupils to freely memorise and reproduce. But there is another difficulty in the way of interval conception—namely, the greater sensitiveness of the ear to the effect derived from the position of a sound in the scale series. This effect constantly engages the attention and obscures or absorbs the interval effect. This faculty of conceiving sounds by memory of mental effect is the one most universally possessed. By this means, coupled with the temporary memory of absolute pitch, the immense majority of choralists, for better or for worse, now accomplish all their sight-singing.

I believe it was a Frenchman named De Berneval who first drew particular attention to the peculiar and distinctive effects the various degrees of the scale gain, by our power of collating the relation of each degree to all the others. He did not merely state the fact as an interesting one to musicians, but he realised its importance in the education of the beginner. His book, which is entitled "Music simplified, or a new method to propagate the study of music," states that he was a Professor to the Royal Academy of Music. It was apparently published in France before it was published in London, because it is stated that it is translated from the French by E. W. G. Honseal, Esq. But it may have been translated from the manuscript.

Of course this sense of effect was utilised long before De Berneval wrote. The sol-fa systems employed before his time were nearly all on the movable "doh" principle, and must have assumed this sense, although there was no expressed recognition of it in their teaching to define it.

As stated above, the theory of mental effect is that each degree of the scale derives a particular property or colour from the power of the mind to observe its relations to the other degrees of the scale. Although this effect may be partly disturbed by conflicting circumstances, it holds the field pretty securely while the key is not threatened. The singer is perfectly independent of the observation of interval and is generally quite innocent of any theoretical knowledge of intervals. The influence of the last note sung may sometimes be strong upon the note to follow, but he goes for the note to be sung in disregard of this and simply endeavours to recall the memorised effect. I have already as much as said that owing to the irrepressible play of our natural faculties no one method of going from pitch to pitch can exclusively be adopted. I have also pointed out that the singer by mental effect cannot help being so influenced by his temporary absolute pitch memory to a degree impossible to trace. The two powers are, in fact, habitually welded into one, after a key is established, or, in other words, memorised.

The Law of Association.

The power of our minds to associate names with things or ideas of things is so well known it is unnecessary here to dwell upon the general application of the principle. Has it been on the whole good for musical progress that centuries ago names were employed as mnemonics of the effects I have just been describing? Some would answer this question with an emphatic negative, but whether for ultimate good or evil the practice of so using syllables or names now permeates the greater part of the sight-singing teaching in this country.

It is beyond my present purpose to discuss fully the advisability of utilising this alluring power of our minds to associate musical effects and names. I am content now to record its existence as a sight-singing resource and to point out some consequences of its employment in sight-singing methods.

One of the most extraordinary results of this associative power is the astonishing speed at which it works with singers of ordinary capacity. It is quite common to find children who have been taught on this method capable of singing at sight at the rate of about 160 notes a minute. But the key must be constant, or, if modulations are used, they must be easy.

[The children now sang at sight from pointing on a tonic sol-fa modulator at the rate of about 160 notes per minute.]

Then it must be noted that unless you are dealing with picked pupils one condition is that they must be permitted to utter the syllables or the bond between them and the sound will be snapped. Experience shows that the mind, through the eye only, cannot so quickly conjure up the sought-for effect as it can when the syllables are uttered, because the built-up association so co-ordinates the muscular action called for in saying the name, that if the latter is suppressed the door to the effect is shut, or at least it is much more laboriously and consciously opened. The syllables impressed as slaves mock the singer as masters. The moral of this is that from the early stages and throughout the course, pupils should be trained to frequently use the syllables as thought mnemonics that need not to be uttered in order to work their magic. Very strong protests are sometimes made against the principle of associating names and musical effects. I quote two which are typical of two points of view, although they agree in result. The first is from a thoughtful teacher, Mr. Samuel Cole, who has had a large practice in schools in the United States. The extract is from a paper on "Thinking sounds directly or indirectly," which was read in the States at an important conference of school music teachers. The paper appears in full in the December, 1896, issue of the *School Music Review*. Regarding the movable doh method, as applied to the staff notation, Mr. Cole says:—

"What wonder that the best musicians have repudiated such a method and that nowhere does it prevail except in America? (In making this statement I do not forget the tonic sol-faist, to whom this paper does not apply.) Here it has held sway for three-quarters of a century at least—two generations and a half—and how much facility in thinking sounds has it produced? How many musicians outside the ranks of the public school service do you know who read music by this system? I cannot name one, and I never saw an amateur musician or a public school music teacher who would not have been a better music reader and a better musician if they had never come in contact with it. I was thus taught the scale when very young, and as I grew older I thoroughly mastered every detail of it and even learned the time names, so that I can even now sol-fa or tā-tā or tā-zā fā nā with fluency; but I am compelled to admit that my musical abilities and sensibilities have been injured by it beyond repair."

It will be seen from this extract that Mr Cole objects altogether to any use of syllables. His statement that teachers and singers would have been better readers if they had not been brought into contact with the sing-syllables

method implies that there is another and a better way. He is now trying to do entirely without syllables, and I await the result of the experiment with interest.

The other opinion is one frequently quoted in America and in England. Mr. Theodore Thomas says:

"I consider the system at present followed in this elementary instruction, called the 'movable doh' system, fundamentally wrong, and experience has confirmed me in this opinion. It is a makeshift invented by amateurs. Pupils should learn something about the absolute pitch of tones instead of merely their relative pitch. The 'movable doh' system shuts the door against this knowledge. . . . In my experience, those who have learned to read music according to this method never free themselves from it."

I quote both of these opinions without meaning to state that I agree with them.

I think Mr. Cole's experiment of teaching scale relations without using syllables will be found insuperably difficult in most quarters where sight-singing is taught, and that Mr. Theodore Thomas's recommendation to teach absolute pitch, or, as he says, "*something* about absolute pitch," to everybody is an impossibility in the existing circumstances.

The syllables used as scale degree mnemonics, with all their faulty results, are apparently still on the whole the only possible method for the great majority.

[The children here sang simple phrases at sight to words. They showed much less facility than when they uttered the sol-fa syllables, and they were often uncertain and sometimes incorrect.]

The Key-Sense.

One of the greatest difficulties of the sight-singer is the performance of modulation from key to key.

The movable dohist, singing from the ordinary notation, is beset with a twofold task often of great complexity. First there is the notational difficulty. If he is dependent upon the syllabic association of scale degrees he may be puzzled, even if he does not find it utterly impossible at times to theoretically determine the key and, therefore, the scale degree he ought to think of. This is a mental difficulty, it must be admitted, but it is a matter of theory, and, therefore, outside the scope of my subject. Assuming that it is abundantly clear what key and scale degree is asked for in a key transition, the psychological difficulty of conceiving the sound has still to be faced. The thraldom of the memory to a key once established is often strong. The mind has not

only to throw off this thraldom, but has also to re-conceive the scale from another tonic. A good capacity and much systematic practice are essential to success in this endeavour. Some changes of key are easier than others. The law of difficulty may be roughly stated as follows :—

A new key is easy if its tonic is one of the old scale degrees farthest off the old tonic (upper and lower).

And conversely—

A new key is difficult if its tonic is anywhere near to the upper or lower old tonic.

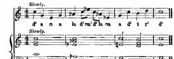
Keys F and G are the easy changes from key C, because the tonic of either of these keys is as far as possible away from the upper and lower tonic of the old key.

Keys D and B are typically difficult changes from key C, because the new tonics and other scale degrees are close to the old tonic and corresponding scale degrees. Another explanation is that a key change is, in a general way, more or less difficult, just as it calls for more or fewer new pitches. The memory of the absolute pitch and the memory of the mental effect of the old scale degrees cling so tenaciously, it is often extremely difficult, especially in an unaccompanied melody, to settle down into the new key.

These changes illustrate the unwillingness of the ear to throw off an established key. But we have also to reckon with quite the reverse willingness in instances where the circumstances are different and peculiar. The mind is apparently always hankering after a tonic, and if it cannot recollect one and relate to it a present note or chord it will seek a key tone or tonic in what it has most recently heard. The readiness to forget the last established tonic is now as remarkable as the tenacity with which, in other circumstances, the memory clung to the old tonic.

When a chord is struck the immediate effect is derived from the observed relation of the sounds to one another plus the relation of the whole chord to what has preceded. But as the memory of the past becomes weak, it is ousted by the prominent present, and a new tonic is sought for in the chord itself. Every major common chord, however approached, is therefore soon regarded as a major tonic chord, and every minor common chord as a minor tonic chord. This fitfulness of tonality is often a source of difficulty to sight-singers, especially when they depend wholly upon mental effect for their sight-singing. A series of notes appears to the eye to be in one key while their mental effect suggests their closer relation to another key. In such cases the use of the sol-fa syllables of the theoretical key are a hindrance rather than an aid.

ILLUSTRATION.



The endeavour of the ear to find some acceptable relation between what is heard at one moment and what is memorised of previous sounds, is aptly illustrated by the effects of chromatic chords. The momentary intensity of such effects is striking, but this intensity rapidly melts away. The ear, we may suppose, relates the notes to the key last established, and yet is quickly willing to find amongst the notes of the chromatic chord a new tonic or the suggestion of one. But, meantime, the chord has a *nuance* of effect entirely of its own. Chromatic notes are one of the sight singer's supreme difficulties, because their relation, and, consequently, their effect, is often vague.

IMITATIVE POWER.

I have now discussed the chief means by which sight-singing is accomplished. To give something like a complete survey of the subject it is necessary to make some reference to some other and subordinate considerations that affect the sight-singer. First, I comment on the remarkable power possessed by persons of almost any musical capacity of quickly imitating what they hear. One voice can carry along a great number of others and the general result is a tolerable unanimity. Congregational singing is often—too often—of this imitative type. I suppose that, things being as they are in the world, we should be thankful that it is possible for uninstructed singers to follow a lead in this way. But in the sight-singing class the use of this faculty is often a decided disadvantage, because it is so cruelly deceptive. A choralist may sing in a choral society for years and flatter himself that he can sing from notes because he looks at them, when, as a matter of fact, he has probably never once inwardly conceived a single sound at sight from notes, but merely imitated others around him, or probably the omni-present pianoforte. We are all

familiar with the choral society candidate who can sing very well from notes "with the others" or provided he or she may sit beside a certain real sight-singer.

[The children here were asked to follow with their voices musical phrases sung by Dr. McNaught. The result was a practical unanimity.]

The Memory of Approximate Pitch.

The memory of approximate pitch is useful as a general guide to locality. In choral part music a singer can often successfully hit a required pitch in this way. The pitch sought for is probably one suggested by the other notes of the chord, and this also attracts the singer's shot. Some choralists who have no other conscious resource depend greatly upon this memory, and are often lucky in lighting upon the required pitch whilst others are fumbling and stumbling. But by itself this method is too vague for general use. It is simply a useful supplementary aid.

Association of the Memory of Muscular Tension with Pitch.

The memory of muscular tension can, to a limited extent, be associated with pitch, especially at the extremes of the compass. A singer will tell you that he knows how this or that pitch "feels in his throat." This ability must not be confounded with the ear sense of absolute pitch, because the latter is purely a brain memory of sound. Occasionally, the memory of muscular tension is embarrassing. This is the case when music is sung in a different key from that in which it is printed. The singer has to resist his conscious memory of tension.

A similar difficulty is also experienced by many singers when memorised music is sung in a different key from that in which it has been hitherto practised. The embarrassment in both of these cases may also be partly caused by the ear memory of approximate pitch.

Keyboard Memory.

Pianoforte and other keyboard players are sometimes assisted in sight-singing by a mental reference to the keyboard. To some extent this is a pitch memory, but it is more often unassociated with this sense. It is more of an interval memory. It is clear from universal experience that only a

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small minority of keyboard players acquire this memory. The great majority do not seem to derive any memory available for sight-singing purposes from their daily plodding and pounding. This is because they get no practice in conceiving sounds before they perform them. The rank and file of pianoforte players are, therefore, generally very indifferent sight-singers.

The Pictorial Suggestiveness of Musical Notation.

Although it is true that musical sounds move neither up nor down, it is clear from abundant experience that singers of all grades very readily associate through the eye movements of this description with successions of sounds from grave to acute, or the reverse. Every method of sight-singing utilises in some degree this easily acquired association. But whilst fully recognising this instinct, it is worth while to record here that up and down movement to the eye and the ascribed up and down movement of sounds to the ear are not a necessary and absolute connection.

I suppose no pianist is conscious of embarrassment when, say, his right hand descends a scale passage, and, therefore, moves from *right* to *left*, whilst his eye and the notation travel from left to right. Here neither of the movements is imaginary, but obviously real. The fact is, useless associations, however apparently natural, have a tendency to eliminate themselves, and, therefore, give no trouble. Much the same result arises with a singer trained on the mental effect method and not in the habit of measuring intervals as such. He can sing pretty fluently from horizontal representation, if the notation will allow of the arrangement, or even from an upside down arrangement.

doh
ray
me
fah
soh
lah
te
doh'

[The children here sang quite freely from a tonic sol-fa scale turned upside down, as shown on the margin, and they also sang as freely from pointing on the staff inverted as below—

after being told that the top line was the low "doh" and the first space the high "doh."]

But there can be no doubt that the customary pictorial association is the most natural one. It is far too readily

realised as such by indolent "sight singers"; so much so, indeed, that in a great number of cases it is the only resource utilised. Conductors of choral societies everywhere groan under the burden of having a considerable section of members who habitually depend upon this sense of contour. An individual examination of the powers of such singers generally affords convincing proof of the utter inadequacy of the "method." Coupled with other more exact sight-singing resources, the apparent sympathetic movement is a real assistance, but, used alone, it is far more harmful than useful, because it instils a fatal habit of rough guessing.

The Optimistic Method.

Still another scheme of practice for sight-singing must be mentioned for the sake of completeness and because of the number of its votaries. Many teachers and would-be sight-singers appear to adopt the theory that if for a number of years you perseveringly practise singing whilst looking at notes a happy instinct of reading will be evolved. There is no doubt that some of the practitioners of this simple faith do emerge from the process with a fair and useful skill, but the greater number are examples of its fatuity.

Conclusion.

From this cursory and, I am afraid, imperfect survey of the psychological resources available for employment in sight-singing, it is easily seen how wholly subjective these resources are. Most good sight-singers are compelled to use a combination of means. The choice depends upon the method employed and the capacity and opportunity of the individual. But on any method only a few succeed in becoming absolutely first-rate sight-singers. The immense majority are brought up a few rungs of the ladder and are often content to remain there. They find their knowledge sufficient for their needs, or they are too indolent to acquire more skill. Or it may be they are without incentive to advance, for they find that conductors are delighted to have them if they can but read a simple hymn tune at sight. So they join the choral society, and at once rehearse "The Spectre's Bride."

The processes by which an advanced sight-singer works are probably in the end beyond analysis. They are not conscious processes but instincts, if I may so describe them. Many singers work too exclusively at the development of one set of faculties. Thus the movable dohists (in which are

included all tonic sol-faists) are generally far too dependent upon the sense of tonal relation or mental effect and are, therefore, liable to be upset when the key is vague. I do not say this censoriously. The circumstances under which the vast majority of pupils learn movable doh methods preclude the possibility of much more being done. We have to be content with a certain degree of progress. But we must not claim this as perfection and finality. Then as to the singer by interval effect alone. Unless he possesses unusual capacity he finds himself continually distracted by the chameleon-like changes effected on intervals by the tonal relations of the notes.

The fully-equipped sight-singer must be a musician of considerable natural capacity and attainment. If he can easily command the permanent memory of absolute pitch he may not need any other resource. He may, however, find this sense inconvenient when called upon to perform a pitch to which he is not accustomed. If he does not possess this sense he needs to have a retentive temporary memory of absolute pitch, a keen perception of the effects of the scale degrees, complete independence of the utterance of associated syllables, and the ability to sing intervals apart from knowledge of their true key context.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, we have listened to a very interesting and instructive address, which I regard as a valuable contribution to the philosophy of music. Dr. McNaught incidentally alluded to the real difficulty of some of the so-called *simple* methods put forth by enthusiasts. He and I have had a lot of experience together during the last fifteen years of these processes of teaching the art of sight-singing. Some cards once reached us with a diagram of the staff and keys on them at an hotel where we were staying. We pored over these for about half an hour; at last I said to him, "Can you make head or tail of these?" and he replied, "No; can you?" and I was obliged to admit that neither could I. I was very much struck also by his remarks about people who had ears being able to sing at different pitches. I remember at Vesuvius a lad hanging about me pretending that there was an echo. So he made a sort of Swiss "Yodel," and then hummed it with closed lips at the interval of a fifth

below. That is a true and very interesting case showing that he confused pitch and force. I should also like to be allowed to tell you one little experience of mine about musicular memory of pitch. Some years ago when the Albert Hall Choral Society was getting up Beethoven's great Mass in D, Barnby asked me if I would mind transposing it at next practice. I did so; as you know this is not an easy task. But every time the tenors came to the top G or A they went to the Albert Hall pitch. At last Barnby said to me: "I am very sorry to have given you so much trouble, but you see they cannot get out of their minds the old pitch." The memory was really in their throats; the tenors had got accustomed to a certain musical effort.

Mr. W. H. Cummings.—I have been extremely interested in Dr. McNaught's paper It gives us much food for thought One point he emphasised which my experience has taught me in recent years should be borne in mind—that is, the tyranny of the syllables. I find that people who carry the practice of singing from syllables too far eventually cannot possibly do without it. I have found admirable singers from the staff notation all right when they used the sol-fa, but when they had to leave it off they were of no use at all. I venture to differ from the lecturer as to what future sight-singers will be. I believe by-and-by, through culture of children beginning early, they will sing from absolute pitch. I know in Canada there are some Kindergarten classes that are being taught by a very energetic lady. I have seen how, by giving the children objects on the table representing d's, e's, f's, &c., she gets them to learn the notes on the pianoforte as truly as one can teach them with the finger. I do not think it will come in my time or in your time, Sir John, but I do anticipate a time will come when singers will be absolutely free from systems which all have some weakness about them. Undoubtedly the best sight-singer is one who has a natural gift for pitch and has studied harmony, there is no doubt he can sing anything at sight. I may add one reminiscence. I remember when I was a youth I was very glad to get every possible opportunity of accompanying good singers, and once being asked to accompany songs at a club that no longer exists, Adam Leffler sang a song in which, according to the fashion of the day, a tremendous cadence was introduced But he forgot where he was. The song was in D and I found he had got into E flat, and I wondered whether I should play the tonic and dominant of the proper key or play in E flat and say nothing. I did the latter. Leffler came and patted me on the head and told me I had done admirably.

Mr. Venables.—One thing that strikes me in connection with the idea that we shall ultimately all be able to sing by absolute pitch is: What shall we do when the pitch varies

in the future as much as it does now, and as much as it is always likely to do? I conceive it must be a very laborious thing for anyone who sings from absolute pitch to accommodate himself to all the varying pitches one meets with in the course of his musical experience in going from one concert-room to another and from one drawing-room to another. The pitch is constantly varying, and though they may start from the sense of absolute pitch they must of necessity drop into relative pitch, or else go into oriental scales to accomplish changes of less than a semitone. It seems most unlikely that a whole nation can be trained to sing from absolute pitch, because it is not a fixed quantity. In different instruments the pitch will be constantly varying some degrees, and therefore the difficulties of keeping to one standard must be very great. Perhaps I speak from prejudice, because my own sense of absolute pitch is not very keen; but I have at least some sense of absolute pitch. If I look at a piece of music and start with thinking much about it I almost invariably find myself in the correct key according to the old Philharmonic pitch—I have not got accustomed to the new yet. But if anyone asked me to sing the examples written on the blackboard from absolute pitch I should fail inevitably. So I have a sense of absolute pitch, but not one that is of use in sight reading. These things vary a great deal in different individuals, and I dare say it may be that in my young days, and, in fact, throughout my life, I have never paid special attention to cultivating it. I was taught from the staff, as a choir boy, by Mr. John Turner, who wrote a book and taught upon the tonic method before Dr. Hullah introduced the fixed do method. So my whole experience has been that of key relationship and not of fixed pitch, and, personally, I should never think of trying to teach by any other means than that of key relationship.

Dr. SHINN.—With reference to the sense of absolute pitch referred to by Dr. McNaught, there seems to be a good deal of misconception prevalent on this subject. Some time ago I made considerable investigation into the nature of this particular power, and as a result I came to the conclusion that it was a memory for attaining definite pitch, and its possession by individuals was due to, and varied with, the sensibility of the ear. I doubt whether it has that special character which some seem to attribute to it. As with our other powers, so the ears of different individuals exhibit every degree of sensibility, from that possessed by one who cannot distinguish more than one or two tunes to that possessed by a Richter or a Mendelssohn. With regard to the muscular memory referred to by the lecturer, this seems to coincide with the same form of memory employed by the pianist, and other instrumentalists, and commonly, though incorrectly, described as "finger memory."

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By frequent repetition one gradually acquires the power of performing a series of movements automatically. This power of automatic movement, due to merely sensory stimulation, has been known to have continued after the individual has become unconscious, as has been exemplified by a reporter in the gallery of the House of Commons who continued to take down a speech after he had fallen asleep.

Mr. W. Harding Bonner.—In teaching beginners (I am not speaking of advanced singers) I am convinced that the old Italian syllables are a far greater help than figures. I have tested it, and in order to test it thoroughly I attended a class taught by Dr. Sawyer not long ago, and I find that figures are not so great a help to children as the syllables. The words one, five, three, &c., do not of themselves make us think of musical sounds. We speak of one chair or five horses, but directly anyone says do, re, mi, fa, &c., everyone knows those names are so closely connected with musical sounds that they do not lead one's thoughts away to anything else. I think friends who have taken classes will find they get on better with the old Italian syllables than with figures.

Mr. Langley.—What effect has this sense of absolute pitch on singing accurately notes that differ only enharmonically? Would a person who has a sense of absolute pitch sing those notes absolutely the same? Suppose you had F, E flat, E sharp; would the singer return to the first note at the same pitch?

The Chairman.—If they had been trained to sing an enharmonic scale they would probably sing it truly, but none of us have been trained to that. But we have all got so accustomed to tempered scale that I do not suppose there are half-a-dozen people in the world who could sing in just intonation. There was a German violinist with whom I had been discussing this question after one of the Three Choir Festivals. I said I had no doubt that fine violinists played the common chords more truly to the just scale than they are given us on the pianoforte. But I said, "When you come to modulations, which we have in such enormous quantities, you do not make so much difference." He said, "I do not agree with you a bit. A good violinist will always make a difference." I said, "If you are in C, which would you make higher, G sharp or A flat?" "G sharp," he said, which is the reverse of what just intonation demands. Nevertheless, I think if people had been *taught* to sing an enharmonic scale they might perhaps sing it correctly from absolute pitch.

Mr. W. H. Cummings.—The violinist ought to make G sharp sharper than A flat. Singers are taught that G sharp is the higher, because it is a leading note.

The Chairman.—Yes, the leading note is an arbitrary pitch. The proof of the difference in just pitch between G

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sharp and A flat can be popularly demonstrated thus: As our major thirds are too large on the pianoforte, if we start from C, E should be flattened as its major third, and G sharp should be flattened to the already flattened E, as *its* major third. G sharp has therefore descended. But A flat is a major third below the C above, and as C (being an octave) cannot be altered, the A flat has to be raised nearer to the C to get a just third. The G sharp has therefore gone *lower* than in the tempered scale, the A flat *higher*. Sir Frederick Ouseley, my friend and patron, had a wonderful sense of absolute pitch. He of course did not do what so upsets us. He did not hear instruments of different pitch every day. When I came to London I heard one pitch at the Albert Hall, another in St. Paul's, and a third in my own drawing-room. One remarkable story of his memory of absolute pitch is recorded. He went away from England to travel in Italy. On his return he visited St. Paul's, and after the service he said to Sir John Goss, "Whatever have you transposed that Service for?" Sir John Goss said he had played it just as it always had been played. "No," said Sir Frederick Ouseley, "you played it a semitone higher." The explanation was that the organ had been transposed a semitone higher (the pipes having shifted down a semitone) while he was away. He was not aware of the change, but he recognised it immediately by his memory of absolute pitch. I know this once happened in his own chapel. The organ was out of order: the bellows broke down in the middle of a service. He saw a man bringing in a small £5 harmonium. He knew it differed a semitone in pitch from the organ, and he deliberately sharpened his intonation in the prayer, so that when the man played the Amen for the choir he was in correct pitch with it.

You have had such a good evening that I think my paper, which was announced to follow, had better keep till some future meeting. So we must now conclude with our very best thanks to Dr. McNaught for the very valuable and interesting paper that he has given us.

The vote of thanks was passed unanimously.

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x Opera, Russia

JANUARY 10, 1900

CHARLES MACLEAN, Esq., M.A., Mus.D.,
VICE-PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL OPERA IN RUSSIA.

By ROSA NEWMARCH.

THE history of the development of national music—like that of every other popular movement in Russia—presents a continuous conflict. On the one hand we see a strong natural impulse moving irresistibly towards fulfilment; on the other, a policy of repression, and, at times, even of active persecution. That the close of this century has witnessed the triumph of Russian music proves how strong must have been the innate capacity for this art, and how deep the love of it, which could overcome every obstacle to its development.

Roughly speaking, the history of Russian music may be divided into four periods. The first, within its limits, was purely national. It included all the most ancient folk-songs and *bulenas*, or metrical legends. It saw the rise and fame of the *skomorôkh*, or minstrels, the composers and preservers of these epics and songs. These minstrels were of two classes, bards and gusslee-players (harpists), like the celebrated skald Bayan, and jesters, some of whom were wanderers, and others attached to the service of the nobility. This period reached its highest development in the reign of Vladimir, "the Glorious Sun," first Christian prince of Russia, about 988 A.D.

The second period, which was one of decadence, dates from the establishment of Christianity in Russia at the close

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of the tenth century, when the folk-music lost much of its independence and fell under Byzantine influence. The Greek Church was strenuously opposed to every form of secular art. Moreover, the folk songs were of Pagan origin. Therefore, just as the priests of to-day look askance at the songs and legends of the Brittany peasants which perpetuate the memory of heathen customs, so the Byzantine monks of the eleventh century condemned the national songs of Russia as being opposed to the spirit of Christianity.

Thus the primitive music had little chance of development. Driven from the centres of dawning civilisation, it took refuge in forest settlements and remote villages. With it fled the bards, the companies of glee-men, or "merry youths"—as the Russians called them—so dear to the hearts of the people. "For a time," as one monkish chronicler remarks with evident satisfaction, "there was silence in all the land of Russia." But monkish persecution could not entirely stamp out the love of music in the land. To do that, it would have been necessary to uproot the very soul of the nation. So long as a minstrel remained, the old songs were not in danger of becoming extinct. Despite the fulminations of the clergy, the nobles still secretly patronised and cherished their singers, and beguiled the tedium of life by their *poteshni palati*, literally "halls of entertainment."

In time, however, the ascetic and intolerant teaching of the monks altered the temper of a people naturally prone to religious superstition. The status of the minstrels declined. They ceased to be "welcome guests" in cottage and in hall, and degenerated into companies of roving thieves, driven from place to place by their clerical persecutors. The word *song* became synonymous with *sin*. By way of compromise the glee-men invented that curious class of song called "spiritual," or "sacred" songs, in which pagan and Christian sentiments were mixed in an incomprehensible jumble. The musical disposition of the people suffered, and their creative faculties stagnated.

This state of things continued until the reign of Alexis Mikhailovich (1645-1676). Alexis was exceedingly fond of music, and summoned several German musicians to his court, who taught the Russians the use of many instruments hitherto unknown to them. His action provoked the last and most violent outburst of clerical intolerance. In 1649, by order of the Patriarch Joseph, all the musical instruments in Moscow—except those belonging to the King's German musicians—were confiscated and burnt in the open market-place. Towards the end of this reign, however, such fanaticism seems to have worn itself out. The voice of the people was once more raised in song and there appeared a fair possibility of musical progress.

The advent of Peter the Great did little for the development of national music. The fine arts made no appeal to the utilitarian mind of this monarch. Music ceased to be regarded as one of the seven deadly sins, but suffered a worse fate, since in the inrush of novel cosmopolitan ideas the national songs were completely forgotten for a time. During this reign, however, some of the more enlightened nobles began to keep private bands, in imitation of those they had heard at the courts of foreign princes.

Russian music entered upon its *third period* at the close of the seventeenth century. The national music now regained some of its former importance, but its progress was checked, because the influence of Western Europe was already paramount in Russia. Italian music had reached the capital, and long held the field. The first twenty years of this century witnessed a strong revival of interest in the national music, and when in 1836 Glinka created "A Life for the Tsar," he inaugurated a *fourth period* in the history of national art, the limits of which have yet to be ultimately defined.

It is precisely to the transition from the third to the fourth period - a time which includes the work of Glinka and his immediate predecessors—that I want to call your attention to-day.

In 1730 the Polish king Augustus III., wishing to pay a graceful attention to the Empress Anne, invited a German opera company to Petersburg to take part in her Coronation festival. This company played Italian *opera-bouffe*, then in vogue upon the Continent. This was the first performance of opera in Russia, and so delighted the Empress that she resolved to establish a permanent company at her court. Hubner, a German musician, was deputed to engage singers. Apparently it was not easy to persuade artists to visit Russia in those days. Among the few whom he brought back was one named Pedrillo, who soon changed his vocation of opera singer for the more lucrative and honourable one of court jester. To Pedrillo, Anne confided the task of forming a new opera company, and in 1737 he returned from Western Europe with a complete equipment, including orchestra, scene-painters and property men, the whole under the conductorship of a competent musician, Francesco Araja. The first opera performed by this company was Araja's "Albiasone." For a considerable period only Italian operas were performed, the libretti of which were occasionally translated into Russian. It was not until the reign of Elizabeth (1741-1761) that an opera was written to a Russian libretto. The music of this work, "Procris and Cephalus," was composed by Araja and was quite Italian in style. About this time, however, the influence of the

Empress's favourite, Razoumovsky, made itself felt in favour of Russian melodies. Foreign composers in Russia were not slow to profit by this fashion and began to introduce national airs into their operas. By this time, too, several talented native musicians had been trained, either in the Court choir or in some of the many private orchestras established by the nobility. Of these, Bortniansky and Berezovsky devoted themselves to church music, while Volkov turned his attention to opera. His "Tamousha" was the first work of this kind composed by a Russian, and boasted some pretensions to the national style. It was performed at Petersburg in 1756, and its success paved the way for a series of so-called "Russian operas" in which local colour was employed in a more or less superficial manner.

Strictly speaking, the operas of those days were dramatic performances with music interspersed, in the style of the French *vaudevilles*.

Music, under the Empress Elizabeth, became a fashionable craze. Every great landowner kept his band or choir. The influx of foreign musicians into Russia threatened to swamp the frail craft of native talent, which had just been launched with pride upon the social sea. The majority of the foreigners were mediocrities who found it easier to impose upon the unsophisticated Russians than to make a living in their own country. The names of Sarti, Paisiello, and Cimarosa stand out as stars among this host of rushlight composers.

Under Catherine II. (1762-1796) music made some real progress in Russia. It was a period of brilliant dilettantism and magnificent—if indiscriminate—patronage. Few cared about art for art's sake; nevertheless, the fashion of the moment did something for the real development of music. In a word, art became popular and reached even to the lower classes. Pseudo-national operas continued to be the rage. The favourite composers of that day were Thomin, who wrote the opera "Melnik," and Titov, whose "Wedding-Feast" had a colossal success. Some of the airs from these operas were caught up by "the man in the street" and became as popular as genuine folk-songs. "Nationality in music was such an innate instinct," says M. Stassov, "that, even in this artificial period of powder and patches, those works had the greatest success in which the local colour was most strongly reflected."

Catharine was succeeded by Paul I., who took very little personal interest in the progress of music. In his reign, however, the direction of the Imperial choir and opera passed into the hands of an Italian, Cavos—a conductor of exceptional ability, who raised the standard of the performances to a very high level. In the reign of Alexander I.

(1801-1825) Russian sentiment underwent a complete change. The invasion of 1812 awoke the slumbering conscience of the nation. The craze for everything foreign—so marked under Catharine II.—gave place to ultra-patriotic enthusiasm. This re-action, which is reflected in the works of the great poet Poushkin, was not without its effect upon musical taste. We now hear a great deal about national music, and everything was done to encourage its progress; but a superficial idea of it still prevailed. Composers continued to believe that a Russian subject and a selection of popular airs were all that was needed to produce a national opera. Cavos—influenced by the prevalent fashion—wrote two operas in this style, "The Roussalka of the Dnieper" and "Ivan Sousanin." Afterwards we shall see how Glinka succeeded with the latter subject, which is of the deepest national significance. Cavos treated it in the traditional spirit of Italian opera. At the end of the last act the martyr-hero, whose life has been saved by a series of wildly improbable incidents, appears on the ramparts of Moscow and declaims the following verses:—

> "Now let the cruel foe beware,
> And tremble all his days;
> But let each loyal Russian heart
> Rejoice in songs of praise."

That such uninspired verse, set to music which matches it, should have taken the town by storm, shows that national opera had not yet attained a very high artistic level. The example of Cavos was followed by a number of clever amateur composers, who made it their business to cultivate the national element in opera and song. Of these I need only mention Alabiev, the composer of "The Nightingale"; Varlamov, whose song "The Red Sarafan" is often erroneously taken for a genuine folk-song, Count Bielgorsky, Prince Galitzin, and, finally, Verstovsky, who was hailed for a time as the true Messiah of Russian music. For at this time Russian society so ardently desired the regeneration of national music that it was easily persuaded to believe that the hour had come. This idea was encouraged by the official popularity of the national hymn, which Lvov composed to order in 1833, and by the extraordinary popularity of Verstovsky's opera "Askold's Tomb." But these hopes proved illusive. Neither in the cosmopolitan hymn tune, nor yet in the opera, with its mixture of half gipsy, half-street melodies, was there the slightest trace of genuine national sentiment. Russian music, like Russian literature before it, was destined to move a few years longer in grooves of routine and imitation.

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Meanwhile Glinka, the future founder of the new art, had joined the amateur circle of which I have spoken, and was known as the composer of some pretty drawing-room ditties which gave no special promise of latent abilities. About the time when the appearance of the Hymn and Verstovsky's opera had awakened the enthusiasm of the public, Glinka was ordered by his physician to spend the winter in Italy. He gladly obeyed the order, because to him—as to all the young men of his day—Italy appeared as the Promised Land of art, from whence he hoped to return imbued with a superior culture and inspiration. The unexpected happened. Glinka brought back from Italy, not precisely what he went to seek, but something infinitely more precious—the true idea of a national art.

Lounging in the theatres and concert-rooms of Italy, listening to Italian singers and fancying himself "deeply moved" by Bellini's operas, suddenly it flashed upon Glinka that this was not what he needed to stimulate his inspiration. This race, this art were alien to him and could never take the place of his own people. This swift sense of remoteness, this sudden change of thought and conviction, was the psychological moment in the history of Russian music. Glinka's first impulse was only to write a Russian opera, but this impulse held the germ of the whole evolution of the New Russian school as we know it to day.

Hitherto Glinka had not troubled himself with theoretical studies, which were distasteful to him. Now he realised that his ambitions had outsoared his technical equipment, and faced the fact with a courage that showed his sincerity. It is not easy to put oneself to school at thirty; but Glinka's first step, when he turned his face northward in 1834, was to visit the celebrated theorist Dehn and offer himself as a pupil. Dehn seems to have realised that special methods of teaching were necessary in this case. Perhaps he was afraid of wearing out the splendid enthusiasm of his mature pupil, for which he evidently had a great admiration. He planned a condensed course of theoretical studies, which he wrote out in five small copy-books. Glinka threw such energy into the work that in five months he had completed the course. Possibly he might have remained longer under Dehn's supervision, but the death of his father obliged him to return to Petersburg.

He was resolved to master all the special characteristics of his native music. He rose above the superficial conception of national music which distinguishes Verstovsky and his predecessors. Glinka looked into the essence of things. "I want," he writes to a friend at this time, "to compose an opera that shall be entirely national. Not only the subject, but the music itself. I should like my fellow countrymen to

feel quite at home with it. And abroad I do not want to be taken for a *parvenu*—a crow masquerading in peacock's feathers." Thus we see that Glinka was pre-occupied less with the effective use of local colour than with the creation of a national opera which should appeal to the most intimate feelings of his countrymen.

Others, before and after his time, had recognised the value of the folk-song—that artless and direct expression of national musical feeling. Beethoven had borrowed from Russian sources; Schubert from the Slovak; Haydn, as Mr. Hadow has recently shown us, was largely indebted to Czechish melody; Liszt to the Magyars. Yet none of them produced national music in the same sense as Glinka. Nationality does not lie in a theme. To be truly national, to express the soul of a people, it is necessary to go to the root—to the national life itself. And none of these composers addressed themselves to the national life of the people from whom they borrowed these pearls of price to give back to the world in their own inimitable settings. Glinka penetrated more deeply into the conditions of national life. He was at home in the world, not only of Slavonic melody, but of Slavonic sentiment and Slavonic history, and he employs this wealth of colour, form, and emotion with the confidence born of life-long knowledge. Consequently, in "A Life for the Tsar," he created a national opera, which, at the time, had not its exact counterpart anywhere else in Europe.

The subject of "A Life for the Tsar" is not only full of human and dramatic interest, but is one that appeals essentially to every Russian, no matter what his class or his vocation. The action takes place at one of the most stirring periods in Russian history, the Russo-Polish war of 1613, just after the boy-king Mikhail Fedorovich—first of the present Romanov line—had been elected to the throne. Glinka himself sketched out the plot of "A Life for the Tsar," which, briefly stated, runs as follows: The Poles, who have been supporting the claims of their own candidate for the Russian throne, form a plot against the life of the young Romanov. A Polish regiment is despatched to Moscow, ostensibly on a peaceful embassy, but in reality to carry out this evil design. On their way they enter the hut of a loyal peasant, *Ivan Sousanin*, and commandeer his services as guide. *Sousanin*, who suspects their treachery, forms a heroic resolve. He secretly dispatches his adopted son to warn the Tsar of his danger, while he himself misleads the Poles in the depths of the forest and falls a victim to their vengeance when they discover the trick that has been played upon them.

Whether the story be true or not—and modern historians deny its authenticity—*Ivan Sousanin* will always remain the

typical embodiment of the loyalty of the Russian peasant to his Tsar, a sentiment which remains unshaken by misery or oppression, and has hitherto resisted all the agitations which have affected the middle and upper classes in Russian society.

In "A Life for the Tsar" Glinka conceived the idea of contrasting the characters of the two nations by means of their national music. Unfortunately, he was not super-saturated with Polish music as he was with the Russian. In indicating the personality of the Poles he never gets beyond conventional dance rhythms, and the results are sometimes grotesque. For instance, the Polish soldiers burst into *Sousanin's* cottage, and roughly order him to act as their guide, to the strains of a stately polonaise. Again, when they have lost their way in the forest and their situation is extremely precarious, they express their alarm and suspicion by means of a cheerful mazurka. But the idea, though imperfectly carried out, is a fine one, and shows that Glinka took a higher view of the possibilities of local colour than his predecessors.

The music of "A Life for the Tsar" was an immense advance on anything which had been previously attempted by a Russian composer. Already the overture—though not one of Glinka's best inspirations—shows many novel and original orchestral effects; effects which grew out of the very fundamental material of Glinka's music, the folk songs of Russia. Generally speaking, his tendency is to keep his orchestra within modest limits. It is the orchestra of Beethoven rather than that of Berlioz that Glinka takes as his model. "I do not care," he says, "to make use of every luxury." Under this category he places trombones, contra-fagotti, grosse-caisse, English horn, piccolo, and even the harp. To the wind instruments he applies the term "orchestral colour," while he speaks of the strings as "orchestral motion." Glinka especially sought to give free play to the various individual groups of instruments. For this reason he abandons the conventional routine which makes the first violins always play above the second ditto, and these in their turn above the violas, &c. On the contrary, he said: "The more these instruments interlaced their parts, the nearer they approached to their natural character and the better they fulfilled their part in the orchestra."

A great deal of the musical material for "A Life for the Tsar" is actually taken from national sources The treatment, too, is generally strictly in accordance with national tradition. Thus, in the first act, the opening chorus is for male voices, led by a precentor, a special feature of the choral music of Great Russia. Another chorus in this act has a *pizzicato* accompaniment in imitation of the national

instrument, the *balalaika*. The first time this chorus was rehearsed the Russian players were so charmed with its original and realistic effect that they rose to a man to give the composer a hearty ovation.

Glinka has written the *rôle* of *Sousanin* for a bass Critics, indeed, have often reproached him for giving preference to the bass at the expense of the tenor parts. But when we remember that Russia produces some of the most phenomenal bass voices in the world the preference seems natural enough. Indeed it has almost a national significance. *Sousanin's* part throughout the opera is admirably realised and consistently Russian in character. His opening phrases, based on the Phrygian mode, seem to delineate his personality in a few broad touches. Towards the close of the first act he has as a short phrase, "Tsar, our rightful lord," founded on a very old national melody "Slavsia," or "Hail to thee." This stands as the representative theme of the Tsar, and constantly re-appears in the course of the opera. Upon *Sousanin* centres the chief interest of the plot. Two great scenes are allotted to him. The first occurs when the Poles demand his assistance as guide, and he resolves to give his life for the Tsar. Here the orchestra plays a very important part, illustrating, as it were, the thoughts and changes of purpose which influence the hero before he has made his great decision. The alternating rhythms—*Sousanin* sings in 2-4 and the Poles in 3-4—are very skilfully and effectively managed The second scene takes place in the forest The Poles, worn out with hunger and fatigue, have fallen asleep, and *Sousanin*, watching the slow winter dawn which will bring death to him and safety to the Tsar, sings in a strange mood of exaltation his great solo beginning, "Thou comest dawn! For the last time mine eyes shall look on thee." This is a really touching and natural outburst of religious emotion and never fails to go straight to the heart of a Russian audience.

But though in dealing with *Sousanin* he is frankly and successfully national, the influence of Italian opera had gone too deep to be cast entirely aside, even by so strong and independent a mind as Glinka's. In the parts for *Sousanin's* daughter, *Antonida* (soprano), and his adopted son, *Vania* (contralto), he relapses into the conventional mannerism of the Italian school, and their solos, though invariably vocal and attractive, have not the glow and vitality of *Sousanin's*, nor of the many admirable choruses which occur in the work.

Glinka devotes one entire act to the Poles. The scene is a brilliant ballroom in the Polish capital, and forms practically the ballet of the opera. We have a Polonaise, a Cracoviak, a slow Valse in 6-8 time, and a Mazurka, all more or less

conventional in character, but not lacking in a kind of superficial brilliancy and piquancy of orchestration which has made them very popular. The representative theme of the Poles, a phrase from the Polonaise, is not specially characteristic or suggestive of their sinister intentions.

In the last act of "A Life for the Tsar" Glinka has concentrated the ardent patriotism and the intense human sympathy which is a feature not of his music only, but common to the whole school of which he is the founder. The curtain rises upon a street in Moscow. The populace are hurrying to the Kremlin to welcome the new Tsar, singing as they go the fine March-Hymn—founded on the plagal cadence—"Hail, hail, Holy Russia." In contrast to the gladness of the crowd Glinka shows us the unfortunate children of *Ivan Sousanin*, *Vania*, *Antonida*, and her lover, *Sobinin*. Some of the people ask the cause of their sadness, and in reply they sing the touching trio which describes the fate of *Sousanin*. Then the scene changes to the Red Place in the Kremlin, and all individual sentiment is merged in a flood of loftier emotion. The close of the act is, in truth, the apotheosis of the Tsar and of the spirit of loyalty. Once again the great crowd takes up the "Slavsia," or "Hail" motive, and the opera ends with a triumphant chorus which seems to sum up the whole character of the Russian people. For more than fifty years "A Life for the Tsar" has held the first place in the affections of the Russians; a conclusive proof that it admirably fulfilled the expectant hopes of a nation who had long been craving an adequate expression of their national music. Every year since the opera season in both capitals opens with a performance of this work; while the final chorus is far more honoured as a national hymn than the one which we are accustomed to associate with the Russian people.

Glinka had now reached the meridian of his powers, as we may judge from the works which followed the completion of "A Life for the Tsar": the dramatic military ballad, "The Midnight Review," and the beautiful incidental music to Koukolnik's tragedy "Prince Kholmsky," about which Tchaikovsky speaks with such enthusiasm in his Collected Writings.

The extraordinary success of his first opera stimulated Glinka to further dramatic efforts. He now began to consider the question of composing an opera on the subject of Poushkin's poem "Russian and Lioudmilla." His original idea was to ask Poushkin himself to furnish a libretto, but this intention was frustrated by the poet's tragic death in 1837. The plot of the opera was sketched out by Baktourin and pieced together by various authors, with very patchy results. In composing the music, Glinka did not follow any

definite plan, but wrote it in fragments, as it came to him, or as someone suggested new sources of material. Partly on account of the difficulties of dealing with such an ill-constructed plot, and partly because his health was beginning to fail, Glinka did not make very rapid progress, and the opera, begun in 1836, was not completed until 1842.

"Russlan and Lioudmilla" has been the cause of as much warfare as Helen of Troy herself. One school of critics, led by Serov, regarded it as the final aberration of a *warped genius*. The opposite party, of which Stassov was the chief representative, maintained that, in spite of certain faults, for which the libretto is mainly to blame, this opera is the expression of Glinka's *mature genius*. The work is so little known in England that I need not apologise for speaking of it at some length.

Besides the national Russian element, the *Oriental element* plays an important part in "Russlan and Lioudmilla." Before Glinka's time a few Western composers had already made use of Eastern colouring in their works, somewhat tentatively, and generally under the indication *alla turca*: Mozart, in "Die Entführung des Seraglio"; Beethoven in his music to "The Ruins of Athens," and, at a later date, Félicien David, who employed not only ready-made Oriental melodies, but showed an actual knowledge of Eastern scales. The use of Oriental colour came naturally to Glinka—as to most of the Russian composers. In visiting Russia, we cannot fail to be struck by the strong reflection of Oriental influence, especially in architecture and ornamental design. Glinka was sensible of this fact when he wrote: "Doubtless our Russian songs, which come chiefly from the North-East, have many of them been directly handed down by the inhabitants of the East themselves." Some of the melodies in "Russlan" are of genuine Oriental origin.

The subject of Glinka's second opera, though equally national, has not the broad humanity nor the thrilling dramatic interest, to which qualities "A Life for the Tsar" undoubtedly owes much of its lasting success. "Russlan and Lioudmilla" belongs to a remote period of Russian history, and deals to a great extent with fantastic and mythical characters. The story runs as follows:—

"In days of old"—when the Slavs were still heathens—*Prince Svietozar* of Kiev had one beautiful daughter, *Lioudmilla*. The maiden had three suitors, the knight-errants *Russlan, Farlaf*, and the young Khozarsky prince, *Ratmir*. *Lioudmilla's* love was bestowed upon *Russlan*, and *Prince Svietozar* prepares to celebrate their marriage. Meanwhile, the wicked wizard *Chernomor* has fallen desperately in love with *Lioudmilla*. At the wedding feast he carries off the bride by means of his magic arts. *Prince*

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Svietozar sends the three knights to recover his daughter, and promises her to the one who succeeds in the quest. The knights meet with many adventures by the way, and there is no lack of material for the development of dramatic action. *Farlaf* seeks the help of the sorceress *Naina*, who agrees to save him from the rivalry of *Ratmir* by luring the fiery Oriental aside from his quest. *Russlan* takes counsel with the benevolent wizard *Finn*, who tells him how to acquire a magic sword with which he is to deliver his bride from the hands of *Chernomor*. *Russlan* saves *Lioudmilla*, but on their way home to Kiev they are intercepted by *Farlaf*, who casts them both into a magic slumber. Leaving *Russlan* by the wayside, he carries the heroine back to her father's house, where he passes himself off as her deliverer, and claims her for his bride. *Russlan* arrives in time to denounce his treachery, and the opera ends with the bridal feast of the true lovers, which was interrupted in the first act. The overture to "Russlan" is sketched on broad lines, and has a fantastic colouring in keeping with the subject of the opera. The opening chords lend a completely national colouring to the music. Based on the tonic and subdominant, it has two subjects which are skilfully used in counterpoint. Towards the end of the overture we notice a descending scale passage in whole tones. This is the representative motive of *Chernomor* and his black arts. The overture is followed by an Introduction consisting of a chorus and two solos for the celebrated bard Bayan, who is supposed to relate the legend. This introduction is chiefly built upon a phrase of eight notes, the characteristic utterance of Bayan when he speaks of "the deeds of long ago." Afterwards this phrase is repeated in the Dorian mode, and the music acquires an archaic character in conformity with the remote period of the action.

The opera itself opens with a wedding chorus, and is followed by *Lioudmilla's* farewell to her father. In writing for his *prima donnas*, Glinka seems invariably to glide into a conventional Italian style. The music of *Lioudmilla* is altogether lacking in vigour and originality. The best number in this act is the chorus in 5-4 time, an invocation to the Slavonic god of love, Lel. A loud clap of thunder is followed by darkness, during which *Chernomor* carries away the bride. The wizard himself is invisible, but his presence is announced by the peculiar scale passage which I have pointed out. The utter consternation of the guests is cleverly depicted by the pedal point for horn, on E flat, which extends for 150 bars.

The orchestral prelude to the second act is based upon a broad, impetuous theme, which afterwards appears as the motive of the Giant's head in the following act. The first

scene represents a hilly region and the cave of the good wizard *Finn*. Here *Russlan* comes to meet him, and *Finn*—the only tenor in the opera—sings his celebrated ballad, in which he confides to *Russlan* his hopeless love for the beautiful sorceress *Naïna*. The character of *Finn*, half-humorous, half-pathetic, with its peculiar combination of benevolence, vacillation, and pessimistic regret, is essentially Russian. Such characters have been made typical in the novels of Tourgeniev and Dostoievsky. The air of *Finn's* ballad is rather monotonous, but its treatment is remarkably clever. *Finn* relates how, in a vain endeavour to win *Naïna*, he has changed himself into a shepherd, a fisherman, a warrior, and finally into a wizard. In this last character he has succeeded in touching her heart. But now they have awoke to the realisation that they are old people and nothing is left to them but regret for lost possibilities, gone beyond recall. Glinka expresses all this in *Finn's* wonderful ballad, which, however excellent as psychology, is too long and elaborate for a dramatic solo.

In the next scene *Farlaf* meets the old but once beautiful *Naïna*, and a humorous duet takes place between them. *Farlaf's* chief air, a *rondo* in the *opera-bouffe* style, is not remarkably original, but *Naïna's* music is a very successful piece of character painting. The last scene of the second act is one of the weirdest in the opera. The stage is enveloped in mist. *Russlan* comes in and sings his air, of which the opening recitative is by far the best part. The *Allegro* section, which Glinka has written in sonata form, is rather diffuse and makes no definite impression While he is singing the mist slowly disperses, and the rising moon reveals the lonely steppe, and shines upon the bleached bones which strew an ancient battlefield. *Russlan* now sees with horror the apparition of the Giant's head. This in its turn sees *Russlan*, and threatens the audacious knight who has ventured upon the haunted field. *Russlan* overthrows the monster and takes possession of the magic sword, as directed by *Finn*. In order to give weight to the Giant's voice, Glinka has supplemented the part by a male chorus in unison. But the Giant's address to *Russlan* is heavy and monotonous, and the scene ends by losing its first impressive and fantastic character.

The prelude to the third act is generally omitted on account of its great difficulty (it is not, in fact, printed in the ordinary piano score of the opera). The opening chorus, for female voices, " Night lies heavy on the fields," is full of Oriental grace and languor. For the subject of this chorus Glinka has employed a genuine Persian air, and the variations which form the accompaniment add very much to the beauty and originality of the melody. It is followed by

a recitative and romance for *Gorislava*, a former love of *Ratmir's*, whom he has abandoned for *Lioudmilla*. This air, with clarinet accompaniment, is one of the favourite numbers in the opera.

In answer to *Gorislava's* appeal *Ratmir* appears on the scene, and sings a very characteristic air (for contralto), accompanied by the English horn. For the *Andante* section of this solo Glinka makes use of a little Tatar air (the same which David afterwards introduced, in the major, in his symphonic poem "Le Desert"). The scene described as "the seduction of *Ratmir*" consists of a ballet in rococco style, with a chorus of maidens, the least interesting part of the opera. It is followed by a duet for *Gorislava* and *Ratmir*. Afterwards the enchanted palace, created by *Naina* to ensnare *Ratmir*, vanishes, and we see the open steppe once more. The act winds up with an interesting quartet in which *Russlan* and *Finn* take part with the Oriental lovers.

The entr'acte which precedes Act IV. consists of the March of the wizard *Chernomor*. This curious little march associated with the invisible monster, is one of the most imaginative things in the work, and takes us back to the fairy land of childhood.

The curtain rises upon *Chernomor's* enchanted garden, where *Lioudmilla* languishes in captivity. Then we have a fantastic Oriental ballet. The first theme of the ballet music is borrowed from a Turkish song in 6-8 time. Afterwards follow the "Danses Arabesques" and a "Lezginka," based on another of the Tatar melodies, given to Glinka by the famous painter Aivazovsky. A chorus of Naiads and a chorus of flowers (the latter built on the plagal cadence) also form part of the ballet, which is considered one of Glinka's *chefs d'œuvre*.

The ballet is succeeded by an orchestral interlude depicting the aerial combat between *Russlan* and *Chernomor*, interrupted occasionally by the Oriental chorus "The foe is vanquished." Throughout the music of this scene we notice the *Leitmotif* of *Chernomor*.

The first scene of the last act takes place in the steppes where *Ratmir* and *Gorislava* have pitched their tent. *Russlan's* followers break in upon the lovers with the news that *Farlaf* has treacherously snatched away *Lioudmilla* from their master. Then *Finn* arrives and begs *Ratmir* to carry to *Russlan* a magic ring which will restore the Princess from her trance. In the second scene the action returns to the great hall in *Svietozar's* palace. *Lioudmilla* is still under a spell, and her father—who believes her to be dead—reproaches *Farlaf* in a fine piece of recitative (*Svietozar's* music throughout the work is based on the

plagal cadence). While the Prince is declaiming these phrases, the orchestra plays a soft funeral march lamenting the supposed death of the Princess. *Farlaf* declares that she is not dead and claims her as his reward. *Svetozar* is reluctantly about to fulfil his promise when *Russlan* arrives with the magic ring and denounces the false knight. The funeral march gives place to the fine melodious chorus "Love and joy." *Lioudmilla* in her sleep repeats the melody of the chorus, in the highest register and *pianissimo* (yet her voice must be heard above the others, as in a kind of dreamy ecstasy). Then *Russlan* awakes her, and the opera concludes with a great chorus in which the characteristics of Russian and Oriental music are combined with brilliant effect.

"Russlan and Lioudmilla," first performed in Petersburg in 1842, was received with indifference by the public, and with pronounced hostility by most of the critics. It was too novel and too serious for a Russian audience of those days, who cared only for the lighter kind of Italian opera. As to the Russian critics of the forties, the less said the better. The failure of this work—the fruit of his mature convictions—was a disappointment to Glinka. He had not the alternative hope of being appreciated abroad. He had deliberately chosen to write for his fellow-countrymen, and when they rejected him he had no heart for further endeavour. His later works, "Komarinskaya" and the "Jota Aragonese," show that his gift had not deteriorated; but after the failure of "Russlan" Glinka lived chiefly abroad and wrote less and less until his death in 1857. Always pre-occupied with the idea of nationality in art during the last years of his life, he made an elaborate study of Russian church music, but his failing health did not permit him to carry out the plans he formed in this connection.

Glinka must be regarded as one of the first and greatest interpreters of the Russian nationality. For this reason a knowledge of his music and of his writings is an indispensable introduction to the study of modern Russian music, for they form the key to all that has been attempted since. Among his contemporaries he had but one who had any pretensions to be a rival. Dargomijsky, if not the brightest planet in the Russian musical system, was at least a companion star to Glinka of no inconsiderable magnitude. I have not time to speak of him to-day as I had originally hoped.

Perhaps at some future time an opportunity may be given to me to describe the operatic works of Dargomijsky and to give some account of the many disciples of these two masters: Tchaikovsky, whose opera, "Eugene Onegin," turning upon social life and the domestic affections, rivals in popularity "A Life for the Tsar"; Rimsky-Korsakov, whose

fairy and legendary operas prove him to be the nearest descendant of Glinka himself; Borodin, who in his epic opera, "Prince Igor," has almost outstripped in wealth of imagination and intensity of national colouring the composer of "Russlan and Liondmilla"; and, finally, the realist Moussorgsky, who in his historic music-dramas has carried to its ultimate development the creed of his master Dargomijsky: "I desire that the sound shall actually represent the word. I desire, above all, realism in music."

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen, Your applause has practically thanked the lecturer and performers, but I will ask you also to pass a formal vote of thanks to them in the usual way. [Carried unanimously.] In opening a discussion I will not attempt myself to go again over ground where Mrs. Newmarch is so complete a mistress, but I can at least perform the function of a showman in pointing out the significance of her lecture. We are in the first place much obliged to her for setting an example to the lady members of the Association. I have just been informed that the latter number $\frac{1}{8}$th of the whole body, but on the other hand out of some 200 and odd papers hitherto read only 4, or $\frac{1}{50}$th part, have been read by ladies This shows the ladies in the light of mute members, if not of patient Griseldas. I am glad that Mrs. Newmarch has given an example of readiness to address an audience. But the subject she has lectured on is also one of those which are next to inaccessible. Certainly there have been of late some articles on Russian music in the English periodicals (mainly caused by the Queen's Hall concerts, and in which Mrs. Newmarch herself has taken the principal share). Professor Pougin (Pol Dax) has also been doing something similar in Paris. But the number of those who keep or inspect files of even the weekly newspapers is extremely limited. Turning to dictionaries the treatment is most inadequate. Mendel's Berlin Conversationslexicon, Pougin's supplement to Fetis, Grove's Dictionary, all appeared together about 1880; no doubt they contain more or less perfunctory notices of Glinka and probably also of Dargomijsky, but of the second Russian renaissance then already 25 years old or of its authors there is I believe not one word. Perhaps Verstovsky's case is less

important, but Mrs. Newmarch said that he was looked on at one time as the Russian musical Messiah, and it is certainly true that none of these dictionaries have a paragraph upon him. Then as to books on the subject, practically there are in European languages two: César Cui in 1880, and Albert Soubies just the other day. Mrs. Newmarch has reviewed the latter book in the "Musical Standard" and recommended people to get it; I must however remark that it is little more than an abstract of César Cui, with additional information for the succeeding eighteen years, and these years were comparatively unimportant. In 1879-80 a series of thoroughly well-written papers translated into French from the Russian of César Cui appeared in the "Revue et Gazette Musicale" of Paris, and these were immediately after re-printed in book-form. César Cui was composer, critic, public reformer, Engineer colonel, and what not; in fact an all-round man. He has given us by far the best account of the movement in which he took a prominent part. As I said, this is all that is to be had in European languages; Findeisen's Glinka is I believe in Russian. As to performances, we are infinitely worse off. As symphonists the Russian school have been illustrated in Belgium and at the Queen's Hall, but Mrs. Newmarch's subject is Russian opera, and that was the essence of both the Russian renaissances. "Life for the Tsar" was played in Italian at Covent Garden in 1887; I heard it myself in Russian in Berlin in 1888, and I do not by the bye quite agree with Mrs. Newmarch's remarks on the airs of Antonida and Wanja, for if they have *fioriture* they are still very beautiful and wholly national. Several of Rubinstein's operas have been performed in Hamburg, but have not come any nearer. "Eugene Onegin" was performed in Hamburg, and at Covent Garden in the Lago venture, about 1892 I think. This exhausts the whole. Of the real Dargomijsky school, it may be said that not a note has ever been heard in England. It is to us complete terra incognita. Mrs. Newmarch is to be congratulated on what she has done to introduce this subject, and I hope she will do a good deal more. I cannot sit down without saying a word on the merits of this extraordinary musical upheaval in Russia. There has been no more important phenomenon within our modern musical horizon than these two renaissances of the Slav spirit; that of Verstovsky and Glinka in the thirties, and that of Balakirev, Cui, Moussorgsky, Borodin, and Rimsky Korsakov in the late fifties. I say no more important phenomenon, looking to its suddenness and its prompt results. "Life for the Tsar" sprang a masterpiece out of the brain of the scarcely experienced Glinka; Dargomijsky created an opera style; Serov created a school of orchestration, the effects of which are manifest to this day.

And these men wore themselves out in the task. Dargomijsky died at 56; Glinka, Borodin, Tchaikovsky died at 53, a fatal age apparently for Russian composers; Serov died at 51; Moussorgsky died at 42. I do not at all say that this Russian music is technically a model for our imitation. I say that we should imitate the national zeal, the zeal for Holy Russia, which pushed the whole art of music forward by creating a new style. For ourselves, I do not think we shall get anything from following our Teutonic brethren; I do not think we shall get much from our Anglo-Saxon lineage; but we shall get a great deal by going back to our Celtic antecedents. What the Slav can do, the Celt can do.

Mr. W. W. Cobbett.—I have to express renewed thanks to the lecturer for her valuable paper, and as I see two or three gentlemen present who can give it further publicity, I hope the English public, which is very slack in the matter of opera, will hear something of what is being done in a far off country like Russia in the matter of opera. This paper is all the more welcome that the subject of Russian music seems to be "in the air" just now. Mrs. Newmarch said that a psychological moment had arrived in the time of Glinka, and I think the same applies at the present day. All eyes are turned expectantly towards the great Slav race. Their literature, science, art, and music are promising much to the world in the near future; but it is of course their music with which we are concerned to-day. I have been much interested by Mrs. Newmarch's remarks on the subject of the Oriental colouring to be noticed in Russian music. It is, indeed, a striking feature. Russia is an Asiatic as well as a European country, and is bringing the Orient nearer to us—the East and West are joining hands, so to say, and music is a step nearer towards becoming a universal art. It is the fashion to call German music universal, but this is only true to a limited extent in its application to Western races. The great Jewish composers and performers have brought something of the Oriental spirit into music, and in Russia their influence is written very large indeed, inasmuch as Anton Rubinstein was the founder of the first Russian school of music, the Conservatoire of St. Petersburg, and never tired in his devotion to its interests; whilst his brother Nicholas, also a great pianist, whom Tchaikovsky immortalized by dedicating to his memory the great Trio in A minor, was the founder of the Moscow Conservatoire. These two institutions were the foster-mothers of the modern school of young composers of whom we have heard something, as Dr. Maclean says, at the admirable concerts over which Mr. Wood presides at Queen's Hall. But the Jewish is only one amongst many Oriental races. Russia is, as I have already said, partially Asiatic, and

we hear voices in its music which are perhaps less sweet, even at times barbaric, but distinctly virile and original. We have yet to learn to appreciate them. If we heard, for example, the Persian tune which Mrs. Newmarch pointed out in one of Glinka's operas, we should probably no more appreciate it than if we tasted Russian caviare for the first time. It is to Russia we turn for that "new thing" we are always craving for, in spite of Solomon's dictum of 3,000 years ago. That is the point. We do not expect Russian composers to rival Bach and Beethoven, but we do expect them to give us something original. I have a word to say about the sadness which undoubtedly pervades Russian music. Mrs. Newmarch has not touched upon this point, nor do the excerpts from Glinka we have heard to-day quite illustrate it. The music sounded almost academic compared with modern Russian compositions. I once visited Russia, and at the hotel in Moscow where I was staying with my wife, a Russian opera singer, a lady, occupied the room adjacent to ours. The first night we arrived we were sitting quietly when the silence was broken in the next room (the walls being very thin) by some strains which, as I found out afterwards, were strains from modern Russian operas. We shall not easily forget this little experience. It sent a thrill through us—it was indescribably melancholy, like the wail of a lost soul. So it is with a great deal of Russian music. In Russia there is much to cause sadness, but it is absolutely dangerous to express it in words. You may chance to be spirited away to Siberia. Don't think, please, that this is an exaggeration. It is literally true. Nihilists express their sadness in deeds we all deplore, but artistic musicians express it in their art. We, in England, whatever our private griefs, are, as a nation, free and prosperous so far, whatever may be in store for us in the coming century. It looks dark enough. But suffering and adversity are not always unfruitful, nor disadvantageous to the art of a country, nor has it proved so in Russia. Russian music is a true *cri de cœur*.

Mr. Southgate.—May I ask if Mrs. Newmarch will kindly tell us whether in the early period of secular music in Russia the Church modes prevailed, and was there any difference between the tonality of those modes and that of the music sung by the minstrels? The question arises because in much of the early music one seems to detect something beyond so termed local colour. Can Mrs. Newmarch tell us anything of the scale then in use, whether it was like our own, or had it flat sevenths, omission of the fourth, or any such peculiarity? With reference to some of the Chairman's remarks, in which he hoped that we should have something like a national school of operatic music of our own, there

is one condition that obtains in Russia, but not here, and which to a certain extent accounts for the success of Russian operatic music. The opera house there is not the chance speculation of some impresario, but the place is very largely subsidised by the Government, and Russian opera can be presented with all the beauty which money can secure, while in England a very different condition obtains; opera schemes here can only rank as private speculations. At one time we had something like a national opera school, but with the advent of Handel, and some Italian composers, English opera was no longer patronised, fashion favoured the foreigners, and our own native production ceased to attract.

Mrs. Newmarch.—To deal with the questions in reverse order, I would say first with regard to the Church modes they had a very strong influence on the early folk-songs, especially in Great Russia. Some of the folk-songs are quite Gregorian in character. The minstrels composed songs which they called "Spiritual Songs," a kind of compromise when they were forbidden to sing profane music. They were a curious jumble of Christian and profane lore, which would appear very unedifying to us; but the music was often distinctly religious in character. With regard to the opera being subsidised, that is true; but I think I must dispel the idea that native operas, with the exception of Glinka's "Life for the Tsar" and one or two of Tchaïkovsky's, are often heard. They have long been struck out of the repertory of the Government opera house because they do not pay. To hear them, one must go to those magnificent performances which are given occasionally at the expense of wealthy amateurs in Moscow and St. Petersburg. M. Mamantov sometimes gives a series of national operas. Even the finest national operas are shelved by the directors of the Opera. With regard to the Conservatoire being the foster-mother of Russian composers, that idea must be exploded Tchaikovsky was, I think, the only great composer who was educated at the Conservatoire. On the contrary, the New School was opposed to that institution, for Rubinstein was looked on as the head of the Conservative and Teutonic party in Russia, which was not at all in favour with them. Dargomijsky taught himself harmony from those five copy-books of Glinka's which I mentioned in my paper—that was all the theoretical education he ever had. Balakirev was a pupil of Oulibichev and he in his turn formed Rimsky-Korsakov; the rest of them taught each other, or were self taught. As to the difficulty of finding anything about Russian music, there is certainly no special article on the subject in Sir George Grove's Dictionary; but I think our

Chairman must have overlooked the article on Song, in which there is a very interesting section on Slavonic Song. He would find Verstovsky mentioned there. Mrs. Edmond Wodehouse has studied the subject thoroughly. Her article on Dargomijsky is good, but too short. I am afraid I cannot mention any other books on the subject besides those you have already heard named. M. Stassov is the most important authority, to my mind. He has devoted two very large volumes to musical articles, but they have not been translated. His later work has not yet been re-issued in book form.

The CHAIRMAN.—I must correct myself also. By inadvertence I did not proceed to say that Fuller Maitland's Appendix to Grove in 1889 has paragraphs on Cui and Rimsky-Korsakov; while Scribner's New York Cyclopædia in 1890, and Riemann's recent Dictionary, have paragraphs on all the members of the new Russian school, though not coming down as far as Glazounov, Arensky, &c.

Mr. COBBETT.—Does Mrs. Newmarch consider that the welfare of Russian opera in its own country is obscured by the great devotion of society to the ballet as a form of amusement?

Mrs. NEWMARCH: It is to a great extent.

Church music: Great Britain: Ireland.
Music - History - Ireland

A. H. D. Prendergast, Esq., M.A.,

In the Chair.

IRISH CHURCH COMPOSERS AND THE IRISH CATHEDRALS.

By John S. Bumpus.

PART I.

I have been honoured by an invitation to contribute to your proceedings, by selecting as the subject of a paper, some account of Irish Church musicians and Irish Church music generally—a subject, hitherto, not much worked up by English musical historians between two covers. I am by no means unmindful of the admirable lecture delivered by the late Sir Robert Stewart in the Irish capital in 1863. This, however, was not confined to ecclesiastical music, but embraced Irish art generally. It will be my endeavour, in the course of the remarks I am allowed the privilege of making, to put you in possession of the most trustworthy knowledge of the subject, as far as I have been able to collect and compress it within the limited demand, which such a paper ought to make on your time and patience.

It has always struck me as remarkable that, while Ireland has given to the world men who have distinguished themselves in every department of Art, Science, and Literature, she has produced so few musicians. But when we come to consider why this should be the case in a country whose people are nationally musical, the cause can readily be traced to the absence of a sound and theoretic school, and to the want of models, by the study of whose compositions a foundation might be laid for the furtherance of a pure and refined taste. Music seems to have been especially on the decline in Ireland during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Though Dublin could boast of the then finest Cathedral choir in the British Empire, and though, within its

precincts, were contained several excellent composers and performers, yet the absence of rank and wealth, by which, alone, merit of this kind could then have been encouraged, retarded every effort towards arriving at pre-eminence in the profession. In the middle, and at the end of the eighteenth century, such composers as Handel, Arne, Geminiani, and others made Dublin, for some time, their home, but after the Union, which drained Ireland of her aristocracy, nothing similar can be pointed to.

This want seems to have been supplied in a great measure by the Church. We shall find that from the reign of Charles I. until the time of the Disestablishment in 1871, it was the custom to unite the choir emoluments in the two Dublin Cathedrals of Christ Church and S. Patrick. The object of this was to secure the services of men of ability, by the guarantee of an income, sufficient to keep them in a thinly-populated country, for, in Charles I.'s time, Ireland was still in a semi-civilised state and therefore afforded no means of augmenting a musician's income from secular sources only. An appointment in one of the Cathedral choirs seems to have carried considerable weight with it. In this manner, distinguished Church composers, as we shall presently see, were induced to come over from the English Cathedrals and to make Ireland their home. Correct traditions of Cathedral usage were thus perpetuated, and the best specimens of Church music introduced from time to time.

Our most convenient plan will be to say a few words, in chronological order, about the most noteworthy musicians connected with the Cathedrals of Dublin and Armagh. In these three choirs the history and interest of Church music in Ireland mainly centre. Except, perhaps, those of Dublin, Armagh, Cork, Limerick, and Cashel, the Irish Cathedrals have been degraded as regards choral service to the level of parish churches. All traces of choral discipline have disappeared in these places. The vice of the country—well described by Dr. Jebb as "jobbing in its most flagrant form" —diverted, before the time of the Disestablishment, from their original ends, the offices of the great part of the clerical vicars, or minor canons, not a particle of duty being performed by the holders. There is no time now to speak of Cathedral abuses—the pluralities; the non-residence; the wealth squandered on those who did not do the work; the poverty of the actual doers of the work; the shameless grabbing and grasping of the funds (bequeathed by pious benefactors in olden times for the sustenance of the choral services) by dignitaries who fattened on, and provided for their families out of, successive prebends, deaneries and mitres. The pages of "The Black Book," published in 1831, and a powerful article in "The New Monthly Magazine" of the

same year—terrible but true, every word of it—will demonstrate to what a depth of degradation the Cathedral system had sunk in Ireland at this time. The population of that country was the poorest, her Church the wealthiest in Europe. Its opulence would have been excessive, had the entire population been within its pale. Late in the eighteenth century the revenues of the Dublin choir were rescued with difficulty from these clerical vultures, mainly through the exertions of a stalwart vicar, Dr. John Spray. The disendowment of the Irish Church made matters still worse for the Cathedrals. Where choirs now exist they are supported only by voluntary contributions. Both the Dublin choirs are, at present, endowed by splendid individual munificence.

Charles II. appears to have felt some interest in the Dublin Cathedrals, or at least he had someone about him who did so, for, at his Restoration, he made over for the two choirs, portions of the forfeited lands, nearly equalling in value the rest of their property. Prior to the Disestablishment the emoluments of the vicars choral, clerical and lay (of whom there were twelve at S. Patrick's and six at Christ Church, besides supernumerary singers or stipendiaries) were liberal in the extreme, the choir of Christ Church (without which that of S. Patrick's could not have been maintained) being richly endowed with two estates, besides obtaining about £130 *per annum* out of what was called the Œconomy Fund. The first of these estates, derived from rents, fines, tithes, dividends, &c., yielded £996 annually, which was divided between the three Prebendaries of S. Michael, S. Michan (a Danish Saint), and S. John, and the six vicars choral, share and share alike. The other estate, called the Augmentation Estate, consisting of tithes and rent charges, was that to which I have previously alluded, as granted by Charles II. Of this, the Archbishop of Dublin and the Deans of Christ Church and S. Patrick's were the trustees, half of the funds being paid to one choir and half to the other. The moiety paid to Christ Church produced annually £1,400, which the six vicars and six stipendiaries divided equally among themselves. In 1701, the estates of the vicars choral of S. Patrick's produced £650. The rents subsequently increased considerably, and, with the renewal fines, supplied ample means to the trustees to provide persons endowed with suitable talents. Monck Mason, in his *History of S. Patrick's*, published in 1820, writes, with reference to the choir endowments, "if we may judge from the effect, the trust has been fulfilled in a very judicious manner, inasmuch as there is not, at the present, a Cathedral in Great Britain wherein the choral service is better performed than in those of S. Patrick's and Christ Church in this metropolis.

At Christ Church, each of the vicarages was worth £222 per annum, while the stipendiaries each received £150, with a chance of attaining a vicar choralship as a vacancy occurred.

In the year 1840 the trustees divided the choir into two, agreeing not to promote any man to one Cathedral who already had a place in the other. But the plan did not answer. It was soon discovered that the once famous choirs were deteriorating. The diminished incomes failed to tempt over and keep good singers from England, and only an inferior set of men were obtainable for the Cathedrals. So, finding it best to keep the men who were good, the trustees once more united the emoluments, and the choirs rose again and were in great order until 1869, when all was changed by the confiscation of the ancient estates and revenues of the two Cathedrals, which had, as a matter of clear historic record, been the private endowment of various pious persons for the maintenance of the choral services. The Bill of 1869 did not, of course, affect existing rights, so that those appointed to the various offices in the two choirs before the passing of the Act, continued to enjoy the old incomes.

Be all this as it may, the excellence of the music and the performance thereof have, in no way, diminished—indeed, the week-day services are greatly improved—and a visit to Christ Church or S. Patrick's will satisfy the most exacting critic that the traditions of the past are scrupulously maintained in the present

I should like to point out that two interesting endowments of the Christ Church choir are recorded to have been made towards the close of the fifteenth century. In the year 1480, one Thomas Bennet, whose father had been Mayor of Dublin, granted for the furtherance of Divine Worship, all his lands and other possessions in Ballymore, to be appropriated, in order to maintain four choir boys, who were to sing daily, both at the Service of the high choir and other Offices. The other endowment was made five years later by John Estrete, Serjeant-at-Law, who assigned a pension he enjoyed, and also certain rents to which he was entitled, for the establishment of a Mass in honour of the Holy Ghost, and he further granted £4 4s. as an annual rent-charge on his lands after his death, in return for which the then Priory of Christ Church bound itself to say choral masses for the repose of his soul in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost in the South aisle adjoining the high choir. It is also interesting to note that on August 28, 1493, the Chapter, in spite of pecuniary difficulties, established a school for the theory of music, and appointed a master to give the choristers scientific instruction. The said school has always been in good repute and flourishes to this day. The foundation was thereby laid of a school of composers which has been aptly described by the

Rev. Edward Seymour (Canon and Precentor of Christ Church, 1876 to 1883), in an able and interesting pamphlet on that Cathedral, as "the Christ Church School." For further details respecting the earlier choral history of Christ Church I must refer you to the work published by Canon Seymour in 1869, and re-issued in a greatly extended and most sumptuous form in 1882, in conjunction with the late distinguished architect, Mr. George Edmund Street. By the kindness of Mr. Thomas Drew, F.R.I.B.A., consulting architect to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, I am enabled to give a curious early agreement with an organist of the Reformation period, after the suppression of the Priory, and dated March 16, 37 Henry VIII. (1546). It is taken from the Calendar of Christ Church Documents (1892) deposited in the Public Record Office (Ireland) :—

"Thomas Lokwood, Dean, and the Chapter of the Holy Trinity, &c., in consideration of his instructing the chorister-children, grant to Robert Hayward of Dublin, Singing man, for life, a yearly stipend of £6 13s 4d, 12 pecks of wheat, and 8 pecks of malt payable at the feasts of the Nativity, Easter, Nativity of S John Baptist and Michaelmas, a livery coat, a cart-load of wood at Christmas, and the Chamber* by the East of the Churchyard, and the Vicars Choral grant him 4 pecks of malt in equal portions, at said feasts, his daily finding, table and board, sitting and taking same with them

"Grantee, who is empowered to distrain grantors' lands in Dublin County and City for his stipend, undertakes to play the organ, to keep Our Lady's Mass and Anthem daily, Jesus Mass every Friday, according to the custom of S Patrick's, and Matins, when the organs play upon the 8 principal Feasts and the Feasts of 'Majus duplex' (grantors finding a blower), to procure, at the expense of the Church, suitable songs, to behave humbly and well to grantors, and soon as he shall have the above Chamber, to instruct the choristers in Pricksong and Descant to '4 minims,' and to play Our Lady's Mass, all instruments being found for them during the time of their child's voice, and to present them to the Chantor to be admitted, to remain in the service of the Church during his life and not to absent himself without license."

Then follow the signatures of the Dean, Chauntor (or Precentor), Chancellor, Prebendaries, and Vicars.

As regards S. Patrick's, you will find the history of that choral foundation described with great minuteness and precision in Monck Mason's monograph previously alluded to. This historian left large collections and drawings for a similar work on Christ Church, but his untimely death, in 1859, deprived that Cathedral of the advantage of a truly learned and competent historian. The noble work, however, by my kind and learned friend, Canon Seymour, amply supplies this want.

One curious and ancient custom in connection with Christ Church must not remain unrecorded. On the third day previous to the close of each Law Term, which occurred four times a year, the choir proceeded to the Court of Exchequer

* The Scriptorium of the monastic buildings

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to do "homage" to the King before the Barons in open Court, in order to secure their estates and privileges. On these occasions prayers were read, and an anthem was sung by the choir standing on the green cloth, after which they received a certificate that entitled them to all their revenues. Four of the chorister boys and the two clerical vicars used to attend, escorted by the verger of Christ Church. There might have been an important case going on and counsel making a fine speech, but without saying "With your leave," or "By your leave," the boys would step on to the green cloth and begin the anthem, after which the vicar read the State prayers down to the "Grace." The anthems used to vary. In later years Mendelssohn's motet, "Surrexit Pastor," adapted by Professor Walmisley to the words, "O Lord, Thou hast searched me out,"* used to be sung. Mr. John Horan, the present organist of Christ Church, tells me that, as a chorister in that cathedral in 1842, he frequently took part in this quaint custom, which came to an end with the Disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869.

Round Christ Church and S. Patrick's we shall find that many interesting musical memories and associations cluster, as they do round S. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, the Chapel Royal, and, indeed, all our own great churches.

Mr. John E. West, in his recently published book "Cathedral Organists"†—a work of great utility, minute research, and one long desiderated—gives the succession in the principal Irish Cathedrals from about the period of the Reformation to the present day. Turning to the list of organists of Christ Church we find no name of any importance or interest until we arrive at that of Thomas Bateson, who is familiar to us by his famous madrigals. Bateson was organist of Chester Cathedral in 1599, and in 1604 published a "First Set of English Madrigales to 3, 4, 5, and 6 voices." He describes himself on the title-page as "Practitioner in the Art of Musicke, and Organist of the Cathedral Citie of Chester." Five years later he was appointed organist of Christ Church, and in 1618 published his "Second Set of Madrigales to 3, 4, 5, and 6 Parts. Apt for Viols and Voyces." He is styled on the title-page "Bachelor of Musicke, Organist and Master of the Children of the Cathedrall Church of the Blessed Trinity, Dublin, in the Realme of Ireland." As Bateson, in 1618, calls himself Mus.B., he is supposed to have been the first musical graduate of the University of Dublin. I am only acquainted with one of his sacred compositions—"Holy, Lord God Almighty"—an

* A more recent adaptation by John Oxenford, to words commencing, "The Lord is your good Shepherd," follows the original Latin ones somewhat closely.

† Novello and Co., Ltd., 1899.

anthem in seven parts. This was printed in a collection of anthems by composers of the madrigalian era, edited by Dr. Rimbault, for the Musical Antiquarian Society, in 1845.

The record of Christ Church organists dates only from 1595, when John Fermor, possibly Bateson's immediate predecessor, was appointed; but that of S. Patrick's begins almost a century earlier, when one, William Herbit, was "pulsator organorum" with the modest annual stipend of £3 6s. 8d. Two organists, of whom the names only survive—William Browne and Anthony Willis (or Wilkes)—succeeded Herbit. In 1631, Randal (or Randolph) Jewitt was organist both of Christ Church and S. Patrick's. Of the latter he was also one of the vicars choral. He was originally a chorister in Chester Cathedral and seems to have studied subsequently under Orlando Gibbons. In 1639, for some delinquencies, among them being impertinence to the Archbishop of Dublin, Jewitt was deprived of his posts at both Cathedrals; but on May 28, 1641, in consequence of a petition, presented by him to the Archbishop, praying his Grace to restore him to his place at S. Patrick's, for the better maintenance of his wife and family, he having done his best service for the Church for eleven years, the Archbishop, "considering his skill and the sweetness of his voice—*ex premissis et aliis justis considerationibus, &c., dominationem suam in ea parte specialiter moventibus*," did retract the definitive sentence of deprivation, and entirely restored him to his vicar's place, and declared that from thenceforth he should be esteemed one of that body. £20 per annum was at the same time reserved to him as teacher of the singing-boys. In 1643 Jewitt returned to England and was appointed organist of Chester, his old Cathedral, but the Civil War soon deprived him of this post. On July 1, 1661, he, being in Holy Orders (most likely deacon's), was appointed a Minor Canon of S. Paul's, when the number of eleven was settled by the Dean and Chapter after the Restoration. Only one member of the College appointed before the Parliamentary troubles—Roger Nightingale by name—came forward, in 1661, to claim his (the fifth) stall, thus making up the then statutable number of twelve. On November 25 of the same year Nightingale died, so he does not appear to have long enjoyed "his own again." Jewitt's stall carried with it the title of Junior Cardinal—an office peculiar to S. Paul's throughout the Anglican world.*

* Still retained in that Cathedral, the present Senior Cardinal being the Rev. W. H. Milman and the present Junior Cardinal the Rev. W. J. Hall. These offices are attached to the second and third stalls. The Sub-dean has the first stall. Other stalls carry with them the titles of Custos or Warden, Almoner, Succentor, Librarian, Epistolar, Gospeller, and Sacrist.

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He was also Almoner or Master of the Choristers. When, in 1666, the Great Fire destroyed S. Paul's, Jewitt became organist of Winchester Cathedral, but retained his London appointments. Martin Pierson, his predecessor at S. Paul's, held office during the Commonwealth, and, as the estates belonging to the Almonry were not sequestrated, he probably enjoyed the emoluments without being required to fulfil the duties of his office. Jewitt seems to have tried to hold his mastership on the same easy terms, but from one of the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library, I find that he was "peremptorily summoned by the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's to return to London and settle there, and to do the duty of his place in teaching and preparing choristers for the service of the Church."

The words of three of Jewitt's anthems are to be found in the curious, and now very scarce, little black letter manual, printed in 1664, by James Clifford,* one of his colleagues at S. Paul's. I possess the music of all of these in various old part-books. One is a setting of the Collect for the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul. The records of the minor canons of S. Paul's and the registers of Winchester Cathedral concur in giving the date of Randolph Jewitt's death as July 4, 1675.

Benjamin Rogers, a lay clerk of S. George's Chapel, Windsor, was appointed organist of Christ Church when Jewitt forfeited that post in 1639. His name is a familiar one in the annals of Cathedral music, and he is endeared to all lovers of the true Church style by the sweet and fresh melody, natural and unaffected harmony, and the thoroughly devotional spirit which pervade his numerous services and anthems. Rogers' sojourn at Christ Church was not a lengthy one, for, on the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion in 1641, he fled in terror to his native country for safety. A similar circumstance occurred a century and a half later, when the well-known composer, Dr. John Clarke-Whitfeld, then Master of the Choristers of the two Dublin Cathedrals, fled from Ireland at the commencement of the Rebellion of '98. Rogers, on his return to England, again became a lay clerk of Windsor, but in 1644 the choir was disbanded and he lost his place. At the Restoration he was re-instated, and also appointed organist of Eton College. In 1664 he went to Oxford as Organist and *Informator Choristarum* of Magdalen

* Two years before, an equally scarce and curious book of words of anthems was printed for the use of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. My friend, Dr. A. H. Mann, organist of King's College, Cambridge, who possesses, I believe, every anthem book but this, and one printed by Stephen Bulkley about the same period for York, tells me that the only copy he has ever seen is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Dr. Rimbault, in 1868 confessed his inability to find a copy of Bulkley's book in York Minster Library.

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—a post he retained until his dismissal in 1686. Ten years later he died, and was buried at S. Peter-le-Bailey, Oxford.

I possess a volume entirely in the autograph of Dr. Philip Hayes, Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, 1777-1797, and organist of New, Magdalen, and S. John's Colleges, containing the whole of Benjamin Rogers' compositions for the Church, "drawn out" in vocal score, with figured bass for the organ. Hayes copied these, in many cases, from Rogers' own MSS. This interesting book, which I will place here for your inspection, contains five services and twenty anthems, including the famous Hymn sung annually on Magdalen tower on May morning. It was given by Philip Hayes to his pupil, the Rev. Gilbert Heathcote, Fellow of Winchester College, and of New College, Oxford, subsequently Archdeacon of Winchester and Vicar of Hursley. At his death, in 1829, it passed to his son, the Rev. Gilbert Wall Heathcote, Sub-Warden of Winchester College. Mr. Heathcote died in July, 1893. I happened, oddly, by the way, to be in Winchester on the very day of his funeral. Shortly afterwards his library was sold, and I purchased the above-mentioned volume together with a quantity of valuable MS Church music. Amongst it I was fortunate enough to find the *autograph* of Croft's Morning and Evening Service in E flat, signed by the composer, and dated March 19, 17$\frac{14}{15}$. This I beg also to present to your notice. The majority of the services and anthems in the Rogers volume have been, at various times, printed by Playford, Boyce, Page, Rimbault, Ouseley, and Cope in their collections of Cathedral music.

The first organist appointed at Christ Church after the Restoration was John Hawkshaw. In the authentic record previously mentioned, Mr. West points out that, according to the Cathedral books, leases were granted to Hawkshaw in 1645 and 1647, but he is not mentioned as either vicar choral or organist until after the Restoration, when, in 1661, he appears to have been elected to the first-named post and which he held until his death in 1688. His appointment as vicar choral of S. Patrick's is dated 1660, when he was also made organist there "during ye absence of Mr. Randall Jewet." Jewitt, as I previously observed, had returned to England on the breaking up of the Cathedral establishments at the Rebellion. He was evidently expected to resume his duties at Dublin after the Restoration, and, as he failed to do so, Hawkshaw was permanently appointed in his place.

Peter Isaake, another native of England, was appointed a vicar choral of S. Patrick's in 1673, but, owing to neglect of duty, he was deprived of that office in 1688. He then returned to England and became organist of Salisbury Cathedral, in succession to Michael Wise, who had met his

death, at Salisbury, in a midnight scuffle with a watchman in the August of the preceding year. In 1691 Isaake was invited by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church to "come over" and serve as vicar choral and organist of that Cathedral. He accepted the post and was admitted in 1692 "on account of his extraordinary skill in musick." He died two years later, and Thomas Finell became his successor.

Daniel Roseingrave, or Rosingrave, another Sarum man, succeeded Finell on his resignation at Christ Church in 1698. "We have always maintained healthy intercourse with Sarum," remarked Sir Robert Stewart to me one Sunday, as, at the close of the afternoon service, we were inspecting S. Patrick's, the style of which, like Salisbury, is homogeneous—viz., Early English, and the details of the East End and Lady Chapel very similar to that Cathedral. Roseingrave was originally a chorister in the Chapel Royal under Pelham Humphreys, and subsequently studied under Purcell and Blow. In 1681 he succeeded John Reading as organist of Winchester Cathedral, and Peter Isaake as organist of Salisbury, when that personage made up his mind to return to Dublin in 1692. He was also vicar choral and organist of S. Patrick's. I possess, in a curious contemporary six-lined stave organ book, a Service in F by Roseingrave, which includes a setting of the *Benedicite*.

Dan seems to have been rather a quarrelsome fellow, and more than once incurred the displeasure of the Cathedral authorities by fighting with Thomas Finell and another of his fellow vicars. But we do not find that it permanently alienated from him the regard of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, for they only called upon the pugnacious choirmen to apologise, and made an order to prevent gentlemen of the choir wearing swords in future. Amongst the minutes of Chapter at S. Patrick's (31st May, 1676) occurs an order regulating the apparel of the vicars choral. They were admonished not to wear swords in the precincts, and also to provide themselves with gowns against Michaelmas Day, to wear under their surplices. The Deans of S. Patrick's seem, at various times, to have found governing this unruly body a matter of no small difficulty. Swift not unfrequently mentions the trouble he experienced in subduing his "rebellious choir." Monck Mason prints elaborate rules and regulations, which were drawn up in 1692, for the observance of the vicars.

Daniel Roseingrave died in 1727, and was succeeded in his offices by his son Ralph, who had been, since 1718, one of the choir of S. Patrick's, and subsequently, in 1726, joint-organist with his father—perhaps the old gentleman was becoming infirm, and unable "pulsare organos."

Ralph, who was also organist of the Chapel of Trinity College, died in October, 1747. He was a somewhat prolific composer. Two complete Services in the keys of F and C and more than twenty anthems in the Dublin choir books testify to his industry. The Services contain settings of the *Benedictus*, a canticle more favoured by Georgian composers than people appear to suppose. Dr. Rimbault, in his sumptuous but somewhat inaccurate book, "Cathedral Chants of the XVI., XVII., and XVIII. Centuries" (4to, 1844), printed two double chants by Roseingrave.

Daniel Roseingrave had another son, Thomas, who displayed such musical ability that he was sent, in 1710, at the expense of the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, to complete his studies on the Continent. At Venice he met Scarlatti. He became very intimate with him, followed him to Rome and Naples, and never quitted him during his stay in Italy. When Roseingrave returned from his travels he settled in London, becoming, in 1725, organist of the newly-built church of S. George, Hanover Square. The stories related of him in some of the older histories of music must be taken *cum grano*.

April 13, 1742, is a day to be marked with a white stone in the musical annals of Ireland. It was the date of the very first performance of Handel's "Messiah," at the little music hall in Fishamble street, Dublin. The great composer (whose visit was one continued triumph) stayed in Dublin nearly nine months, living in Abbey Street. He performed a good deal of his own music, including "L'Allegro" and "Esther," before "numerous, grand, and polite audiences," as the Irish newspaper, *Faulkner's Journal*, informs us.

On the day of the memorable performance of "The Messiah," the ladies who intended to honour the occasion with their presence were requested to come without hoops, as such a proceeding would "greatly increase the Charity by making room for more company." The gentlemen were likewise desired to leave their swords behind them. In a subsequent notice it is recorded, to the honour of the ladies, that they complied with this request and came *sans crinoline*.

Respecting this performance an interesting discovery was made in 1891 by Professor Edward Dowden, of Trinity College, brother of the present Bishop of Edinburgh and Primus of Scotland. In hunting after literary curiosities at a bookstall in Dublin, the Professor came across a volume of pamphlets, one of which was an original programme, or word book, of the oratorio, issued at "a British sixpence." The interest of the discovery was greatly increased by the circumstance that the original owner was present at the performance, and wrote, with pencil, the name of every solo singer in the programme, against the different parts

sustained by them. On reference to Cotton's "Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ," these names are all found amongst the vicars and stipendiaries of the two Cathedrals. There is evidence, also, to prove that Handel esteemed their aid very highly. Professor Dowden, not being musical, presented this pamphlet to Dr. J. C. Culwick, organist of the Castle Chapel, who wrote an interesting paper upon it.

Time will not permit me to dwell further upon this famous performance. Those who would know more upon the point will do well to consult Horatio Townsend's little book—"Handel's Visit to Dublin," published in 1852—and also to read the chapters devoted to the same subject in the lives of Handel by Schoelcher and Rockstro. The little music hall in Fishamble Street, where the performance took place, was not a hundred yards from Christ Church Cathedral. In 1868 this building had been converted into a blacksmith's forge, and, in pointing out the site in 1885, the late Sir Robert Stewart informed me, with evident glee, that the proprietor of 1868 used to be facetious upon the subject of the perpetuation of the "Harmonious Blacksmith." I herewith present to your notice an engraving of the little music hall, taken from an original drawing formerly in the possession of Dr. Rimbault.

One of Ralph Roseingrave's most distinguished pupils was Garret Wesley (or Wellesley), first Earl of Mornington, and father of the great Duke of Wellington. He was the son of Richard Colley (or Cowley), first Baron Mornington, and one of the race which has given to the world such men as Ouseley and the Wesleys, all springing from the same stock. Lord Mornington was born at Dangan Castle, County Meath, in 1735, and he died at Kensington in 1781. Some extraordinary stories are told of his musical precocity by the Hon. Daines Barrington in his "Musical Miscellanies." It is asserted that he was able to play the organ, the violin, and the harpsichord, almost by instinct, when he had barely reached his fifth year. As a boy, Lord Mornington mastered Corelli's Sonatas, at that period considered the climax of violin playing. Totally ignorant, too, of the canons of composition, he wrote, after his own fashion, pieces that he styled serenatas. His father, having ordered an organ to be built in his private chapel, laughingly told him that he might be the organist if he could qualify himself. The son was not dismayed at the sneer, but immediately began to study, and, in a short time, astonished his father by a masterly display upon the instrument. From 1764 to 1774 he was Professor of Music in the University of Dublin. The private chapel above alluded to at the Mornington seat, Dangan Castle, had full choral services performed in it. It was adorned with stained glass, carved stalls, and an organ, with its choir organ

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in front; candles were upon the super-altar—in short, all its appurtenances were those of a regular collegiate chapel. Early in the nineteenth century the castle was destroyed by fire, and never rebuilt. After Lord Mornington's death it passed into the hands of the notorious Roger O'Connor, who dismantled it of everything that could be converted into money. Woodcuts, representing Dangan Castle, will be found in one of the Wellington Supplements to the *Illustrated London News* of November, 1852.

Lord Mornington, as we all know, gained great renown as the composer of glees, and he has been immortalised by Thackeray as "Most musical of lords,
Playing madrigals and glees
Upon the harpsichords."

What lover of our pure English vocal school does not know and admire his "O Bird of Eve," "Hail! hallowed fane," "Here, in cool grot," and "As it fell upon a day"? Sir Henry Bishop, who, in 1846, edited a complete edition of the Earl's glees, once remarked to the Duke of Wellington that his father's compositions would have done honour to one in the highest ranks of the profession. It may be interesting to observe that, at the State funeral of the Duke, in S. Paul's Cathedral, on November 18, 1852, the two Psalms, *Dixi custodiam* and *Domine, refugium*, were chanted to Lord Mornington's music. A psalm tune of the Earl's, "As pants the hart," has been edited by Mr. T. G. Baines, the recently retired organist of S. Margaret's, Westminster, who, in 1856, was appointed to that post in succession to J. B. Sale, the Queen's first music master. Beyond this, Lord Mornington is remembered as a composer for the Church only by two double chants, one of which has found its way into every English collection, but in the following curiously distorted form :—

You shall presently hear the form as originally conceived by the composer. It is taken from an old manuscript copy formerly belonging to that worthy prelate, Dr. Lindsay, Bishop of Kildare, who, from 1804 until 1846, held the Deanery of Christ Church, Dublin, *in commendam*, and took great interest in his choir and its music. It is the traditional version which has been in use in the Dublin Cathedrals since the death of Lord Mornington. In every English chant book the melody of the chant appears to have been altered, in consequence of its having been confounded with a chant by Dr. Crotch somewhat resembling it. The result of this has been to destroy the character of the chant, to produce a disagreeable monotony in the melody, and to render a grammatical inaccuracy in the counterpoint inevitable :—

Here is the melody of the double chant by Crotch. It will be found on page 17 of the collection of chants edited by John Marsh, the well-known amateur of Chichester, about 1815* :—

Under the auspices of the Earl of Mornington an Amateur Musical Society was established in Dublin, which met for practice every week, and gave frequent public concerts for

* Original key, E natural.

charitable purposes. Among the orchestra of this musical society were many members of the Irish aristocracy.

The Duke of Wellington, like his father, had a great love for music, and resembled him in the strong liking for massive harmony as developed in the works of Handel. He took his turn in "directing" the famous Ancient Concerts, Handel's compositions figuring, as a rule, very largely in his programmes, several of which are in my possession.

Roseingrave's successor at Christ Church was George Walsh. He claims notice, inasmuch as he was the composer of a really fine and scholarly Morning Service, consisting of *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in the key of D. Sir Robert Stewart esteemed it so highly that he wrote a Communion Service to match it. He made similar continuations for the Morning Services of Aldrich in A, Boyce in A, and Sullivan in D. Walsh in D is still in regular use at Christ Church. One cannot help feeling surprised that Boyce, Arnold, Rimbault, Novello, and Ouseley never included this fine piece of Church music in the various collections edited by them. Probably they were either ignorant of its existence or they passed it over. There are copies at S. Paul's, Durham, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, and I possess a fine score in my own library. Rimbault, when publishing his collection of Cathedral Services at Chappell's, in 1847, filled the last two numbers of the volume up with Croft's Services in A and E flat, both of which had been edited by William Hawes, of S. Paul's and the Chapel Royal, but a short time previously. Rimbault could have had easy access to Walsh in D, and it would certainly have been more judicious on his part had he included this, or something equally worthy and hitherto unedited. Ouseley, in 1853, went to the trouble and expense of printing a complete Service in F of thirty-seven pages by John Church, Master of the Choristers of Westminster Abbey in 1728—contrapuntally ingenious, but totally useless and uninteresting.

I may here mention that there are many excellent Services in the MS. books of our Cathedrals well worthy of publication. I particularize two at Hereford by former organists of that Cathedral: Dare in G (*c.* 1805) and Hayter in E flat (*c.* 1818). The part-books of Durham contain one in E minor by Pelham Humphreys, of a most pathetic and beautiful character, and still sung there.* Bishop in D (*c.* 1730) at Winchester, Raylton in A (*c.* 1740) at Canterbury, Walkley in A (*c.* 1700) at Salisbury, and several at Ely by Ferrabosco, Hawkins, Kempton, and Langdon, all organists of that Cathedral in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are likewise sound specimens of Anglican service music.

* This Service has recently been introduced at S. Michael's College, Tenbury, by the Rev. John Hampton, the present Warden and Precentor.

But to return to Christ Church and its organists. Walsh died in 1765 and was succeeded by Richard Woodward, a composer familiar to us here in England by his single and double chants, which are to be found in every collection. Woodward took his degree of Bachelor in Music at Trinity College in 1765, and that of Doctor in 1771. He was one of the vicars choral of S. Patrick's, and "Preceptor to the children of the two choirs of Dublin," as the inscription on his monument in Christ Church informs us. In old documents this latter office is described as "Master of the Song." In a book belonging to the vicars of S. Patrick's there is written, in the hand of Dean Swift, an account of the revenues of this functionary. The entry is dated February 4, 1725, when J. Worrall was master of the boys of the two cathedrals. From Christ Church he received £36, and from S. Patrick's £46, which included £4 for surplices.

A musician of considerable fame and promise, Woodward died at the early age of thirty-four, on November 22, 1777. While resident in New Street, in January, 1771, he published what must be regarded as the first collection of cathedral music by an Irish composer. This was a folio volume, containing a complete Service in B flat, nine anthems, ten chants, a chant for *Benedicite*, and a setting of *Veni, Creator Spiritus*. All these pieces are dictated by the best ecclesiastical instinct, the gravity of ancient times being tempered by the due expression of a later age. Among the canticles is the *Benedictus*, which contains two remarkably fine canons. The "Glorias" to all the canticles, treated fugally, are very spirited. Of the anthems, two may occasionally be heard at Westminster Abbey—"Sing, O heavens," and "O praise God in His holiness." The first-named was reprinted in 1844 by James Turle and Edward Taylor in their "People's Music Book." Several of the chants, freed from their grace notes and other *abbellimenti*, have found their way into every English collection. The melody of the double chant in B flat (No. 1), varies from the original in every chant book over here. It is called "The Commemoration Chant" at King's College, Cambridge—a designation not given to it by the composer. This volume of Woodward's, now, I believe, rarely to be met with, was dedicated to Dr. Smyth, the then Archbishop of Dublin. It was numbered by its composer *Opera Terza*, and was printed in London by Peter Welcker, of Gerard Street, Soho.

Woodward's monument in Christ Church Cathedral was originally placed near the altar. During the great restoration of the building under Mr. G. E. Street, between 1872 and 1878, the tablet was removed to the crypt, where it remained until 1896, when it was placed, with other memorials of honoured members of the musical staff of the

Cathedral, at the western end of the North aisle and adjoining the Baptistery. This spot, now forming a "Musicians' Corner," contains the cenotaph erected to the memory of Sir John Stevenson and the brass to Sir Robert Stewart. The framed drawing, which you will see before you, was kindly made expressly for me by Mr. John Horan, the present organist of Christ Church, and Mr. Thomas Drew, consulting architect to the Dean and Chapter. It will give you an excellent idea of the position of these interesting memorials. Underneath the inscription to Woodward you will perceive his fine Canon 4 in 2, "Let the words of my mouth," which gained the second gold medal given by the Glee and Catch Club in 1764. The photograph brings out both words and music so distinctly, that the whole can be read without the aid of a magnifying glass.

At S. Patrick's, in 1765, George Walsh was succeeded by his son Henry, who only held office for four years. Michael Sandys, the next organist, took Holy Orders in 1773, on his appointment as a priest vicar choral. In 1775 he was Prebendary of Stagonil (Powerscourt), and in 1778 Dean's Vicar, all in S. Patrick's. Similar instances of organists in Holy Orders are to be found in the records of Hereford Cathedral, John Farrant, Hugh Davies, John Badham, Henry Hall, sen., and Richard Clack were all, at various times, members of the College of Vicars Choral, and, according to the rules of Hereford, priests.

Samuel Murphy, who succeeded Sandys, combined in his person the offices of organist and half vicar choral of S. Patrick's, organist and stipendiary choirman of Christ Church, organist of Trinity College Chapel, and master of the boys of both Cathedrals. As a chorister, he sang in the first performance of "The Messiah" under Handel. He graduated as Doctor in Music at Trinity College and died in 1780. The Rev. Samuel Murphy, one of the vicars choral of S. Patrick's, whose name appears in the subscription list to the first volume of Ebdon's Cathedral Music (1790), was probably his son.

Dr. Philip Cogan became organist of S. Patrick's in 1780. He was a native of Cork, and successively chorister and lay vicar in the Cathedral of S. Fin Barre. Cogan was a noted performer upon the harpsichord, and composed many pieces for that instrument. Michael Kelly, in his "Reminiscences," describes his performances as "astounding." Dr. Cogan resigned his appointment at S. Patrick's in 1806 and died about 1834.

We now come to one who was, in his day, *facile princeps* among Irish composers—Sir John Stevenson. Without wearying you with lengthy details of his biography, for which, however, I found ample material when writing it in

1893, I will merely point out the salient features of Stevenson's musical career, before entering upon a short examination of his principal compositions, and relating some anecdotes concerning him.

It is generally believed that Stevenson was the son of a Scotch violinist attached to the Dublin theatres and State Band, who, having been for some time previously a coach-builder in Glasgow, settled in the Irish metropolis about the middle of the eighteenth century. That Sir John himself played the violin there is ample proof, for when, at one period of his life, he took lodgings at Friarstown, at the foot of the Dublin mountains, for the benefit of his health, having no pianoforte, he used to amuse himself by playing the violin, and he made a present of the instrument to his landlady's son when he left.

A humble lodging in Crane Lane, off Dame Street, was pointed out so late as 1855 as the birthplace of Stevenson. In September, 1771, he lost his father by a fever which carried him off after a short illness, and the wife, by her unremitting and affectionate attention, having caught the infection, followed her husband to the grave in a few days. Both were buried in the churchyard of Rathfarnham, not far from which the beautiful College of S. Columba now stands. They left two boys of nine and ten totally unprovided for. Fortunately, the sympathy of some kind friends was exerted on their behalf. John Andrew, the elder boy, was taken under the protection of Mr. Gibson, partner in a firm of musical instrument makers of good repute in Grafton Street, and who, after some difficulty, procured admission for his *protégé* into the choir house of Christ Church, where the six choristers of that Cathedral were boarded, clothed, and educated This, it should be mentioned, was in contravention of an ancient statute passed by a Parliament of the English Pale at Kilkenny in 1380. Up to this time (1771) it had been the custom to exclude the sons of Irish parents from the benefits, which the above excellent foundation attached to Christ Church, afforded. Mr. Gibson, however, seems to have had sufficient interest to have an exception made in Stevenson's favour, and the former ungenerous rule was gradually relaxed. William, the younger boy, was sent to sea, and is supposed to have been shipwrecked, as he was never heard of again Be this as it may, Sir John entertained, throughout his life, an inveterate hatred of ships.

Stevenson's early lessons were received from Richard Woodward and his successor, Samuel Murphy. He soon distinguished himself by the superior quality of his voice, and for the steadiness and ease with which he sang difficult solos in the anthems, while his handsome features, in which were indications of superior intellect, attracted universal admiration.

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When quite a youth, he obtained the Amateur Society's prize for a four-part glee, "One night when all the village slept," and astonished old John O'Keefe, when not much more than sixteen years of age, by composing some incidental music for his piece "The Dead Alive." In his "Recollections" (Vol. I., p. 403. 1826), O'Keefe, writing with reference to some of the songs in this piece, thus alludes to Stevenson: "I had given them to set to a very young gentleman, his name was Stevenson. He composed some of the airs and played and sang them to me at my house in Capel Street, and very beautiful they were. . . . The youthful musical genius of that day is now the admired Sir John Stevenson, the composer of sacred and sublime melody."

On July 20, 1775, Stevenson was appointed, by Dean Cradock, a stipendiary at S. Patrick's. In 1781 (his voice having settled into a good bass) he obtained a similar post at Christ Church. Two years later he became a vicar choral of S. Patrick's, but it was not until 1800 that he obtained a similar stall at Christ Church, although several persons had been brought over from England to fill vacancies in that choir. Had it not been for the fostering patronage of Dean Cradock, and his amiable and patriotic wife, in Sir John's youth, his talents would, undoubtedly, have been altogether lost to the country. He seems early to have become a very popular teacher and to have gained introduction to some of the best families.

In 1791 the degree of Doctor in Music, *honoris causâ*, was conferred on our composer by the University of Dublin, and on April 27, 1803, he was knighted by Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The elevation of Stevenson to the ranks of chivalry took place at the Rotunda Rooms, upon the occasion of a dinner, followed by a concert, both being given by the Irish Harmonic Club, to which Lord Hardwicke was invited. The more immediate cause of the honour was an acknowledgment of Stevenson's talent displayed in his compositions written to Tom Moore's words, both performed on the occasion: one being in the form of an Ode, "You ladies of our Lovely Isle"; the other being a glee with pianoforte accompaniment, the words, "Give me the harp of Epic Song," being a translation of the second Ode of Anacreon.

Stevenson's knighthood must be regarded as the first instance of the kind in the musical annals of Great Britain and Ireland.* Eight years later our own countryman, George Thomas Smart, was knighted for having successfully

* The date is erroneously given in Townsend's "Calendar of Knights" as 1806, and also in a letter written to "The Orchestra," by Sir Robert Stewart, March 4, 1867, as 1808.

conducted some concerts in Dublin. This was during the administration of the Duke of Richmond. Sir Henry Bishop, in 1842, was the first musician knighted by an English sovereign.

Stevenson's honourable distinction caused a boiling over of envy in some bosoms. One viper spat his venom in a lampoon of several verses, from which I will only quote the first two lines:—

"We all of us know there's a knight of the shire,
But who ever heard of a knight of the choir."

In the early part of the last century, Stevenson and Tom Moore were constantly in each other's society, and the former must have given the latter great help in his amateur compositions. One day, shortly after his knighthood, Stevenson found Moore reading in Archbishop Marsh's Library—an unfrequented place near S. Patrick's Cathedral—and said to him, "We were talking of your translation of 'Anacreon' the other night, and so-and-so said 'The Harp of Epic Song' was nonsense! How am I to answer him, Moore?" The little Bard of Erin bounded from his chair and paced up and down the room, exclaiming "Tell him he's a fool, tell him he's a fool!"

After this, composer and poet collaborated in several musical works, among them being "The Irish Melodies," "The Sacred Melodies," and "The National Airs." The first-named work had a European reputation, and it is too well-known to need a detailed description. The "Melodies" were published in periodical numbers between 1808 and 1834 and were soon "mastered and murdered" in almost every house throughout the length and breadth of the land. After the seventh number, differences arose between the poet and the musician, as may be seen by the correspondence of Moore, edited in 1852 by Lord John Russell, and the musical portion was completed with the assistance of Sir Henry Bishop. The symphonies and accompaniments added by Stevenson to the airs set to Moore's undying poetry, were objected to by the critics of the day as wanting in simplicity, and as being too chromatic and elaborate. Moore, however, defended Stevenson, saying that he thought he had brought a national feeling to the task, hardly to be expected of a foreigner, and tracing in his music a true vein of Irish sentiment. Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Memoirs of the Irish Union," remarked that some of Sir John's proceedings "in melodising simplicity" reminded him of the Rev. Mark Hare, who *whitewashed* the Giant Rock of Cashel, "to give it a genteel appearance against the Bishop's visitation"! Francis Robinson, J. W. Glover, Dr. John Smith, Balfe, and Sir George Macfarren at various times issued editions of the

"Irish Melodies." Whether their symphonies and accompaniments are better or more liked than those of Stevenson I leave others to form their own opinions, but I may be allowed to say that some of Professor Stanford's arrangements are admirable.

By the year 1825 Stevenson had composed a large quantity of Cathedral music. The finely-written choir books of Christ Church and S. Patrick's contain eight services and twenty-six anthems. From these copies they are still sung. In the aforesaid year Sir John printed a selection from these in two volumes, at a guinea and a half a piece. They were published by Power, of the Strand, with a dedication to George IV. The services selected for publication were three, in C, E flat, and F. Three others, in D, E♭, and G, are still in manuscript. Twelve of the anthems were selected for publication—viz., "O Lord, our Governour," "There were shepherds," "I looked, and behold a door was opened in Heaven," "Bow down Thine ear," "Lord, how are they increased," "I am well pleased," "Rejoice in the Lord," "Blessed be the Lord, my strength," "I looked, and lo! a Lamb," "Blessed is he that considereth," "The earth is the Lord's," and "I will magnify Thee," together with twelve double chants and a set of very florid "Responses for Holy Days." A reprint of these two volumes was issued by Addison some years later, each service and anthem being published separately. John Hullah reprinted the concluding chorus, "The Lord is my strength," from the anthem "I am well pleased," in his "Singers' Library" about 1860, and the late Joseph Robinson edited three of the collection of twelve, together with a hitherto unpublished one—"By the waters of Babylon"—very admirably. Beyond a Christmas anthem, "Behold, I bring you," published singly in Dublin in Stevenson's lifetime, I am not aware that any more of his cathedral music has been printed. His choice of words was, in some cases, decidedly original. One of his unpublished anthems is set to the Epistle for Whitsun Day, "When the day of Pentecost was fully come." Jackson, of Exeter, wrote an anthem to the same words.

The *Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, *Sanctus*, *Kyrie*, and *Credo* from the E flat Service, and the anthem, "Blessed be the Lord my strength," were composed for one of the installations of the Knights of S. Patrick in the cathedral of their patron Saint. The first of these functions took place on March 17, 1783. Others followed in 1800, 1809, 1819, 1821, and 1868. As regards the last named, when the Prince of Wales was present, the following cool passage in *The Times'* Irish letter for March 30 is noteworthy: "In S. Patrick's Cathedral extensive alterations are being made, *some of which will detract from the ecclesiastical character of the building*, but

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will tend to the unity and splendour of the ceremonial. The screen which separates the chancel from the Chapter Room has been removed, *and in place of the Communion table, a table and seats will be arranged for his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant as Grand Master, the Prince, and the Knights*" (the italics are mine). The Dean and Chapter of S. Patrick's, and the officials of the Order must have lost their senses that, at the very moment when the Irish Church was in the utmost need of the support of all good churchmen, they should have perpetrated so flagrant a sacrilege.

As a Church composer it has been said that Stevenson's genius for melody did everything for him, art but little. No doubt, had he been made acquainted in his youth with better examples and subjects for imitation, and for the further practice of harmony, and had he had access to the works of the great European masters, such as Palestrina and Sebastian Bach, which, in his time, were almost sealed books, we might have had higher specimens of sacred composition than those he has left behind him. With the exception of some familiarity with the works of our Cathedral writers and a tolerable acquaintance with the compositions of Haydn, and perhaps of Mozart,* he really knew but little of what others had done. We must recollect that, in his early days, Stevenson had no opportunities of hearing those grand choral and orchestral works which now form so important a factor in the education of our young musicians. But with all Sir John's narrow musical reading and the unfavourable circumstances of his time, he has produced much Church music (and that of a type not until then existing) which the world will not willingly let die—music which will ever reach the heart, and surely no more legitimate test could he applied. Numberless passages of great beauty and pathos in his services and anthems must have gone, and must still go, with thousands to their homes. I have always deemed Stevenson's Church compositions his best and most perfect efforts. In these, the peculiar tenderness and devotional feeling of the melody, and the appropriate setting of the sacred text, whether prayerful or jubilant, cannot be over-estimated; while the whole has a spontaneity of expression which gives them an air of inspiration. He does not seem to have delighted in fugues, canons, and other "ingenious contrivances." It is asserted that during the earlier portion of his career, Stevenson did not esteem Handel so highly as he ought to have done, and as every musician, sooner or later, must do. His taste seems to have been formed by a study of Haydn's works, and he insensibly, in many places, adopted the style of that composer. Like Haydn, he had an unusually

* The motets and Mass music of these composers must have been in use in Sir John's time in the Roman Catholic chapels of Dublin

rich vein of melody, which evidently came from a cheerful heart. Some have thought Sir John's Church music too secular in its style, but the same objection has been made to many admirable works of the kind, consecrated by time and use.

Professor C. Villiers Stanford, in an able and appreciative paper on the late Joseph Robinson, contributed to *The Cornhill Magazine*, of December, 1898, and whose only fault is its brevity, alludes in kindly terms to Sir John Stevenson, and judiciously points out that the knowledge of, and admiration for, Haydn and Mozart with which that remarkable man had imbued the musical spirit of Dublin, could not fail to have a broadening effect on the minds of the younger and more enthusiastic generation.

For Haydn, Stevenson carried his admiration so far as to compose a duet for tenor and bass to the words "And God made the firmament," which, together with an alto solo, "And God said, Let us make man in our own image," is always introduced at the Dublin cathedrals into the anthem from the "Creation"—"In the beginning"—between the tenor recitative "And God made the firmament" and the chorus "The heavens are telling."

The choruses in some of Stevenson's anthems are totally different in form from those written by his English contemporaries, who were usually content with a compression of the voice parts as an accompaniment. Stevenson went beyond this, and not only worked out his choruses well, but, in many cases, made his accompaniments florid and independent. I may instance "Thou art worthy of honour"—the *Finale* to his Trinity Sunday anthem, "I looked, and behold a door was opened in Heaven", and "Break forth into joy," the last chorus of the picturesque Christmas anthem, "There were shepherds."

Stevenson's treatment of verse movements for alto, tenor, and bass was invariably most happy. Several of them, for melodious grace and harmonious expression, rank among the best things of the kind with which I am acquainted. Take, for example, the verses "To Thee all angels," from the settings of the *Te Deum* in C and D, "With righteousness," from the *Cantate* in E flat, the final movement of the anthem, "Lord, how are they increased," and the opening one of "There were shepherds." His anthems contain also many fine tenor solos, written expressly for the voice of Dr. John Spray, such as "O Lord, our Governour," "I did call upon the Lord" (from "Lord, how are they increased"), "Then cried I" (from "I will magnify Thee"), and "Gracious is the Lord" (from "I am well pleased"). In the last-named anthem there is a counter-tenor solo, "Turn then again unto thy rest," full of pathos and expression. Stevenson's bass

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solos, too, are very good. I particularise two—"For He hath founded it upon the sea" (from "Rejoice in the Lord") and "The snares of death" (from "I am well pleased")—well worthy to rank beside the best of Purcell, Croft, Greene, and Boyce.

The settings of the *Credo* from the Services in C, E flat, and F evince considerable thought; due expression and solemnity being carefully given to the various articles. In this respect Stevenson quite broke away from the, in many cases, expressionless method employed by his English predecessors and contemporaries in setting the Creed,* and adopted something akin to the Continental mass style, though with a less free accompaniment. The "Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine" passage of the *Credo* in C is very brilliant and Haydn-like, while in the "Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum," of that in E flat, a touch of Beethoven is apparent in its awful solemnity.

Perhaps Stevenson's best and most devotional anthem, taken as a whole, is that from the Third Psalm "Lord, how are they increased." It was composed in 1803, for the occasion of the Thanksgiving for the suppression of Emmet's Insurrection. It opens with a duet for tenor and bass in the key of B minor (sung, on its production, by Dr. Spray and the composer), which, for exquisite rhythm, purity of taste, and propriety of expression, is as good as anything else of the kind in the whole range of cathedral music. The words are afterwards repeated in chorus. A somewhat florid bass solo in E minor—"But Thou, O Lord, art my defender"—comes next. This is succeeded by a solo for a tenor in the key of A, "I did call upon the Lord." Then we have a bold and spirited trio for A.T.B., with a short instrumental introduction, in the key of D, "I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people," the same words being repeated *fortissimo* (in the relative minor) in the shape of a chorus, wherein Haydn appears in all his brilliancy. After the storm comes a calm, and the three principal voices are heard singing *pianissimo*, and very slowly, a lovely little verse in the relative major, "Salvation belongeth unto the Lord, and Thy

* I may except, however, the settings of the *Credo* from the Services of Purcell in B flat, Blow in A, E minor, and G (triple measure), Croft in A, Hayes in E flat, Cooke in G, Arnold in B flat, Clarke Whitfeld in C, D, F, and E flat, and several of those of Charles King. The *Crucifixus est*, from the last named composer's Service in C (written on his death bed in 1748) is extremely pleasing.

Attwood's five Services contain no music for the Creed, and one cannot help regretting that he never set it. No doubt he would have treated it very finely and dramatically. In his time the only portions of the Communion Service sung at S. Paul's and the Chapel Royal, at which places he officiated as organist and composer (1796-1838) were the *Sanctus* and *Kyrie*, the former as an Introit. The Creeds from Michael Wise's Services in E flat and F minor (*c.* 1670) by no means lack expression.

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blessing is upon Thy people." With this the anthem sinks to a peaceful and most touching close. The splendid manner in which I heard this anthem sung in S. Patrick's Cathedral on the morning of Sunday, July 26, 1885, will never be effaced from my memory. At the evening service, on the same day, the *Cantate* and *Deus* from the Service in E flat received an equally fine rendering, together with two other noble compositions, the late Joseph Robinson's twelve-part anthem, "Not unto us," and Croft's "Praise the Lord, O my soul," Sir Robert Stewart being at the organ.

One of Stevenson's mannerisms was his frequent use of the chord of the diminished seventh, which he handled in many passages with charming effect. This may have been a novelty then in Ireland, but we find the chord employed by Purcell, Croft, Weldon, and William Hayes. The last named composer favoured the minor ninth when he wished to introduce a plaintive effect. I may point you to an instance in the passage "O save Thy people," in his anthem "Save, Lord, and hear us." The same writer, in the ninth bar of the concluding chorus of his anthem "Bring unto the Lord," used the chord of the extreme sharp sixth, which, until his time (he died in 1777), seems to have been rarely, if ever, introduced into Cathedral music. Many of our Church composers had some trick or turn of expression, or some form of utterance by which their works may be identified. For instance, Benjamin Rogers, when he employed the seventh in a chord, frequently made it ascend before resolving, a practice which is contrary to precept. Purcell, Blow, Humphreys, Wise, Clark, and several other post-Restoration composers had little snatches of melody which they seemed to consider common property—*e.g.*, one in which the drop of the diminished fourth appears. Dr. Croft employed the minor thirteenth—a chord identified with his name, although Purcell used it before him. Weldon liked the "Rosalia."* Creyghton had his peculiar sequence of sevenths, and even our old S. Paul's friend, Charles King, of "serviceable" memory—a charming melodist but a bad contrapuntist—had his little characteristic touches. As for Macfarren, Hopkins, Goss, Smart, Walmisley, Attwood, and Wesley, the musician who cannot discern their several idiosyncrasies must be dull of perception indeed.

Stevenson's Church music does not seem to be very generally known in this country. I have, however, heard the anthem "O Lord our Governour" given with fine effect at Lincoln under the late Mr. J. M. Young. The same anthem is also in use at Wells and Manchester, also at

* *I e.*, The repetition of a phrase or passage raising the pitch of one note at each repetition. Used in descending passages it was held to typify depression; in ascending ones, exaltation. The "Rosalia" was common to musicians in Weldon's day.

Chichester, where, together with "Lord, how are they increased," it was introduced by Dr. Read, the present organist, a few years since. At Lichfield, during the time of the Rev. W. St. George Patterson (Sub-chanter, 1846-1890), the anthems "I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the Mount of Zion," and "I looked, and behold a door was opened in Heaven," were occasionally sung, and at Bristol I once noticed that the Services in C and E flat were in the choir books. At S. Peter's Church, Manchester, several of the services and anthems were given during the organistship of the late Mr. B. St. J. B. Joule, while at Chester, the *Cantate* and *Deus* in E natural were in the lists during the Rev. E. L. Y. Deacle's precentorship.

Turning to Stevenson's secular compositions I find that he, at various times, supplied music for the following pieces:—"The Patriots," "The Border Feuds," "Psyche,"* "The Agreeable Surprise," "The Outpost," "The Arabs of the Desert," and "The Burning of Moscow." None of these achieved much success. Indeed, "The Burning of Moscow" was damned on the first night of its representation, to Stevenson's great mortification. Subsequently, he was fond of hearing a quartet from this piece, "Sweetly sounds the trembling lyre." When concluded, he would say, "Think of their damning an opera with such music as that in it!" We must bear in mind that the pieces named were but dramas illustrated by music (such as those composed by Arnold, Shield, Attwood, Dibdin, Whitaker, Blewitt, Hawes, Wade, Tom Cooke, Bishop, and others), and the causes of their failure might have arisen more from their lack of interest in plot and dialogue than from want of charm in the music.

The songs and ballads composed by Stevenson, which appeared at irregular intervals, would make a long list; indeed, I myself possess copies of nearly a hundred. It was after dinner one Sunday at his friend Mr. George Alley's that he wrote the charming song, "Faithless Emma," for Dr. Spray. Sir John was praising Spray for his singing of the anthem, Croft's "O Lord, Thou hast searched me out," that same morning at Christ Church, when the latter said, "If you admire my singing so much, why don't you write something for me?" "Agreed," said Sir John, "how shall it begin?" "Thus," replied Spray, giving out, at the same time, the first bar of his part of the anthem in the rich, prolonged swell with which he was accustomed to render it. "Very well," said Stevenson; "have you any music paper, Alley?" "I have," answered his host; "but what say you to my writing the poetry before you commence to write the music?" "Capital," said Spray, and a very short time they

* A charming trio "Prepare, ye nymphs, prepare," has been printed from this piece.

had to wait, for Alley had soon completed the words of "Faithless Emma," for which Sir John as quickly wrote the melody, placing it in the hand of his friend, who sang it at once, and many a time afterwards in public and private delighting those who heard him in that pathetic ballad. The original MS. thus hastily, but not less effectively, put together, passed into the hands of the Rev. J. H. Todd, Senior Fellow of Trinity College and Precentor of S. Patrick's, to whom it was presented by Spray's son-in-law, Dr. John Smith, the University Professor of Music. A comparison of the first four notes of the ballad with those of "How dear are Thy counsels"—the opening movement of the second part of Croft's anthem, "O Lord, Thou hast searched me out"—will demonstrate the coincidence. Another very popular song of Stevenson's was "Dearest Ellen," better known, perhaps, from the opening line, "When the rosebud of summer." It is asserted that he wrote it on the counter of Power's music shop in Dublin, the first to sing it being Terence Magrath, of facetious memory. A friend of the composer, living in 1873, well remembered dining one summer evening with Dr. John Smith, who lived opposite to Sir John in Lower Mount Street. A street singer, seeing the front parlour window open, set to warbling "Ah! then dearest Ellen." A shilling was sent out to her, with a direction to go to the opposite house, and sing the same song as loudly as she could scream. The street vocalist accomplished her task most violently. Money was sent out with a vociferous request that she would depart from the neighbourhood. Shortly after, Sir John walked over, not in the best temper, and swore lustily—for this was one of the knight's infirmities—"That he would rather not have composed a note than have his songs murdered by itinerant squallers." Nevertheless, he was heard to say when his music had been praised, "Aw, by —— I would rather be the composer of 'Cherry Ripe,' for it is sung at every street corner and played upon every barrel-organ; that is fame, Sir, that is fame."

Another very beautiful song, "O ever skilled," written by Stevenson shortly before he received his knighthood, reminds one much of Haydn in his canzonets.

By his glees Stevenson won great renown, and they are still the delight of the various Dublin glee clubs, who at their meetings toast his memory in solemn silence. Fourteen of them were printed in Bland's Collection early in the nineteenth century. "Alone, on the sun-beaten rock," "Buds of roses," and "Born in yon blaze"—the last named gaining the gold medal awarded by the Catch Club in 1813—were great favourites. The tuneful catch, "Come, buy my cherries," usually known as "The Dublin Cries," is, like the

quartet, "See our oars with feather'd spray," to be found in many collections of modern part music. Flowing and graceful melody, lightness and feeling, well marked rhythm and florid harmony (which no one knew how to handle better than his knightship) are their characteristics. His duet, "Tell me where is fancy bred," amounts almost to an inspiration, and in his setting of other Shakespearean words, such as "Come unto these yellow sands," he was equally felicitous. A tolerably complete list of Stevenson's secular compositions will be found in the advertisement sheets bound up with the parts of the "Irish Melodies."

Stevenson married Anne Butler, the widow of a Mr. Singleton, a spurrier or cutler, who lived on Cork Hill. This lady was the daughter of Mr. John Morton, of Rohoboth Place, South Circular Road, who held a good position in the Custom House. Though a widow, she was only twenty-two years of age, and extremely beautiful. Stevenson fell in love with her while she was a pupil of his, and they scaled the gates of Rohoboth one evening in 1786—for Stevenson, then a young, struggling professor, was not considered a suitable match for the young and handsome widow—and got married. The families, however, were soon reconciled and lived together for some years after the marriage. Lady Stevenson died in 1806, just as her husband's fame was ascending, and its more substantial rewards gradually augmenting around him, leaving two sons and two daughters to his care. He was a most attached husband and fond father, and spared nothing upon the education of his children. One son entered the army, the other the Church. His two daughters were, like their mother, not only eminently beautiful, but highly accomplished, and both made excellent matches. Olivia, the elder, was twice married, first to Edward Tuite D'Alton, a man of some literary attainments, and secondly to the Marquis of Headfort. She died of cholera at Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, July 21, 1834, and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery. Moore dedicated to her the last of his "Irish Melodies" as follows: "To you, who though little beyond the season of childhood when the earlier numbers of this work appeared, lent the aid of your beautiful voice, and, even then, exquisite feeling for music, to the happy circle who met to sing them together under your father's roof." Anne, the other daughter, was married to Gustavus Lambart, Esq., of Beau-Parc, in the County of Meath, a most lovely spot in the Boyne district.

Sir John Stevenson was very eccentric and paradoxical. Indeed, he was so flattered and petted wherever he went that he became completely spoilt. In a letter written by Tom Moore in October, 1812, to Stevenson's son-in-law, Mr. D'Alton, the poet says: "I, of course, saw a good deal of

Stevenson when in London, and, if he in aught may be believed, we may expect him down here (at Kegworth) to pass some days with us. He is as boyish and paradoxical as ever, and makes the grave, matter-of-fact Englishmen stare wherever he goes. I have one or two *inert* subjects to play him off upon here, and expect a good deal of amusement from it."

Many allowances were made for Sir John's pomposity of manner and affectation of aristocracy, but, under all, there was a fund of playful humour and a kindly benevolent heart. The anecdotes related of him would make quite a small book of gossip. Altogether he was a "character."

Though reared in the Church circle he seemed to have little love for the clergy, for he said after dinner one day to "Billy" Mailly—one of his fellow vicars, of whom he made a regular butt, and upon whom he played all sorts of jokes—"I wish I had a million a year." "O Lart, O Lart, a million a year, darlin,' what would you do with it?" said Mailly. "Hold your vulgar tongue," replied Sir John. "I'd build a church, and I'd have the finest organ in the world in it, and the finest choir in Europe. I'd expound *myself*, and I'd say, 'Rise, gentlemen, let us sing praise and glory, and let us be thankful that we have none of those humbugging rascals of Bishops amongst us.'"

Among his many eccentricities was his affected hatred of people in trade. There was a young lad whom Sir John patronised by his friendship, and to whom he frequently gave very sensible advice. This youth was seeking the appointment of organist to one of the Dublin churches, and Sir John kindly gave him a letter of recommendation to the churchwardens, with whom it was considered the appointment rested. One of these, a respectable gentleman who had served as Sheriff to the City, kept a shop in the parish where blankets and goods of this description were sold. He asked the youth, when he presented Sir John's letter, to come down to the church and play something on the organ, which request was, of course, complied with. The ex-Sheriff was pleased, and said he would recommend him to his brother churchwardens; but, in the meantime, there was a lady candidate, who solicited the votes of the parishioners—for at that time all officers of the Church could be elected by the votes of the householders. The lady succeeded. Afterwards, when the young fellow called upon Sir John, the latter said, "Aw, well—you got the situation?" "No, Sir John, I am sorry to say, although I played for Mr ——, the churchwarden, and he was very much pleased." The knight flew into a rage saying, "You played for Mr. ——, did you?" "Yes, sir." "Aw, by —— I'm devilish glad you didn't get the situation and I hope you'll never get one — to go and play for blanket

fellows—fellows that I'd keep waiting in my hall, and you with my letter in your pocket and all too. Aw, I'm glad you lost it!" The name of this young man was Richard Otto Gaudry, and he subsequently became organist of S. Anne's Church, Dawson Street. He was a musician of great promise, and was only twenty-five years of age when he died in 1825. He is remembered at the cathedrals by an anthem, "O Lord, Thou art my God"—a very successful adaptation from Haydn. A song of his, "Art thou, too, gone?" was published by Welsh & Hawes, at the Regent's Harmonic Institution, and subsequently purchased by Cramer.

There was a gentleman at Oxford who had a mania for getting the autographs of eminent men. This was in the days when people kept albums, and used to pester their literary and musical friends for contributions. The said autograph-hunter sent over to Dublin an elegantly-bound book, containing many effusions from famous men of the time, to a friend, to get Sir John Stevenson to insert something in it. The friend left the book at Sir John's, but what was his horror on getting it back to find instead of what he expected—a few bars of music—the following:—

> "The Dean of Christ Church, judging right,
> Told Mally not to sing at sight.
> 'My Lord, the octave I only took!'
> 'Zounds,' said the Bishop, 'look at your book.'"

Stevenson's eccentricity was further displayed in the arrangement of the house he last resided in in Lower Mount Street. The rooms he frequently had painted by scenic artists from the theatres. The effect was pleasing, though sometimes grotesque. He would often interrupt the painters, walking in rubbing his hands, while he quoted Scripture, then suddenly saying, while he pointed, "What's that, eh?" "That's a ship, sir." "Rub it out! rub it out! it's like nothing in the heaven above, or the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth—besides, *I hate ships!*" Outside, in a small garden, there was a clumsy plaster Cupid with a smirk on its face, the very personification of silliness, and its bow drawn, as if to send an arrow into the room. In September, 1809, William Gardiner, the well-known musical amateur of Leicester, tells us in his "Music and Friends" that he visited Dublin with a letter of introduction to Sir John. It was the "say-bathing" season, and he found Stevenson and his daughters in a pretty cottage at Bray, the walls of the sitting room being lined with moss!

Many droll stories are told of Sir John's two faithful servants, Hannah, his housekeeper, and Terence, his man-servant. Hannah, who seemed to look upon the knight as

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her sole property, turned up her nose at anything in the shape of a woman visiting the house. One lady, who she thought was seeking to be a second Lady Stevenson, she had a special horror of, and took every opportunity of speaking in the most derogatory terms in the presence of her master, so much so that, on one occasion, his wrath was so excited that he ran after her as she left the room, flourishing the razor with which he had been shaving, exclaiming, "Aw—by ——, I'll immolate you!"

Artless in character and unsuspicious in disposition, Sir John was frequently made the subject of practical jokes, one of which is too good to be lost. A few days after the death of the Countess of Talbot, who died at Dublin Castle, he received a letter purporting to be from Sir Stewart Bruce, Master of the Ceremonies, requesting the honour of his attendance that evening at the lying in state of Her Excellency's remains. Connecting the invitation in some way with the official position which he held as State Composer, he felt complimented by being asked to assist on so solemn and important an occasion, and having studied the most lugubrious expression of countenance before a looking-glass, repaired at the appointed time to the Castle Chapel. Being well known to the officials he easily gained admission, and, walking up the aisle, he placed himself in a conspicuous position near the coffin. Nothing could have been more perfect than his show of grief, and, though addressed by one or two of the vice-regal staff, who were wondering what could have brought Sir John Stevenson to take a part in the solemn scene, he waved them away with his hand and resumed the studied position of his mute office. At last he was somewhat startled by getting a good smart slap on the back from Sir Stewart Bruce, who ventured to ask him how it was he was honoured by his presence. "What do you mean?" said Stevenson; "did you not write me an invitation to act as head mute?" "Head mute!" almost screamed Sir Stewart, and, in spite of decorum, he was obliged to laugh outright. Poor Sir John saw at once how it was, and rushing out of the Chapel in agony, shut himself up for a whole week, vowing vengeance, if he could only discover the author of the hoax.

In a lecture given in Dublin, in 1878, by the late Sir Robert Stewart, that distinguished musician alluded to the careless way in which music lessons were given in Sir John Stevenson's time. For example: Sir John, himself, used to read the newspaper while giving his lesson, and when it was over he would say, as he drew on his gloves, "There, that will do, have it off better next time", and Dr. Cogan, to whom I alluded just now as a famous harpsichord player, would say to his pupil, William Rooke (afterwards eminent as the composer of the charming opera "Amilie, or the Love

Test "), when asked by the learner to explain some knotty point, would answer, "Find it out for *yourself*, Billy, as I did; there's nothing like it."

In contradistinction to many of his countrymen, Stevenson passed the whole of his long life in "the car dthrivingest, say-bathingest, tay-drinkingest place in the world," his native city, Dublin, enlivening to the last the circle in which he first became remarkable, and establishing, by his changeless fidelity to his former associations, his claim to that constancy which, in too many instances afforded by others, has been sacrificed to ambition. Indeed, he seems to have mingled in the socialities and gaieties of both aristocratic and humble life with ease and polish, affability and humour.

To the close of his life Sir John retained his exuberance of spirits and racy Hibernian humour. At all pic-nics and out-door social festivities held at such romantic spots in the vicinity of Dublin as Leixlip, Dalkey, Killiney, Powerscourt, Glasnevin, and "the Meeting of the Waters," he was invariably the life and soul of the party. On one of these occasions, late in life, Haynes Bayly's lines, in the "Miniature Lyrics," are supposed to have been addressed to him:—

> "Nay, ask not his age, when we meet him thus,
> As youthful as ever in song and mirth;
> His eyes are still bright, and what is it to us
> How many years back they first open'd on earth?"

Indeed, he seems to have discovered an elixir for perpetual youth. The winter of 1832 was the only one in which Sir John had to submit to retire from the social circle of his friends.* Shortly afterwards, debilitated by paralysis, he went down to the country seat of his son-in-law, the Marquis of Headfort, near Kells, co. Meath, and there, on September 14, 1833, he died.

During his last illness some of his friends went to Headfort to see him. They found him lying on a sofa in the library, very feeble, but yet looking nobly handsome. He appeared to find it difficult to converse. They mentioned to him that some of his music had been performed before the King and Queen—William IV. and Adelaide—thinking to warm him into a little excitement, but it fell dull upon his ear. Death was so near him that his shadow seemed to fall upon the grave. He was buried in the Lambart vault, in S. Mary's Church, Painstown, Meath. There is no tablet to his memory in this church, the only record being that of his burial on September 17.

Ten years after the death of Sir John Stevenson a marble cenotaph was erected to his memory by public subscription

* His last composition was a duet for tenor and bass "We are told that man is made of dust."

in Christ Church Cathedral. This as you will see by the photograph before you, consists of a bust (an excellent likeness) of the composer. On a pedestal on the left-hand side of the monument you will perceive a representation of a surpliced chorister-boy, holding in his left hand a lyre and in his right an open music-book, whereon are inscribed the first eleven bars of the fine anthem, "O Lord, our Governour." The whole is a beautiful piece of sculpture. When Christ Church was undergoing restoration, between 1872 and 1878, this monument was banished to the crypt, where it remained until 1896, when, together with Woodward's, it was restored and placed in the position previously described, at the West end of the North nave aisle. It was then found that Stevenson had many lineal descendants through the marriages of his daughter with the noble family of Headfort, and that of Lambart in County Meath. A number of his grand-children and great grand children, on learning the story of their ancestor's monument, required no appeal to place in the hands of the Dean and Chapter sufficient to supplement a small fund in hand, to complete the restoration of the monument and to add a suitable inscription. Advantage was taken to commemorate in a special service, held at Christ Church on December 23, 1896, the three musicians, Woodward, Stevenson, and Stewart, to the last-named of whom a handsome memorial brass had been erected. The music sung at this service comprised Woodward's well-known double chant in D for the Psalms; Stevenson's Service in E flat for the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, and two anthems by Sir Robert Stewart, "In the Lord put I my trust" (composed in 1864) and "If ye love Me," together with an appropriate hymn sung to music by Haydn.

In January, 1858, a meeting of the members of the two Cathedral bodies was held to consider the erection of a memorial to Stevenson in S. Patrick's. Nothing, however, seems to have been done until 1863, when Sir Robert Stewart delivered a lecture on Irish Music and Musicians. From the proceeds thereof he erected a stained glass window. This was placed, in 1864, in the South aisle of the nave of S. Patrick's, then under restoration. From an ecclesiologist's point of view the design of this glass is quite unsuited to the style of the window—an Early English lancet one—in which it is fixed. The tinctures are, however, brilliant, and the drawing good. It was executed by Ballantyne, of Glasgow, specimens of whose work may be seen in the House of Lords and the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral. The small medallion-patterned glass by Wailes, in the Eastern triplet of the Lady Chapel at S. Patrick's, put up in memory of Dean Pakenham (died 1863), should have formed a model for the design of the Stevenson window. Nevertheless, Sir Robert

Stewart is highly to be praised for having erected this piece of vitreous decoration. No memorial to a gifted musician can be more valuable and interesting than that which is accorded by a kindred genius, with generous impulse and cordial admiration.

Sir John Stevenson was, by all accounts, a very handsome man. He was about the middle height and of a slight figure, and always regarded any approach to corpulence with the greatest horror. Accurate and punctilious in his dress, he always appeared in the prevailing fashion.

Several engraved portraits of Stevenson are extant. The most pleasing likeness you will see in front of you. It was engraved in 1822 from a portrait by G. F. Joseph, R.A. (now in the Dublin National Gallery) for a collection of the composer's Psalm tunes. It was re-engraved in 1852 for Lord John Russell's edition of Thomas Moore's "Diary and Correspondence."* Another portrait, representing Stevenson later in life, was engraved in 1825 after a portrait by C. Robertson, the Irish miniature painter. Another, engraved from a miniature by Jones, appeared in the *Cyclopædian Magazine* early in the last century; while a fourth, given in the *Dublin University Magazine* for April, 1851, represents Sir John at full length, in a sitting posture.

Robertson's portrait was prefixed to the Collection of Services and Anthems, published by Power in 1825, and depicts the composer sitting at a table, with pens, ink, and music paper before him, and his favourite, Haydn's "Creation," at his elbow. A bust by Costello was drawn and engraved for an elegy, written in 1834, in Stevenson's memory, by Michael Costa, then director and composer to the King's Theatre. The words were by Miss Costello, a once popular authoress of historical and poetical works

The account of Stevenson in the now nearly completed "Dictionary of National Biography" is not only meagre, but inaccurate in many of its details.

I forgot to mention that Stevenson wrote an oratorio, "The Thanksgiving," a selection from which was given at the Musical Festival held in Dublin in the autumn of 1831. The work was never printed as a whole—at least, I never saw it. Three or four of the movements from it were published separately, among them a bass solo, "The snares of death," which used to be very finely given by Henry Phillips at the Lenten "Oratorios" held at Covent Garden under the direction of Sir George Smart during the "thirties." This solo is identical (though transposed from B flat into G)

* A most entertaining book. Soon after its publication, Miss Austin, the distinguished translator of Ranke's "Lives of the Popes," remarked, in a letter to Dean Milman, that Moore was "one of the most interesting characters ever portrayed, and profoundly respectable withal."

with that to the same words in the anthem "I am well pleased." From this circumstance I am inclined to infer that the oratorio was, more or less, a *pasticcio* from several of the other anthems.

Before we close, I should just like to mention that, since writing this paper, I have discovered that Stevenson was not the first musical knight. William Parsons, an Englishman, while on a visit to Dublin, was the first to receive the accolade. This was in 1795, during the vice-regency of Lord Camden, "on the score of his merits," but certainly not "on the merits of his score." Parsons, who had been brought up in the choir of Westminster Abbey, under Dr. Cooke, succeeded John Stanley, in 1786, as Master of the King's Band. For some years he sat as a Middlesex magistrate. He died in 1817.

DISCUSSION.

The Chairman.—Has anyone any remarks to make on the subject? I thought there might be one or two questions to ask; I suppose general discussion had better be reserved till the next meeting, when we have heard the whole.

Mr. Southgate.—It has been a most interesting paper, and I am sure we are all very much indebted to Mr. Bumpus for the care and time he must have taken to put together this information, a great deal of which I think is new, though possibly we already have heard some of it. Perhaps I may first allude to the well known chant of Lord Mornington. Sir Robert Stewart wrote me one of his characteristic letters about this and the alteration of the chant, mixing it up with one by Crotch. This he termed "An abominable abortion, a foolish affair which nobody ever sings, but it is like chicory, kept for the purposes of adulteration. The whole thing is a further proof of the twisted aspect with which the British mind looks on all Irish matters. Some silly English notices speak of anthems, &c., preserved in the Cathedral libraries of Dublin, composed by Lord Mornington; this is not true. I know the libraries well, and the old music at the Mercer's Hospital. I have carefully gone over the lot, and there is not a bar of Lord Mornington to be found in any of them."

The Chairman.—There was one point I should like to mention to Mr. Bumpus; it occurred to me while reading this. He mentioned that Jowett's was the fifth stall, and immediately afterwards said he was Junior Cardinal and took the second stall.

Mr. Bumpus.—He had been advanced.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Bumpus was then passed unanimously.

March 13, 1900.

SIR J. FREDERICK BRIDGE, Mus.D., Vice-President,

In the Chair.

IRISH CHURCH COMPOSERS AND THE IRISH CATHEDRALS.

By John S. Bumpus.

PART II.

I closed the first portion of this paper, as you may doubtless remember, with a sketch of the life of Sir John Stevenson. I now beg to present to your notice a few details about one of his most distinguished contemporaries in the Dublin choirs. In 1795 the capitular authorities heard of a fine tenor at Lichfield, and, as the result of their negotiations, John Spray was induced, by the ample salary offered, to make the Irish metropolis his home. Spray was a native of Southwell, and he became a chorister in the Minster there under Thomas Spofforth, the organist, uncle of Reginald, the famous glee-writer, and of Samuel, who afterwards (1807-1864) held the appointment of organist of Lichfield Cathedral.*

Spray's family was a musical one. His father (originally a Nottinghamshire stocking-maker) was a singer in some of the college chapels of Cambridge, while Isaac, another son, was a lay vicar of Lincoln Cathedral from 1783 to 1804, holding, with this appointment, those of Sacrist and "Clerk of the Re and Ve."†

* It will possibly be remarked how few *native* Irishmen held offices in the Cathedral choirs. In 1765 another Englishman, Edward Higgins, had been brought over from Bristol, where he had been organist since 1759. He obtained vicarages at Christ Church and S Patrick's One of his double chants—that in F—is familiar in our choirs.

† For this information I am indebted to the Rev. Canon Maddison, Succentor of Lincoln Cathedral

It seems to have been admitted that, not only for the volume and quality of his voice—Gardiner, of Leicester, described it as possessing "a sort of oily liquidity of tone"*—but also for the exquisitely beautiful utterance of the words, John Spray was unrivalled. He was particularly noted for the way in which he sang Stevenson's music. Like Sir John, he was the recipient of an honorary musical degree from the University of Dublin, and the two doctors became firm friends. Stevenson's anthems, as I have previously intimated, contain many solos expressly written for Spray's voice,† as well as those charming ballads, "Faithless Emma"‡ and "O tell me, tell me."

One of the most perfect things, warbled forth by Spray in his mellifluous tenor was the song, in Handel's "Jephtha":—

> "Virtue, my soul shall still embrace,
> Goodness shall make me great."

Many anecdotes are related of Spray and his great crony, Sir John Stevenson. The only hours which gave rise to the least professional jealousies were those when the protracted banquet had elevated the spirits of each at the expense of his reasoning faculties. Then, it is asserted, that Sir John used to twit his friend with being indebted to his song, "Faithless Emma," for his subsequent success. "Aw—you were not known, Spray," Sir John used to say, "until my 'Faithless Emma' had you brought into notice." To which the latter used to reply: "No, but you are indebted to *me* for the success of your 'Faithless Emma,' it would never have been heard of had I not sung it: you knew you were not able to sing it yourself."

Sir John and Dr. Spray were once on a visit at the country house of a mutual friend, but their hours of rest were so sadly at variance with those of the family that, after a few nights, they were left in possession of the *cœnaculum*, while all the other inmates retired to their beds. Over the whisky, lemons, and boiling water the two vicars choral, of course, had their usual altercation. In the morning, Spray was discovered lying outside the house, upon the lawn, which was immediately in front of the room in which they sat. The recollection of the Doctor, relative to the event which

* "Music and Friends," Vol. I., p. 315 (Longmans, 1835).

† In the same manner, Purcell wrote his anthem, "They that go down to the sea in ships," for "that stupendous bass, Gostling," as Evelyn the diarist calls him. Croft and Weldon composed anthems expressly for Elford, a famous alto; while several of those of Boyce and Battishill were intended for Champness and Bellamy, two very high basses.

‡ This air was harmonised as a glee for four voices by Ralph Banks, organist of Rochester Cathedral, 1790-1841.

placed him in that situation being somewhat confused, Sir John took advantage of it, and explained the mystery by declaring archly that Spray got so insolent during his argument that, at last, he was obliged to throw him out of the window, which, considering the corpulency of the Doctor and the limited strength of Sir John, made his boasting of the achievement doubly ludicrous.

Early in the nineteenth century the stalwart Spray* sturdily opposed the Dublin deans and chapters, when various livings and other property of the vicars choral excited their cupidity. Spray's efforts were crowned with success, and so pleased were his fellow vicars that they presented his son to the rectory of Kinnegh, which was in their gift, as a reward of his father's having rescued it from the ecclesiastical vultures. The Rev. John Spray died in 1852.

The character and deportment of the fathers of the Irish Church were, at this time, if history may be credited, generally conformable to the merits of the system under which they flourished. All may not have been covetous and worldly, but notwithstanding that the Council of Constance declared—"si quis dixerit episcopum aliquâ infirmitate laborare, anathema esto!"—it must be confessed that piety and spiritual-mindedness were the shining exceptions, and love of gain and worldliness the general rule.

This diversion of money, set apart by pious benefactors in past ages for choral uses, finds its counterpart in more than one of our English Cathedrals. The exertions of Dr. Pring on his own behalf and that of his choirmen at Bangor in 1811, and those of Miss Hackett for the chorister boys of S. Paul's and of the other Cathedrals all over England, are tolerably well known. "In quietness and in confidence" lay the ultimate strength of these two worthies. Then, again, there was the case of the Rev. Robert Whiston, head master of the King's School at Rochester. This estimable cleric had not held his appointment long when he discovered what he considered to be a serious misappropriation of funds held in trust for the King's Scholars and the Cathedral choristers, according to the statutes of Henry VIII. Demanding fair treatment for the school, he was dismissed from his office, only to be reinstated in it by the Court of Appeal. His pamphlet, "Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfilment," which appeared in 1849 and ran through many editions, convulsed with terror many an easy-going capitular body, which fondly believed that a day of reckoning would never come.† Mr.

* Some account of Spray's prowess in the noble art of self-defence will be found in *The Dublin University Magazine* for April, 1851.

† The Rev. Robert Whiston died at the old Bishop's Palace, Rochester, August 3, 1895, full of years and honour.

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Whiston's pamphlet was a most important one, and on a subject of the deepest interest to the Church as respected her ordinances; perhaps its more correct title would have been "Cathedral Trusts and their non-fulfilment," for, as a general rule throughout the country, such trusts were, at that time, certainly not fulfilled. It may possibly be remembered by some how Whiston's *brochure* was reviewed, quoted, parodied, bullied, abused, and puffed in every possible manner. These proceedings at Rochester were cleverly satirized in a powerful and, at the same time, amusing article in Charles Dickens' weekly serial *Household Words*, of August 9, 1851. The paper was entitled "The History of a Certain Grammar School." The writer's name I cannot ascertain, but he was a clever fellow, whoever he may have been.* Then *Punch* had some clever sarcastic stanzas headed "A new Chaunt for Rochester Choir," beginning:—

"We're surprised, Mr. Whiston, you should thus insist on
Your scandalous charges 'gainst dignities high,
Putting forth a vile bede-roll, which proves each Cathedral
A den of thieves, robbing small boys on the sly!"—

as well as a series of mediæval designs for painted windows *à la Pugin*, by Tenniel, beginning with Mr. Whiston holding up horrified hands at the misappropriation of money, and ending with "Ye Dene and Chaptere Eatinge humbel pye." Another of Whiston's pamphlets, "The Reviewer Reviewed," was said, at the time of its publication, to be one of the most scathing pieces of criticism extant.

The battles of Miss Hackett and Dr. Pring were fought before the days of *Punch* and *Household Words*, otherwise they, too, might have found themselves immortalized in those journals.

Before I leave Dr. Spray I may mention that there is a monument to his memory in the Lady Chapel of S. Patrick's. It supports a fine bust from the chisel of the Irish sculptor, Kirk, and the inscription beneath it states that Spray was "the first tenor singer in the Empire." He died January 21, 1827.

Contemporaneously, for some years, with Stevenson flourished the Rev. Robert Shenton, a well informed musician. He was Dean's Vicar at Christ Church and S. Patrick's—an office corresponding with that of minor canon in our Cathedrals—from 1757 until his death in 1798. He was born at Hagbourne, Berks, in 1730, and admitted as a chorister of

* Several equally clever articles appeared about the same time in *Household Words* bearing on kindred topics such as "S. Vorax's Singing Birds," "The Dean of S. Vitus," "Three and Sixpence," and "Wanted, an Organist." Evidently they were written by the same hand.

Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1740 From 1745 to 1752 he was one of the academical clerks in the same choir. In 1753 he became a member of the College of Vicars Choral at Hereford. Six services and eighteen anthems by him exist in the Dublin choir books. Several of the former are to be found among the Sperling MSS.,* in the magnificent musical library formed by the late Sir Frederick Ouseley, at S. Michael's College, Tenbury, where I recently had an opportunity of examining them.

In 1867 one of Shenton's services (a rather long and dry one, apparently) was revived at Christ Church by the Succentor, the Rev. John Finlayson, after having been laid aside for some years. This circumstance does not seem to have given much satisfaction to the organist, Dr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Stewart, for he gave vent to his feelings in this *jeu d'esprit* :—

"Of service high and anthem clear,
The poet dream't with ravish'd ear;
With service dull and anthem low
In real life we have to do
'Twas whisper'd, 'To the deep research
Which hails from our Succentor's perch,
We owe Bob Shenton disinterred.'
'Twas also said (but on my word
I don't believe it) 'We may thank
Our oldest Vicar—Doctor Frank.'†
But that must be a calumny,
For no one will believe that he,
Whose name's synonymous with taste,
Would fancy such a musty feast.
I don't believe *he* dug up Shenton,
It is—it must be—pure invention.
Who gave the order? Let him show it!
I have it now! 'Twas Johnnie Mowatt."‡

Another equally clever squib, dashed off impromptu by Stewart on December 8th, 1867, was a quasi-protest against

* Transcribed by the Rev John Hanson Sperling, M.A., who, from 1849 to 1856, was curate of S. Mary Abbots, Kensington, and subsequently, until 1871, rector and vicar of Westbourne, Sussex Late in life he joined the Roman Communion He was an able ecclesiologist and the author of an interesting little book, "Church Walks in Middlesex" (1849) For Sir Frederick Ouseley, in 1853, he wrote short memoirs of the composers represented in his volume, "Cathedral Services by English Masters" The Sperling MSS at Tenbury, contained in some half a dozen thick quarto volumes, consist of a number of rare services and anthems, copied from various Cathedral libraries, particularly that of Ely They are in score, with a separate organ part, and evidently "passed for press"

† Francis Robinson, Mus D., vicar choral of Christ Church, 1833 1872

‡ The sexton's boy

the length of time taken at the Sunday morning services at Christ Church, by the Succentor, in his selection of lengthy services and anthems. It is too long to be quoted here. You will find it printed in Mr. Vignoles' "Memoir of Sir Robert Stewart," together with Mr. Finlayson's equally clever and expeditious reply.

John Clarke, afterwards (1814) known as John Clarke Whitfeld, was "Preceptor to the Children" of both the Dublin choirs in 1793—never organist, as frequently stated in error. His stay in Dublin was but brief, for, in the following year, he left to become organist of Armagh Cathedral, in succession to Richard Langdon, resigned. An Englishman, Clarke returned to his native country in 1798, on the breaking out of the Irish Rebellion, like one of his predecessors, Benjamin Rogers, many years before. He settled at Cambridge, in the following year, as organist of Trinity and S. John's Colleges, resigning these posts in 1820 to become organist of Hereford Cathedral. He was also Professor of Music at Cambridge from 1821 until his death, February 22, 1836. During his residence in Ireland, Clarke Whitfeld published nothing beyond a few glees and sonatas. He was, nevertheless, an industrious composer for the Church, and did good solid work in his day and generation. Between 1800 and 1825 he published four volumes of Cathedral music, containing nine services and twenty-five anthems. He published two more anthems singly, and two more services were edited posthumously in 1863 by George Townshend Smith, one of his successors as organist of Hereford Cathedral. He also wrote an oratorio, "The Crucifixion and Resurrection." Amongst his secular works must be counted a number of glees, trios, and songs, mainly set to words from Sir Walter Scott's poems—a subject of some interesting correspondence between him and "The Great Unknown," and published in the volume of "Annual Biography" for 1837. Clarke-Whitfeld did much useful editing, including Handel's "Vocal Works," in six volumes, the orchestral parts adapted for the first time to a keyed instrument; two volumes of chants, Sanctuses, and Responses, and two of anthems by various composers; the "Beauties of Purcell", Locke's "Music in 'Macbeth'"; Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* in D, Pergolesi's "Stabat Mater," &c.

Clarke's predecessor at Armagh, Richard Langdon, seems to have been of a restless disposition, moving about from cathedral to cathedral. Perhaps, like S. S. Wesley, he "found musical troubles at each." He was a native of Exeter, where his grandfather, the Rev. Tobias Langdon (of whom a finely-engraved portrait is extant), was one of the priest vicars and sub-chanter of the Cathedral. He became organist of Exeter in 1753, of Ely in 1777, of Bristol in 1778,

and of Armagh in 1782. When he resigned the last-named post, in 1794, he returned to Exeter, where he died, September 8, 1803, two months after his successor in the Cathedral organistship—William Jackson.

Langdon wrote a Service in A, having verses in chant form interspersed with passages of a more florid and intricate character. In this respect he followed the example of his predecessors at Ely—Ferrabosco, Hawkins, and Kempton—all of whom left several services in this style. Langdon's collection of music by divers composers, entitled "Divine Harmony," appeared in 1774. It contained settings of the *Veni, Creator* and *Gloria in Excelsis* by his grandfather, the Rev. Tobias. At the end of the volume were printed twenty-four chants by various composers, all anonymously. The first, a double in F, the inner parts of which are very pleasing, is generally believed to be Langdon's own. Two of his anthems, "O pray for the peace" and "Turn Thee unto me," have been printed.

As I shall not again have occasion to refer to Armagh I will sum up the remaining organists in a few words. The Cathedral was very well restored by the elder Cottingham, during the primacy of Archbishop Beresford. Frederick William Horncastle, who was organist from 1816 until his dismissal in 1823, afterwards became one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, St. James's. A *Sanctus* and *Kyrie* of his composition were inserted in a collection published in periodical numbers by William Hawes, of St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal, between 1829 and 1836. He compiled "The Music of Ireland" in 1844, and wrote a number of pianoforte pieces, glees, songs, and comic rounds and catches. One of the last-named, "Mrs. Wagtail's Evening Party," used to create great merriment at the Adelphi Glee Club, which, established in 1833, under the presidency of Enoch Hawkins, one of the lay vicars of Westminster (an alto of surpassing sweetness), used to hold its meetings at the London Coffee House on Ludgate Hill.

Robert Turle, a younger brother of the distinguished organist of Westminster, succeeded Horncastle at Armagh. On his retirement, in 1872, he went to reside at Salisbury, where he died five years later. His successor, Dr. Thomas Osborne Marks, is favourably known as a composer of church music, organ pieces, part-songs, &c. Among the vicars choral of Armagh must be reckoned two Englishmen—both distinguished as excellent composers. I allude to George Benson and George Benjamin Allen. Benson, a fine tenor, was at Armagh from 1833 to 1847. Returning to England, he was appointed a member of the choir of the Temple Church. From 1854 to 1878 he was one of the lay vicars of Westminster, and, from 1878 until his death, on

August 8, 1884, one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. He took the degree of Bachelor in Music at Cambridge in 1878. Benson produced some excellent anthems, such as "Turn us, O God" (1863), "My God, my God, look upon me," also in 1863; "I will arise" and "Almighty God" (1862). The first-named anthem contains a beautifully written quartet, "Mercy and truth are met together." His Evening Service in E flat, for men's voices, was written especially to meet the requirements of S. Paul's in 1874. He was a good glee singer. One of his glees, "If music be the food of love" (for A.T.T.B.), obtained a prize in 1863.

Allen, a fine bass, was a prolific composer of church music. Originally a chorister in Westminster Abbey, he founded, in 1841, together with James Coward, J. L. Hopkins, and other ex-choristers, the famous Abbey Glee Club, which still flourishes. He was a member of the choir of Armagh Cathedral from 1843 to 1862, when he returned to London and was appointed organist of All Saints', Kensington Park. While in Ireland he conducted the Classical Harmonic Society, Belfast, and originated the scheme for building the Ulster Hall in that city. A volume of anthems published by him in 1852 contains some really fine music. In the same year he graduated as Bachelor in Music at Oxford. His secular music is charming—notably his trio "The voice of moonlight" and his part-song "I love my love in the morning." Later in life he turned his attention to English opera. He finally settled as organist at Toorak, Melbourne, and Brisbane. At the last-named place he died, November 30, 1897, aged seventy-five.

Returning to Dublin, a few words must be said about the organists of S. Patrick's following Dr. Cogan, whose immediate successor in 1806 was John Mathews. Mathews held office until 1827. His brother, James, who went to Dublin from Winchester, was copyist to both Cathedrals. He was a meddlesome old person, and tampered sadly with many of the fine old manuscript services and anthems. He seems to have been a good specimen of Georgian ignorance. He wore a wig and took snuff in quantities. One can picture him hovering over the books in the Cathedral music libraries, with his penknife and quill, coolly altering all harmonies he did not like, and putting in turns, shakes, and grace-notes never dreamt of by the worthy composers. He added a whole second treble part to the *Gloria Patri* of Walsh's *Jubilate* in D, besides disfiguring and tinkering the composition generally. Sir Robert Stewart once said to me: "When I was young and enthusiastic, it cost me much labour and trouble to restore 'Walsh in D' after old Mathews' cooking, and I presented an accurate copy to the Rev. J. Clarke Crosthwaite, our Dean's Vicar at Christ

Church." This was in 1842, and the gaunt ecclesiastic was much pleased with the young ex-chorister's cleverness and industry.

William Warren, who graduated in music at Trinity College, had been appointed joint organist with Dr. Langrishe Doyle at Christ Church in 1805, becoming sole organist in 1814. He succeeded Mathews at S. Patrick's in 1827, but only held office for one year. His appointment at Christ Church he retained until his death in July, 1841. Warren was Doyle's nephew and became one of the most popular Dublin music-masters. He taught Tom Moore and his sister. The poet tells us in his "Memoirs" that a ballad, *Delusive Dream*, was "very pleasingly set by Warren, and long continued to be very popular, as sung by myself at the pianoforte." The only Church composition by Warren with which I am acquainted is a tuneful double chant in A major, printed in the Dublin Collection of 1883. John Robinson, one of the famous quartet of brothers, about whom more hereafter, succeeded Warren at Christ Church, and held the post, in conjunction with those of S. Patrick's and Trinity College Chapel, until 1843. When John Robinson died, the time had come for dividing the Cathedral organistships as agreed by the trustees of the choir estates. Sir Robert Stewart, then a young man of eighteen, was nominated to Christ Church and to Trinity College. Every one they got for S. Patrick's turned out badly. Richard Cherry, who came from Armagh, neglected his duties as organist and boy-trainer, drank, borrowed money, and purloined fiddles belonging to other people, and concluded his performances by decamping to that *refugium peccatorum*, the U.S.A. This was in 1844. Since then Cherry has not been heard of. His successor, William Henry White, who was also organist of the Chapel of Dublin Castle from 1836 to 1845, held the organistship of S. Patrick's for eight years, reckless intemperance bringing his short life to a close in 1852. The two Deans then offered Stewart the very post which they had refused to give him in 1844. He accepted office, but resigned in 1861, in order to obtain a vicar choralship; but the stall was just then divided and he only succeeded to one half. He still, however, played at the Sunday afternoon services, by arrangement with his successor, Mr. Murphy, who, on those occasions, sang for Sir Robert in the choir. Mr. Murphy resigned in 1878 and was succeeded by Mr. Charles George Marchant, who still holds the post, as well as that of organist to the University.

Several noted singers appeared in the Dublin choirs about the time of Sir John Stevenson and Dr. Spray. Amongst them I may mention David Weyman, Terence Magrath,

Robert Jager, John Smith, and a gentleman bearing the euphonious name of Simon Peter Buggins

Weyman's voice was a magnificent bass. He was appointed half vicar choral of S. Patrick's, January 13, 1801, and a full vicar, February 19, 1819. He was also a vicar choral of Christ Church. He died in August, 1822, and was buried in S. Patrick's. His chief work, "Melodia Sacra, or the Psalms of David, arranged for 1, 2, 3 and 4 voices," was a collection of psalmody by various composers, and, until 1864, when the "Irish Church Hymnal" was brought out under the editorship of the Rev. G. W. Torrance, was almost universally used in Irish parish churches. Many of the tunes were very florid and fugal, and, like those in our English collections whose name is legion, were strongly redolent of the later Georgian period. A few of the more devotional specimens have been retained in the "Irish Church Hymnal." The collection contained several tunes by Henry De-la-Maine, a French refugee who settled in Ireland at the time of the Revolution. He was organist and vicar choral of Cork Cathedral from 1782 to 1796.*

The "Melodia Sacra" appeared in periodical numbers between 1812 and 1814. There were several re-issues, one so late as 1852. In 1819 Weyman edited a volume of Cathedral music containing chants, services, and anthems by Blow, Purcell, Travers, Handel, Nares, Reynolds, Stevenson, and others. Among the chants he coolly assigned Pelham Humphrey's "Grand Chant" to Handel!†

Robert Jager, who was originally a lay clerk at Canterbury and in business, I believe, as a jeweller in that city, also possessed a fine bass voice with an admirable falsetto in addition, but he never knew how to combine these two registers. His singing of Handel's "O thou that tellest" has been described as very curious. The "O" was a faultless note in the head register: then he dropped down to the lower octave for the next word, "thou," into his deep bass voice, producing an extraordinary effect. William Hawes, of S. Paul's and the Chapel Royal (nominally a bass), was able, I believe, to take any part with a voice of second rate quality in Church music or glees. It was Tom Cooke who remarked of Hawes that he "sang alto, tenor, or bass indifferently."

Simon Peter Buggins was a native of Birmingham, and, judging from contemporary records, seems to have been a local musical prodigy. His voice developed into a counter-

* One of De-la Maine's tunes—"S. Catherine"—has been retained in the "Irish Church Hymnal." Two double chants of his will be found in the large collection edited by the late Mr B St. J. B Joule.

† One of the chants is a double by Sir John Stevenson, in the key of G. It is based on the theme of the *Andante* of Haydn's Symphony in D (No. 7 of the Salomon set)

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tenor of rare excellence, and he sang with acceptance at many of the provincial music meetings. After he had been in Ireland some time he appears to have thought his name unmusical, so he betook himself to Italy for further study, and re-appeared in Dublin as Simeon Pinto Buggine.

After the death of Stevenson, one of the foremost and most prolific Irish musicians and composers during the first half of the nineteenth century, was another avowed imitator of Haydn—John Smith. A native of Cambridge and educated in one of its college choirs, Smith went over to Dublin in 1813 under the patronage of the then Lord Lieutenant, Earl Whitworth. He obtained, in 1815, the appointment of stipendiary in Christ Church, and in 1816 that of vicar choral of S. Patrick's. He failed to get a vicarage at Christ Church, owing to his having quarrelled and gone to law with the Bishop of Kildare, *ex officio* Dean. In 1833 he was organist of the Chapel of Dublin Castle. This edifice, erected in the "Batty Langly" Gothic of 1814, is usually, but erroneously, styled the Chapel Royal. A semi-choral service was established here, and James Duncan appointed the first organist. Before 1814 Christ Church Cathedral, being regarded as the Chapel Royal of Dublin, was regularly attended by the Viceroy, but, after that year, the convenience and comfort of the Castle Chapel formed sufficient inducements to the successive Viceroys and their Courts to attend there in preference to worshipping in the ancient Chapel Royal—viz., Christ Church, and to hearing full choral service properly performed by the fine choir of that Cathedral.

On July 27th, 1827, the degree of Doctor in Music was conferred on Smith, and twenty years later he was appointed to the chair of music at Trinity College, vacant since the resignation of Lord Mornington in 1774. Smith was also Composer of the State Music for Ireland and Master of the State Band of Musicians. He died at Black Rock, Dublin Bay, November 12th, 1861, and was buried in S. Patrick's Cathedral graveyard. In the Cathedral itself he is commemorated by a stained glass window at the East end of the South choir aisle. Clayton and Bell designed it, and, despite a somewhat too prevalent greenish hue, it was then (1864), ecclesiologically speaking, the best piece of painted glass in the building. The iconography relates to the praise of God through the instrumentality of music.

Dr. Smith's representative work is, I suppose, his Service in B flat. This composition, if not characterized by profundity, is, it must be confessed, most melodious, telling, and effective, combining sound with sense in no small degree. Constant repetition is, however, its fault. From this our own composer, John Blow, is not free, as may be seen in his Evening (*Cantate*) Service in E minor. The *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* in

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Smith's service were written, and sung in S. Patrick's, when the composer was only eighteen years old, but the complete work, which contains all the canticles (except the *Benedicite*), and which includes two settings of the *Te Deum*, one short and the other long and elaborate (together with a setting of the *Sanctus*, *Kyrie*, and *Credo* in C, inscribed to Lord Anglesea), was not published until 1837 The volume—a folio—was printed by J. A. Novello, and dedicated to the King and Queen (William IV. and Adelaide). More recently, an edition has been issued in the familiar octavo size. The *Benedictus* has been sung at S. Paul's, but only once. This was on Thursday, May 4, 1876 At that time good modern settings of the *Benedictus* were not so common as they are now. S. Paul's has, no doubt, created a demand for settings of this canticle, for I find on referring to a minute of Chapter, passed on January 21, 1874, that the *Benedictus* was ordered to be sung at mattins every day, except Wednesday and Friday—an order which has never been repealed.

The folio edition of "Smith in B flat" contains a setting of the *Veni, Creator* (composed for the consecration of some of the Irish Bishops), as well as eleven double chants. One of these, popularly known as "The A.B.C. Chant," from the circumstance of its melody being on those three notes, was written for the annual assemblage of children in S. Patrick's Cathedral.* Another chant, in G minor, was composed on the death of George IV.† Smith wrote another Service in A, and several anthems—all unpublished. He composed an oratorio, "The Revelation," and printed some sacred chamber music, consisting of solos, duets, and trios, under the collective title of "Breathings of Sacred Song." One of the duets, "My God, when o'er my harp I pour," is extremely pleasing. He set, as a solo and chorus, "King Alfred's Hymn." This was published by Masters, of London. During the "fifties" he was engaged by the proprietors of the *Illustrated London News* to compose and edit music for their periodical supplements. His song, "Ireland's Welcome to Queen Victoria" (words by Charles Mackay), appeared in that journal for August 11, 1849. G. H. Rodwell, J. Blewitt, Sir Henry Bishop, N. Sporle, Frank Mori, J. A. Wade, and G. A. Macfarren made contributions, at various times, to the same paper. Smith's trio, "O Beata Virgine,"‡ and his glee, "The moonlight peeps," were, I think, long popular with

* In some English collections this chant is erroneously assigned to John Stafford Smith

† In a fulsome dedication prefixed to a volume of Words of Anthems printed for the Irish Cathedrals in 1821, this monarch is described as "the Patron of every Measure which tends to serve the cause of Godliness"!

‡ I decline all responsibility for the bad grammar in this title. Smith's blunder has been repeated by several other composers—J S B

amateurs at their domestic "musickings." In 1838 he competed for the prize offered by the Committee of the Dublin Antient Concerts for the best anthem, his composition standing second in the judgment of the umpires. The prize was carried off by the late Professor Walmisley, organist of Trinity and S. John's Colleges, Cambridge, with his fine anthem, "Remember, O Lord."

Said Sir Robert Stewart to me one fine, hot Sunday morning in August, 1891, as we were strolling towards his house in Upper Fitzwilliam Street after service at Christ Church—the genial Professor telling all sorts of droll stories, and pointing out churches and other objects of interest to Lady Stewart and me, about all of which he had some anecdote to relate—"Although I was barely fifteen years old at the time, I have a vivid recollection of seeing Walmisley at S. Patrick's when he came over to receive the prize for his anthem. He seemed very boyish and light-hearted, and was wearing what was apparently a bran new green frock coat." Possibly, this garment was invented for the occasion, and donned by the talented Professor in honour of his visit to the Emerald Isle! I remember, too, on this occasion, how we all stopped at the top of Dawson Street to admire the distant view of the Dublin mountains, Sir Robert saying that it always put him in mind of the passage in the anthem of his favourite, Goss, "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem." Singularly enough, as I entered Christ Church that same afternoon, after the S. Patrick's service, the very passage was being sung—"Praise the Lord, O my soul," being the anthem appointed.

As Professor of Music in the University of Dublin, Smith could not be pronounced a success, and it is with some degree of curiosity that we turn to enquire what evidence we have of his fitness for the post. In reality, he was ignorant of the laws of harmony, and not even a good practical musician, still less a learned one. At the same time, this is strange, when we come to consider how nearly he gained the prize for his anthem of 1838. His chief study was Haydn's "Creation," but what Stevenson did unconsciously Smith seems to have done deliberately. His one possession was a fine though somewhat "woolly" baritone voice: some have called it a *tenore robusto*. His *raison d'être* was well described by some undergraduate wag of Trinity, who chalked upon his door the following "Notice to Students":—"You must not teaze Dr. Smith, he is kept for your amusement and instruction." In 1853 the Doctor published his "Treatise on Theory and Harmony"—an absurd production. It gave a prescription by which any person, by a mechanical process, might make a melody and add appropriate harmony thereto. The prospectus of this book was a most amusing

concoction It was turned into fun and rhyme, almost *verbatim*, by Dr. John Francis Waller, *facile princeps* in prose and poetry, a prolific contributor to *The Dublin University Magazine*, who used to write under the *nom de plume* of Jonathan Freake Slingsby. It ran thus :—

"Now nearly fit for publication,
A boon to every singing nation,
A work most wonderful, the fact is
'The Theory and eke the Practice
Of Harmony and Composition,'
Written with monstrous erudition
Arrang'd with such simplicity,
The simplest may instructed be ;
In style progressive 'tis and easy
To suit each pupil that is lazy :
Each step so gentle is, and small
That progress one scarce sees at all.
The author is, of all this knowledge,
John Smith, Esquire, Mus. Doc., Trin. College,
Professor, in the University,
Of Music, as all men may see :
The State Composer for all Ireland
As is well known throughout th' entire land,
Of 'Paddy's Opera' Vicar Choral,
Writer of chants that plague and bore all.
If more of him you would discover
Or of his book, please to read over
His pompous and verbose prospectus,
(May Heaven from such a task protect us.)
And these hard words and big, you'll see
Both Counterpoint and Harmony,
('Tis pointless else) and Imitation,
Fugue, Canon, aye, and Modulation.
Then, having read it through and through,
There's one thing more for you to do,
From out your pocket quickly take a
Half sovereign for this grand Εὕρηκα.
April 11, 1852."

The poor Professor was the subject of endless practical jokes and the butt of all his witty acquaintances, but he had so excellent an opinion of "Number One" that nothing seemed to disturb his self-complacency.

On one occasion he was about to deliver a musical lecture in Trinity College Hall. He had invited the Lord Lieutenant and his Lady, but, just before the lecture, some facetious undergraduate screwed up his door, so that the imprisoned Professor was in an agony to get out. In the end, a ladder had to be procured and placed against the professorial

windows in Trinity Quad. All the undergraduates were there looking on and exploding with merriment, as the corpulent Professor, almost a "Fill Chaise,"* in his magnificent white and crimson-figured silk gown and beef-eater's cap, got out of his window and came down step by step into the quadrangle below. This was in 1851, and the robes had just then been presented to Smith. At the same time a duplicate set was presented to Stewart, who, in the April of the above year, took his degrees of Mus.B. and Mus.D. The robes were made in Oxford, being exactly similar to those of that University.

Smith's lecture was upon the organ, with illustrations upon the interesting old instrument in the College Hall. In the course thereof he said: "The first stop in the organ which I shall introduce to your notice will be the dulziana, zo called from the zweetness and zoftness of its tone." He then pulled out that stop, as he thought, and began to play, but the result was a noisy, hoarse, rasping, reedy sound—very unlike what was expected. The fact was that another "Mr. Bouncer" had got into the Hall before the lecture and had unscrewed and changed all the stop-handles, screwing the dulciana on to the trumpet and *vice versâ*, and so on with all the others. Of course, the unfortunate lecturer failed in all his illustrations by means of this mischievous trick.

Another most cruel hoax was played off on poor Smith. It was too bad. However, at this distance of time, I think there can be no objection to my relating it. It bore reference to his publication on harmony and composition.

A budding humourist wrote a most preposterous letter, purporting to be from Rossini, to Dr. Smith, thanking him, in the most fulsome way, for his "magnificent and talented work," and regretting that it had not been written when he (Rossini) was young, as it would have saved him all the trouble he had experienced in the study of music. He wound up by invoking Heaven's blessings on the name of Smith, "which," said he, "will go down with a halo of glory to the latest posterity."

Well, the writer of this precious epistle took it to a disreputable little man who was then Professor of Italian in the University, but who was afterwards ignominiously dismissed as an arrant and ignorant impostor, having previously been a hawker of plaster casts on a board, and who got the professorship by means of forged certificates.

* A nickname given to Dr. Phil (Philip) Hayes, Professor of Music at Oxford 1777-1797. On his journeys from Oxford to London he occupied the entire seat of a post chaise, and in the stage coach two places were invariably secured for him. He was one of the largest men in England, being nearly equal in weight to Bright, the heavy miller of Malden, in Essex.

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"Professor" Angeli was paid £1 for translating that letter into Italian. It was then sent to some friend in Paris (where Rossini was at that time living) to be posted. In due course the musical Professor received it, and then took it to Signor Angeli, giving him £1 to translate it back into English, which, of course, he was able to do, as he held the original copy. Poor Smith, when he got the translation, completed the hoax, for, wherever he went, he had this copy ready. He button-holed every acquaintance he met: "Come here, till I show you the letter I have just got from Rosshini: lishten to what he shays about my great work," &c. Of course, no one suspected the joke, but Smith made himself so ridiculous that he became the talk of the city. Eventually the truth leaked out, and the poor man's vexation was extreme.

I made a passing allusion just now to the famous quartet of Dublin musicians—the brothers Robinson. I must now describe them more fully. They were the sons of Francis Robinson, a Dublin professor of music, who, in 1810, established a society called "The Sons of Handel," its object being the study of the works of that master. All four were connected from their earliest days with the choirs of the two Cathedrals. John was the first tenor, his voice ranging to the high D; Francis was the second tenor; Joseph was the baritone, while William's voice was a magnificent *basso profundo*. The four brothers were the first to make the German part-songs known in their country and in ours—charming compositions, but not to be compared with our glees. Dr. Villiers Stanford, in his entertaining article in *The Cornhill*, from which I quoted at our last meeting, tells us that William Robinson's voice, which went down to a clear and resonant double C, was, at times, the subject of merriment, and a joke or two of no mean merit. It was frequently alleged that in the passage, "Fell down, down, down before the throne," from Blow's famous anthem, "I beheld, and lo!" William produced the effect of a note far below even his range, on the final word, by pointing his finger down with an impassioned gesture, and gazing at the same moment open-mouthed towards the groined roof of the Cathedral.*

Francis, or "Frank," as he was familiarly called, began as a chorister in Christ Church, and was appointed assistant organist at the age of seventeen. In 1828 he was organist of

* Charles C F Greville, a sensible man of liberal views, in his entertaining "Memoirs"—a journal of the reigns of George IV, William IV, and Victoria—thus records a visit he paid to Dublin in August, 1859 "Passed the day in Dublin yesterday (August 21), twice at church in the morning at Christ Church, afternoon S Patrick's, attracted by the celebrity of the choir and the performance of the Cathedral service, which was finely done, though the best voices (three brothers Robinson) were absent."

S. Patrick's, but resigned in favour of his brother John in the following year. He became one of the vicars choral of S. Patrick's in 1830, and three years later succeeded Sir John Stevenson in a similar capacity at the sister Cathedral. The honorary degree of Doctor in Music was conferred upon him by the University of Dublin in 1852. He died twenty years later. A stained glass window, from the *atelier* of Hardman, commemorates him in the nave of Christ Church, while another piece of vitreous decoration, by Wailes, was erected to his memory in S. Patrick's.

The mantle of Spray certainly fell on Francis Robinson. He had a tenor voice, which, without being in any sense robust, was intensely sympathetic in colour, and which was helped out by a highly-trained musical faculty. For purity of tone, faultless taste, and intensely devotional feeling he has, as a singer of Cathedral music, rarely been surpassed. All his ideas of declamation were derived from Braham. Often has Sir Robert Stewart told me that Francis Robinson quite spoilt him for hearing Sims Reeves, "and," he used to add, "I ought to be able so to say, as I have heard all the great tenors in Europe."

Amongst his happiest interpretations of sacred music were the solo "I did call upon the Lord," from Stevenson's anthem, "Lord, how are they increased," and the recitative and air, "Thy rebuke" and "Behold and see" from "The Messiah." In English ballads his singing of Bishop's "My pretty Jane" was very fine, while, in the foreign style, the expression he imparted to Schubert's "Ave Maria" was inimitable. Professor Stanford mentions that he heard Robinson sing this song when he was over seventy years of age, and that it indelibly impressed him.

Beyond a few chants, Francis Robinson wrote no music of importance. A soprano air, "Fear not, for I am with thee," is given as an anthem in a book of words printed for the use of S. Patrick's in 1870.

Joseph Robinson, in addition to the possession of his fine baritone voice, not only contributed some music of great excellence to the libraries of the two Cathedrals, but did much for the furtherance of Art in his native city. Originally a choir boy in S. Patrick's, he eventually, in 1843, became one of the vicars choral there, to obtain which post he was obliged to resign his place as Stipendiary at Christ Church, to which he had been appointed in 1836.

He conducted successively the Antient Concerts and the University Choral Society, and was one of the professors at the Irish Academy of Music. His scholarly, dramatic, and impassioned setting of part of the 115th Psalm—"Not unto us, O Lord"—was written in 1869. A considerable portion of it is scored for twelve voices. As far as I can gather, it

seems to be known in no English Cathedral. Our Precentors and Succentors should speedily add it to their collections. His double chants are excellent specimens of that form of composition. One of them, that in E flat, has long been popular over here, and was introduced into the choirs of Wells and Lichfield more than fifty years ago. His *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* in D and D minor, written for the use of S. Patrick's in 1867, but not published until 1895, has orchestral accompaniments. In this way it must be regarded as an advance upon the attempts of our own countrymen in this particular style. Sir John Stainer's familiar Evening Service in A, composed for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at S. Paul's, May 14, 1873, opened up a new path in art so far as modern English Church composers were concerned. It is but fair, however, to point out that on the previous 25th January (S. Paul's Day) Dr. Stephen Elvey's well known continuation of "Croft in A" was scored for orchestra, for the above occasion, by Sir John Stainer, and it should also not be forgotten that Attwood wrote his fine *Cantate Domino* and *Deus misereatur* in D, with orchestral parts, for the Sons of the Clergy Festival at S. Paul's in May, 1831. In 1843 the orchestra, which had for many years accompanied this annual service, was silenced by order of Bishop Blomfield, on account of the irreverence of some of the performers. Thirty years later the orchestral services, on special occasions at S. Paul's, were resumed on their present much more devotional basis.

But to return to Joseph Robinson. In 1853 he married Miss Fanny Arthur, a gifted pianist and graceful composer. Her well-written and melodious little cantata, "God is Love," is deservedly popular in Ireland, and it has realized much in the cause of charity. It is sometimes sung in sections as anthems at the Dublin Cathedrals. Mrs. Joseph Robinson was much liked for her winning manner and charming personal character, and her tragic end, on October 31, 1879, caused profound regret. Her husband survived her until August 23, 1898. He was named for a Government pension but did not live to enjoy it.

It must not be forgotten that Mendelssohn orchestrated his "Hear my prayer" expressly for Robinson's Antient Concerts. This was in 1846. "Shortly after Mendelssohn's death in the following year, Robinson received the score from the executors. It was written exactly for the band which Robinson had enumerated to Mendelssohn, and he had taken the hint to 'be sure to use the kettledrums in the second movement,' with what effect anyone who glances at the score will appreciate."*

* Professor Stanford in *The Cornhill*, December, 1898.

For the English copyright of this famous motet Mendelssohn received, in 1844, the munificent sum of £4! It was first performed at one of a series of concerts at Crosby Hall, on January 8, 1845.

Two highly-cultured clerical musicians were connected with Christ Church during the last century—the Rev. John Clarke Crosthwaite and the Rev. John Finlayson. Mr. Crosthwaite was appointed Precentor's Vicar in 1834 and Dean's Vicar in 1837. He quitted Ireland in 1844, on his acceptance of the living of S. Mary-at-Hill, London. One of his predecessors there was John Brand, the distinguished author of "Popular Antiquities."

Here Mr. Crosthwaite ministered until his death in 1874, just a century after Brand's appointment. During his rectorate two well known musicians held the organistship of the church—Mr. J. F. Burrowes, afterwards organist of S. James's, Piccadilly, and Dr. Chipp, afterwards organist of Ely Cathedral.

Mr. Crosthwaite took much interest in the church committed to his charge, its elegant domed interior being embellished, during his tenure of the living, with a quantity of fine wood carving by W. Gibbs Rogers, one of the most eminent workers of his day in that branch of ecclesiastical art. The well-known church of S. Michael, Cornhill, contains some later specimens of Rogers' genius.

Mr. Crosthwaite's compositions for the Church included a Service in G, a *Kyrie* and *Sanctus* arranged from Martini, a set of Responses and a Litany. He also wrote some excellent double chants, seven of which were printed in a large collection edited for the Church of Ireland by Sir Robert Stewart in 1883. He arranged an anthem, "Praise the Lord, O my soul," to movements from Haydn's "Creation." This was published by Willis, of London and Dublin, in 1838. While a city rector he issued, by subscription, a collection of thirty original tunes set to popular psalms and hymns, the words selected from the Rev. W. J. Hall's "Mitre" Hymn Book.* All these tunes are models of solidity and close-knit strength, besides being rich in melody, and it is surprising that none of them have found a place in the "Irish Church Hymnal" and other modern tune books. I particularize the tunes set to "Rock of Ages," "Lo, He comes with clouds descending," and "When I survey the wondrous Cross."

* This book was first published under the sanction of Bishop Blomfield in 1836. The volume of accompanying tunes, arranged by W. Hawes, was the subject of a most slashing review in *The Musical World* of August, 1837, written in all probability by H. J. Gauntlett, the then editor. Mr. Hall was a minor canon of S. Paul's from 1825 until his death in 1861. He was also one of the Priests in Ordinary of the Chapel Royal, and successively Rector of S. Benet with S. Peter, Paul's Wharf, and Vicar of Tottenham.

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Mr. Crosthwaite was esteemed as a theologian. He also found time to cultivate archæology, for, in 1843, he edited "The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Holy Trinity, Dublin," for the Irish and Celtic Archæological Society, of which the then Hon. Secretary was the Rev. James Henthorne Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow and librarian of Trinity College, Precentor of S. Patrick's, and founder, in 1843, with the Rev. R. Corbet Singleton, of S. Columba's College, Stackallan, co. Meath, afterwards, in 1849, removed to Rathfarnham, near Dublin.

The Rev. John Finlayson was a well-informed musician of a similar type. He was Precentor's Vicar at Christ Church in 1844, and was preferred to the Treasurership and prebendal stall of S. Michael in 1873. A pretty little rubricated volume—an excellent specimen of Irish typography—containing the words of the anthems used at Christ Church, S. Patrick's, Armagh, &c., was put forth by him in 1852. Prefixed was a chart showing the succession of the organists in the Dublin Cathedrals and Trinity College Chapel; as well as a chronological table, indicating the various schools of Cathedral composition, a useful explanation of terms used in Church music, and much interesting bibliographical matter relating to the various anthems printed in the book.

Mr. Finlayson composed a setting of the Responses and Litany, publishing them, together with the ancient S. Patrick's Use for the General Confession and a collection of chants, in a folio volume, whose title-page was embellished with a drawing of one of the Norman doorways of Christ Church Cathedral. This worthy priest died suddenly in a tram-car, while on his way home from the Sunday morning service at his dearly-loved Christ Church, May 28, 1882.

A word or two about the S. Patrick's Confession to which I just now alluded. This is the traditional Use of S. Patrick's, and may still be heard there every day. Each clause, I may explain, is chanted slowly after the Succentor, or the officiating Vicar, in full harmony, with a close, in each successive clause, on the sharp seventh, so:—

the effect produced being truly devotional and solemn. A somewhat similar composition—I allude to Janes'* "Ely Confession"—when properly sung in its original key of G, is capable of a similar effect. But this is not often the case. Indeed, I have heard it sung at a prominent church in the North of London (long famed for the excellence of its musical services) by the choir alone, at railroad speed, *fortissimo*, and in the key of B flat.

The remaining portions of the "S. Patrick's Use"—*i.e.*, the Priest's part, Responses and Litany, after having been in use until 1879, were laid aside in that year by the then Succentor, the Rev. C. T. Ovenden. More recently they have been judiciously revived by the present Succentor, the Rev. David F. R. Wilson, and everybody, he tells me, is pleased with the change, after the commonplace arrangements previously sung. This interesting Use is said to have had its origin in our Chapel Royal. James Hill, for some time master of the famous choir of Leeds Parish Church,† edited, in 1843, the Versicles and Responses as sung there daily. Hill had previously been a stipendiary singer in the Dublin choirs, and, in his printed arrangement, introduced the S. Patrick's Confession, but offered no observations respecting its origin. This Use was also that of ferial days at Christ Church until the year 1826, when that meddlesome old man, James Mathews, to whom I alluded as copyist in a former part of this paper, and who had come from Winchester, persuaded the Bishop of Kildare to replace it by the present unison Winton setting.

Dr. Jebb printed the S. Patrick's Use in its entirety, in the second volume of his "Choral Responses and Litanies of the Church of England" (1857), but, instead of going to Sir Robert Stewart, as he ought to have done, for his copy, he applied to the Robinsons, who gave him a lot of Mendelssohnian harmonies, instead of those of the period of Tallis and Byrd.

At Christ Church an arrangement of Wanless' "York Litany" in C minor has, for some time, been in use during Lent for the Preces and Responses. In the Lent of 1890 a very fine setting in G minor, written by Sir Robert Stewart for the services held at the time of the death of the Duke of Wellington in 1852, was revived at Christ Church, everyone who heard it being moved by the reverent and pathetic

* Robert Janes succeeded Highmore Skeats, junior, as organist of Ely Cathedral in 1830. He died in 1866.

† He was appointed to that office by the Vicar, Dr. Hook. "I have secured a man named Hill and his nephew from Westminster Abbey," wrote Dr. Hook in February, 1841. "I am to pay them £120 a year. How I shall raise the money, I know not; but this I know, a good choir must be formed, if I go to prison for it." (Life of Dean Hook, by the present Dean of Winchester, ii., 124.)

character of its harmonies. The Litany is especially fine. Note the beautiful effect of the upward inflection of the Priest's part of the twenty-seven petitions, in the subjoined example:—

PRIEST.

By Thine agony and bloody sweat, by Thy Cross and Passion, &c } and by the coming of the Holy Ghost.

For many years the soprano part of Stewart's setting was missing, having been "burked" through the jealous interference of a prominent member of the two choirs.

A traditional usage in the Dublin Cathedrals, and of which mention should not be omitted, is the singing of the *Gloria Patri* after each Psalm, in unison. On English ears, when heard for the first time, the effect is brilliant and startling.

On Visitation Days and other occasions of ceremony, the short, full anthems of Childe and Rogers—"Praise the Lord, O my soul," and "Behold now, praise the Lord"—are sung in procession, *senza organo*, with beautiful effect.* Another custom—a most unseemly one and now happily long discontinued—prevailed in the Dublin Cathedrals of placing the solo singers in the anthem in the organ-loft, whereby all ritual decency and choral propriety were outraged. Dr. E. J. Hopkins once informed me that a similar custom obtained in our Chapel Royal, and that, as a chorister there under William Hawes, he had frequently taken part in these exalted exhibitions. Some of the old MS. books at S. Patrick's are lettered "Loft Score."

Another deceased clerical musician connected with Christ Church remains to be recorded. I allude to the Rev. William Chichester, who assumed the name of O'Neill in 1855 on succeeding to the estates of Lord O'Neill, and who was advanced to the peerage in 1868. From 1848 to 1859 he was Prebendary of S. Michael, afterwards keeping in touch with the Cathedral as Honorary Dean's Vicar.

Very few Irish commoners possessed many-sided talent equal to Lord O'Neill's, and his nature was so gentle and unobtrusive that few besides experts in classics, in science, and in arts really knew how genuine were his attainments in all he essayed. He possessed a wonderful faculty for reading music at sight, and could play or sing whatever

* How welcome these would be in processions at S. Paul's, in place of the hymns which are commonly in use there.

was put before him. He was also a good organist—not a mere flashy executant, but able to adapt, at a moment's notice, well and artistically for the organ, music intended for voices and other instruments. He frequently took the organ for an entire service in the Dublin Cathedrals, and when Telford's new instrument was built in Christ Church in 1856-7 he aided its erection by a munificent donation. Lord O'Neill's Morning and Communion Services in B minor were written in 1867 as a supplement to Kelway's well known Evening Service in the same key. They were published by Novello, as well as a setting, as a song, of Longfellow's "Silent Land." Bishop Wilberforce gives us a pleasant glimpse of Lord O'Neill during a visit he paid to Shane's Castle, Lord O'Neill's beautiful country seat in co. Antrim. In his diary, under date October 9, 1868, he says. "Beautiful morning. Walked along lake, and after luncheon drove to Antrim and Randal's Tower, a very fine place and great beauty. Lord O'Neill, simple, humble, and unpretending as if still a country curate—God honoured in the family, and so all happy." (Life, III, 263.)

In 1863 Lord O'Neill constructed a music-room at Shane's Castle, and placed a three-manual organ in it. A large gathering of friends was held on the occasion of the opening, and an ode, written by Lord Massarene, and set to music by Stewart, had been secretly prepared and rehearsed by a small, select choir, and highly competent soloists, from among Lord O'Neill's guests, one of whom was Joe Robinson. Immediately before the third verse of Lord Massarene's ode, Stewart had brought into the music Lord O'Neill's well known double chant:—

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This he made into a brief symphony in triple time. The effect was good, and Lord O'Neill seemed much pleased and surprised as he recognised his own music set to the words:—

> "Sound the glad strain!
> When rose in war the vengeful cries,
> Again, and yet again
> Let soft strains rise!"

Lord O'Neill died at Shane's Castle, April 18, 1883. A volume of his sermons, with a memoir by E. J. Hamilton prefixed, also a collection of "Essays and Addresses on the truths of the Christian religion," appeared posthumously in 1885.*

The life and labours of that most illustrious of all Ireland's musicians, Sir Robert Stewart, have been so ably set before you in a paper read by the Rev. O. J. Vignoles at one of your former meetings, that it would be impertinent in me to add anything to what has already been so ably and admirably said by that gentleman.† Still, as this is a record of Irish Church composers, any omission of Stewart's name from the roll would make it like the proverbial representation of "Hamlet," with the part of the principal character left out. I will therefore recapitulate the salient features of Stewart's biography.

Born in Dublin on December 16, 1825, Stewart entered the choir school of Christ Church, his "own old Cathedral," his "nursing mother," as he fondly termed it, in 1833, becoming, ten years later, its organist, as well as organist of Trinity College Chapel. From 1852 to 1861 he was organist of S. Patrick's, resigning the post in the latter year for a vicar choralship, but still taking the organ by arrangement with his successor, Mr. Murphy, at the Sunday afternoon services. In 1862 he succeeded Dr. John Smith as Professor of Music at Trinity College, and ten years later was knighted, receiving the accolade from the Lord Lieutenant, Earl Spencer, in acknowledgment of his consummate musical attainments. From 1846 he conducted the concerts of the

* Among other titled musical amateurs may be mentioned, Willoughby (Bertie), fourth Earl of Abingdon (1740-1799), George, Marquis of Blandford, fourth Duke of Marlborough (1738-1817), Lord Mount-Edgecumbe (1764-1839), Sir John Leman Rogers, Bart (1780-1847), Lord Burghersh, afterwards Earl of Westmoreland (1784-1859), Hon. William Ashley Cooper (1803-1877), Master of S. Katherine's, Regent's Park, the Earl of Wilton (1799-1882), the Rev. Sir W. H. Cope, Bart (1812-1890), sometime Minor Canon and Librarian of S. Peter's, Westminster, and the present Earl of Mar. Lord Mornington and the Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley we always regard as professional musicians.

† Mr. Vignoles' "Memoir of Sir Robert Stewart" was published in October, 1898.

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University Choral Society and, later on, those of the Dublin Philharmonic Society. He died suddenly on Easter Eve, March 24, 1894, at his house, 40, Upper Fitzwilliam Street.* He was buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin. There is a mural brass to his memory in Christ Church, a stained glass window in S. Patrick's, and a statue on Leinster Lawn, one of the finest sites in Dublin.

It has always been a source of regret to me that Stewart's compositions, especially those for the Church, are not so widely known over here as they ought to be. It is true that his Service in G and two or three of his anthems are popular in some of our choirs, but how few seem to be acquainted with his masterpiece in ecclesiastical composition—the Service in E flat for double choir, originally written with orchestral accompaniments in 1850, but not published until 1879. By turns, dignified, learned, melodious, jubilant, and pathetic, it is, so to speak, the *merum sal* of service music, and must be classed as one of the earliest specimens of the present British dramatic school.

A pathetic incident attaches to this work. It was the service appointed for the morning service at Christ Church on Easter Day, 1894. The distinguished composer had passed away on the previous afternoon, and before the Easter joy bells of Christ Church rang out their joyous summons to choral mattins and the Paschal Eucharist, the fingers which were to have rendered it in a style worthy of it were cold and lifeless.

It was fitting that the last music played by Sir Robert in S. Patrick's Cathedral on Good Friday should be those touching excerpts from that "Sacred Oratorio" which describes, in so marvellous a manner, the last great scene in the redemption of mankind.

Even when he was quite a young man crowds flocked to the Dublin Cathedrals, as they did to the day of his death, to hear Stewart play, not only those masterpieces for the king of instruments which have never been excelled, but also everything that his pure taste and perfect judgment would admit of being rendered on the organ. With the touch of a magician he woke up, by his playing, every phase of feeling in the human heart.

His mastery of the science and technique of his profession was complete, and, in addition, his literary talents enabled him to be a brilliant expounder of his beloved Art. His

* Just four years later the Irish Church was deprived of another of her most distinguished composers by the premature death, at the age of forty, of Mr. George Frederick Horan. He held organistships at several of the Dublin churches at various times, and frequently deputised for his father, Mr John Horan, the present organist at Christ Church Cathedral. Among his secular compositions were many songs of a high order of merit

lecture on Church music before the Dublin Church Congress of 1868 was a perfect masterpiece.

Apart from music, Stewart was a man of real culture, witty and genial; of the simplest tastes; brilliant in conversation; a charming letter-writer; a man of the utmost versatility, and a gentleman in the highest meaning of the word.

Returning for a few moments to his Church compositions, I may mention that thirteen of his chants appeared in the collections published for the Irish Church in 1864 and 1883, several of them having previously found their way into our printed books and into the manuscript ones of our Cathedrals. Ten hymn tunes were written by him for the "Irish Church Hymnal" in 1874, but it cannot be said that he became known in this country as a writer of hymnody until 1889, when two tunes were specially composed by him for the new Supplement to "Hymns, Ancient and Modern." One of these tunes, set to a hymn for S. Michael's Day, by Dean Farrar, beginning "Father, before Thy throne of light," is melodiously rich and harmoniously pathetic, and completely in accordance with the words. Four more tunes of much beauty were composed expressly for a collection issued in 1890, called "The Book of Common Praise." The last tune written by Stewart, and called "Edelweiss," appeared under the editorship of Dr. A. H. Mann, in "The Church of England Hymn Book," compiled by Dr. Bell, a gifted poet, and the late earnest and cultured Evangelical vicar of Cheltenham. As this book is, however, only suited to the use of one section of the Church, its title must be accepted *cum grano*.

At the age of eleven Stewart had even written a complete Service in B flat. When he laid this before the Dean's Vicar at Christ Church, the Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite, that worthy ecclesiastic exclaimed: "My boy, this will never do; you've got consecutive fifths in your first two bars!"—a needful check which only nerved the young scholar to greater diligence. Three years later he competed for the prize offered by the committee of the Dublin Antient Concerts, his composition—an anthem—standing third in the judgment of the umpires.

His fine anthem, "In the Lord put I my trust," with its touching quintet, "The Lord is in His holy temple," was composed in 1864. For the Queen's Jubilee of 1887 he put forth all his strength and wrote an anthem, "The King shall rejoice," the fugue, with which it concludes, being one of the finest and most majestic things of the kind ever penned. In the following year he had ready for S. Patrick's Day an anthem for bass solo, quartet, and chorus, the words being those of the historic hymn or "Confession of S. Patrick," so familiar to readers of Dr. Todd's well-known "Life of the

Pioneer of Christianity in the Island of Saints." On its first performance in S. Patrick's Cathedral before a crowded congregation, a critic justly observed: "There is nothing in the whole library of Cathedral music which bears the least resemblance to this composition — an anthem which has brought out all the abilities of its author. . . It can be most fittingly described as a National Anthem. As such it takes its place, and Irish musicians may well be proud of it." It has been published by the Dublin Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with the title of "The Hymn or Breastplate of S. Patrick."

Compared with his contemporary brother Professors of Oxford and Cambridge—Ouseley and Stainer, Macfarren and Stanford—Stewart cannot be called a prolific composer. At any rate, his published works were but few. Of many of his unpublished ones, it is to be feared, no traces are to be found, for, as Dr. J. C. Culwick has observed, he "periodically presided at a holocaust, the victims being such of his own MSS. as had, upon trial, with or without mature consideration, failed to satisfy him." Among such compositions so lost was his magnificent setting of Psalm cvii., written as the exercise for his degree in 1851.

Fortunately those compositions of Stewart's written in the choir-books of the Cathedrals have been preserved. Among them is a complete Service in C—more archaic in style than his other two—together with Communion Services written in imitation and continuation of the Morning Services of *Boyce in A*, *Walsh in D*, and *Sullivan in D*. To these must be added the anthems, "Lord, who shall dwell," "Plead Thou my cause," "Let your light so shine," "O Lord my God," "If ye love Me," "In the Lord put I my trust,"* and "Thou, O God, art praised in Zion." The three last-named have been published by Novello. A setting of the *Veni, Creator*, was published by Metzler. Among Stewart's secular works are the cantatas "A Winter Night's Wake" and "The Eve of S. John", the Odes for the opening of the Cork Exhibition in 1852, for the Boston Peace Festival, 1872, and for the ter-centenary of Trinity College, Dublin, 1892. In 1846 he gained the prize offered to the Hibernian Catch Club by Lord St. Germans for his quartet, "O Nightingale," and two of his glees, "The Dream" and "The Haymakers," which also gained prizes, were inserted in Novello's Part-Song Book, a series of quarto numbers to which Sir. G. A. Macfarren and the late Dr. E. G. Monk were the earliest contributors, and which is still flourishing in its octavo form.

* This anthem was composed in 1864. In 1891 Sir Robert scored it orchestrally for one of the concerts of the Dublin Musical Society, adding, at the same time, a long prelude. The anthem is in regular use at S. Paul's, but the fine Service in E flat seems to be quite unknown there.

Stewart's published compositions for the organ are provokingly few His masterly Concert Fantasia in D minor and his arrangement of the *Finale* to Mendelssohn's "Scotch" Symphony in A minor, both published by Novello, are the delight of players at their recitals Not long before his death he published a "Progressive Organ School," dedicated to his pupil, the Countess of Leinster. As an extempore player he was, in his day, almost without a rival.

I am afraid I have not much to say concerning the bibliography of Irish Cathedral music. By this I mean books bearing upon the history of the subject.

After the Rev. Dr. Jebb, who devoted several pages in his book, "The Choral Service of the Church," to the Irish Cathedral system, and the Rev. Edward Seymour, late Precentor of Christ Church, Dublin,* from whose lucid and masterly pen several most interesting and learned pamphlets bearing on the same topic have, from time to time, proceeded, one of the few Irishmen who defended his Cathedral service was Adam Gason, an undergraduate of Trinity College. His small book of seventy-seven pages, published in 1846, entitled "A Short Treatise in Defence of Cathedral Worship," was dedicated to the Bishop of Kildare, who, as Dean of Christ Church, supported Cathedral service in its purest form. In this book (now out of print and scarce) Gason called attention to the meagre attendance, not only of the laity, but also of the choir and Chapter at the week-day services in Christ Church Cathedral. The Sunday services, when great musical display took place, were invariably thronged.

About this time a certain section of the Dublin Protestants were strongly opposed to the Cathedral form of worship. "Some of this class," wrote Thackeray in his "Irish Sketch Book," "call the Cathedral service *Paddy's Opera*; † they say it is popish—downright scarlet—they won't go to it. They will have none but their own hymns—and pretty they are—no ornaments but those of their own minister, his rank incense and tawdry rhetoric." Well done, Michael Angelo Titmarsh! What a pity Cathedral service was not more generally defended by your sarcastic pen, just at the time when it stood most in need of it.

The favourite resort of these Orange Protestants in 1842 was Trinity Church, near the Custom House, where the Rev. Robert Gregg, afterwards Bishop of Cork, used to preach ornate and verbose extemporaneous discourses, usually lasting considerably over an hour.

* Canon Seymour resigned his stall in 1883

† A more facetious than reverent soubriquet bestowed, at that time, on the Sunday afternoon service at S Patrick's

Here is an extract from one of the hymns, as heard by Thackeray at this delectable place of worship:—

> "Hasten to some distant isle
> In the bosom of the deep;
> Where the skies for ever smile,
> And the blacks for ever weep."

"Is it not a shame," wrote the great novelist in his account of the service he attended at this church, "that such nonsensical twaddle should be sung in a house of the Church of Ireland, and by people assembled for grave and decent worship?" Alluding again to the sermon, he said, "There is an examiner of plays and indeed there ought to be an examiner of sermons [he might well have added, and of hymn books too] by which audiences are to be fully as much injured or misguided as by the other named exhibition. What call have reverend gentlemen to repeat their dicta half a dozen times over, like Sir Robert Peel, when he says anything that he fancies to be witty? Why are men to be kept for an hour and twenty minutes listening to that which may be more effectually said in twenty?"

On Dr. Gregg there hangs a tale. Some of you who have access to back volumes of *The Illustrated London News* may happen to have seen, in one of the numbers for 1861, an engraving of a dreadful accident to a Dublin omnibus, one night in April of that year. The driver, who seemed not to have been sober, lost all control over his horses, and the vehicle rolled into the canal lock at Portobello Bridge, all the passengers being drowned. Dr. Gregg, then Bishop of Cork, had hailed the 'bus only a minute or two before the accident, but, fortunately for him, the driver did not observe him. Oddly enough, the vehicle, in falling into the lock, came down right on its wheels and stood well over the water level. Then, with inconceivable stupidity the lock-keeper took it into his head that he could float the 'bus! He accordingly opened the sluices, the water, of course, pouring in and drowning the unfortunate passengers. Not one of them was hurt by the fall into the lock, had it not been flooded by the idiotic keeper: all could have been got out by means of a ladder. Among those who perished was old Mr. Michael Gunn, a well-known and highly-respected pianoforte tuner of Dublin. When George IV. visited Ireland in 1821 Gunn tuned the organ in S. Patrick's Cathedral, in view of the approaching Installation of the Knights of S. Patrick, and he is said to have been three days and three nights at the work. The instrument must have required it badly.

Could some of the older musicians, whom I have endeavoured to describe, revisit their cathedrals, they would

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barely recognise them, so completely have the two ancient Dublin buildings been transformed, from well nigh crumbling and shapeless masses of masonry, upon which almost every possible architectural enormity had been engrafted, into the stately and imposing fabrics we now behold. We will take S. Patrick's first. In 1844 the whole Cathedral bore such marks of unheeded dilapidation for 600 years (notwithstanding some repairs carried out under Deans Keatinge and Dawson) that estimable Dean Pakenham, then just appointed, made an appeal for funds, calling in Richard Cromwell Carpenter, at that time one of the most distinguished English architects, to report on the state of the building. You will see a specimen of Carpenter's work in the noble Church of S. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, near Regent's Park, the only London church, unfortunately, entrusted to him.* For the restoration of S. Patrick's, Carpenter prepared some splendid designs, which, had they been carried out, would have secured him lasting fame. I am very pleased to be able to lay these beautiful drawings before you, and you may like to inspect them at the close of your proceedings. They will speak for themselves, but I should like especially to draw your attention on Plate V. to the fine position of the organ in the triforium, where the North transept abuts on the choir. One or two little points are open to criticism. We miss the canopies over the stalls and the banners of the Knights of S. Patrick suspended above them, which have always formed such a striking feature in this Cathedral. The effect of the choir, too, would be improved in dignity by being raised a step or two. With its side-aisles filled with benches, it presents, in the proposed design, too open and parochial an appearance.

All Carpenter and Dean Pakenham were able to accomplish with the funds then in hand—for the famine in Ireland and other distractions of that unhappy country caused them soon to run short—was the restoration of the Lady Chapel and of a considerable portion of the choir. The former, used as the Chapter House, had been quite transmogrified. The latter had previously been choked up with galleries and pews of a most offensive type, hiding the beautiful Early English bays. The galleries were found to be frightfully insecure. Had they chosen to tumble down during some crowded function the loss of life, both to those above and to those below, would have

* Carpenter was born in 1812 and died in 1855 Like Street, Pearson, Woodyer Scott, and Butterfield he was a churchman first and an architect afterwards As a singular and pathetic incident relative to the last-named I may mention that on the very day of his death February 23 last, I penned this foot note in the railway carriage while journeying to S. Michael's College, Tenbury, one of the noblest conceptions of his distinguished pupil, Henry Woodyer.

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beggared all description. Twelve fine arches, hitherto blocked up with these incumbrances and with plaster, were thus opened out. At the same time, benches, giving accommodation for an increased number of worshippers, were placed on the floor of the choir and its aisles, eastward of the stalls. New choristers' desks of oak (still retained) were added, and other improvements effected. The stalls crossed the transepts as at Winchester, Chichester, and Gloucester, Renatus Harris' silvery-toned old organ—the open diapasons of which were said to be equalled by those of no other organ in the United Kingdom—remaining on the ancient *pulpitum* or rood-loft (pierced by its exquisite Early English doorway) as *in statu quo*.

In November, 1850, the S. Patrick's Society for the study of ecclesiology was started by the exertions of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd and the Rev. R. Corbet Singleton, the first Warden of S. Columba's College, Navan, and afterwards that of Radley. Having as its first object the restoration of S. Patrick's Cathedral and then the universal study of Irish Church architecture, the value of such an auxiliary in that portion of our Communion was very great. External religion had, at that time, sunk very low in Ireland—more cause was there then for the labours of those earnest and real men who undertook this work of love and faith. Like the members of our famous Cambridge Camden (afterwards the Ecclesiological) Society—a natural sequence of the great Tractarian movement—they were no mere ritualists, *dilettanti* triflers, or half-hearted labourers

Until May, 1861, nothing was accomplished in the way of restoration. Then Mr. (afterwards Sir) Benjamin Lee Guinness came forward and, with princely munificence, offered to restore S. Patrick's entirely at his own cost, on the condition, however, that he was allowed to be his own architect. Unfortunately, no professional advice was sought. Carpenter's designs were entirely set aside and the work entrusted to a Dublin builder, who had rarely seen, much less restored, a mediæval building The result as to the details was deplorable. A "Friendly Account" of these works, reprinted from *Saunders' News Letter* of February 24, 1865, in *The Ecclesiologist* of the following April, placed side by side with the true account as given in the latter periodical, is amusing reading. The most offensive features in this restoration were the miserable pens of pews, which still block up the crossing; the subsellæ of stained deal—a novel material in the choir of a Cathedral Church, the "churchwarden" doors, and the flaring painted glass* in the triplet of the North transept. But no bad restoration could spoil

* By Barff, of Dublin, a Cambridge "vert"

the proportions of the building, which, as it is open from end to end, the screen being entirely removed, are very fine and church like. Entering at the South porch, the first impressions are most favourable, and it is not until one makes a minute inspection that many of the bad details are strikingly apparent.

On the Feast of S. Matthias, February 24, 1865, the Cathedral was re-opened with considerable pomp. The service in the morning, which included a full choral Celebration, was sung to Rogers in D, the anthems being "Lift up your heads" (Handel) and "O give thanks" (Boyce). At Evensong, which began at 7, the service was Kelway in B minor, and the anthems "O give thanks" (Purcell) and "God is gone up" (Croft). The musical arrangements were in the hands of the Robinsons, and old "Dr. Frank" nearly distinguished himself by putting down Mendelssohn's chorale, "Sleepers, wake," as a postlude to the preacher's discourse. However, he had the tact to reverse the order of this piece just at the last moment. Handel's "Hallelujah" Chorus seems to have been got in somewhere.

From the above selection it will be seen that the music (especially that for the Services) was of the ordinary Cathedral type of week-day use, especially when one hears that the anthem selected for the morrow was "Lord, for Thy tender mercies' sake." At such a time surely something special might have been done for Church music, either by a more generous use of good modern music, or by a general gathering of choirs and a great number of voices. The choir of Armagh Cathedral was the only contingent beyond Dublin invited to take part. In this respect, the re-opening of S. Patrick's did not contrast favourably with similar occasions at Lichfield and Hereford only a short time before, when surpliced hosts half filled those gloriously-renovated piles, to render, *inter alia*, music specially composed by one who was, at that time, amongst the most distinguished writers for our Church—Sir Frederick Ouseley.*

With the restoration of the fabric of S. Patrick's came that of its daily services, which had been in abeyance for many years. Indeed, the Sunday morning service, until 1865, was only of a parochial character, the choir being engaged at Trinity College Chapel at 9.45 and at Christ Church at 11.15. The only "choir" services held at S. Patrick's were on the afternoons of Saturday and Sunday at 3 o'clock, the week-day services being (with the exception of Saturday afternoon) at Christ Church at 11 and 3. At Christ Church, from 1807 to 1825, and again from 1865 to 1869, there was evening service on Sunday at 7. On the

* I allude to his anthem "It came even to pass," and his Service in C for double choir, sung at Lichfield and Hereford respectively with magnificent effect.

re-opening of the Cathedral in 1878, evening service was permanently established at 4 every Sunday. At S. Patrick's, an additional Sunday evening service at 7 was started in 1881, but it did not continue for long. The music was entirely of a congregational character By the *profanum vulgus* that 3 o'clock service at S. Patrick's on Sundays was nicknamed "Paddy's Opera"—"a noble performance," wrote Thackeray in his *Irish Sketch Book*, "and here the Englishman may listen to a half-hour sermon, and, in the anthem, to a bass singer whose voice is one of the finest ever heard."

Mr. McGregor in his "Picture of Dublin"—a handbook to that city, published in 1821—naively remarked: "The choir service is performed in S. Patrick's Cathedral every Sunday at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. It affords a rich treat to the lovers of music. The splendid manner in which this venerable structure is illuminated upon these occasions during the winter months renders the scene altogether uncommonly attractive."

The prayers, then, upon the re-opening of S. Patrick's, were thenceforward said chorally every day at 10 and 5 o clock, but for a short time after the ceremony (except on Sundays, when there was great display) the canticles were sung to chants. The cause of this blemish was apparently the negligence of the vicars choral, who, as at Christ Church, formed corporate bodies, and although their incomes reached, in many cases, £200 *per annum*, and in no case less than £150, not more than three, and at Christ Church sometimes none at all, attended the week day services, and this with the richest choir foundation of that time in the United Kingdom, except, perhaps, Durham. I may mention the fact that just at this time two new singers had been appointed to the choir of Christ Church from Ely and York, where their salaries were £70 and £80 per annum respectively, for which an attendance *twice daily* was insisted upon. Here, as stipendiaries, they received £115 per annum, with the chance of succeeding to the very valuable "vicarage," and yet two attendances on Sundays, with an occasional service on week days, were what they were taught at Dublin to believe enough. Their ample stipends and little work also contrasted curiously with the daily duties of the deputy organist, who was paid the munificent sum of £20 as his annual salary!

Here is the account, "soberly truthful," of a week-day service at Christ Church during the early "sixties," from the pen of Mr. William Glover, the author of *The Memoirs of a Cambridge Chorister**:—"A cleric issues from the

* It is but fair to state that, at this period, the daily services at Armagh were admirably performed

vestry, followed by an 'army of six' irregular forces, namely, one singing man and five small boys. When they reach the arch beneath the organ loft, one small warrior deserts the straggling ranks, and scales the steps which lead to the king of instruments. His majesty appears to be but weakly to-day, scarcely uttering a sound beyond a whisper, and roaring like any 'sucking dove.' Perhaps he is gouty; certainly he cannot use his pedals; we hear no musical footfall during the whole dreary service. Truly, when I thought of Cathedral dignitaries generally, how many of them were at that time rolling in wealth, how their revenues were increasing yearly, and how they grasped at every penny, rightly or wrongly—starved the services, and utterly neglected the stately buildings committed to their charge, I wondered that righteous retribution had not overtaken them long before."

The condition of both the Dublin choirs at this time called loudly for the rule of active Precentors. At S. Patrick's this was soon found in the person of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Todd,* a sound churchman and a musician of taste and judgment. His predecessors, most likely unable to sound a single note, regarded the office as a mere sinecure. On Dr. Todd's death, in 1869, the office again became a nominal one, but

* Dr Todd was one of the founders of that interesting College, S Columba's—the first school established in Ireland on strictly Church lines. Started in 1843 at Stackallan, a fine old country mansion near Navan in the Boyne district, it was, in 1849, removed to Rathfarnham, near Dublin. Its chapel is a beautiful conception of Butterfield's. The school has done much towards disseminating a taste for sound Church music in Ireland. S Michael's College, Tenbury, was founded by Sir Frederick Ouseley on somewhat similar lines. Several of the organists of S. Columba's have risen to great eminence in the profession, notably, Dr E. G. Monk, Dr. G. B. Arnold, Mr J. Baptiste Calkin, Mr. H. S Irons, Mr. Frederick Cambridge, Mus.B., Mr. C. Lee Williams, and Mr Donald W. Lott. The Rev. R. Corbet Singleton was the first Warden, and, I may add, a munificent benefactor. In 1847 Mr. Singleton, together with the celebrated Dr Sewell, Dr E G Monk, and the Rev. Nugent Wade, helped to found S. Peter's College, Radley, near Oxford. Mr. Singleton was appointed the first Warden of Radley, one of his earliest gifts to the College being a magnificent organ by Telford, of Dublin, costing £1,000. "This," wrote Mr. Singleton, in October, 1847, "is of great consequence, in order that the boys may carry home word at Christmas that their College has one of the finest organs in England." The organ was sent from Dublin by sea to Bristol, and thence by rail to Abingdon. It arrived in eighty four packages, weighing twelve tons and containing 2,533 pipes. In 1868 this instrument was rebuilt by Walker, and in 1896 by Martin, of Oxford. Mr. Singleton, who collaborated with Dr. E. G. Monk in editing, in 1871, "The Anglican Hymn Book," was himself a composer and a great musical enthusiast, but not altogether a success as an educationalist. A warm-hearted impulsive Irishman, and a man of very deep and sincere religious feeling, he claimed much respect. He died at York in February, 1881. Much of interest concerning him may be read in Sewell's "Journal of a Residence at the College of S. Columba" (1848), and in the Rev. T. D. Raikes' "Fifty Years of S. Peter's College, Radley" (1897.)

that of Succentor was made for the first time a reality, and, under the supervision of the Rev. A. T. Harvey, and his successor, the Rev. C. T. Ovenden, the services and choral discipline improved visibly. Mr. Ovenden's splendid work has been well maintained by Succentors Beaufoy Stillman, Webster, Winder, and Wilson. As regards Christ Church, the Rev. Prebendary Seymour was appointed in 1876 to the Precentorship. Instead of relegating his duties to a Succentor, as his predecessors had been content to do, Mr. Seymour drew up the hebdomadal music schemes and superintended every detail of the choral department himself, working harmoniously with Sir Robert Stewart and the sub-organist, Mr. John Horan. His skill as a practical musician and his admirable taste in Church music eminently qualified him for the post. The consequence was that the Cathedral services (I especially allude to the week-day ones), from being the most wretchedly and inefficiently performed, became of their kind second to none in the United Kingdom, and it is pleasant to observe that this efficiency is still maintained. Outside his cathedral work Canon Seymour did much for the purification and advancement of Irish Church music. The revised editions of the Dublin Anthem Book and of the Irish Church Hymnal and Chant Book, all bear the impress of his careful supervision and attention to the most minute detail. To him is due the establishment every Sunday, in Christ Church, of a choral celebration of the Holy Communion, the first attempt of the kind in an Irish Cathedral. Altogether, there is an air of solemnity and devotion about Christ Church and its services which proclaims it, indeed, a House of Prayer, and not a mere Sunday show place, where crowds come to listen to the anthems and to stare at the notabilities. Since the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the family of the munificent restorer of S. Patrick's has given a large and liberal amount for the foundation of a good choir for Sunday mornings, and for rendering the two daily services of that Cathedral in the proper manner. It is noteworthy that, just at the time when the enemies of the Irish Church were becoming most active, the work of restoration seemed to have set in, especially in the Cathedrals, those of Derry, Downpatrick, Kilmore, Tuam, Limerick, and Cork being then all in course either of restoration or re-edification.*

Founded in 1190 by Archbishop John de Comyn as a collegiate church, his successor, Henry de Loundres, converted S. Patrick's into a Cathedral—a *beau ideal* one of the

* Those interested in the architecture and constitution of the Irish Cathedrals are recommended to consult a series of most masterly papers on the subject, contributed by the Rev. John Jebb, D.D., to *The Ecclesiologist*, between 1866 and 1868. The account of Cashel Cathedral, recently restored, is especially interesting.

Old Foundation—the staff consisting of a Dean, Precentor, Treasurer, Chancellor, Succentor,* Archdeacons, twenty-one Canons or Prebendaries (among whom the Archbishop of Dublin held the stall of Cullen), four Minor Canons, twelve Vicars Choral, five of whom were priests and seven laymen, besides choristers and other officers. I must explain that the four Minor Canons were quite distinct from the Priest Vicars. We must look abroad for a similar constitution, the only two I can call to mind being the eight *Moindres Chanoines* of Rouen and the Petty Canons of Toledo. It is interesting to observe that S. Patrick's was constituted by its founder, Henry de Loundres, on the model of Salisbury. This prelate was present at the consecration of Salisbury Cathedral by Bishop Poore, in 1225, and it is worthy of note that, in its general features, and especially in the construction and fenestration of its choir and Lady Chapel, there is, in S. Patrick's an evident, though humble, imitation of the church whence its liturgical forms and constitution were derived. Another interesting feature is that the National Cathedral of Ireland, like Salisbury, is homogeneous in style—Early English prevailing throughout. The granite spire, I should mention, was not added until 1749.

Let us now turn to Christ Church. A few words about its constitution, fabric, restoration, and the renewed life of its services will close this paper cheerfully and pleasantly.

The Cathedral of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, was founded by the Danish King, Sitric, in 1038, for Secular Canons. About 1163, however, Archbishop Laurence O'Toole changed it from a Cathedral into a Priory for "Regular" Canons, and thus first "caused regular singers to stand about the Altar that they might praise the Name of the Lord, and he gave order to the services and into their sound introduced harmonies." † The record of the Dublin choir is thus 700 years old and more, and so it is truly stated of Stewart, on his memorial brass in Christ Church, that "His name stands foremost among the many who, for seven centuries, devoted their musical talents to the service of God within the walls of this ancient sanctuary." In 1541 Henry VIII. restored Christ Church to its original foundation as a Cathedral, with a staff consisting of a Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Archdeacon of Dublin, six Vicars Choral (two clerical and four lay), and four boy choristers. Three years later Archbishop Browne founded three prebendal stalls in the Cathedral with the titles of S. Michael, S. Michan (a Danish Saint), and S. John. An organist,

* At Salisbury the Succentor is one of the Dignitaries At York there is a Succentor Canonicorum and a Succentor Vicariorum

† Massingham "Life of S. Laurence O'Toole."

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stipendiary singers, and an increased number of choristers were added as occasion arose.

After the passing of the Irish Church Act, in 1869, the constitution of Christ Church was somewhat modified, but the ancient chapter was kept compactly together, and twelve new canonries, without emoluments, were added on by an Act of the Synod. At the same time, S. Patrick's was made the National Cathedral, bearing a common relation to all the dioceses.

The Report of the Royal Commission of 1868 recommended the suppression of all the Cathedrals in Ireland except eight. According to this, Christ Church was to cease to be a Cathedral and was to be converted into a mere parish church. The patronage was to be transferred to the Archbishop of Dublin, who, by the recommendations of the said Report, was to be reduced from the rank of an Archbishop to that of a mere suffragan Bishop, subservient to the primatial see of Armagh. Indeed, the entire drift of the Report seems to have been the aggrandisement of the Archbishop of Armagh, for, not only was he to be the sole Archbishop of Ireland, but, by the suppression of the Christ Church choir (without which that of S. Patrick could not have been maintained), the Dublin Cathedrals were to be sacrificed that Armagh alone might possess the one efficiently served Cathedral of Ireland. Such a suggestion, it is hardly necessary to observe, never became law, and the Report that recommended it was of little more value than waste paper.

At the close of the year 1870, the state of Christ Church was deplorable in the extreme. Its fortunes seem to have been reduced to the lowest ebb. The fabric itself was rapidly falling into a state of ruin, for, although various efforts had been made to use a sum of money, amounting to over £4,000, which lay in the hands of the capitular body, these efforts were persistently and successfully thwarted by a certain section who feared that such an outlay might ultimately lead to the restoration of the Cathedral.

When the 1st of January, 1871, dawned, the Irish Church Act came into full operation, depriving Christ Church of all its endowments, and relaxing the authority of its government by the dissolution of its capitular body as an ecclesiastical corporation. "This," says Canon Seymour in his monograph on Christ Church, "was the darkest period of misfortune the old Cathedral had ever seen—this act of the legislature reduced it to a hopeless state of poverty and degradation from which it seemed useless even to attempt to raise it."

It was at this juncture, in March, 1871, that the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench), who was also, by virtue of his office, Dean of Christ Church, received a letter from Mr. Henry Roe, Jun., a wealthy and public-spirited citizen of Dublin,

offering to take on his own shoulders the whole burden of restoring the Cathedral in a thorough way, of building a Synod House, and of contributing £20,000 as an endowment for the maintenance, for ever, of the choral services. This noble and unexpected offer was, it is scarcely necessary to observe, accepted. So it came to pass that on June 27, 1872, Christ Church, the more ancient and interesting of the two Dublin Cathedrals—"tanquam major, matrix et senior," as it is termed in the *Compositio Pacis* of Edward I.—was placed in the hands of that distinguished English architect, George Edmund Street, who brought the vast stores of his archeological and ecclesiological knowledge to bear upon the work, completing it, with conservative ability and consummate taste, in 1878. That year's Feast of SS. Philip and James was graced by the re-opening of the Cathedral.

Side by side with some photographs of Christ Church in its restored and, as far as could be ascertained, pristine beauty, you will see a drawing of the exterior, before it was placed in Mr. Street's hands—a mass of deformity, with very few of its original details and features remaining, and with the tasteless accretions and patchings of five centuries. S. Patrick's was never so bad.

Christ Church was founded, as I have pointed out, in 1038, by Sitric, King of the Danes of Dublin. For long it was believed that no remains of Sitric's church existed, but in a very interesting letter which I recently received from Mr. Thomas Drew, the accomplished honorary architect to the Dean and Chapter, that gentleman informs me that, by a curious catena of evidence, the remarkable discovery has been made that remains *do* exist and can be easily distinguished, the only point under speculation still being whether the whole plan of Sitric's "Christ Church"—*i.e.*, the Scandinavian name for Cathedral—has not survived, as well as the Danish name for it.

In 1170 Christ Church was founded anew by Strongbow, the first invader of Ireland, and rebuilt on its present plan. Of Strongbow's church there remain the North and South transepts, and the choir arches immediately adjoining, in the Norman, or (to use the nomenclature employed by the Ecclesiological Society) Romanesque style. The choir, choir aisles, and chapels, built with the transepts in Strongbow's time in Transition and Early English, and subsequently taken down in 1350 by Archbishop John de Paul, were restored by Mr. Street, who ascertained, with singular skill, the original plan of the East end of the church, from evidence afforded by the plan of the crypt, some ancient foundations, and some fragments of the original structure still remaining, discovered when the choir-fittings were removed in 1872. For this remarkable plan, combining an apsidal end with square-ended Eastern chapels, the only parallel I know is at Pershore Abbey in Worcestershire.

The nave was probably completed under Archbishop Luke, in 1230, and is a fine specimen of First Pointed or Early English, the details resembling, in a marked degree, those in S. Saviour's, Southwark. A sad calamity occurred in 1562. The vaulting of this nave fell, carrying with it the whole of the Southern arcade, triforium, and clerestory. These were never rebuilt, but replaced by a hideous whitewashed dead wall, upon which was engraved the pithy and genuinely Irish inscription: "THIS : WAL : FEL : DOWN : IN : AN : 1562. THE : BILDING : OF : THIS : WAL : WAS : IN : 1562." Mr. Street rebuilt the whole of the South side, finding many of the original details buried under the *débris*. These he worked in most ingeniously, and both sides now correspond exactly. The long and unsightly choir of 1350 was a miserable abortion and wholly destitute of interest and architectural merit. Mr. Street razed it to the ground.

In 1855 Dr. Jebb read a most interesting paper before the Ecclesiological Society upon the valuable post Reformation fittings of this choir, which, as if to obliterate all the former grandeur of the Cathedral, were swept away in 1831, when stalls of sham Gothic, and pews, of a most offensive type, rising from the floor to the roofs of the choir aisles, were introduced. Nothing could have been more uninteresting to an ecclesiologist than the condition of Christ Church choir between 1831 and 1872: indeed, the whole building seemed to cry aloud to be released from its bonds. As at S. Patrick's before 1865, a solid screen separated the nave from the choir. Upon it, in 1856, was placed a new organ by Telford, the position of the two preceding instruments having been over the stalls on the North side.*

* The organ built in Christ Church by Renatus Harris in 1697 was celebrated as being a portion of the instrument discarded in the famous contest at the Temple Church. Harris's organ occupied a position on the North side of the choir—one held by the organs at Westminster, Canterbury, Lincoln, and S. David's during the early part of the eighteenth century, and at S. Paul's before the Great Fire. In an evil hour, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church were induced to part with this organ for a very inferior instrument by Byfield—"a regular old saw sharpener," as Sir Robert Stewart used to call it. This was in 1752. Harris's organ is now at S. John's, Wolverhampton, and Byfield's at S. Nicholas's, Cork, in which church it was sold in 1856. The present organ of Christ Church is hardly worthy of the building in which it is placed. Henry Smart condemned it in his report in 1878. Harris also built the organ in S. Patrick's. Erected upon the choir screen in 1697, it remained there, with additions by Gray, Bucher and Fleetwood, and Telford, until the restoration of 1861-5, when, the choice of an organ-builder being left to Sir Benjamin Guinness, Bevington was chosen. Bevington's organ, which included only three stops of Harris's instrument, was packed away in the North choir aisle, instead of being placed in the triforium according to Carpenter's design. Telford, I believe, prepared a design in which he proposed to include every pipe of Harris's work. In 1880 a new solo organ was added by Telford, and further improvements are now in contemplation.

Mr. Street fitted Christ Church with elaborate furniture, such as stained glass, carved woodwork, an alabaster screen, rich pavements and ironwork, the grilles surrounding the choir being simply the culmination of Mr. Street's ablest designs in a branch of ecclesiastical art in which he excelled. On the new choristers' desks the fine old manuscript music books were again placed, thus happily combining the ancient with the modern. The organ was placed by Mr. Street on a tribune at the extremity of the North transept—a position most unsatisfactory from an acoustic point of view.

A grand series of services marked the re-opening of the restored, or rather re-built, Cathedral, on May 1, 1878, "and now," remarked Canon Seymour, "after all those intervening ages of darkness and decay, Christ Church once again stands forth, a very Πλήρωμα of all that is true and exquisite in art and of all that is noble and unselfish in Christian generosity —perfectly refitted for her high and holy destiny, and possessing, like that ancient branch of the Catholic Church, in whose crown she is now the richest and fairest jewel, all the perfections as well of youth as of age, combining at once the strength, the symmetry and the grace of a renovated youth with the majestic grandeur of an immemorial antiquity."*

Church architecture being ancillary to Church music, I make no apology for troubling you with these remarks which might, at first sight, seem to be outside the scope of this paper; but the surpassing beauty of the two Dublin Cathedrals, round which our musical interest has principally circled, can only be fully recognised by those who remember the buildings in their former condition of degradation and neglect, and who can contrast them with the magnificence of their renovated splendour. I speak not as a mere antiquary, but as a practical churchman. Mere antiquarianism, unconnected with the great facts of history or the interests of religion, has no charm for me. Nor have I any such love for the picturesque as to make me delight in looking at ruins, which I would see restored to the worship of God.

A few words on the music at the re-opening services at Christ Church, and the music libraries of the two Cathedrals, and I must bring this paper to a close.

A certain amount of music by several of the composers whom I have attempted to describe was rendered in all its glory by the fine choir of Christ Church on the day of its opening (May 1, 1878) and the three following ones.

At Mattins on the Feast itself, the service for the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* was Sir Robert Stewart's fine composition in E flat, for double choir. The choral celebration, which

* "Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. An Historical Sketch." By the Rev. Edward Seymour, M.A. Folio, 1882.

followed, was sung to the same composer's setting in G. Boyce's noble music for the anthem, "I have surely built Thee an house," was an appropriate selection. Woodward was represented by a chant for the Psalms, while Childe's "Praise the Lord, O my soul," and Rogers "Behold now, praise the Lord," were sung in procession before and after the service respectively. At Evensong the Psalms were sung to Lord O'Neill's double chant in G and G minor. The *Cantate* and *Deus* were Sir Robert Stewart's in E flat, and Purcell's "I was glad" was the anthem. The preacher in the morning was the Archbishop of Dublin, and in the afternoon the Archbishop of Armagh. The services selected for the three following days were Sir John Stevenson in C, Dr. Smith in B flat, and one composed expressly for the occasion by the Rev. Dr Torrance,* formerly a chorister of Christ Church; while the anthems were Travers "Ascribe unto the Lord," Haydn's "In the beginning" (with Stevenson's interpolations), Blow's "I beheld and lo!" Boyce's "O where shall wisdom be found," and Croft's "Praise the Lord, O my soul."

The choirs of both Christ Church and S. Patrick's can boast of many treasures in the shape of manuscript Church music. The library of Christ Church is especially fine, extensive and well preserved. Formed long before the days of cheap printed scores, it will amply repay a visit from those interested in such matters. The grand old calf-bound folio and quarto volumes contain everything printed by Boyce and Arnold in their collections of Cathedral music, and many other pieces besides, which, it is to be regretted, those compilers did not publish, and which are probably unique in the Christ Church library. Yet, notwithstanding the acquisition of all these treasures, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church gave Dr. Boyce, in 1760, a larger order for his immortal work than any other in the United Kingdom, subscribing for no less than twelve sets of *large paper copies*, or thirty-six volumes in all. Previous and subsequent Deans and Chapters were as liberally disposed towards other composers and editors, as may be seen by glancing at the subscription lists prefixed to the works of Greene, Kent, Boyce, Hayes, Nares, Alcock, Beckwith, Ebdon, and Clarke-Whitfeld. The same remarks apply to S. Patrick's.

Among the most interesting features of the Christ Church collection are two settings of the Communion Service in E flat

* As one of her living *alumni*, Christ Church may be justly proud of Dr Torrance The first issue of the "Irish Church Hymnal" appeared under his musical editorship in 1864 He contributed some admirable tunes to it Dr Torrance has published several anthems His most recent work is an oratorio, "The Revelation" It contains many "noble numbers" and it is to be hoped it may be accorded a hearing in London before long

and F minor, by Michael Wise, several anthems by Childe, Purcell, Jeremiah Clark, Boyce, and Battishill—which vary (in some cases for the better) from the generally accepted English versions—Walsh's Service in D, the whole of the Church compositions of Sir John Stevenson, Rosingrave, Woodward, Shenton, Smith, and Stewart, and other composers of the famous "Christ Church School."

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all very much indebted to Mr. Bumpus for his paper It is well to place on record, before these things are forgotten, any little interesting facts connected with musicians who have filled important posts. I am afraid I cannot myself feel very much interest in the greater number of the composers that Mr. Bumpus enumerated. It is impossible for us to place them upon anything like a high pedestal. The period of John Smith and Stevenson and Clarke-Whitfeld was a period of a very low standard of taste. Of course, some people may derive great pleasure from a performance of one of Stevenson's anthems I remember an old Irish general who used to sit in the Abbey every Sunday. He was a great friend of Mr. Turle, and also a great friend of Sir John Stevenson. He brought me Stevenson's anthems and wished me to have one of them performed in the Abbey I had a great deal of trouble to fence with him, but in the long run he died, and the anthem was never performed. It is very curious, I think, that until Sir Robert Stewart's time there was no Irish composer, at least of Cathedral music, of any particular eminence. I know his anthems—that great Service in E flat very well—but I cannot help thinking that even he failed to make any very great effect in his settings for Cathedral use He was an exceedingly beautiful organist, and a remarkable extempore player, but I think in the case of Cathedral music he did not seem to rise to a great height. There are many parts of that Service in E flat that I do not think would be looked upon as absolutely in good taste. From the point of view of the higher style of Cathedral music you could not compare it with Wesley's, or even with Walmisley's music that was put out at the same time. During that part of the century Church music and Cathedral music were not well understood, and we were behindhand. This paper interested me in one respect, and also made me feel rather sad, because such a number of persons were mentioned in the early part of the paper as ancient occupiers of these particular places, and, unfortunately, I knew them. It gave me quite a shock. I do not believe any of you knew so many of these ancient

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people as I did. Miss Hackett to begin with—Mr. Bumpus tells us of the remarkable work she did in stirring up Deans and Chapters to take care of the proper education of their chorister boys. I knew Miss Hackett very well when I was a chorister. Many a half-crown I have had from her. I can see her now sitting in the stalls. She used to come with another lady wearing a very broad lace collar; and the moment we saw her we knew we were going to get 2s. 6d. each that service. We said the prayers as fast as we could, and we always got the 2s. 6d. I know that she used to have our names written in a little book. I remember also Mr. Whiston, the man who stirred up the Deans and Chapters, and I had a great respect for him. He did an immense work; but he did not do quite so much as he ought to have done. He did agitate about the King's scholars, and, Mr. Bumpus tells us, about the choristers; but he got all the money he could, and then he threw up the choristers. They never got anything, so I think he fell short of what he should have done. The Rochester choristers were not benefited in my day. Another man has been named whom I knew—Robert Turle. He did live in England at the time when I first came to the Abbey. He and Mr. James Turle often came to my house to play whist, until one night when I revoked rather badly. He used to tell us all about Armagh. He left Armagh when the Irish Church was disestablished. He compounded, I think, and walked off with a considerable sum of money and enjoyed himself at Salisbury, and every night drank the health of Mr. Gladstone in a glass of port. Robert Benson I knew intimately. Another name, too, touched me very closely. I did not know that one of the founders of the Abbey Glee Club, of which I am a Vice-President, was J. L. Hopkins. I knew he was a chorister boy in the Abbey. He was the man who tried my voice and admitted me as a chorister at Rochester Cathedral. It was owing to him that I entered the musical profession. I am sorry he did not live to see me as the organist of Westminster Abbey. He did see me organist of Manchester Cathedral, and he said to me once: "Bridge, if I had rejected you, your career would have been very different." Last, and not least, there was one name for which I have a great respect, and that is the name of Jebb. I think that book which Jebb wrote on Cathedral music all those years ago does him the greatest possible honour, and if the Deans and Chapters had only taken his advice and read that book through, funds would have been left to them to make good use of. I remember reading every line of it when first I came to London. I recommend it to anyone who wants to read a book by a man who lived before his time. To conclude, I do not think the Irish musicians have

contributed greatly to Cathedral music—always excepting our present men. I do not think there is a finer setting of the Te Deum to be found than that by Dr. Stanford. There, I think, the Irish people have shown us a lead; but I do not think they did so much at the beginning of the century.

MR SOUTHGATE. May I recount an incident connected with the Abbey Glee Club which was mentioned in Mr Bumpus' paper? I think it was said that Hawes could sing any part. I remember the very same thing occurring at the Club many years ago when James Coward was director. He was an extraordinarily clever fellow, and, like many musicians who have done a good deal of choir-training, his voice was utterly ruined. But he had the gift of absolute pitch and could sing any part. One night, to the horror of the company, only two singing members turned up, and Coward said, "We shall have to knock up some glees, and, though a visitor, you must assist"; so he picked out some trios, and he varied the combination by singing sometimes alto, sometimes tenor, and sometimes bass. I remember one of the professional members said, "We made very funny noises." After the performance was over the president, in thanking Coward for the readiness with which he placed his much worn voice at the service of the Club, added he considered it a special dispensation of Providence that he could not sing all three parts at once! Let me recall to your recollection the great work Stewart did to place music at the Universities on something like a par with the other Faculties. He it was who first insisted on the necessity for those who aspired to degrees in music first to furnish evidence of having received a good general education. Thanks to him an Arts test was established first at Dublin, and later, owing to his efforts and example, at the other Universities. This has marked a fresh epoch in the history of our degrees in music, and has distinctly raised the social status of the profession. I remember when I was in Dublin he pitched into me about a discussion on a paper we had had here on "Irish Music," as I have before recounted, after Mr. Vignoles's paper on Sir Robert Stewart, in our Twenty-fourth Session. He was very angry with the account given of himself in "Grove's Dictionary," and sent me a heated letter because I, being a contributor, did not see to this. After a good deal of satire at the English ways of dealing with "ould Oireland" and her men, and a general slanging all round (notably of our music publishers), he writes: "When 'Grove's Dictionary' was in hand, the man who 'did my life' wrote a lot of nonsense and never thought it worth a penny stamp to let me read in advance his lucubrations; he sent me even to the U.S. of America (where I never was in my life)! I was *so* fine, *so* upright, &c., and of course *so foolish*. I never knew my

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biographer, and of course the deed being done, I have said nothing to Grove, who only by chance thought of me as one of his contributors." I have in my possession many racy letters, several of great interest, that one cannot read to-night. When Rev Mr. Vignoles's "Memoir of Sir Robert Stewart" was in hand I sent some of these letters to Lady Stewart for use, but it was thought that the strong expressions and very decided opinions he expressed could not well be published at present. Those intimate with Sir Robert are aware that he wrote to his friends with great freedom and fearlessness. I have often thought, though I never dared to tell him so, that Stewart, unfortunately for his fame, lived on the wrong side of St. George's Channel

Mr. Prendergast.—You will find upon the table a copy which I acquired during the last week of the Ode Sir Robert Stewart composed for the opening of the Cork Exhibition, in 1852. In reference to Benson's Evening Service for male voices, I may perhaps mention that shortly before its composition the Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral had started the plan of giving the chorister boys a holiday one day in the week, by dispensing with their attendance at the Afternoon Service, when the music is sung by the Vicars Choral only. This plan was afterwards followed at Westminster Abbey, and at other Cathedrals, and thus a demand arose for music composed expressly for adult male voices, of which Benson's composition was one of the earliest examples. With regard to the harmonized Confession in use at Dublin, and also for what is known as the Ely Confession, it must be pointed out that, ecclesiastically speaking, they are wrong in principle, as no harmonies should be heard in the service till the Response "And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise," before which it is even wrong to harmonise the Amens. The true method is followed out at St. Paul's, but it will be generally found that the rule is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. In the Temple Church, the General Confession is accompanied on the organ with various chromatic harmonies, whereby, no doubt, the ears of the Benchers are successfully tickled, as good *musical* effect is unquestionably produced, though at the sacrifice of ecclesiastical propriety. The set of choral Responses composed by Sir Robert Stewart, for use in the Dublin Cathedrals, furnish another instance of musical disregard of ecclesiastical rules, inasmuch as the ancient Plain song (*i.e.*, the People's chant) is not to be found in any of the four voice-parts, nor would the vocal harmonies accord with the Plain-song if sung simultaneously. In that respect they are faulty, but as abstract music they are very beautiful.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Bumpus was then passed unanimously.

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April 10, 1900.

W. H. CUMMINGS, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President,

In the Chair.

THE TEACHING OF MUSICAL HISTORY.

By Fr. Niecks.

The ambiguity of the title of my paper is intentional—I wish to speak on "The Teaching of Musical History" in more than one sense. A further preliminary explanation I have to make is this. If I present to this Society a plea for a proper and more general study of musical history, it is not because I think the members to be in need of advice and guidance, but because I look upon them as influential agents able to bring about a change in a now obtaining unsatisfactory state of matters. In short, my object in drawing your attention to the importance of certain facts is to inspire you with missionary zeal, to induce you to go forth and spread the light that is in you among the ignorant, the idle, and the indifferent. This, however, is not my only object. I wish also to lay before you some views of perennial interest, and invite you to discuss them—to discuss them for our own profit and, if possible, for the profit of the world at large.

The state of matters which all serious musicians must deplore, and must wish to be changed, consists in that the history of music is too little taught, and, when taught, oftener improperly taught than properly. Nothing could be more lamentable than the neglect of musical history in music schools. My remarks apply generally, not merely or especially to this country. In fact, the teaching of the subject in Continental schools is, as a rule, so unsatisfactory that our own schools may be greatly superior to them, and yet far below the level of what ought to be. In most cases the directors neither appoint a properly qualified teacher

nor exact the attendance of the pupils; or, if they appoint a qualified teacher, fail to secure the conditions that would enable him to impart his knowledge. Few students care for anything but playing, singing, or composing. Theory is irksome to them, and shirked as much as possible, and history they regard as a superfluity and fatuity. Those who are ambitious of becoming *virtuosi* do not know that being a singer or player is not synonymous with being a musician; they do not see that a musician's training comprises many more things than technique; they have no suspicion that the most prodigious vocal or instrumental acrobat may after all be but a poor creature as an artist. Now, I hold that the directors of music schools should not allow students to choose what they like, but should force them to do what is good for them. The directors ought to impose upon all systematic courses of theory and history, obligatory not merely in print, but also in deed. I know my idea is difficult to realise, especially in institutions whose existence depends on the fees of their students. But there is no other way of putting a stop to the unlimited increase of strummers, fiddlers, and vocalisers that remain immature and undeveloped to the end of their days. Rubinstein's words about music schools not fulfilling their task deserve to be taken to heart. He gives two reasons for the failure. Lack of sufficient money is the first, the second, the exclusively technical and too little ideal instruction, with the consequent defective practical education of the pupil. "Thanks to the technical drilling he gets, the latter manages to pass his final examination and obtain a diploma, but rarely is ripe for independent work." Rubinstein does not tell us that this ripeness can only be attained where the study of playing and singing is combined with other studies, nevertheless this is unquestionably the case. Unless a music student acquires a thorough knowledge of the texture and structure of the art, which harmony and counterpoint on the one hand, and form on the other hand, teach, he will never outgrow the helpless stage of artistic infancy. What history can do for him we shall see presently.

The deplorable state of the study of musical history shows itself no less clearly in the papers of examining bodies than in the teaching of music schools. With rare exceptions, the papers I have seen cannot but give one the impression of being written by men who consider the study of musical history a matter of dates, names, and titles. When did such or such a musician live? Who composed such or such a work, and at what time was it composed? Can you mention the titles of such or such a master's oratorios, operas, or cantatas? These are the kinds of questions generally asked. There are none about the development of the art; none about the parts played by composers and executants in this development;

none about the technique and style of periods, schools, and individuals. To make up for this shortcoming in the main matter, the examiners often ask questions about tenth-rate musicians and unimportant out-of-the-way things which even learned historians may be excused for not knowing. I have to add, and do so hesitatingly and with bated breath, that even the Universities will not escape blame in this respect. History does not in their examination schemes occupy the place which it ought to occupy in the outfit of a cultured musician. And where shall we seek musical culture if not in a University graduate?

There are many students and masters of music who ask what is the good of studying the history of music? Of the many reasons that may be adduced in favour of the study, let me cite two given by the historian Ambros. "I understand the developed art," he writes, "only after understanding its earlier stages and gradual growth." And again. "The artist learns from the history of art a serious truth which otherwise he may often not comprehend—the truth that also in times which the gay world of to-day no longer knows the noblest lived and laboured, and left rich treasures for humanity, that also in the domain of art as elsewhere, the sum of our experiences, but not the intelligence and talent, has become greater; and that there can hardly be a worse mistake than the one indicated by the following words of Jean Paul: 'In the centuries before us, humanity seems to grow up; in those after us, to wither away; and in our own, to burst into magnificent bloom.'"

The disbelievers in the utility of musical history are not likely to be convinced by these reasons. On the contrary, they will only more pointedly ask what help history affords them in the *practice* of their art. Well, although the bearing of history on practice is less obvious than its bearing on general culture, being partly indirect, it is nevertheless very real. By the analysis of the techniques and styles of different periods, schools, and individuals, history gives the student insight into the changing texture and structure of his art. By the description of the character of the artists and their social and other surroundings, it reveals to him, at least to some extent, the spirit of the art-products. And by setting forth the views of musicians of all ages, the usages as to the performances of their works, and the nature of the instruments employed, it still further enables him to realise the ways and means of times gone by. Now, who does not see that history, in widening the horizon of the musician, must influence his whole art-practice? Who does not see that history, in teaching the musician what I have pointed out, must develop his judgment, his taste, and his knowledge of how

to do? After this explanation the practical bearing of musical history can no longer be hidden even from the most prejudiced. But it manifests itself in a still more direct manner. Consider, for instance, what practical results may be derived from the history of notation, taking the word in its widest meaning, including the use of accidentals, measure, *tempo*, and marks of expression. We learn from it a great deal of what is indispensable for the correct execution of works, indispensable even for the correct execution of works so near to us as those of the eighteenth century. Or, to mention only one other instance, consider how many useful hints may be obtained from it for the proper treatment of figured and unfigured thorough-bass, and indeed for the solution of the whole troublesome problem of additional accompaniments. But, after all, the greatest of the benefits derivable from the study of the history of music is that it takes the musician out of conventionality, fashion, and individualism into universality; out of technical narrowness and emotional dimness into intellectual freedom and clearness; that, in short, it opens up before him an infinitude of infinite vistas.

The cause of the disbelief should not, however, be wholly ascribed to the evil disposition of the disbelievers. The quality of the usual history teaching is probably, to an equally large extent, perhaps even to a larger extent, responsible for the lack of faith. This brings us to the common defects of history teaching, which, however, have already been hinted at. First of all it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that chronology is not history; it is no more than the handmaid of history. If it could be called history, we should have to call it "skeleton history." As Comte pithily says: "The incoherent compilation of facts cannot properly be called history." Guizot's idea of historical teaching was: "To teach the past, not merely to the memory, but to the intelligence; to retrace not only the facts, but also their meaning and their connection; to make live again the men who influenced the course of things; to recognise and paint, under the proper names and particular events, the destinies and labours, and the victories and reverses of society and the human soul." Or listen to Buckle: "In all other fields of inquiry," he says, "the necessity of generalisation is universally admitted, and noble efforts are being made to rise from particular facts in order to discover the laws by which those facts are governed. So far, however, is this from being the usual course, that among them [the historians] a strange idea prevails that their business is merely to relate events, which they may occasionally enliven by such moral and political reflections as seem likely to be useful." Samuel Rawson Gardiner declares it to be the business of teachers of history "to take

care that their pupils never study details without being reminded that each detail is unintelligible except as part of a whole."

Now, what is the gist of these testimonies? This: facts, unless we know their meaning and connection, are as good as valueless; it is of little use to burden our memory if we do not at the same time enlighten our intelligence. There could, however, be no greater mistake than to think that this way of studying history makes the study more difficult. Quite the contrary is the case. Having acquired a knowledge of the great movements and chief stages of development of the art it is easy to fill in and remember the details; for these are then no longer items in a chaos, but parts of an organised whole.

The remarks on general history quoted by me are all applicable to the history of music. Indeed, every rule that holds in the one case, holds also in the other. But the history of the arts has to deal with a something peculiar to them, that makes it peculiarly difficult to the general student. This something is technique, its nature and its growth and changes of style. The narrative of the lives of the great composers does not constitute a history of music; in fact, it is only a subordinate accompaniment of the real history, of the account of the developments and vicissitudes of melody, harmony, counterpoint, form, and last, but certainly not least, the spirit that prompts these and expresses itself through them. It is hardly necessary to point out the distinction between history and biography. Fétis, a great biographer as well as a great historian, says truly: "A thousand things ought to find a place in a dictionary of biography which would be altogether unsuitable in a history of the art." The ideal of a history of music may be symbolised by the human organism: the chronology by the bones; the technique by the sinews and muscles; the works and workers by the flesh; the social conditions by the blood; and the philosophy by the mind.

History, then, is chiefly concerned with movements—social, political, moral, religious, and artistic. Now these movements appear and disappear we cannot tell when and how. They do not begin and end with the abrupt clash of a military band playing at the head of a marching regiment. No, they creep in softly, and die away slowly. We do not notice them till they have gained strength, and find ourselves again in the dark as regards their later stages and final extinction. And history is not a *series* of movements, a series in which every new movement starts when its predecessor has completed its course, neither sooner nor later. No, there are always a number of movements going on simultaneously,

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differing in vigour, length of course, and time of starting. Occasionally it may happen that one movement follows closely another, it may also happen, and oftener does happen, that two movements are co-extensive, racing along in friendly rivalry, perhaps in deadly feud, or walking side by side independent of and indifferent to each other, but the most common state of matters is that the movements overlap each other in all imaginable ways. In short, history, instead of being a series of movements, is a network of movements. Now in this intricacy lies the difficulty of teaching and learning history. How great the difficulty is in treating of the whole history of an entire art may be inferred from what John Addington Symonds says in speaking of the history of the English drama during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, that is, of the history of one branch of literature confined to one country and one short period. Here are his words: "The succession in time of the stages I have tried to indicate [I. Preparation, II. Maturity, and III. Decadence and Dissipation] must not be insisted on too harshly. These stages are observable at a distance better than on close inspection. The works by which we mark them, overlap and interpenetrate. Phenomena present themselves, defying the strictest systematic treatment, and seeming to contradict well grounded generalisations. We are dealing with an organism compact of many organisms, and just as in the intellectual development of a person it often happens that thoughts of middle life precede maturity, while youthful fancies blossom on the verge of age, so here we find a poet of the prime surviving in the decadence, and verses written in the morning of the art anticipating its late afternoon. The rapidity with which the changes in our drama were accomplished introduces some confusion. We are sometimes at a loss whether to maintain the chronological or the ideal sequence, whether to treat our subject according to the order of time or to the laws of artistic structure. Some authors stretch far out beyond their temporal limit toward the coming group; others lag behind, and by their style perpetuate the past. Another sort seem to stand alone, perplexing classification, refusing to take their place in any one of the groups which criticism studies to compose."

A few examples from the history of music may illustrate Symonds's remarks. As to overlapping of styles. Whilst Nanino continued the pure vocal ecclesiastical style of Palestrina, Giovanni Gabrieli cultivated a more worldly concerted style, and Monteverdi revolutionised the art in all its branches. Indeed, the survival of the Palestrina style in composition down to this century is one of the most remarkable phenomena of the history of our art. Another example of the same kind, one with which we are so familiar that

we may overlook its significance, is the continuance of the old opera after the introduction of the modern music-drama.

The differences of synchronous styles are often striking: the age of Lully is also that of Cavalli, Cesti, and Legrenzi; the age of Bach and Handel that of Rameau, and of the Neapolitan school of the Scarlattis, Pergolesi, Vinci, and Hasse; along with Beethoven flourished Rossini; along with Mendelssohn and Schumann, Donizetti and Auber; along with Wagner, Brahms. This last example shows that the differences are not always a matter of nationality. An equally startling contrast is presented by Berlioz and Auber.

Long-lived composers who at the same time remain long receptive and creative, form frequently stumbling-blocks in the way of neatly fitting and squaring things historical. Haydn and Spohr may be instanced. The former began life twenty four years before and ended it eighteen years after Mozart, influenced him and was influenced by him, being, in fact, his predecessor, contemporary, and successor. Spohr, a younger contemporary of Beethoven, survived both Mendelssohn and Schumann, saw almost the end of Berlioz's creative career, and followed sympathetically that of Wagner up to and inclusive of "Lohengrin." Strongly individual and always true to his individuality as he was, he nevertheless allowed himself to be prompted and stimulated by the achievements of the masters of the younger generations, not even Berlioz excepted. The complexity, however, is fully realised only when we comprise in one look all the principal composers at one moment of time. Take a year of the forties, and add to the composers mentioned in connection with Spohr—namely, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Berlioz, and Wagner—I say, add to them Meyerbeer, Chopin, Gade, Liszt, Auber, Halevy, Adam, Félicien David, Onslow, Marschner, Lortzing, Henselt, Thalberg, Lowe, Robert Franz, Donizetti, Verdi, Glinka, Bishop, Sterndale Bennett, and others. What a diversity in the nationality of the composers, the character of their music, and the stages of their careers. It is also instructive to note the entrance of the composers who have made an impression on the art: at what time and in what manner it took place, and whether they burst upon the world in the fulness of their originality (like Mendelssohn, Chopin, Berlioz, and Schumann), slowly developed (like Beethoven and Wagner), or found their true path only late in life (like Gluck).

There is nothing more difficult and at the same time more interesting than the tracing of the origins of styles. Let me begin by laying down the proposition that there are no beginnings in the history of art—only developments. When we meet with a new style, form, or procedure, a little research

will soon discover the germ from which they were developed. Now, if there are no beginnings, we ought not to speak of invention in this connection Harmony, counterpoint, notation, instrumental composition, monody, the musical drama, the sonata form, &c., &c., were not inventions made by ingenious individuals, but developments brought about by the labours of nations and generations. To speak of invention in these and similar cases is either a misreading of the facts or an abuse of language. The assertion of invention is, with comparative impunity, made in early history, where evidence is at best scanty, and often full of *lacunæ*. But as absence of evidence can neither prove nor disprove a fact, such assertions are futile. I cannot agree with Mr. Henry Davey, who in his very valuable "History of English Music" ascribes the invention of counterpoint, polyphony, or composition to Dunstable, who died in 1453, and the invention of instrumental composition to Hugh Aston, who died in 1522. The only noteworthy witnesses to Dunstable's position in the history of the art are the contemporary poet Martin le Franc, and the later theorist and composer Tinctoris, who lived from 1446 to 1511; but neither of them says that Dunstable was the inventor of counterpoint. Le Franc, in the poem "Le Champion des Dames," of about 1440, speaks of Dufay and Binchois as imitators of the English manner and followers of Dunstable's example. Tinctoris relates in the introduction to one of his theoretical treatises ("Proportionale Musices") that many singers, owing to the rich rewards given by princes, in whose chapels they agreeably and worthily praise God with diverse not adverse voices, have devoted themselves to this study with great zeal; and that hence in this time our music has made such wonderful progress that a new art seems to have arisen, of which the source and origin, so to speak, have, it is said, to be sought among the English, of whom Dunstable was the head The statements of later writers, being merely repetitions and distortions of Tinctoris's words, need not be considered. As to the testimonies of Le Franc and Tinctoris, they may be regarded as proving that Dunstable played an important part in the history of the art; and this view is confirmed by the evidence of compositions within our reach. But before it is possible to *define* Dunstable's position, we must know more about his own works and the works of his predecessors and contemporaries. Coussemaker, in a prospectus issued in 1869, a prospectus of a work that has remained unpublished, declared that he had in his possession more than a thousand compositions by more than 150 authors of the seventeenth century, and declared further that they show the progress made in harmony and rhythm. Much light would, no doubt, be thrown on the question by the publication of the English compositions which R. F. Xaver Haberl discovered

in various codices of the Cathedral Chapter of Trent and the Liceo Filarmonico of Bologna. But whatever may be the result of future publications and future research, they cannot possibly establish the correctness of Mr. Davey's assertion that Dunstable was the inventor of counterpoint, not even of the more limited assertion that "John Dunstable, by making each voice part independent, raised music to a structural art about 1400-20." The available evidence, notwithstanding its scantiness, is sufficient to disprove such assertions. Moreover, quite apart from evidence, the assumption of a transformation scene worked by Dunstable, an abrupt change from barbarous discanting to artistic composition, is too unphilosophical, too contrary to reason and experience, to be entertained for a moment. If, then, the change was not abrupt, but gradual, what man could be presumptuous enough to pronounce that at this and no other point barbarism ceased and art began?

It is the same with Hugh Aston's invention of instrumental composition. The claim is based on one piece or perhaps two—a Hornpipe and a Dompe (Dump). But, although undoubtedly important documents in the history of instrumental music, they cannot prove what is asserted of them. The fact is, we do not yet know what is the exact share of the different nations in the building up of instrumental music during the earlier stages; nor do we know which of them was first in the field, although the oldest instrumental music that has come down to us is of German origin. Hugh Aston flourished about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and died in 1522. Among the German documents are: Conrad Paumann's "Fundamentum Organisandi" of 1452; the "Buxheim Organ Book" of about 1450-60; the "Tabulaturbuch" of Leonhard Kleber, written about 1520-24, but containing compositions of earlier dates; and the "Fundamentbuch" of Hans Buchner, who lived from 1483 to about 1540. Mr. Davey writes: "When a child practises a scale, when a great pianist plays a Beethoven concerto, they are repeating passages which were first used by Hugh Aston." Well, passages and scales are to be found in the earlier and contemporary Continental collections of compositions, which certainly are instrumental in style and by no means barbarous. The known part played by England in the development of the instrumental style in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century is so glorious that there is not the slightest need for having recourse to fictitious claims, claims unsupported by reason and sufficient documentary evidence. But setting aside the inadmissible notion of the invention of instrumental composition by an individual, it is probable enough, looking at what followed, that in instrumental music England may have been in advance of

all other nations. For the fact that of the great quantity of instrumental music that may be supposed to have existed, only German music of the fifteenth century has come down to us proves, indeed, German cultivation of instrumental music, but proves neither Germany's priority nor superiority in this respect.

Once more I say: There are no beginnings in the history of an art. Mendelssohn, although he first used the name "Song without words," did not invent the thing. We find songs without words among Schubert's compositions, and not only among Schubert's, but also among Beethoven's, and not only among Schubert's and Beethoven's, but even among Couperin's. How often has Haydn been called the father of the symphony! Nevertheless that wonderful child has many fathers. And how often has Wagner been called the creator of the music-drama! His idea of a music-drama, however, was, as regards the principle, the same as that of the Florentines at the end of the sixteenth century. The difference lies solely in the means employed in the realisation, above all in the highly developed harmonic and instrumental resources. Inquiry into the origin of the several innovations in the means employed by Wagner brings out the fact that they were not inventions but developments. The softening down of the contrast between recitative and aria and the freer treatment and even abandonment of architectural forms were tendencies that manifested themselves in Wagner's predecessors, in Meyerbeer among others. Indeed, the much abused Meyerbeer influenced Wagner more than he imagined and the world has deigned to notice. As to *Leitmotive* (leading motives), they were effectively employed by Berlioz before Wagner, and in a less extensive way by many other composers. Here again Meyerbeer has to be remembered. Professor Kretzschmar traces the *Leitmotive* back to the year 1642—namely, to Monteverdi's "L'Incoronazione di Poppea"—and remarks that Alessandro Scarlatti was fond of the contrivance and employed it often. Another writer has gone even farther back (Rudolf Schwarz), pointing out that Orlandus Lassus of the sixteenth century, in one of his German songs, characterises every person in the poem he sets to music by a peculiar series of notes which occurs whenever the person in question has spoken. Perhaps most interesting of all is the powerful utilisation of the transformation of motives made by Carl Löwe (1796-1869), the great ballad composer.

Again, the increasing of the importance of the orchestra was likewise not an invention, but a general tendency. It was in the air. Programme music was in the air, and a growing love for orchestral colouring. We have only to pass in review the operas from Beethoven to Wagner, noting

particularly those of Weber and Meyerbeer, to be convinced of the existence of the tendency. And who can doubt that Wagner learned something from Berlioz?

The question of development *versus* invention is best studied in connection with the great musical revolution at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, when monody and the drama asserted themselves in opposition to the old polyphony. This revolution implied a complete change in the structure and texture of music. As to texture, the music not only became harmonic, it also became more and more chromatic, and confined itself more and more to our major and minor modes. And as to structure, modern periodicity took the place of ancient continuity; building took the place of weaving. It would be nonsense to say that the founders of monody and the music-drama in the latter part of the sixteenth century and early part of the seventeenth—Galilei, Caccini, Peri, Monteverdi, and others—found nothing in the art of their day that assisted them in creating the new art. The recitative had a precursor in the ecclesiastical chant, and the aria in folk-song and those art-songs in parts that imitated or approached more or less the form and spirit of folk-song—I mean the Villanelle and Frottole. Lastly, periodicity, which was unknown to the old contrapuntal music, but found its way into and became a characteristic of the structure of the new melodic-harmonic music, had its prototypes in folk songs and dances. For the most part these things were germs, the presence of which we may recognise in what had been without losing our respect for the achievements of the pioneers of what was to be. Of these germs and their indubitable influence the innovators seem to have been unconscious, for their talk was all about the admirable teaching and practice of the Greeks and Romans, and the evil ways of the contrapuntists.

A grouping of the innumerable facts of history is necessary, for without it there will be chaos. We require a system of mental pigeon-holes into which to put, a system of pegs on which to hang facts. And we require a skeleton edifice, which we may gradually complete as we acquire materials. To commit to memory the dates of a few important events and of the birth and death of a few of the most outstanding musicians, and group around these the other events and persons with which we become acquainted is a useful mnemonic aid, but it tells us nothing of the meaning of the facts, nothing of the movements, the developments, which are the soul of history. The most valuable, and at the same time the most natural grouping is that based on movements. All other groupings are more or less artificial. If we base the grouping on these movements, we base it on internal and essential characteristics, which both bind together the facts

of each group and distinguish from each other the several groups, whereas, if we have recourse to any other grouping, we shall have to base it on what is external, inessential, and accidental. Unfortunately, the movements in question are too numerous, and, above all, too much mixed If the historian makes use of them at all, he can use them only by selection, choosing what seems to him most important, ignoring or subordinating the rest. It is a very interesting study to examine the groupings in the best known histories of music. Most of them will be found to be artificial, and not only this, but also illogical, being as a rule based not on one but on two or more principles. This last deficiency, however, is unavoidable. A logical grouping might be possible, but could not be practicable, except in a bare outline. What militates against success in this respect is, on the one hand, a puzzling scarcity of facts, and, on the other hand, a bewildering superabundance of facts, the former we encounter in the earlier periods, the latter in the later.

Among the possible divisions of the history of music are the following. (1) According to the degree of formal and ideal development—into folk and art music, (2) according to the fundamental ethical nature—into sacred and secular music; (3) according to the destination—into church, stage, concert-room, and chamber music, (4) according to the elements—into melody, counterpoint, and melody harmonically accompanied; (5) according to the executive media—first into vocal, instrumental, and vocal-instrumental music; next into solo and choral vocal music, into instrumental solo, chamber, and orchestral music; into keyboard, bow, and wind instrumental music, and, lastly, into music for the individual members of these classes of instruments; (6) according to nationality; (7) according to periods—into centuries, reigns of political rulers, &c.; (8) according to schools; (9) according to poetical, moral, and social tendencies—into classical, romantic, neo-romantic, renaissance, rococo, Catholic, Protestant, &c., music; (10) according to the technical and intellectual qualities of the style—into Palestrina, Lullian, Handelian, Wagnerian style, into Neapolitan, French operatic, German organ style, &c.; (11) according to the branches of the art—into composition, execution, and theory; and (12) according to epoch making musicians.

Of all these divisions it may be said that they do not go far in covering the whole field. But for all that they are, without exception, in the highest degree instructive, and the historical student who wishes to master his subject must study history from all these points of view. Thus alone it will be possible to obtain an adequate impression and a firm grasp of it both in its simultaneity and in its

sequence; or, in other words, in its totality at any stage, and in the developments of its several departments and national sections.

I have to such an extent enlarged on the subjects so far dealt with that I must confine myself to an almost aphoristic treatment of the rest.

One of the chief tasks of the historian is to analyse and describe the styles of periods, nationalities, schools, and individualities, and he must do that from the technical, spiritual, and æsthetical points of view. But how often is that task done inadequately or not at all! Especially the technical part is often neglected, vague generalities and rapturous encomiums being so much easier to write.

The term "school" reminds me of the abuse of it. Striking examples of the abuse you find in Rockstro's article on "Schools of Composition" in Sir George Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," where he tells us, among other wonderful things, that Monteverdi was the beginning and the end of the Mantuan school. A one-man school! I think we ought to be less reckless in the use of the term. Strictly speaking, a school is a group of artists who not merely are born and exercise their art in the same place or country, but who, at the same time, are connected with each other by unity of style or tendency.

It took a long time before the influence of climate, race, and social, political, and other conditions received, in the history of the arts, the attention they deserve. Now the pendulum has swung too far on the other side of the centre of gravity. Formerly the importance of the individual was overrated; in our day the importance of the *milieu* is overrated. The evolution of an art is not a foregone conclusion. It is false philosophy which teaches that, given a certain climate, a certain race, a certain age, and certain social, political, and artistic conditions, the development of the art must be of one kind and can be of no other kind. This philosophy leaves out of account the caprice of nature—the individual factor. We shall do well to remember that if Beethoven, Chopin, Berlioz, and Wagner had been born at another period and in another country, and had lived under other conditions, they would have been different; but we must take care not to forget that, without the peculiar constitutions, physical and psychical, and the peculiar experiences of these masters, their countries and ages could not have produced them such as they were. An individual may bring about a development which is not in accordance with the general tendency.

Speaking of individuality, the greatest masters are by no means the most original. The greatness of Palestrina and Handel is based, not on their originality, but on the pre-

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eminently masterly utilisation of the resources of the art as they found them ready to their hands. This consideration leads straight to the problem of the sanity and insanity (or, let us say, morbidity) of genius. Genius, although often the outcome of morbidity, of an unbalanced constitution, is not necessarily so. Among sane geniuses, Handel, Gluck, Mozart stand in the first line; among the morbid, Chopin, Schumann, Berlioz, and Wagner occupy prominent positions. The subject is fascinating enough for a whole book, too fascinating for the tail of a paper.

Although I feel that I have left unsaid most of the things I wished to say, and the most interesting too, I must stop. If, however, my words have inspired you to go forth and preach the gospel of the true teaching of history, I shall not grieve too much over my shortcomings.

DISCUSSION.

The Chairman.—I was quite sure that in coming here to-day I should, in common with all who are fortunate enough to be present, receive a very valuable and instructive lesson. My knowledge of the work of Professor Niecks in connection with history—at all events in one branch, that of biography, as shown in his splendid "Life of Chopin"—made me fully confident that he was competent to deal in the best manner with the subject which he has introduced to us. It has been an exceedingly interesting paper. I am not prepared to discuss the various branches of the subject into which Professor Niecks has gone, but I think the latter part was very instructive indeed. Some of us probably have always felt that the composers of the various ages were actually the product of the ages, that it was the century that produced Beethoven, and it was the feelings of the people at large that produced Wagner. For myself, I would only say how interested I am in the study of history. To me it is one of the most charming of the pleasures I have. I am not able to pursue it as much as I should like to do, as my business and my walk in life is in another direction; but whenever I can get a spare hour or a spare day nothing delights me more than to dip into history, and nothing comes to me more prominently than the thought of how ignorant many historians are. It seems to me that the people who write history frequently write as if they were blind men. They shut one eye altogether; and even if something presents itself which is quite inconsistent with their view, they, because they have formed an opinion, persistently keep one eye shut, and only see the other side. I do hope this paper of Professor Niecks

will induce us all to take a little more trouble in matters of history; then it will be fruitful of very great good. Much has been written which is not true, some of it probably from misconception, but in some cases, I think, wilfully; and those are features in so-called history that I should like to see got rid of. It is extremely difficult in big schools to get students to take up the study of history, they fancy it is far more important to get up their technique than the history of their art; but it is undoubted, as Professor Niecks has shown us, that the due study of history is necessary for the perfect qualification of a real artist.

Mr. Davey.—I apprehend from what Professor Niecks said about myself that he has not read the article which I wrote on Walter Odington, in the Dictionary of National Biography. I think if he had read it he would not have said quite so much as he did. He would have seen a little more clearly what standpoint I took and why I say that it was Dunstable who invented polyphony. The task of proving it is easier now than it was, because I can show not only that it was invented then, but that it could not have been invented a century earlier, as appears from certain facts that have been put in their true light by Dr. Riemann. However, I promised you when I spoke here on Palestrina that I would give you a paper on this point; and I have so much to say on the subject generally that I do not wish to go far into this matter to-day. I wish, however, to draw your attention to the real meaning of the word *invention*. Invention is one thing, discovery another. There were children playing where is now the town of Kimberley who picked up stones which a passing stranger recognised were diamonds; he did not *invent* diamonds, but *discovered* that diamonds existed there. But an art that never existed before, or a science that never existed before, is an *invention*—that is the only word I can apply to it. I will give a case in point; in the present century the art of photography has been invented. The crucial point of it was the fixing the images of the camera obscura. Sir Humphry Davy tried for ten years to do this, and failed, and gave it up; Daguerre succeeded. Which was the man who invented photography — the man who failed or the man who succeeded? So with those who were before Dunstable. A great many people were trying, without knowing exactly what they were doing, to invent a strictly independent art of polyphony. But they did not succeed; Dunstable did. Again about instrumental music, on which I did not lay so great stress. There has been a great deal said lately in Germany about a certain piece of English organ music from a MS. of the fourteenth century. In the recent publications of the Internationale Musik-Gesellschaft, you will find a great deal about it, and

it has actually been played at a historical organ recital in Brunn. I should like to say just a few words about that. This MS. is No. 28,550 in the British Museum catalogue, where it is set down as two-part music "probably for the lute." I looked at it, and it seemed to me a great deal more like organ music. For that reason I showed in my "History of English Music" that it "looked like" music for the organ. It has since been *fac-simile*d by the Plain Song and Mediæval Music Society, and a supposed translation of it has been published.* Professor Niecks did not allude to it. I should like further to allude to another point which arises with regard to this question of Dunstable. I have repeatedly had occasion to believe that some pieces which we see written in score were not intended to be sung in harmony. We are often amazingly puzzled to see successions not only of fifths and fourths, but even of seconds. It is because we are accustomed to see pieces written in score that we *assume* these are so written. I have seen cases where it is almost certain the lines were not intended to be sung together. In some cases they were meant to be sung to different verses. In the Arundel MS., 248, for instance, you will find three lines of music and three lines of poetry, two lines of music to two lines of poetry, one line of music to one line of poetry. I think that in the majority of those pieces published as awful examples of mediæval harmony the parts were not intended to be sung together Going on to other matters, let me point out one thing which the student of history should always bear in mind—the different meanings attached to the same word at different periods. I have been told (though I could not find the passage myself) that in the works of John of Salisbury, the friend of Becket, occurs the passage: "You should never believe the Scriptures if they are against science." That seems an amazing thing for a man to write in the twelfth century; but what he meant was "You should never believe Greek and Roman writers if they are against theology"—the exact opposite of what the words would mean now. It is a point the historian should always bear in mind. He must be certain when he quotes a word that that word in the age when it was written bore the meaning that it does now. As a simple instance, let me refer to the word *let* as used by old English authors, for instance, in the authorised version of the Bible. It meant to hinder or prevent, the very opposite to what we now understand by it. As regards the practical advantages on which I lay great stress in the study of musical history, there are, I think, four: (1) As Goethe said, the most valuable quality of the study of all history is the enthusiasm it arouses.

* In the "Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch," 1899.

(2) In music it is only by the knowledge of history that we get an accurate performance of the great classical masterpieces, or even of smaller works. I have heard of and known very strange mistakes made through ignorance of musical history. I have known works taken about half as fast as they should go, and I have known them taken about twice as fast as they should go; the music was in each case completely spoiled through ignorance of musical history. (3) I have observed, and I think it is general, if not invariable, that those who study musical history and are versed in many various styles of music are just the men who are most ready to appreciate anything which is really new Ambros, the man who best understood the music of Palestrina, was one of the earliest and strongest advocates of Wagner. Being versed in so many styles he was able to see that there was something new and something good at the same time. He was not easily led away by anything new unless it really was good. (4) Lastly, and perhaps the most important of all, those who are versed in musical history see, if they have a dramatic instinct, how the art advances by the application of new resources. When a new instrument has been invented, at any rate when a new resource has been added to a musical instrument, the art advances. That is an important thing for a young musician beginning the world. He should be carefully made to understand that it is only by using new resources that the art is advanced, and if he sets himself to advance the art and do something that is really great and good in the world, he must do something new with new resources. And the training which our young musicians now receive all tends to lead to exactly the opposite opinion—to make them think that they should only keep to what has been done before. In that respect, I think, the study of musical history is of the utmost value.

Mr. JACQUES.—May I say that I entirely agree with Professor Niecks's remarks on the folly of speaking of anything so complex as the art of Counterpoint as having been "invented" by any one person? With regard to much that Mr. Davey has said about music in the Middle Ages, I have no hesitation in characterising his remarks as simply ridiculous nonsense. At the time when Mr. Davey published his History, I, with a view of exhibiting the fallacy of his theories, inserted two articles in the *Musical Times*. They appeared in the numbers of that periodical for August and September, 1895, were entitled "The Evolution of Polyphony," dealt with the progress of part-music from *the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries*, and contained more than a dozen examples of two and three-part counterpoint, all anterior to Dunstable—who Mr. Davey thinks invented the art! Some of these, naturally enough, show crudities that

shock modern ears; but the bulk of their effects is by no means so ugly that it need be accounted for by the hypothesis advanced (with more daring than discretion) by Mr. Davey. Any who have doubts on the subject may consult the works of Coussemaker, and other writers who have dealt with mediæval music. They will easily satisfy themselves that most of the artifices of counterpoint and composition were in use long before Dunstable came into the field. Only a few weeks ago, at a series of four lectures on "The Music of the Middle Ages," which I gave at the Royal Academy of Music, a number of the pieces I refer to were sung by the students and heard with interest and pleasure. Why I even "Sumer is icumen in," composed in 1226, would be enough to refute Mr. Davey's extraordinary contention.

Mr. Sherlock.—I do not wish to go into the question just raised. I should like to remark, however, that not only are these compositions not so hard as they seem, but they had a different effect at that time owing to the different system of tuning that was in vogue. Professor Niecks spoke about dates and facts not being history, and that reminds me of Lord Bolingbroke, who said he knew a man who had spent twelve or fourteen hours a day for twenty-five years in accumulating facts, that he was a mass of learning, but he never had time to think, and Lord Bolingbroke adds: "I never am in that man's presence without thinking, 'May God grant that you become less learned!'" Professor Niecks spoke about the network of history and the overlapping of schools and periods; and with reference to questions set by examiners, I think, perhaps, there is a reason for their reticence and confining of questions to dates and facts—and that is the dangerous ground on which you tread when once they go beyond. There is prejudice. Suppose a candidate says he thinks the last period of Beethoven's a falling off, he would have a right to his opinion, but would probably not gain favour with the examiners. Wagner himself went beyond dates and facts, and in some of them he was not very well posted up; and then he grew narrow-minded. His theory that the music-drama was the end of all art was narrow-minded, though that narrow-mindedness was, to a certain extent, the cause of his greatness. Professor Niecks spoke about Wagner having learnt undoubtedly something from Berlioz. I think he learned a good deal, and anyone who has seen the scores of Berlioz knows that he must undoubtedly have used them to a very great extent I was going to say something about that very interesting remark that the greatest masters were not always the most original, but will content myself with mentioning what an interesting and suggestive remark that was.

Sir Frederick Bridge.—I think that although all the observations we have heard in this discussion are of course very interesting, most of them have had little reference to the title of this lecture—"The Teaching of Musical History." We have our old friend John of Dunstable again, I am getting quite sick of him, and I think we are rather in danger of forgetting the earlier part of this paper and the reason why it was written. Professor Niecks is anxious to induce those who teach and those who learn to endeavour to study musical history systematically and properly. Mr. Cummings has voiced what I would say. We are all conscious of the great charm of musical history. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to have the opportunity of spending a morning in my study looking up musical history. And it is one of the advantages of the position I hold in connection with Gresham College, that it has forced me to study. Mr. Cummings says the students think they have no time to devote to musical history. It is very hard to make students read anything—even novels and daily papers. Efforts have been made to get them to buy a weekly musical newspaper; they won't do it. I agree also with what Professor Niecks says to the effect that the heads of the music schools ought to force the pupils to learn things that are good for them. I do not see why it should not be, they must sometimes be forced to do things they do not like. Many who come to learn the pianoforte would like to do nothing but sit down and practise at it for eight hours a day. They won't go and hear a symphony played; they won't read a book; but they will thrash the pianoforte because they regard that as the business of their lives. That is a dreadful state of affairs. It cramps students. They are not musicians; they are pianoforte thumpers. At the Royal College of Musicians, Dr. Parry, before he was director, gave a series of most admirable lectures to the students on musical history regularly, and the outcome of those lectures you will see in the charming book that is published in Novello's Primers—the "Summary of Musical History." That was not originally written for publication, but delivered in lectures by Sir Hubert for the students. They took copious notes, and I was very much struck by this departure. I thought what a deal of good it did. You ought to force them, and I hope Mr. Cummings, in his great school, will take steps to induce these students to do something more than merely stick to the technique of instruments they have unfortunately adopted. Nothing could be more cramping than that dreadful slavery and devotion to one thing only. I saw an example yesterday which I felt strongly. People came to play the pianoforte to me. They played six difficult pieces that most of them had thrashed out for six months. I asked, "How long have you

practised this?" "I began last October." "Have you played nothing else?" "No, not as a rule; I have not time." "How many hours a day have you practised?" One unfortunate girl said she practised four, all had practised at least two. Out of all these—and they were really difficult pieces that they played—they had evidently not one of them done anything else but practise those six things. And I found not one of these could really read well a little piece of music of a simple character at sight. Is that musical education? That is what I call cramming Our music schools ought to insist on their students being all-round and not merely well grounded on the one instrument. There is one thing I should like to say, though Mr. Shedlock has anticipated me. I do not quite see—though I have had a good deal to do in my life in the way of preparing examination papers—how we are to reform in the matter of examining students. It is very difficult to ask questions in history without details of facts and dates. You have unfortunate people who have only about an hour to answer the questions. You cannot ask them to write an essay, for that requires the very kind of training that they never get. You must ask them definite questions; that is the only way you can test their knowledge. I do not see how you are to get rid of dates in history. In my father's house there used to be a picture of the kings of England, and I remember the order in which they went, and I found it of the greatest possible use in my life, because I knew just where each one's place was in the picture. Those dates and titles fixed the continuity of English History in my mind. Round the time of any king—say Charles II.—I can now group certain musical events, and I am not altogether prepared to give up either titles or dates.

Mr. DAVEY.—I had intended to mention "Sumer is icumen in," but forgot. No doubt that does present a great difficulty; but there is a way out of that even. It is by no means certain, although I myself believe it, that the tune and the directions for singing it as a canon are of the same date. (CHAIRMAN: Rubbish!) It seems to me that it is all in the same band-writing, but both Rockstro and Ambros thought they were different.

The CHAIRMAN.—Our business now is to return our very sincere thanks to Professor Niecks for his admirable lecture; and lest Mr. Davey should go away with the impression that he is an inventor in supposing that these tunes were not intended to be sung at once, I may say that a distinguished musician told me so about forty years ago, and I said that I did not believe it. With regard to what Mr. Shedlock remarked, you must remember that the ear finds things good or bad simply according to what it has been accustomed to. The

people who sang these ancient tunes would probably not have found Beethoven or Schumann at all agreeable. I should like to express my personal obligation to our lecturer. I shall study Professor Niecks's lecture in print very carefully.

Professor Niecks.—I am afraid Mr. Davey's view and mine differ so much that it is impossible to come to an agreement. Probably we attach different meanings to the word "invention." At any rate, I cannot give up my view as to the impossibility of the invention of counterpoint and instrumental music. Then Mr. Shedlock said he did not think it was quite practicable to ask questions about schools and styles. I do not see why it should not be. You can ask, for instance, what are the characteristics or the qualities of a certain school. I think Sir Frederick Bridge misunderstood my remarks about dates. I do not object to dates, but to history consisting only of dates.

April 10, 1900.

W. H. CUMMINGS, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President,

In the Chair.

A CLEAR COUPLER FOR THE ORGAN.

By John W. Warman, A.R.C.O.

In bringing this matter before you to-day, I am conscious of two difficulties. The first arises from the fact that only a limited portion of you can be regarded as being especially acquainted with the organ; the second is caused by the comparative certainty that among such organ authorities as *are* present there must be some who occupy the very first rank. There exist here, therefore, the very strongest reasons both for and against my speaking in a rudimentary or ultra-explanatory way. As a consequence, all I can do is to make these remarks as clear as is possible without their becoming wearisome,—trusting that the experts will excuse my telling them many things which they already know much better than I can myself claim to.

The object of the clear coupler is to render the *pedal-board* of the organ, especially of the cheap organ, more effective than it can ever be under commonly existing circumstances.

There is, of course, no occasion for my giving here any general description of the pipe-containing organ. But it is necessary for you to understand that this instrument possesses not only one or more key-boards or claviers for the hands, but also one (in some very rare cases two) key-boards for the feet.

The pedal-board or pedal clavier is naturally intended chiefly for furnishing the deeper toned or *bass* portion of the instrument. In achieving this, the office of the pedal clavier is two-fold. The first is the simple drawing down of the lowest keys of the manual clavier or claviers. The second office

is the acting on separate pipes or stops, thus sounded by such pedals only It will be easily understood that these separate or pedal pipes are inevitably of *large* size. The bottom note of each stop first required will, in fact, range from a length of eight feet to one of thirty-two feet for the single pipe; and each stop will contain from twenty-seven to thirty pipes

There is not the least necessity for my saying that these large pipes must always be very *costly*. But it may not be quite so well realised by you that they demand also a very large amount of *space*. They must have not only standing and speaking room, but sounding room as well. Every organ pipe requires around it a space many times larger than itself, and such space of course increases in an exact ratio to the size of every pipe. For these two reasons it constantly comes about that there exists a *deficiency* in the foot or pedal portion of the pipe organ. This being so, it is quite superfluous to point out that such pedal stops or pipes as *are* present should be as effectively as possible aided and reinforced by the forms of the mechanism employed for uniting or coupling to the pedals the lower pipes of the manuals.

It is here advisable to more clearly define the nature of the last named key-boards. Each such clavier governs, quite independently, a certain portion or number of stops of the entire organ. These portions have, themselves, in the past, been also called "Organs"; but, as this term is, in such sense, very confusing, I have adopted, instead, the word "Section"; and I hope to see this name generally employed.

When an organ possesses but two manuals, the lower one is, or should be, for the chief or "Great" section; and the upper manual will, or should be, devoted to the "Swell" section. In an organ having three manuals, the clavier below the great keys is for the "Choir" section. In an instrument with four manuals, the clavier above the swell keys is for the "Solo" section. All of these manuals will, or should be, rendered capable of having their bottoms coupleable at pleasure to the *pedal-board*; and all manuals except the Great will, or should be, made coupleable also to the latter *manual*. It is in connection with the involution of these pedal and manual couplers with each other that the present device has been called into existence.

Whenever an organ is provided with as many manual sections as four, it may be taken for granted that its pedal section will be large enough to render any assistance derived by the latter from the former sections a *quite secondary* con sideration. Whenever the manual sections number even only three, the effective supplementation by them of the pedal pipes may be regarded as *fairly* assured, *without* any special

treatment of the couplers, because the Choir section, which is the most suitable of all for furnishing such supplementation, will, or should, form one of such three.

But with organs possessing but *two* manuals the case is quite different. The Pedal section will almost invariably be small, thus rendering its assistance by the Manual bottoms especially desirable. But such assistance will, with the present method of constructing the coupling mechanism, be inevitably unsatisfactory, because of the involution of the coupler swell-to-great with the coupler great-to-pedal. It is in the so contriving these two couplers that they shall be CLEAR of each other that the principle of the present invention lies.

In order to illustrate the action of the Clear coupler in the plainest possible manner I will instance a thoroughly typical—in fact, a typal—instrument ;—one circulated by our inestimable Mr. Willis, and also by our equally inestimable Mr. Hill. On the Great Manual there will be:—8-ft. open diapason, viole d'amore or slotted gamba, dulciana (bottom octave grooved into next), and claribel flute (second octave clarinet flute, bottom octave stopped); 4 ft. principal and harmonic flute; 2-ft. fifteenth, III.-rank mixture; and 8-ft. trumpet and clarinet. On the Swell Manual :—16-ft. bourdon (double diapason); 8-ft. open diapason and gedact, 4-ft. principal; 2-ft. fifteenth, III.-rank mixture, and 8-ft. cornopean and oboe. On the Pedale :—16-ft. open diapason and bourdon. The coupler great-to-pedal is of course assumed to be of the ordinary or *non-clear* kind.

Now, a little reflection will show that it is almost impossible to obtain a satisfactory foot-part to most of the combinations obtainable on such an organ as the above. Whenever the great-to-pedal coupler is used while the hands are playing on the great alone the "pedal" will be too loud. The adding of the swell manual to the great manual will render matters worse if swell *reeds* be (as they constantly are) also drawn, for their deep snarl also will be thrown on to the pedals. Exchanging the great-to-pedal for the swell-to-pedal coupler may bring the foot-part right as to its actual relative *power*; but the addition of the swell reeds will at once render the *quality* of the pedal tones unsatisfactory, except for special effects. If the manual part be played on the swell-section alone, with one or more of the great-section stops added to the pedal stop or stops, the result will often be good in itself, but the great-section will have had to be so softened as to render it practically useless as a controlling power. Thus, what is really demanded is a means of increasing the sound of the *hand* part as played on the great manual, *without* such increases being thrown also upon the *pedal* part. By reason of such a special or non-communicated increase on the great manual, the pedals would be enabled to borrow from

such great those stops, and *only* those stops, which might be required for bringing the foot part into proper balance with the hand part.

But with the great-to-pedal coupler constructed as has been the case hitherto, such a supplementation of the pedal by means of the great section is manifestly impossible. The only way in which the above increase on the great can be accomplished is by coupling to it some other *manual*—in this instance, of course, the swell. But, with the at present inevitable non-clearing coupler great to pedal applied, such increase is, as obviously, at once thrown also on to the pedal part, and the proper balancing of the latter with the hand part remains as far off as ever.

Now comes the Clear coupler to the rescue. With this mechanism, as I construct it (a *two*-manual organ is still assumed), the coupling of the great to the pedals, instead of operating on the great manual key itself, or on any portion of the action with which the coupler swell-to-great is connected, operates *only* on the *action* which runs from the great manual to its own wind-chest; and thus, with the aid of a coupler placed between the manual claviers, is the desired independent or clear addition to such great clavier's tones obtained. The actual great-section stops drawn will consist of such of them as are proper for the supplementation of the inadequate pedal section, and the swell section will be employed for the adding to the great section of any amount of *manual*-strengthening then required.

In order to still more plainly illustrate the effects producible by means of this coupling device, I will define two combinations in which it will be found to possess especial utility—with the typical two-manual instrument, as above laid down.

The first of these effects is as with the medium-powered flute stops of the great section united to the nearly full swell section. The exact combination may be taken as follows. On the great clavier, the viole d'amore, the dulciana, the claribel-flute, and the harmonic-flute, augmented by about six of the swell manual stops. On the pedal clavier will be the bourdon, with [resultant] violoncello, semi-stopped-flute, and harmonic-flute. A more ideal and useful pedal bass than this can hardly be conceived; and it is one which would require, for the production of its equivalent by an actual pedal section, that the latter should be of very large size indeed.

The second illustrative effect with the clear coupler is as for an imitation soprano solo, played on the great manual, and accompanied chiefly on the swell manual. The solo part itself will be furnished by (say) the viole d'amore and harmonic flute of the great manual, combined with (say) the double diapason, open diapason, and principal of the swell manual. The bourdon alone will be drawn on the pedal, and will

receive the resultant additions of a violoncello and harmonic flute. This combination can claim to be of even greater value than is the first-named one, because in this (the second) both melody and accompaniment will be deriving the benefit of the swell-box expression, and because the great manual can be resorted to, without a too glaring contrast of tone, for obtaining any strong intermittent *sforzando* desired in the accompaniment.

Many other combinations on two manual organs in which the clear coupler can be made to provide a proper pedal section will occur to any intelligent organist. Of course the device must not be too frequently used, as it can never be in action without to some extent obscuring that pure diapason tone of the great section, which is one of the chief glories of the instrument.

The necessity for the employment of some between-manuals type of swell-to-great coupler is no drawback to the value of the clear coupling device, for the *drumstick* form of such coupler, which is always practicable, is as good as any other kind possible, where pneumatic-action is not present. It is quite true that all between-manuals couplings do slightly interfere with the quick removal of any lower manual key; but this is fully counterbalanced by the fact that all such couplings do act without that dancing of the (manual) keys which is usual with the backfall forms of such coupler.

In order to render the action of the Clear coupler still more apparent, I have constructed a working model, which is here open to your inspection. Any further information required can be obtained from the accompanying drawings. These are not made exactly to scale, but are sufficiently so for all practical purposes in first stage.

Treatment *A* should be followed, by preference, with *all* two-manual organs which have no *pneumatic* key action. Treatment *B* is for all cases in which the swell manual first squares or backfalls are required to be *elevated*. Treatment *C* should be employed whenever the great manual first-action *descends* from its key-tails.

An analysis of these three treatments will show them to possess the following advantages, which cannot be collectively obtained by any other arrangement of the parts whatsoever: (1) All squares and backfalls stand square, (2) the crossing of the parts is reduced to a minimum; (3) no keys are slanted; (4) no keys cross the action anywhere; (5) no stickers pass through any keys but their own, (6) the access to a lower manual, &c., by the fact of square or backfall noses resting directly on key-tails, is brought up to a maximum, (7) the cranking of trackers and of stickers is reduced to a minimum, (8) the backfall form of manual coupler is not rendered impracticable; (9) the swell-to-pedal stickers

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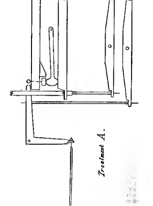
do not enter their key-tails; (10) the facility for a single person's regulating the manual action is brought up to a maximum.

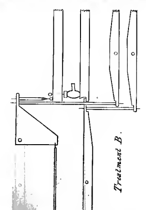
It will also now have been seen that, with the keys and mechanism made according to the foregoing directions, &c.,



the cost of the clear coupler need be no greater than that of the involved kind.

Other clear couplers, such as the choir to-pedal clear of the swell-to-choir, can easily be constructed by deduction from the above three types.

It remains here only to be pointed out that the value of the clear coupler manual to pedal is enhanced by the circumstances that—(1) The mechanism operates without the keys of either of the two manuals, *descending*; that (2) the device is *most* effective in the organ of the kind which is most



frequently manufactured—viz., that having but two manuals; and that (3) the device so largely ensures the "completion" of the pedal section by means of the *great* or the *choir* section, there will be the less need for carrying the *swell* section all the way to CC.

It is to be distinctly understood that the present device can never be employed for the pedal-board clearance of the coupling of any manual to any other manual, when such coupling is effected by means of an attachment to any *pneumatic-lever* applied to such last-named manual. But

Treatment C.

such attachment, though always most excellent in itself, will never, or should never, be existent in *every* manual-to-manual coupler of any organ the pedal section of which is *not* large enough to render the latter's supplementation by the manuale a thing of little or no importance. Thus, with any *three-*

manual organ that has its coupler swell to great obtained by being attached to such great manual's pneumatic, the coupling of the lowest placed manual to the pedals can be made clear of the coupler uniting the *swell* manual to such lowermost manual—which last-named coupler should never be absent from any organ that has three or more manuals. The exact actual coupler which will most usually result from such treatment has been already named, in the last preceding paragraph but one. In any organ which possesses only *two* manuals, and is yet sufficiently large to *require* the pneumatic-lever, the pedal section ought invariably to be ample enough to render its supplementation by the manual a really secondary consideration.

The invention is free and open to all, in every part of the world.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are very much obliged to Mr. Warman. When I saw his model it struck me that the need was already provided for by pneumatic action, but this is a capital idea for organs where that is not adopted.

x Organ

May 8, 1900

T. L. SOUTHGATE, Esq.,
In the Chair.

ORGAN ACCOMPANIMENTS IN ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By W. H. Cummings, F.S.A.

A few preliminary observations are desirable respecting organs and organ music of the centuries prior to the sixteenth.

In the thirteenth century both the Greek and Latin clergy deemed the use of organs in churches profane, and it is matter of common knowledge that the organ remains excluded from the Greek Church to this day.

In the fourteenth century the keys of the organ were so large that the performer was termed a pulsator or smiter; you will not be surprised therefore to learn that the right mode of smiting the keys was with the closed fist. We are told* that the organ at Halberstadt, built in 1361, had keys from two to four inches in width, with a space of two inches between some of them.

During the fifteenth century the keys were reduced in size, and fresh adaptations and contrivances were devised for facilitating the labours of the organist.

An organ erected during that century in the church of St. Ægidien, in Brunswick, had keys about 1⅞ inches wide, without any appreciable space between them. Each key had its name-letter inscribed on it, as F, G, A, H, &c. Some of you are doubtless familiar with the engraving of a performing organist, depicted in Gaffurius' "Theorica Musica," 1492; it would seem from that picture that the organist used both hands.

* Seidel, "Die Orgel und ihr Bau." Breslau, 1842

The facilities afforded for playing with fingers, instead of with the fists, would naturally necessitate some technical exercises specially devised for acquiring manual dexterity, and I now produce for inspection a MS. in the autograph of Adam Ileborgh, written by him when rector of the University of Stendall, in 1448. The title is—

> "Incipiunt præludia
> diversarum notarum
> secundum modernum modum
> subtiliter et diligenter collecta cum mensuris diversis
> hic infra annexis per fratrem Adam Ileborgh
> Anno Domini 1448 tempore sui rectoriatus in
> Stendall."

This is one of the earliest examples of organ music existing; it shows that the musicians of the fifteenth century found such a work indispensable, and all who have succeeded them have also recognised the want.

Ileborgh's MS. is on parchment, beautifully written, the music legible and readable, from a staff of eight lines, with the three clefs F, C, G.

In referring to the organ accompaniments of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries I shall endeavour to elucidate truth, in doing so I shall have to speak very emphatically about certain erroneous statements which have appeared in print, and therefore in advance ask your indulgence if, in my enthusiasm for "truth," I am obliged to be uncompromising. On the 6th of May last year a letter appeared in *Notes and Queries* signed by one of our members, Mr. Davey, in which appeared the following sentence: "The ordinary use of the organ in the seventeenth century was to add brilliancy to the vocal music sung by the choir, and all possible embellishment by florid runs seems to have been employed. The Puritans objected to that style of sacred music, and so should we object if it were heard now. The result was a blind rage which led to the destruction of several cathedral organs." To this I ventured to reply, pointing to the publication of the "Musica Deo Sacra," by Tomkins, as one of the proofs to the contrary. On the 16th December Mr Davey again appeared in print with a letter containing the following extraordinary statement: "I will discuss his (Mr. Cummings) denial of my assertion that the organ accompaniments used before the Civil War were of an absurdly florid character and justly objected to by the Puritans. I can point to the florid organ music preserved in the Mulliner MS. and the so-called virginal books; but still better evidence was adduced at an address on Cromwell and Music given by myself at Hampstead during the

Cromwell tercentenary celebrations. The organist of the Chapel Royal was amongst the audience, and stated afterwards that he possessed an old printed organ score of the well-known Service in F, by Orlando Gibbons (organist to James I. and Charles I.), "as played by Mr. Gibbons himself," full of meaningless embellishments." This very precise and startling statement I felt quite sure was erroneous. I knew that the earliest printed copy of Gibbons's Service is that in Boyce's 'Cathedral Music,' published in 1760. I may here note that the words "as played by Mr. Gibbons himself" are given by Mr. Davey in inverted commas by way of emphasis. I therefore wrote to the organist of the Chapel Royal and asked the date of this wonderful "old printed score." Here is Dr. Creser's reply "I did possess a curious, though not an old copy of Gibbons in F, with a figurative accompaniment, which to my mind would spoil the voice parts. It was printed privately by our dear friend Stainer." "Stainer will be able to give you the history of it. I imagine it was taken from an old MS., but that is all I know."

I then wrote to Sir John Stainer, and he was kind enough to send me the copy of the music, and also a note, part of which is as follows:—

"I send a very shabby copy of the Gibbons organ part. I have not seen the book (from which it was taken) for thirty-five years; my memory may have faded, but it was, I should say, of about the date 1620-50. It is a beautifully written MS. on six-line staves, large organ oblong. I think it contains the florid organ part of the *whole* Service, morning and evening." The copy is here for your inspection, it was printed by Sir John Stainer in 1864, and is not a score, nor are there any vocal parts or guiding catch words, which, I believe, are invariably found in all Cathedral organ parts intended for accompaniment. As a matter of fact this arrangement was made to perform as an organ solo. I will cite the evidence of Dr. Edward J. Hopkins on this point. He, from his long and intimate knowledge of organs and organ music, is an authority to whom all expert musicians will readily defer. He says:—

"It is necessary to notice the remarkable instrumental versions of some of the early church services and anthems, as those by Tallis, Gibbons, Amner, &c., which are still to be met with in some of the old organ and other MS. music books. These versions are so full of runs, trills, beats, and matters of that kind, and so opposed in feeling to the quiet solidity and sober dignity of the vocal parts, that even if written by the same hand, which is scarcely credible, it is impossible that the former can ever have been designed to be used as an accompaniment to the latter."

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Dr. Hopkins then cites examples from the services of Tallis and Gibbons, which I need not trouble you with, and continues:—

"The headings or 'Indexings' of these versions stand as follows, and are very suggestive: 'Te Deum, Mr. Tallis in D, organ part varied'; 'Te Deum, Mr. Tallis, with variations for the organ; Gibbons in F, Morning, with variations'; 'Te Deum, Mr. Orlando Gibbons, in F fa, ut, varied for the organ'; and so forth. There is little doubt, therefore, that the versions under notice were not intended as accompaniments at all, but were variations like the popular 'Transcriptions' of the present day and made for separate use, *that use being doubtless as voluntaries*. This explanation of the matter receives confirmation from the fact that a second old and more legitimate organ part of those services is still extant, for which no ostensible use would have existed if not to accompany the voices."

I wrote to *Notes and Queries* pointing out the facts I have now stated, hoping Mr. Davey would recognise the grave error into which he had fallen; but he simply replied on February 17 last: "I am sorry I misdescribed the ancient organ music printed from the Magdalen College MS., but it nevertheless helps to prove my case. Specimens of these absurdly florid accompaniments are given in Grove's Dictionary of Music. The statement that they were not intended for practical use is a pure assumption, without a particle of evidence to support it. The simpler versions also existing, perhaps for less skilful executants, contain the outer parts with figures for the harmonies, which the organist filled up in the style he thought proper, plainly or ornately. Tomkins's 'Musica Deo Sacra' (1668) is also thus accompanied, if I recollect rightly."

I would have you note that the words "the statement that they were not intended for practical use," are Mr. Davey's own and not Dr. Hopkins's, who expressly says and explains that they were intended for practical use as voluntaries.

There is much more in Mr Davey's letter which I shall deal with presently, and will now only quote one other paragraph of it.—

"As this discussion has lasted several months and is getting into technical matters, I suggest that it should be adjourned to one of the meetings of the Musical Association; in any case, I shall soon exhibit these specimens of organ accompaniments from the 16th century to the 18th."

This is my excuse to the members of this Association for the somewhat unpleasant task I have undertaken to-day.

It will be well now to let you hear what Gibbons's accompaniment really was, "As played by himself." The library of Christ Church, Oxford, contains several MSS. in Gibbons's

handwriting, and amongst them a beautiful anthem composed for Archbishop Laud, president of St. John's College, Oxford. It is set to the words "This is the record of John." The voice parts are for a male alto solo and chorus of five voices—soprano, two altos, tenor, and bass. The accompaniments are for a chest of viols and organ, the usual accompaniments of the time for what were termed verse anthems. You will notice that the solo voice is accompanied by the strings alone, the parts being written in an engaging contrapuntal style. When the chorus enters the organ is added, and it, as well as the strings, always duplicate the voice parts. On this occasion the alto solo will be sung by a tenor, for you must remember that our pitch to-day is at least a whole tone lower than the Church pitch of Gibbons's time, and what was then intended for an alto voice can now more conveniently be sung by a tenor. (The anthem was then performed by students, vocalists, and instrumentalists, from the Guildhall School of Music.)

You will have observed that during each of the choruses in the anthem the strings and organ merely re-duplicated the voice parts—a custom, I believe, generally observed at the time—and, notwithstanding Mr. Davey's strong assertion to the contrary, that is precisely what we find in Tomkins's "Musica Deo Sacra." This book, printed in 1668, must have been completed before 1656, in which year Tomkins died. I did not think it necessary to bring all the vocal parts with me, but here is the organ part* and also one voice part for your inspection. As examples of the accompaniments used in Cathedrals, I produce MS. organ books from Chester Cathedral,† St. Paul's Cathedral, St. John's College, Cambridge, all of them containing seventeenth century work.‡

In my preliminary remarks I referred to that remarkable MS. of Ileborgh (dated 1448) and hinted that the practice there presented of writing exercises for the organ was continued in after times—these exercise books, voluntary books, &c., have sometimes been mistaken for accompaniments. I therefore produce two volumes of MS. organ music, one English, containing compositions dating from 1550 to 1654, including voluntaries, lessons, fantasias, and

* The organ part is very scarce, and is not to be found in the British Museum

† The Chester book contains compositions by John Hutchinson organist of York in 1633, Orlando Gibbons; Patrick of Westminster; Gyles of Windsor, 1595, Peter Stringer (autograph), organist of Chester, 1661; Tallis, Thomas Tomkins; Albert Bryne, organist of St Paul's, 1638; William Ottey, Michael Wise; Byrd, Eduard Tucker, Captain Cooke; and Thomas Fenell of Dublin, 1689

‡ These books I have purchased from time to time, and cannot but express regret that they have not been preserved in the libraries of the churches to which they originally belonged

other pieces; on page 152 is a voluntary by Orlando Gibbons marked with the old English fingerings, 1 to 5. It contains music by W. Lawes, killed at the siege of Chester in 1645; Aylward of Norwich Cathedral, died 1669; Morley, died 1604; Gibbs, died in 1630; Bird, died 1623; and other composers, of Charles I.'s time. The other volume, of Italian organ music, is written in two staves of five and eight lines, with the three clefs F, C, and G. I believe it belongs wholly to the sixteenth century. The composers represented include Claudio da Corregio, Palestina, Adrian Vuillaert, Orlando di Lasso, Clemens non Papa, Ruggiero, and Cipriano del Rore.* I now want to say a word or two about the Mulliner and Redforde MSS. Mr. Davey wrote in *Notes and Queries* of February 17: "Mr. Cummings asserts that there are no organ accompaniments in the Mulliner MS., or that there is no organ accompaniment to the vocal music. All I can say is that I have copied several specimens of organ accompaniments from it; they are to Latin plain songs. There are many more in Redford's MS. (Addit. MS. 29,996). By a strange coincidence, almost at the moment I read Mr. Cummings's reference to the Mulliner MS., I received a letter from Germany requesting a detailed account of its contents for Eitner's 'Quellen-lexicon.'"

The Mulliner MS. I purchased at the sale of Dr. Rimbault's library in 1877, and recognising what an important document it was in the history of English music, I handed it over to the British Museum for the exact sum I paid for it, namely £82.

Having possessed the book, I ought to know something about it. Thomas Mulliner, by whom it was partly written, was master of the choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral in the sixteenth century, the dates of his birth and death are not known, but he was the teacher of several eminent musicians; Tallis was probably his pupil.

The book is a collection of motets, hymns, anthems, voluntaries, songs, &c., by Tallis, Tye, Blytheman, Edwards, Farrant, Taverner, Johnson, Redford, Sheppard, Allwood, Shelbye, Newman, Nicholas, Carleton, some arranged for performance on the virginals and organ, and at the end are galliards in tablature for the lute, amongst them "The Queene of Scotts Galliard," per T. M. On the first fly leaf is the inscription "Sum liber Thomas Mullineri, Johanne Heywood teste." The binding of the book resembles the bindings of books of Henry the VIII.'s library, with ornamentations of the Tudor rose and the letters "H. R." It seems possible that it may have been compiled for the king or for his children.

* The names are spelt as in the MS

I will mention some of the pieces in the Mulliner volume:—

On fol. 16 there is one on a twelve-line staff, entitled "La Nonnette."

- " 25 a Voluntary by Farrant.
- " 30 "Fond youthe's a bubble," by Tallys, in score of two staves each of six lines; also an "In nomine," by Taverner, in two staves, the upper of five and the lower of seven lines.
- " 70 "Rejoice in the Lord allways," in score of two staves, six lines each.
- " 78 "O the sylle man," by Edwards, in score.
- " 80 "In going to my naked bedde," by Edwards, in score.
- " 94 "A Voluntary on the plain-song 'Gloria tibi, trinitas.'"
- " 96 "Gloria tibi, trinitas," in score, the notation in notes of 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥
- " 110 "Like as the doleful dove," "fine quoth Master Tallys" (this has a note in Stafford Smith's handwriting, "Lent to Sir J. Hawkins, 1744")—and we know that Hawkins printed this and several other excerpts from Mulliner's volume in his "History of Music."
- " 118 is the commencement of several pages of music for the lute, in tablature, composed apparently by Mulliner; fol. 129 has his autograph signature, Thomas Mullyner.

This historic MS. was once the property of John Stafford Smith, an accomplished musical antiquary, and he lent it to Sir John Hawkins. Neither of these eminent authorities recognised any vocal music with accompaniments for the organ, and I have equally failed to do so.

Mr. Davey cited as another example of organ accompaniments the Redforde MS.* I was not familiar with that volume, and therefore considered it my duty to go to the British Museum and examine it. The volume is a thick folio—it is not paged, but numbered in folios, of which there are 219—that is, equal to 438 pages; the contents are of a varied kind, music for virginals, music in score, fancies for 'vials in four parts' and in six parts—a pavan by Gibbons, a duet for virginal and organ, exercises in counterpoint, lessons, &c.; but so far as I could see no vocal music with accompaniment for the organ. I may add that this volume was purchased for the Museum from John Bishop, of Cheltenham, who bought it of Joseph Warren, both of whom were keen musicians, well skilled in early English

* Add. MS. 29,996, Brit. Mus.

music, particularly church music; both edited various publications of ecclesiastical music, but neither of them appears to have discovered any organ accompaniments in the Redforde volume. Some of the contents of the Redforde book are:—

Fol. 19 an exercise in three parts on a great score of twelve lines with three clefs, F, C, G.

„ 29 Deus creator, " made by Phelippe Apprys of Saint Poulles in London."

„ 35 Precatus est, in score of twelve lines, with three clefs, in handwriting of Redforde, who has subscribed at the end " Laus sit omnipotente Deo, Quod Master Johne Redforde "

„ 111 has the note " These following are all in the compass of the hand, and so most fit to be played with ease"—the music is in score. I copied the initial bars and have identified them as a four-part song published by Byrd in 1589 to the words " I love a boy." I have brought a copy with me.

„ 122 Anthem, " O all ye nations," four parts in score, with words; followed by " April is in my mistress' face," by Morley, in score with words.

„ 158 Exercises in Counterpoint, with the heading " All these are upon the fa-burden of these playne songes."

„ 174 says, " old stuff upon the fa-burden of the preceding playne songes."

„ 189 Canon, " Two in one on the unison, three minims after other "; and yet another interesting note to the following effect, " The rest of these wayes are prickt in my Morley's Introduction "

„ 193 " Pretty wayes for young beginners to look on." There are other headings, such as " Short and long," " Counterpointe," " Indenting Counterpointe," " Turn over three leaves for the rest of the wayes upon the playne song."

„ 205 there is written : " The Base parts for two to play ", and again, " The Treble parts for two to play "

I also found the word " good " frequently written over an exercise.

I have come to the conclusion that this very interesting volume contains a collection made by John Redforde, who was Organist, Almoner, and Master of the Choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1530 to 1540. It doubtless was compiled for his own and his pupils' instruction, but I fail to find in it any church music with organ accompaniment.

Having disproved the assertion that the ordinary use of the organs in the seventeenth century was to add brilliancy to the vocal music sung by the choir, with the addition of all possible embellishments and florid runs, I shall say a little respecting the statement that "this being objected to by the Puritans, resulted in a blind rage which led to the destruction of Cathedral organs."

On the 13th September, 1696, the Rev. John Newte preached a sermon in Tiverton Church, Devon, on the occasion of the opening of an organ which had just been erected. The sermon was immediately published and evidently widely circulated, for a second edition was found necessary in 1701. The subject of the sermon was "The lawfulness and use of organs in the Christian Church." In the dedication to the Bishop of Exeter I find the following significant phrase: "This (organ) being the first erected in your Lordship's Diocese (out of the City) since the great rebellion had destroyed the use of them in many places." On page 11, I read "no wonder that such an unheard of way of reformation, by *melting of organ pipes into bullets*," &c. From page 21, I quote the following paragraph:—

"There is, besides the several times when the Psalms are sung, some other proper time customarily made use of for the organ to play some taking Lesson or decent Flourish or other by itself, which goes by the name of Voluntaries; this sort of music is either made just before the service begins, which seems a very proper time for it, to engage the congregation to a serious thoughtfulness and to a civil deportment and behaviour, when they are taking their places, and about to enter upon the most solemn acts of religion in the worship of God. Or it is also used at the end of the Psalms, before the lessons be read, to strike a reverential awe upon our spirits, and to melt us into a fit temper to receive the best impressions from the word of God. Or lastly, it is used at the end of the whole (service) to take off some little whispering disturbances, through the levity of some people, and to drown that ungrateful rushing murmur and noise which the stirring of so many people together, at that time of going out of church, must occasion."

Mr. Newte's sermon was attacked in a pamphlet published anonymously, in 1698, from which some extracts will prove instructive.

It commences by saying "had he confined his beloved music to his own parish, I believe he might have sat down quietly, and have solaced himself with his harmonious pipes, without fear of a contradiction, but he was so ravished with his organical devotion that nothing less would content him than to fill the whole nation with a noise of it." The anonymous author goes on to say: "Singing the praises of

God with the voice is not only in the judgment of the generality of the Dissenters, but of those of his own church too, a part of natural worship." . . . "That the praising of God with instrumental music is a part of natural worship I shall take leave to deny." . . . "The churches received Latin singing, with organs from Pope Vitalian, and from thence began to say Latin mass, and to set up altars with idolatrous images." . . . "We must remember that they (organs) were introduced in the times of Popish darkness, and I cannot imagine that Protestants should be the more fond of them, because they were introduced by a Pope." Here there is an honest confession of the reason of the Puritan hatred of the organ—they thought it Popish. "The Cathedral churches, it must be confessed, made use of instrumental music in the worship of God, and we find it in some, and but very few Parish Churches amongst us But the far greater part of the Parishes have nothing of it. Nay, not one of a 100, perhaps of 500 enjoy this sort of church music." This speaks volumes on the question of the destruction of organs which had taken place in 1698, not one of 500 churches possessed an organ.

This reminds me to refer to another misleading statement in *Notes and Queries* by Mr. Davey, who says: "We learn from Pepys, who had never heard the effect of an organ with congregational singing even seven years after the restoration and went especially to Hackney to hear this extraordinary novelty." Pepys' own words under date Sunday, 21 April, 1667,* are: "Took coach and to Hackney Church, where very full, and found much difficulty to get pews, I offering the sexton money, and he could not help me. So my wife and Mercer, ventured into a pew and I into another. *That* which we went chiefly to see was the young ladies of the school, whereof there is great store, very pretty; and also the organ, which is handsome, and tunes the psalms, and plays with the people, which is mighty pretty, and makes me mighty earnest to have a pair at our church, I having almost a mind to give them a pair, if they would settle a maintenance on them for it." † Pepys makes no statement that he had never heard organ accompanying the singing, but it would not have been wonderful if he had not heard it, for even thirty years later

* There is a previous entry in the diary on the 4th April "To Hackney, where good neat's tongue, and things to eat and drink, and very merry, the weather being mighty pleasant, and here I was told at their church they have a fair pair of organs, which play while the people sing, which I am mighty glad of, wishing the like at our church at London, and would give £50 towards it."

† The organ which had been erected in Hackney Church in 1622 had disappeared during the Civil War. A new one was put up in 1666 by a Mr. Roe. The organist was Thomas White, his salary, twenty eight shillings a month.

not one parish church in 500 possessed an organ. The anonymous writer I have been quoting further says "The churches which use them are the Popish churches, the Cathedral churches in England, and some very few parish churches." . . . "As for my own part, I am of opinion, that it is with organs in the worship of God, as it is with pictures in churches, a distraction and diversion rather than a help to devotion."

One other quotation must suffice. "Mr. Newte says Another use and advantage of instrumental music is, that it will prepare us for the being the better edified in Divine service. I must beg his pardon, if I believe not this. But to give instrumental music, a fuller encomium, it will make us, he saith, most knowing as well as most devout; our reason too, will reap a great benefit by it; and we shall become the more rational, and have a clearer insight into the things above, by being awakened thereto, in the service of God, with stringed instruments and organs. . . . O what a mighty advantage then must it be to persons to dwell near a Cathedral! O how rational, how enlarged must be the minds of singing men and singing boys be? Questionless that is the reason so many of the choristers are persons so eminently rational, so eximiously pious and holy."

I have now done with this book, which is full of ingenious argument against the lawfulness of all instrumental music in the Christian Church; the authorities quoted are many and learned, and whatever view we take of the actions of the Puritans in their wholesale destruction of organs we must come to the conclusion that they acted on conscientious religious conviction, and not because of the manner in which the worship music was accompanied by musicians—that accompaniment, as we have seen, was staid and dignified, and the very opposite of brilliant and embellished.

A few final words respecting the singing and accompanying of metrical psalms and hymns. Bishop Gauden, of Exeter (from 1660 to 1662), says: "Some have been more at discord with the Liturgy, because they find in Cathedrals and other great churches, the use of music both vocal and organical have been applied to some parts of it; which certainly is as lawful as any Meeter, Psalmody, Hymnology, or singing to tunes which was never questioned by learned and godly men for lawful in the worship of God, public or private."

This refers to the practice of Psalmody and Hymnody in church in sufficiently explicit terms—it was allowed by Queen Elizabeth (see her Injunction, No. 49) and sanctioned by Convocation. The Bodleian library has a Sternhold and Hopkins version, published in 1566, containing the psalms "to be sung of the people together in churches, before and after morning and evening prayer, as also before and after the

sermon." Again, "The whole booke of psalmes," "compiled by X sondry authors," published by Thomas Est in 1594, says: "The church tunes are carefully corrected and thereunto added other short tunes usually sung in London and most places of this realme." The editor, Thomas Est, takes credit for putting the tunes into parts, "that each man may sing that part which best may serve his voyce." We may from this presume that he made the parts from an organ part or score. It seems to have escaped notice that the organ part of Tomkins's "Musica Deo Sacra," 1668, contains a set of psalm tunes—here they are—and they present certain peculiarities.—The melody or *tune is in the upper part*—not in the tenor, which was the usual form—and as no voice parts are printed in Tomkins's part-books, we may infer that the tune was sung in unison—the harmonies are full staid and dignified.

Another interesting publication by John Playford is here, it is "Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Musick of four parts on the common tunes to the Psalms in Metre used in Parish Churches." It was published in 1671, and is a most important book. On one side of the folio is the tune, that is the tenor, and the bass; on the opposite side of the folio are the vocal parts—altus, contratenor, and bassus. This gives us in an absolute and concrete form the practice which obtained in 1671, when an instrument provided the possibility of accompaniment.* In the preface we read psalm singing "had its beginning here in England soon after the Reformation, about the year 1550. In the reign of King Edward the Sixth, Thomas Sternhold of the County of Hampshire Esq., and of the privy chamber to Edward the Sixth, translated thirty-seven of David's psalms into English metre, leaving the rest to be finished by Mr. John Hopkins, William Whittingham, and others, men whose piety exceeded their poetry; yet such as it was it was ranked with the best English poesie at that time. The whole book of Psalms being thus translated into English metre, and having apt tunes set to them, was used and sung only for devotion in private families, but soon after by permission, brought into the churches, being printed and bound up with the books of Common prayer and bibles, with allowance to be sung before Morning and Evening service, and also before and after sermons, and for many years, this part of Divine service was skilfully and devoutly performed, with delight and comfort, by many honest and religious people; and is still continued in our churches, but not with that reverence and estimation as formerly; some not affecting the translation, others not liking the music, both, I must confess, need reforming. Those many tunes formerly used to

* Playford in the preface: "The Common tunes are all printed in the Tenor part, and in their proper key, with the Bass under each Tune, as convenient to be sung to an Organ, Lute or Viol."

these Psalms, are for excellency of form, solemn ayre, and suitableness to the matter of the Psalms, not inferior to any tunes used in foreign churches; but, at this day, the best, and almost all the choice tunes are lost, and out of use in our churches, nor must we expect it otherways, when in and about this great City, in above one hundred parishes, there is but few parish clerks to be found that have either ear or understanding to set one of those tunes musically as it ought to be. It having been the custom during the late wars, and since, to choose men into such places, more for their poverty than skill and ability, whereby this part of God's service hath been so ridiculously performed in most places, that it is now brought into scorn and derision by many people." "Herein I have selected all the best and choicest tunes that have been formerly used to the Psalms in metre. The common tunes are all printed in the tenor part, and in their proper key, with the bass under each tune, as convenient to be sung to an organ, lute, or viol." One other rare book I show—namely, "Musick's Hand-maid. New lessons and instructions for the Virginals or Harpsichord," dated 1678. It contains a leaf I have not met with in any other copy, giving "The Tunes of Psalms to the Virginal or the Organ," which, as you will see, are perfectly plain and unornamented. I think I have said enough to refute the extraordinary assumption that the organ accompaniments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were of a frivolous and flighty character. I have not touched upon the organ accompaniments of the eighteenth century—a most interesting period—which, perhaps, we may have an opportunity of discussing on some future occasion.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, the first thing I ought to do is to apologise for the room we are in. We generally hold our meetings in more luxurious, or, at any rate, larger premises upstairs, in which the lecturer has a better chance of being heard, and any music also. I can only explain that we were obliged to vacate the room for this afternoon as an examination is being held there. It is now my duty to express, in your name, a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Cummings for the erudite information which he has placed at our disposal. It is really very good of such a busy man as he is to give up the time it must have taken to search through his library, and elsewhere, in order to get together the materials for this lecture. I am sure that I express the

satisfaction you will all feel when I mention that the University of Dublin has decided to confer on him the distinction of Doctor in Music, *honoris causâ*. (Applause.) Now let me go on to make a few remarks on the paper that has been read to us. They should be very few, because Mr. Davey is here, and the question at issue is really whether he or Mr. Cummings is right as to the particular feature of the organ accompaniment of the Service at a certain period of our history, and it is quite right that he should have an opportunity of getting to work on his argument. Mr. Cummings's allusion to the old organ keys is very interesting. You will find an illustration in "Prætorius" representing the manner of performance on these keys; this well explains the use of the old word *pulsator* for the person who thumped the keys of the instrument, much as they played on the carillon. The dispute to which allusion has been made seems to have arisen out of a discussion on Gibbons's Service in F. I do not wish to appear as a partisan in the question, but I cannot help thinking that Mr. Davey has mistaken the copy printed by Sir John Stainer, as an old organ voluntary, for the accompaniment which the organist played to the Service itself. With regard to the Anthem which was sung so excellently, I am sorry that the performers, or most of them, are not here for us to return them our thanks—the music reminds us of the madrigals of the period, we know the voices were sometimes assisted with accompaniments. I daresay it would have afforded more variety if we could have had the organ as well as the strings. Still, we have gained a sufficiently clear idea of what the accompaniments were like at that period, and I am sure you will admit there was nothing florid in that. And, in the various books with which Mr. Cummings has dealt, it seems that in all those cases where the organ accompaniments are treated, they are not accompaniments at all in the sense in which we understand the term; they are merely representations of the voice parts. If there was any independent work, such as we hear in accompaniments of the present day, there would be some evidence for what Mr. Davey contends; but from the description of the Mulliner and Redford MSS. I cannot but think there is no florid music to be found there for accompanying the Church music of the day. With regard to that interesting sermon quoted, and the statement that the opening voluntaries were intended to strike a reverential awe, and the final ones to drown the noise of the departing congregation, I think all that is very applicable to the present day, very few stay to hear the final voluntary. The same thing obtains in our theatres. If you go to hear some excellent incidental music, such as the overture to the "Midsummer Night's Dream," now being given in connection with Shakespeare's play at Her Majesty's Theatre, you find the people talk all the

time and pay no attention to the music. The true reason for the Puritans' hatred of the organ is, I think, that which Mr. Cummings has given. I believe they disliked the organ, not on account of its florid accompaniment, but because it was considered as a Popish instrument, introduced in times when the Church was under the domination of Rome. As for Pepys, the gallant old Pepys, I remember the passage quoted very well; he went in chiefly to see the young ladies, and the organ came in for attention afterwards. Of the attacks which were made upon Church music and Church organs I know Mr. Cummings could have given you many examples. There is an enormous number of pamphlets by the Puritans, all expressing their detestation of Church music and organs; but none of them, so far as I know, advance the argument that the accompaniments are frivolous and only useful in the way of allowing the church organist to show off his skill. I will now ask Mr. Davey to favour us with his remarks or criticisms on what has been said.

Mr. Davey.—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I am afraid I shall get a name in this society as a maker of discord, for at our last meeting we got into a discussion about myself. After the discussion that I had had with Mr. Cummings and another well known contributor to *Notes and Queries*, I was quite prepared to find that he would speak very considerably upon myself to-day; but I did not know he was going to make his paper bear almost entirely on the particular question. However, I do not despair of convincing him. At the same time I must ask you to remember that in many cases we have to go on internal evidence and not on direct statements. There is one case I must take with regard to the beautiful anthem by Gibbons that you have heard, and also with regard to Tomkins's "Musica Deo Sacra." I wrote from memory; that was why I used the expression, "if I remember rightly." In the British Museum there is the vocal music, but no organ part. Now let us look at the anthem of Gibbons and the "Musica Deo Sacra," particularly with regard to the remark that there were no grace-notes. It was not the custom to write any grace-notes. Even a century later Bach was strongly blamed by the critics of his day for introducing the innovation of writing in the grace-notes.

Mr. Cummings.—I purposely refrained referring to the next century so as not to go beyond the scope of the subject.

Mr. Davey.—In all the older music grace-notes were customarily added by the performer. You can find that from Couperin, who was before Bach. [Mr. Cummings.—Almost contemporary.] But at any rate there is no distinct external proof that grace-notes were not added then as they were later.

Mr. Cummings.—But you have to prove that they *were* added.

Mr. DAVEY.—However, I can waive all that. To begin with, I will give you an account of what music was up to the Civil War. The English part has not been up till recently much discussed or brought out. The German history of organ playing has been. But it is only now that they are beginning to recognise how they owe their school to the English school. I want to show you what their organ playing was which has been worked out as regards the history of German music, and of which we have printed documents which we have not in England. Here is an extract from the very elaborate and able article on Samuel Scheidt in the Appendix to "Grove's Dictionary": "From 1570 to about 1620, organ playing in Germany almost entirely consisted in what was known as 'kolorirен,' the art of 'colouring' melodies sacred or secular by the inserting of meaningless passages, all framed on one and the same pattern, between each note of the melody." Ritter's "History of Organ Music" gives full particulars of the "Koloristen," whom Ambros most justly calls "tasteless barbarians." By his "Tabulatura Nova," which appeared in 1624, Scheidt inaugurated a better style, and laid the foundation of the great German school which culminated in Bach. The third part of this work is the most important; and again, quoting Grove: "Both by the choice of pieces, and the manner in which they are arranged, it gives us an insight into the way in which the organ was very frequently employed in the church services of those days. It was not then generally used to accompany or sustain the voices of the choir or congregation, but rather to alternate with them." That is, it would play interludes between each verse of a canticle or psalm, and it also would respond to the priest's intonation at the altar, giving a polyphonic or ornamented version of the plain-chant. Instances of this occur both in Scheidt's "Tabulatura Nova" and in the contemporary works of Frescobaldi, the greatest Italian organist. But in 1650, twenty six years later, Scheidt published another work, "which shows a different conception as to the use of the organ in the services of the church, and probably marks a change which was then going on gradually in the practice of the Lutheran Church. The congregational singing of metrical hymns was gradually superseding the older liturgical music, and the organ had more and more to surrender its independence to accommodate itself to the simple accompaniment in four-part harmony of the melodies of these hymns." According to A. G. Ritter ("Zur Geschichte des Orgelspiels," p. 112), the Lutheran congregational singing became so feeble during the second half of the sixteenth century, that at last it could not exist without help, and accordingly the organ was brought in to assist. After the Reformation, the German organ music had been of the worst possible character,

Hermann Finck, in his "Practica Musica" (1556), had reprobated it in the strongest terms, and it indeed consisted only of very poor embellishments of sacred and secular tunes. You have heard how it altered through Scheidt, and during the seventeenth century it continually improved, till all was ready for the genius of J. S. Bach. Yet even Bach has left, besides choral fantasias, also interludes to congregational singing. One is quoted at the end of Spitta's exhaustive biography. Now were, at first, these matters better in England? In some respects they certainly were. To begin with, the English execution was very much superior to anything known on the Continent, and real part-playing was practised. Nevertheless, the style of performance was not what we should call suitable for sacred music, and, above all, it seems to have been not congregational. I have specimens here which I have copied from four MSS. of the sixteenth century, and they show that the organ music was florid, as the vocal music was. I have much older music here, perhaps of the fourteenth century; but I will show that later. I will begin with passing round specimens from Addit. MS., 15,233. (Pieces I had brought were from Royal MSS., App. 56, the Redford MS., completed by Tomkins, the Mulliner MS., and Addit. MS., 15,233.)

Mr. Cummings.—I say these did exist, but they are voluntaries and exercises and were never intended for accompaniments to the service. Mr. Davey has quite mistaken my meaning. If he has treated this as he has treated the Mulliner MS., what is his description worth if he had no better acquaintance than that with it?

Mr. Davey.—I wrote to *Notes and Queries* that I was sorry for the mis-statement concerning Gibbons's Service. Mr Cummings had corrected me, and I said I was sorry I had make a mistake. I do not know what more I could do.

The Chairman.—Can you produce any evidence that that was sung with voices?

Mr. Davey.—I have here a specimen of the Redford MS. in which there are eight different settings of the Gregorian Tones.

Mr. Cummings.—That is a copy I have taken down. It is exercises on the plain-song.

Mr. Prendergast.—There are no catchwords here. All organ accompaniments have these. It is simply called Te Deum; that is all.

Mr. Davey.—I wish to pass you this piece, that you may see for yourselves where they are arranged as accompaniments or where somebody amused himself with arranging them as instrumental solos. The dislike to organs was not confined to the Puritans, unless we use the term Puritans to represent the Low Church party generally. There was a man who had the organ taken out of his own church, that was George

Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He had the organ removed from Lambeth Palace Church. The reason was that in those days, as I hold, organs were not used to accompany the Psalms.* Peter Smart, who was prebendary of Durham Cathedral, was imprisoned for objecting to the re-introduction of organs and the sweet tone of Psalms. As he says: "Immediately that Bishop Neale was appointed in 1627 psalm-singing was put down and singing to the organ substituted." The homily of the Place of Prayer bids all churchmen to rejoice that organs had been put down. The time when organs were put down was mainly the opening years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In a recent issue of *Musical News* you will find an account of the organ at Coventry; there is another about the great church organ at Leicester, in the present number of the *Musical Herald*; and a MS. among the Royal MSS. at the British Museum written in the time of James I. says the same thing—that about 1567 the organs were pulled down and the pipes sold to make pewter dishes. The Genevan disciples who then ruled the Church had a very strong objection to this organ playing, which I believe consisted of intermezzos. I should like, ladies and gentlemen, for you to examine this book of mine; it contains many pieces that I have copied from the Mulliner and other MSS.

Mr. PRENDERGAST.—I have looked carefully through that volume, and it seems to me that intrinsically they all look like voluntaries. There are no marks of words anywhere. The words Te Deum are written at the beginning. Almost all organ copies that I have seen have "We knowledge" (not acknowledge). I think that all those that have been produced are written to be played apart from the voices.

The CHAIRMAN.—I should be very unwilling to stop a discussion if I thought it was possible to convert either of the disputants; but I do not suppose it is possible for either of these gentlemen to convince the other. The question seems to be whether these florid arrangements cited were meant to be accompaniments to the service, or were merely arrangements for instrumental solos. The examples Mr. Davey alleges do not seem to me to have been intended for accompaniment while the music was being sung. I could point out to you that in the accompaniments of the time there was always a catchword to show where the voices came in; it is significant that they do not exist in these examples. Mr. Davey has now gone through Mr. Cummings's particular case. Unless he has anything more to add, I would, before the meeting closes, ask Mr. Vignoles to make an announcement to you.

Mr. VIGNOLES.—I have a message connected with your Association which I am sure will be grateful to all of you.

* *See* also the "Sammelbande" of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft, pp. 420-29

It is from Mrs. Pole, the wife of, I think, one of the oldest of your members, and, perhaps, the oldest Doctor of Music in England. He has been at death's door for weeks, but is now slowly recovering. He wishes it should be known how thankful he and his family are that a man who has been ill for months, and has just turned eighty-six, is still spared to be amongst the living musicians of England.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sure we are all very glad to hear what Mr. Vignoles has said about Dr. Pole, one of our most distinguished members, to whom the University of London owes its faculty of music. Dr. Pole, old as he is, is not the oldest graduate of music in England. Mr. Kellow Pye took the Bachelor's degree at Oxford fifty years ago. It only remains for me to call on you to pass a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Cummings at the end of this long and somewhat discursive meeting, and I am sure that when we read all this in our Proceedings we shall be still more enlightened by what we have heard to-day.

The vote of thanks was passed unanimously.

MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

June 12, 1900.

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. PRENDERGAST).—Before we proceed to the business of this evening I have to propose that we pass a very cordial vote of sympathy to Lady Grove on the death of Sir George Grove, who has been a distinguished member of this Society since its foundation.

MR. SOUTHGATE.—This is not an occasion to discourse on the truly wonderful work, or to eulogise the merits of the late Sir George Grove. He was an original member of this Association, and from time to time he has rendered us considerable service. He brought many members—some who have gone to rest, but who have read papers of great interest. He himself has read valuable papers here, and has often taken part in the discussions. We have all sustained a severe loss in his death, and I beg to second your proposition.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

x Notation

June 12, 1900

A. H. D. PRENDERGAST, Esq.,

In the Chair.

THE NOTATION OF MENSURABLE MUSIC.

By J. F. R. Stainer, M.A., B.C.L

I suppose it is safe to say that at the date of the Norman Conquest measured music did not exist. Rhythmical music there must have been from the earliest times, music of the dance, music of the march, but no system had been invented by which the duration of musical sounds could be presented to the eye. The reason for this may perhaps be found in the close association that existed between music and language, and the fact that in this association music was formerly the handmaid, not, as now, the mistress. The ancient subordination of music to language still survives in the plain-song of the Church, which, for this very reason, remains to the present day unmeasured.

Mensurable music, then, obtained its name from this distinguishing characteristic, that it was capable of measurement. Its origin is lost in obscurity. Franco, of Cologne, though one of the earliest, was certainly not the first to write on the subject, for he himself speaks of earlier authorities, and there are extant treatises to which, from intrinsic evidence, an earlier date must be assigned than to that of Franco. I refer especially to those of Johannes de Garlandia, and to the anonymous "Discantus Positio Vulgaris," printed in the first volume of Coussemaker's "Scriptores." The priority claimed

for Franco may perhaps be due to a confusion with an earlier Franco, of Paris. That there were two writers of this name is clear from an anonymous treatise of the thirteenth century, in which mention is made of "Magistri Franconis primi et alterius Franconis de Colonia."* In any case, mensurable music cannot be traced back with certainty to an earlier date than 1100 A.D.

At first the measurement merely distinguished between long and short sounds, represented to the eye by a long note (▭) and a short note or breve (▭). A third note of a diamond shape (◆) called a semibreve was also in use, but this was said to be "ultra mensuram"—outside measurement—and served for any musical sound of less length than a breve, so that as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century we find Marchettus of Padua writing that any number of semibreves from two to twelve may be counted to the breve.

The form of these three notes betrays their origin. The long is the ancient "virga" of plain-song, the breve and semibreve are modifications of the "punctum." From plain-song, also, were borrowed with the necessary modifications the grouped notes known as ligatures and the stave and clefs for showing the pitch of sounds. Plain-song, in short, provided mensurable music with its notation, but mensurable music, by framing rules for the measurement of the notes thus adopted, gave a new meaning to the old forms, and laid the foundations of the whole structure of modern music.

For let me say at once that the musical notation of to-day was not introduced by any sudden revolution of existing methods. It has grown out of mensurable music by a gradual process of development, the stages in which, from Dunstable to Wagner, can be as clearly traced as those in the development of language from Chaucer to Tennyson. In looking back over an interval of 500 years, our attention is naturally first arrested by what is strange and unfamiliar, only with closer acquaintance do we begin to realise how much there is in common between the ancient and modern, and how the one has insensibly evolved from the other. Thus, though in music the gap is now so wide that a manuscript of the fifteenth century cannot be understood without a special knowledge of the notation that then prevailed, the process of divergence has been, if I may so say, organic, and there are still details in our modern notation which are meaningless except as "survivals" of an earlier stage of development.

Two changes have mainly contributed to the evolution of the modern system from the ancient. One, of course, is the introduction of "bars"; the other, to which I attach more

* Coussemaker "Scriptores," I. 342.

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importance, is the practice of placing a dot after every note which is divisible by three, whether the rhythm be duple or triple. Thus, when we write music in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, a semibreve, if it is to occupy a whole bar—*i.e.*, if it is to be equal to three minims, must be dotted. In the fifteenth century, when bars were not in use, it was not the bar but the semibreve which contained the three minims, and it was not considered necessary to dot the semibreve unless it was preceded or followed by some smaller note which might affect its value. The change was certainly in the direction of simplicity. There could no longer be any doubt whether a semibreve contained three or two minims: whatever the time of the composition, and whatever the context in which it occurred, a semibreve containing three minims was henceforward always to be distinguished by a dot.

But in course of time an unexpected result followed. The dot came to be regarded as something abnormal, as a sign that the normal measurement of note-values was to be temporarily suspended in favour of an abnormal triple measurement. Hence it is that at the present day we are taught that a semibreve contains two minims, a minim two crotchets, and so on, and that a dot adds half as much again to the value of the note it follows. This is diametrically opposed to fifteenth century theory, which considers no note "perfect" unless it is divisible by three, and which uses the dot, not as a symbol of value, but as a symbol of "perfection." In the old treatises we are told that this "perfection" is attributed to the figure 3, because it is the symbol of the Holy Trinity. Whatever the reason, it is certain that in the early stages of mensurable music triple rhythm and triple measurement predominate, and that duple rhythm and duple measurement are, as far as possible, avoided as "imperfect."

This is well illustrated in the rules laid down for the measurement of the six ancient secular modes. These secular modes, which are termed "ancient" in the most ancient treatises on mensurable music that have come down to us, have nothing in common with the ecclesiastical modes, but represent an attempt to classify the simple rhythms which can be produced by a combination of long and short notes. The short note or breve was taken as the unit of measurement, and an attempt was made, at any rate in theory, to give it a fixed and invariable value by defining "tempus" or the duration of a breve as "illud quod est minimum in plenitudine vocis" (Franco), or "id minimum tempus in quo potest formari plenitudo vocis" (Marchettus)—"the least length of time in which the fulness of the voice can be formed." The duration of a long was fixed at three "tempora" in other words, a long—an undotted long—was equal to three breves. The semibreve was still "ultra mensuram," outside measurement.

The first secular mode represents the Trochaic rhythm—

a long followed by a breve, and here a choice of evils at once presents itself. If the long retain its perfection—*i.e.*, if it is reckoned as equal to three breves, duple or imperfect rhythm will result; on the other hand, if the rhythm is to be perfect or triple, the perfection of the long must be sacrificed. The latter alternative was preferred. The long was said to be made imperfect—*i.e.*, reduced to the value of two breves, by the single breve following it, and the breve was said to complete the perfection thus impaired—*i.e.*, to complete the triple measure.

Similarly in the second mode, the rhythm of which is Iambic—

the triple measure was preserved by regarding the long as made imperfect by the single breve preceding it.

The third, or Dactylic mode—

presented greater difficulties to our musical ancestors. The duple measure, which naturally suggests itself to us, could not possibly be entertained, nor could a triple rhythm be obtained by reducing the perfection of the long either "a parte post" or "a parte ante," as had been done in the first and second modes. Clearly, then, the perfection of the long must be retained to form one triple measure, and the two breves must by some means or other be made equal in value to three breves, so as to form a second triple measure. But the sacred figure three, it was argued, cannot be divided into two equal parts; the two breves, therefore, must be unequal in value—in short, one of them must be double the value of the other; and this is actually done. The second breve is doubled in value, and is spoken of as a "brevis altera," or doubled breve, to distinguish it from the "brevis recta," or normal breve.

This extraordinary device of doubling the value of a note without changing its form might be expected to lead to endless confusion; but in fact it is not so, for "alteratio" was never permitted except in this one case, where two notes of the same apparent value have to be made equal to three, in order to complete a triple measure. In other words, no note can be doubled in value unless it falls on the second beat of a triple measure and is followed by a note of greater value; for if a note of the same apparent value follow, it is obvious that the triple measure is completed without the necessity of resorting to "alteratio."

You may, perhaps, ask why the second breve should not be written as a long, which would be rendered imperfect by the breve preceding it.

There are several reasons why this should not be done. In the first place, it would destroy the Dactylic rhythm to the eye; in the second place, a rule had already been laid down, "Similis ante similem non potest imperfici," by virtue of which a long followed by a long must always be perfect; and, in the third place, even if this rule had not existed, anyone meeting with the phrase

would have treated the breve as reducing the value of the long which *preceded* it, not of the long which followed it; for such is the general rule to be observed when a short note occurs between two long ones, either of which it is capable of rendering imperfect.

The fourth, or Anapæstic mode,

is measured in exactly the same way as the third—that is to say, the first breve is "recta"; the second breve, "altera"; and the long, "perfect."

The fifth mode consists entirely of longs, each of which, according to the rule already given, is considered perfect.

The sixth mode is composed entirely of breves or of breves and semibreves, for the measurement of which no rules are given.

As an example of music written strictly in a "mode," I may refer to the thirteenth century dance tune transcribed by Mr. Wooldridge in his edition of Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time," the original manuscript of which is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The melody is written in the third secular mode, and the ligatures employed are those prescribed for that mode by Franco, Walter of Odington, and other writers of the period. "Sumer is icumen in" is written for the most part in the first mode.

The rules for the measurement of the secular modes meet the case of either one or two breves occurring between two longs. When three or more breves are so placed, other rules become applicable. These are perhaps best expressed in tabular form, the figures which follow the notes representing the number of "tempora" or breve units which are to be

reckoned to each note: 1 for a "brevis recta"; 2 for a "brevis altera" or "longa imperfecta," as the case may be; and 3 for a perfect long. It must, of course, be assumed that the first long is not affected in value by anything preceding it, nor the last long by anything following it.

2. 1. 3.

3 1. 2. 3.

3. 1. 1. 1. 3.

2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 3.

2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 2.

2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 2. 3.

and so on, following a general rule that a long followed by more than three breves is always imperfect.

It was, however, always possible to diverge from strict rule by placing a dot between the notes at the point where it was desired that the triple measure should be completed. Thus, in the first example:

a dot placed after the first long would indicate that it was to retain its perfection and form a triple measure in itself, the breve would then operate to reduce the value of the last long, thus—

3. 1. 2.

Or, again, in the second example, a dot placed between the two breves would give this result—

2. 1. 1. 2.

where it will be observed that the phrase is by this means reduced in value from nine "tempora" to six, two triple measures taking the place of the three that would have to be counted if the dot were not there.

Such a dot, when placed after a long, was termed a dot of perfection ("punctus perfectionis"), because it restored perfection to a note which would otherwise have been rendered imperfect by the context; when placed after a breve it was termed "divisio modi," or, in later times, "punctus divisionis," because it divided one "modus" from another—"modus" or

"mood" being the technical term for the value of the long, just as "tempus" or "time" was for that of the breve.

All these rules hold equally good if breves and semibreves, or semibreves and minims are substituted for longs and breves respectively. The minim was first introduced in the early part of the fourteenth century, and its introduction gave rise to a new term "prolatio" ("prolation"), to express the value of a semibreve as reckoned in minims.

So far I have only spoken of triple measure, because it is triple measure that gives rise to all the most distinctive characteristics of mensurable music. Where the measure of note values is duple throughout, as it frequently is in the fifteenth century—*i.e.*, where the long is normally equal to two breves, the breve to two semibreves, and the semibreve to two minims, there is no occasion for "alteratio" or for the use of the dots of perfection or division, for each of these devices presupposes a triple measure.

A dot is, however, used in duple measure, and with exactly the same effect as the dot in modern music. We say that it adds half as much again to the value of the note it follows. Theorists of the fifteenth century say that it marks the presence of perfection in a note that would be normally imperfect; but they recognise the *fact* that is conveyed in the modern definition by calling such a dot a "punctus augmentationis."

Now, when duple measure obtained a footing in mensurable music, it became necessary to give some indication of the "time" (in the modern sense) in which a piece of music was written. In modern music the "time" of a composition means simply the number of notes of any one sort that are to be counted to the bar. But in the fifteenth century bars had not been invented, and what was wanted was an indication of whether three or two breves were to be counted to the long, three or two semibreves to the breve, three or two minims to the semibreve, or, to use the language of the time, whether the "mood" was perfect or imperfect, the "time" perfect or imperfect, the "prolation" greater or less. Beyond this it would be unnecessary to go, for the "maxima" or "large" (when employed) was always equal to two longs, and two semiminims or crotchets only were reckoned to the minim.

Symbols were accordingly devised which could be placed at the beginning of a composition to show the mood, time, and prolation in which it was written. A circle stood for perfect time, and a broken circle, or semicircle open to the right for imperfect time. A dot in the centre of the circle or semicircle indicated greater prolation, and the absence of a dot, less prolation—

ʘ O ϾC

For rapid music a line drawn diagonally across the circle or semicircle indicated that each note was to have only half its written value—

ϕ ¢

In the case of "imperfect time" this "diminution," as it was termed, might also be indicated by reversing the position of the semicircle, so that it opened towards the left instead of the right, and in that case double diminution could be effected by adding the diagonal line, each note then having only a quarter of its written value.—

ɔ ϕ

The circle and the dot disappeared from use when the triple division of note-values was abandoned, but the semicircle is still used in modern music as the symbol of common time, though few are probably aware that it once signified "tempus imperfectum, prolatio minor."

There were several methods of indicating the "mood" of a composition: most commonly the figure 3 or 2 placed below or at the side of the sign for time and prolation served to show whether the "mood" was perfect or imperfect. Unfortunately for the modern transcriber these symbols, either from carelessness on the part of the composer or copyist, or from a desire to maintain the "mystery" of the musician's craft, are but sparingly used, and the process of discovering experimentally the mood, time, and prolation of a composition, of which each part is written out separately and unbarred, is often laborious.

With the multiplication of notes capable of measurement came an extension of the process of reduction of value by context. When the breve was the smallest note capable of measurement, a long could only be reduced (either "a parte post" or "a parte ante") from three tempora to two, because, if reduced further, it would have been equal in value to a "brevis recta," and would have been written as such. But when semibreves came to be measured, three of which at the most could be counted to the breve, no other single note but the long was available to represent a sound of the duration of four, five, six, seven, eight or nine semibreves, nine being the extreme number that could be counted to the long when both mood and time were perfect. From the point of view of the reader or transcriber this is expressed by saying that a long may be reduced by its context—*i.e.*, by shorter notes following or preceding it, to the value of eight, seven, six, five, or even four semibreves.

A few examples, with figures showing the number of semibreves to be reckoned to each note when both mood and time are perfect, will perhaps make this clearer :—

$\underline{8}$. 1. 9. = 18.

9. 1. $\underline{8}$. = 18.

1. $\underline{7}$. 1. 9. = 18.

$\underline{6}$. 2. 1. 9. = 18.

$\underline{5}$. 1. 3 9. = 18.

2. 1. 1. $\underline{4}$. 1. 9. = 18.

Similarly, when the minim was introduced, a breve might be reduced to eight, seven, six, five, or four minims in "tempus perfectum, prolatio major," or, if the time were imperfect, so that only six minims went to the breve, the breve might be reduced to either five or four minims.

Thus in mensurable music, if we take as a unit the note of smallest value in use, it is possible to represent any number of units by a single note of some sort. In modern music this is not so. Our duple sub-division of note-values gives us a single note to represent one, two, four, eight, sixteen, or thirty-two units, and the use of the dot enables us to represent three, six, twelve, twenty-four, or forty-eight units by a single dotted note, but for all intermediate numbers, such as five, seven, nine, ten, eleven, &c., we are compelled to use two or more notes connected by a tie to show that the sound is to be carried on from one to the other, and the value of the notes accumulated. Thus if we wish to divide a bar of $\frac{6}{2}$ time in the proportion of five to one we are obliged to write ; and even where a single note is available we often use by preference two tied notes in order to preserve to the eye the rhythm that prevails; thus in $\frac{6}{2}$ time we write rather than . But the tie is a modern invention, and in the ancient equivalent for $\frac{6}{2}$ time—viz., "tempus imperfectum, prolatio major," the breve, in addition to its normal or primary function of expressing the value of six minims, has to do duty for sounds of the duration of five or four minims; the phrase (3 2 1) would, therefore, be written thus (5 1), and the phrase (1 2 2 1) thus (1 4 1).

In "tempus imperfectum, prolatio major," as in the modern $\frac{6}{4}$ or $\frac{6}{8}$ time, it was a favourite device of composers to vary the

rhythm occasionally from duple to triple by dividing the six units into three groups of two instead of into two groups of three. "Proportio sesquialtera," the Latin name for the mathematical proportion of three to two, was the term applied to this change of rhythm from duple to triple. It was always marked by a change in the appearance of the notes. Prior to 1400 all notes were black or solid in appearance, as they still are in Gregorian notation, and notes written in "proportio sesquialtera" were distinguished either by being coloured red or by being left open, like our modern semibreves and minims. When open-headed notes came into use, the old black notation was retained for "proportio sesquialtera," and in course of time the black colour came to be regarded as reducing the value of a note by one third, so that single black notes are often to be found where there is really no variation in rhythm, but only "imperfection" of the single note.

There are two features of notation peculiar to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which require explanation. The first of these is the use of tailed semibreves. There is no doubt that during the period immediately preceding the introduction of the minim there was considerable uncertainty as to the value of semibreves. Sometimes three, sometimes four, sometimes nine, sometimes as many as twelve were reckoned to the breve. When a number of them occurred together, a dot or small circle, a "punctus divisionis," in fact, served to indicate the point at which a "tempus" was to be completed; but inasmuch as the breve could only be divided by three or multiples of three, the semibreves composing a group were seldom of equal value—for instance, if five semibreves occurred together, one of them would have to be double the value of the others in order to complete a "senaria divisio," or six-fold division of the breve. Some means had therefore to be devised by which the different values to be assigned to each member of a group of semibreves could be distinguished, and this was done by means of tails pointing upwards, downwards, or sideways. Unfortunately the authorities differ as to the value to be assigned to these various forms of the "semibrevis caudata," but this at least seems clear, that a semibreve of greater value than its neighbours, or, according to Marchettus, any semibreve containing more than one-third of a breve, was distinguished by the addition of a tail pointing downwards and that a "semibrevis minima"—*i.e.*, a semibreve of the smallest recognised value, whether that were one-ninth or one-twelfth of a breve, was distinguished by the addition of a tail pointing upwards (the form of note subsequently adopted for the minim). As to the third form, some writers undoubtedly assign to it a value distinct from that of any other form of semibreve; but their statements are so conflicting that it

is impossible to say what that value was, and there are not wanting indications that when it is the first note of a descending group of semibreves forming a sort of quasi-ligature ◆◆◆, the tail is purely ornamental and does not affect the value at all.

If anyone wishes to realise the appalling complexity to which the notation of semibreves had attained at the end of the thirteenth century, let him turn to the "Pomerium Musicæ Mensuratæ," of Marchettus of Padua, printed in the third volume of Gerbert's "Scriptores," and read the passage dealing with this subject, beginning at page 149. No wonder that uncertainty, not to say confusion, resulted from such a system.

The second feature to which I referred is the use of single square notes with a tail on either side, one longer than the other. These are what were termed "plicæ." Four forms of "plica" were employed:—

= longa plica ascendens.

= longa plica descendens.

= brevis plica ascendens.

= brevis plica descendens.

In point of measurement these notes have exactly the same value as ordinary longs or breves, and may be either perfect or imperfect; but they were sung with some sort of embellishment or grace, the art of which has long been lost. According to Franco, "plica est nota divisionis ejusdem soni in grave et acutum": "a plica signifies that the same sound is to be divided into grave and acute"—not a very intelligible definition.

The author who writes under the name of "Aristotle" is somewhat more explicit. "Plica," he says,* "nihil aliud est quam signum dividens sonum in sono diverso per diversas vocum distantias tam ascendendo quam descendendo, videlicet per semitonium et tonum, per semiditonum et ditonum, et per diatessaron et diapente. Fit autem plica in voce per compositionem epiglotti cum repercussione gutturis subtiliter inclusa," which appears to mean that a "plica" is a sort of jodel extending over an interval of a semitone, tone, minor third, major third, perfect fourth, or perfect fifth, and that it is effected by a compression of the epiglottis, accompanied by some sort of guttural tremolo!

Another account of the "plica" is given by Marchettus of Padua. He makes it clear that the process of "plicatio" takes place at the end of the note, not at the beginning, and that, if the note be perfect, the "plicatio" occupies one-third

* Coussemaker "Scriptores," I., 273

of its value. "Plicare notam," he says, "est prædictam quantitatem temporis protrahere in sursum vel in deorsum cum voce ficta dissimili a voce integre prolata," "to plicate a note is to extend the sound upwards or downwards for the aforesaid length of time in a feigned voice, different to that naturally produced." As to the length of time which should be devoted to the process of "plicatio," Marchettus is confirmed by the quaint statement of "Aristotle" that a perfect long when "plicata" contains two "tempora" in its body and one in its limbs ("in corpore duo tempora tenet et unum in membris"). In ligatures only the last note could be "plicata"; the sixth and seventh rules given below will explain the manner in which this was done.

A ligature is a group of notes bound together ("ligatus") in one figure: the notes are either placed corner to corner , or two, but no more, may be blended into an oblique figure . The two forms are often combined— .

Ligatures were employed to indicate phrasing, as they still are in plain-song: but plain-song ligatures have never been subject to measurement, whereas in the ligatures of mensurable music each note has a determinable value. The rules for determining this value seem at first to have been somewhat uncertain—in fact, if we may trust some of the earlier treatises, they varied not only according to the number of notes in the group, but also according to the "mode" of the composition; but by the end of the thirteenth century, or soon afterwards, uniformity had been secured and a body of rules framed which were universally recognised.

Ligatures were classified in various ways. In the first place they were said to be ascending or descending, according as the second note was above or below the first. Now, in plain-song, the first note of a descending ligature has a tail descending on the left; the first note of an ascending ligature has no tail. Ligatures in mensurable music, therefore, were said to be "cum proprietate" or "sine proprietate," according as they did or did not conform to ecclesiastical usage in this respect; and, consequently, the "propriety" or "no propriety" of an ascending ligature is exactly the opposite of the "propriety" or "no propriety" of a descending ligature. "Propriety" always makes the first note a breve; "no propriety" makes it a long; and "opposite propriety" ("cum opposita proprietate")—*i.e.*, a tail ascending instead of descending, makes both the first and second notes semibreves, for the reason that in early days, when semibreves were "ultra mensuram," a single semibreve could not stand alone; two at least were required to make up a "tempus" or unit capable of measurement. Ligatures were also said to be "cum perfectione" or "sine

perfectione," according to the position and form of the last note. In position the last note might be either above or below the last note but one, and in form it might be either square or oblique, tailed or untailed. "Perfection" makes the last note a long; "imperfection" makes it a breve.

All these bewildering "differences," as they were termed, were considered to be of the very essence of ligatures, so that Franco solemnly declares that a ligature "with propriety" differs as essentially from a ligature "without propriety" as does a rational from an irrational being,* but for the practical purpose of transcription, the rules governing the value of notes in ligature may be reduced to nine in number:—

1. When a note in ligature, whether square or oblique, has a tail ascending on the left, that note and the following one are semibreves.
2. Any note in ligature, other than the last, which has a tail descending on the right, is a long.
3. Subject to the above two rules, every note in a ligature, not being the first or last note, is a breve.
4. The first note of a ligature, having a tail descending on the left, is a breve if the next note is below it, a long if the next note is above it.
5. The first note of a ligature, being without a tail, is a breve if the next note is above it, a long if the next note is below it.
6. The last note of a ligature, being square and having a tail on the right, is a "longa plica ascendens" if the tail ascends, a "longa plica descendens" if the tail descends.
7. The last note of a ligature, being oblique and having a tail on the right, is a "brevis plica ascendens" if the tail ascends, a "brevis plica descendens" if the tail descends.
8. The last note of a ligature, being oblique and without a tail, is a breve, unless Rule 1 applies.
9. The last note of a ligature, being square and without a tail, is a breve if the preceding note is below it, a long if the preceding note is above it; this also is subject to Rule 1.

The rules for the measurement of simple notes apply equally to notes in ligature. Thus the first or more commonly the last note of a ligature may be reduced in value by the context. The dots of perfection or augmentation may be applied to any note in the group. "Proportio sesquialtera" may be indicated by a change to open, red, or black notation. Even "alteratio" may take place—for instance, when the ligature representing

* Coussemaker "Scriptores," I., 124

two semibreves and a breve [notation] or [notation] occurs in "tempus perfectum," the second semibreve will often have to be doubled in value.

The rests used in the fifteenth century were these: for a breve a bar drawn from one line to another and covering one space; for an imperfect or perfect long a similar bar covering two or three spaces; for a semibreve a bar depending from a line and covering half a space; and for a minim a bar ascending from a line and covering half a space—

[notation]

Prior to the introduction of the mimm—*i.e.*, prior to about 1320 A.D., the rests for both a semibreve and imperfect breve were drawn *above* the line, that for the semibreve extending over one-third of a space, because its value was one-third of a tempus or breve, and that for the imperfect breve covering two-thirds of a space for a similar reason—

[notation]

In the fourteenth century a special rest was also employed for the perfect semibreve—viz., a bar drawn across a line and covering half a space on either side—

[notation]

The rests for smaller notes were similar to those now in use.

Only two accidentals were used—viz., a ♭ to lower a note by a semitone, and a sharp sign, formed sometimes like the modern sharp, sometimes like the modern natural, to raise a note by a semitone; but these are sparingly employed. For the most part it was left to the intelligence of the performer to sharpen his leading note, to avoid his "*mi*" against "*fa*," and, in various other circumstances, to apply the necessary "musica ficta," a subject which has already been ably treated by Professor Niecks in a paper read before this Association.

Perhaps it may be useful to point out that in the repeat mark — two or more vertical lines placed between pairs of dots, :||: — the number of lines always indicates the number of times that the passage is to be performed: thus, if there are four lines, the passage must be sung or played four times in all—*i.e.*, it must be repeated three times.

In conclusion, I propose to give a practical illustration of the working of the rules of mensurable music. The following

passage is the contratenor part of a song by Dufay, together with its transcription in modern notation:—

Above the alto clef you will see the circle that marks "tempus perfectum." It has no dot in the centre, the prolation therefore

is "minor"—in other words, two minims are to be counted to the semibreve and three semibreves to the breve. We must, therefore, in transcribing write three semibreves to the bar, and the time-signature will be $\frac{3}{1}$. The first note is a breve, then follows a semibreve, with a dot of division, which marks the completion of the first triple measure, and therefore of the first bar. The ligature following represents two semibreves and a breve; the second semibreve must then be doubled in value (alterata) to complete the second bar. The breve is made imperfect by the single semibreve following it, which completes a third bar; the fourth bar is made up in the same way; the fifth and sixth bars are straightforward, the ligature representing two semibreves, and the tailed minims being semiminims, or, as we now term them, crotchets. In the seventh bar the semibreve rest makes imperfect the breve which precedes it. In the eighth bar we have the "punctus augmentationis" or modern dot, which occurs again in bar eleven and in the last bar but two. At the end of the eighteenth bar we have another example of the "punctus divisionis." In the twenty-first bar the first of the two semibreves in the ligature is dotted with a "punctus augmentationis," and, in transcribing, we therefore break up the second semibreve into two tied minims. In the last two bars the long, which may be presumed, in the absence of any indication to the contrary, to be equal to two breves, and therefore to six semibreves, is reduced to the value of five semibreves by the single semibreve preceding it.

DISCUSSION.

After Mr. Stainer's paper had been read by Mr. Briggs—

The Chairman.—We must give a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Stainer for his most instructive paper, and to Mr. Briggs for the able way in which he has read and illustrated it. Even in the days when this form of notation was in practical use it seems to have been a source of disputes, and Thomas Morley, in the Preface to his "Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musick" (1597), refers angrily to some of his opponents as "those creeping caterpillars." Let us conduct our discussion in more temperate language.

Mr. Goddard.—I take the liberty of making one or two remarks. I daresay, like many here, I have not quite followed all that has been so carefully explained; but having had occasion to give some attention to the subject I am, perhaps, enabled to point the moral of what we have heard. It is simply this: our system of notation is not a thing that has been invented by anyone; it has simply been arrived at out of the practical impulse of doing that which seemed expedient at

the moment. It may seem simple enough to us that we should possess such a system, but it is really a wonderful thing. In the first place, it is diagrammatic. No doubt many here are aware that the Greeks had a musical notation. Their idea was to express the sounds by letters. They had no staff, but expressed the pitch of different sounds by different letters. Then I think they also had letters to express differences in time. If this system had been followed the resulting notation would have been a hopelessly complicated matter, and I think it would have been found quite impracticable for composers to use it for the expression of modern combinative and rhythmic effect. It is through our system being diagrammatic that it is so useful. You are no doubt aware that in writing the words of certain chants in the church, where the pitch of a note had to rise or fall, it was the custom to write the word at a higher or lower level. In that very imperfect, but still simple way, they hit on the principle of diagrammatic notation, by which the pitch of a note is expressed by position, not by any sign or shape. If a thing is expressed by a letter or arbitrary sign we have to think what that means. There is mental action; but if we see two notes, one of which is higher in position than the other, no thought is necessary, the action is purely sensorial; that is where our system is so useful. The whole theory of our system could be expressed in a sentence: the position means the pitch, the shape means the length. As regards the relative lengths of notes, a tail added to an open note causes it to be half the length it is without a tail. Then the notes are halved according to the number of hooks they have. The dot lengthens the note by half. There is our system of notation! But all that Mr. Stainer has told us had to be gone through before that system could be arrived at. Take the dot, for instance. I remember that the dot had various functions, but it only applied to certain notes. I gathered to-day that where a note, through its position, has been shortened (by one-third), a dot restores the original length. There you see the dot quite indirectly acquired the function of making the note longer (by one half). I believe that a study of the subject of the ancient and complex use of the dot shows that our system of using it to indicate an increase, by half, of a note however situated, whilst preserving the main function of the dot, sweeps away a lot of cumbrous machinery and unnecessary nomenclature. But all that had first to exist. So with all these ancient signs, which seem so needlessly elaborate, it was perfectly natural that those who devised them should have proceeded as they did. Their minds were quite as logical and clear as ours are. They did what they thought was necessary for the time being. Having a certain sign to express a certain thing, when they wanted to express something different, instead of inventing a new sign they

modified the existing one; and I daresay, as these various rules were unfolded, they were easily understood by the people of the time. Another principle which this study shows is that things which are separated now were formerly not separated—as, for instance, triple and duple time. When composers wanted to write in duple time they, so to speak, "dropped into it," using certain machinery such as has been described to-day. The separating of the times was an after development. It is the same in regard to bar-lines. I think I remember reading that in the setting of poetry it was desirable to define where the lines of poetry ended; so an upright line was drawn at the place. Thus bar-lines were used originally for the separation of the lines of poetry; and as an equal measure of notes usually came within these divisions, bar-lines got to be used to define equal measures of notes. They thus came into use, not through the originating power of any individual, but, as it were, by accident. Chance, coincidence, accident, whatever you may call it, is a most important factor in all developments. The use of bar-lines not only renders the relation of both successive and simultaneous notes clearer, but they enable the eye to see exactly where the accent comes. Here again, as in the case of pitch, position only has to be perceived, no reasoning is necessary. Nothing can be more important in any system of notation than that where the accent comes should be visible at a glance. These bar-lines, then, which were originally introduced to show where the poetical lines ended, were really destined to define the principal accent of the regular accentuation, and thus help to complete the diagrammatic system, the beauty of which is that it is so simple. What it tells us we understand without effort, but in order for this to have come about the complex machinery, that has been described to-day, was necessary, just as in all evolutions the most perfect organism is the outcome of a great deal of seemingly useless complexity. These general ideas occurred to me through having had (as I have said) occasion to go into the subject separately some time back. And though all the details are not, at the present moment, in my mind, still I think the lesson I have suggested is to be learned from the paper we have just heard. Mr. Stainer has certainly done a great service in investigating the matter so exhaustively.

Mr. SOUTHGATE.—I think I should express the feeling of most of those here when I say how very thankful we all ought to be that we did not live in those times our lecturer has been dealing with. The words he used—"terrible complexity"—was exactly the term to express the characteristics of the early notation. The only persons to whom it would now be useful would be the University Professors. How delightful to see an unfortunate candidate on the other side of the table in

viva voce, and give him a passage in this notation to interpret at sight! He could never have passed. And yet singers in our old cathedrals and monastic chapels had to use it daily; if they could be transferred to our time they would have probably thought our system very complicated. I would like to say a word with regard to the alphabetical notation. The Greeks used it, the Romans simplified it and used it, and it still exists in the case of the Tonic Sol-fa; but one must not run away with the idea that that presented an enormous difficulty to composers and players. Bach himself used the letter notation. I have a piece of music in my own library—an air with Variations for the Organ by Samuel Scheidt, in three parts, with independent pedal. It is difficult to translate now; I have no doubt the musicians of the time and their pupils read it easily. We must not, therefore, suppose that the people of that day did not read the music with much more facility than we can read it now. The ligatures were simply a case of contraction; they saved some trouble in writing. Frequently in old MSS. you see some contracted signs. They saved the monks a little trouble, and so did the ligatures; but I think that though they appear very difficult and complex now, they were readily read by the singers for whom they were intended. There is one thing Mr. Briggs did not tell us with regard to the sharp. Supposing you have a piece of music, such as I have, written by Purcell, in my library, composed, perhaps, in the key of three flats. Occasionally you will find one of these notes—say E—with a sharp before it; very experienced musicians have asked me what on earth that could mean. The sharp was used when the note was to be raised a semitone; here therefore it would mean simply that the E was to be played natural.

Mr. Davey.—Mr. Chairman, this subject is to my mind decidedly the most difficult part of Musical History. In the whole of my reading it is this part which has given me most trouble. I have read more or less thoroughly all the mediæval treatises on the subject, and I must confess I do not find myself very much the wiser. I hope to find it very convenient to have Mr. Stainer's paper before me, because it seems so clear and lucid that we should be able to turn to it for reference at any moment when we want to decipher anything—especially a ligature. I have copied many mediæval MSS., and there is only one single composition which I have translated entirely to my satisfaction. One may have all the rules before one, and yet somehow they do not seem to give the practical result in translating a composition into modern notation. Of mediæval English music the most difficult notation is in the Dunstable period or a little after, but I think in Flemish music, about a hundred years later, it is more difficult still. By that time English musicians had

learnt the advantage of writing things a little more clearly. With regard to ligatures there is one most useful existing document; that is a piece of music composed by G. M. Nanino, a pupil of Palestrina; no doubt on purpose to explain the matter to his pupils. It is a four-part piece with words, and contains every possible variety of ligature that was ever used—at any rate, in his time; and in each case the value of the notes is marked. It is in the archives of the Church of St. Maria Maggiore; and Dr. Haberl has fac-similed it in the Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch for 1898. It would be very advantageous if some of those who are specially interested in the matter were to publish this piece also in England, so that all might be able to turn to such a decisive authority. Still we must remember it is a sixteenth century authority, and possibly is not altogether correct for the fourteenth or even the fifteenth century. I should like to say one word with regard to Mr. Stainer's statements concerning that anonymous treatise which alludes to Franco Primus and also to Franco of Cologne. He spoke of it as of the thirteenth century. I have very good reason to believe that it is of the fourteenth; and a very great deal depends on that date, as the treatise is the only early work which contains any historical information, and it gives no dates at all. Yet Walter Odington is quoted in one of the MSS. of the treatise, and he was still alive in 1330. I must also add a word on the question: Did old fashioned musicians wish to preserve these complications? I think it is extremely probable many thought that to desist from the ligatures and write out the notes separately was giving way to mean understandings and trying to make things too easy. That is the way in which I have heard some people in the present day speak, for instance, of Tonic Sol-fa. I have heard some persons speak, which is even yet more strange, against attempts which have been made to facilitate instrumental music by simply arranging the notation carefully and not throwing the notes down higgledy-piggledy as composers often do. There are musicians who think all these difficulties are an advantage because one has to conquer them. I think it is extremely probable that at the time when all these mediæval complications were being dispensed with there were musicians who thought it a great retrograde step. We have entered into the labours of those who effected the improvement, and we of course find it a great advance; very probably there were those who thought otherwise.

Dr. Maclean.—No doubt this "mensurable" complexity seemed natural enough to those who used it, but I think it is showing too much complaisance to history to say that it was necessary to pass through such complexities to arrive at the present notation. I think it might rather be said that modern notation is based on two principles which arose from happy

thoughts or inspirations: the horizontal line for pitch and the vertical line for time. The Greeks and Romans had for pitch a letter-notation (and it was not such a bad method after all). Then there was an uneasy seeking for pictorial representation, whence the neumes. Then these being much too indefinite, some monk drew a horizontal red line across the page, and above or below meant high or low sounds. Thence other horizontal lines and the stave. As to time, after the "mensurable" medley had been going on for awhile, some one hit on the vertical line to mark pauses, and thence the bar system. The horizontal and vertical lines seem to be the real broad principles, and these were rather accidents than the resultants from complex systems.

Mr. Davey.—Probably many who are thoroughly interested in this subject do not know that there are several MSS. in the British Museum which contain the one line or two lines. The oldest neumes known are in the Codex Amiatinus, a copy of the Bible from which the standard Vulgate was printed by order of Pope Sixtus the Fifth. It has been found recently that it was one of the three books taken from Northumberland by Abbot Ceolfrid, of Jarrow, to Italy as a present to the Pope. It contains neumes for the Lamentations and, I think, some of the Canticles. The date is probably, as near as can be, 700.*

Mr. Southgate.—I think if you look among Spanish MSS. you will find some that are older than that—with Mozarabic neumes, of course.

Mr. Briggs.—Now that there are expert musicians here I should like to put a question to them. Mr. Stainer refers to the dance in Chappell's "History of Music," which is in the Third Mode. I wish you would look at it, for I am rather doubtful about the rhythm into which Professor Wooldridge has translated it. It was:—

The question is how should that be barred? You will find that Professor Wooldridge bars it up into triple time like this—

&c.

I am always rather inclined to think it should be barred that way so as to get—

&c.

which is different—I won't say altogether different, because Professor Wooldridge remarked to me: "It is much the same thing." But it makes a difference in the note on which you get the accent. I should be very glad if some of you experts

* Ceolfrid started for Rome, dying on the way, in 716.

would look into the matter, because when we publish our second volume of the Translations of Early English Harmony we should have to include a translation of it.

Mr. Davey.—Is there any proof that it is a dance tune?

Mr. Briggs.—It makes a very good dance tune as I read it. If you put it the other way it takes a different form. I am quite aware that later on when you come to the harmonised music you may get that rhythm, and here it may be all barred up as Professor Wooldridge has done it; but you have to consider the music as sung without bars, and are we certain where the accents were placed?

Dr. Maclean.—Would Mr. Briggs tell us when this mensurable music appeared, and in what countries and what periods?

Mr. Briggs.—I had best refer you to the publications of the Plain-Song and Mediæval Music Society. I think we assign our earliest specimen to the twelfth century, but I am afraid the MS. is not earlier than the thirteenth.

Mr. Davey.—I think we shall find when this is examined a little more that we think of that older music too much in the light of our own tastes. I am beginning to have the opinion that secular music had very little to do with the advancement of the art, and had very little importance or value. Above all, I do not think that secular music gave us time, as we are apt to think. I am not sure about this, but all that I have seen tends to make me think so. The sense of time in music is the one thing that is learnt last, and I do not believe it is natural at all. The original forms of many Lutheran Chorals are partly in triple, partly in duple time; and I have heard street musicians play and sing hymn-tunes thus, a phrase of common time coming in the midst of a tune in triple time. These facts and also what I have read of dancing in time past, which was not like our dancing, but was apparently rather jumping, leads me to question whether our secular performers had really the sense of rhythm that is commonly ascribed to them.

Mr. Southgate.—I do not think this is a subject to discuss now, but I should be prepared to dispute almost every statement that Mr. Davey has said on this point.

Votes of thanks to Mr. Stainer and to Mr. Briggs were passed unanimously.

APPENDIX.

ZEITSCHRIFT

(Monthly Journal) of the International Musical Society.

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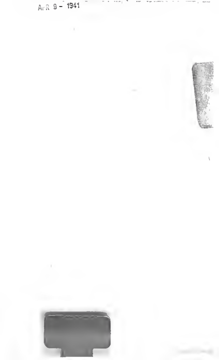

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