

Musical Networks in Early Victorian Manchester

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Musical Networks in Early Victorian Manchester

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Abstract

My dissertation demonstrates how a new and distinctive musical culture developed in the industrialising society of early Victorian Manchester. It challenges a number of existing narratives relating to the history of music in nineteenth-century Britain, and has implications for the way we understand the place of music in other industrial societies and cities. The project is located at the nexus between musicology, cultural history and social history, and draws upon ideas current in urban studies, ethnomusicology and anthropology. Contrary to the oft-repeated claim that it was Charles Hallé who 'brought music to Manchester' when he arrived in 1848, my archival research reveals a vast quantity and variety of music-making and consumption in Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s. The interconnectedness of the many strands of this musical culture is inescapable, and it results in my adoption of 'networks' as an organising principle. Tracing how the networks were formed, developed and intertwined reveals just how embedded music was in the region's social and civic life. Ultimately, music emerges as an agent of particular power in the negotiation and transformation of the concerns inherent within the new industrial city. The dissertation is structured as a series of interconnected case studies, exploring areas as diverse as the music profession, glee and catch clubs, the Hargreaves Choral Society's programme notes, Mechanics' Institutions and the early Victorian public music lecture. These chapters are framed by a Prelude and a Postlude focusing respectively on Manchester's Grand Musical Festival of 1836 and Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857, which provide snapshots of musical life in Manchester at the start and end of the period under review, inviting consideration of musical and societal 'progress'. A concluding chapter synthesises the findings of each case study, drawing on related historiography and cultural theory, in particular the work of Jürgen Habermas, Christopher Small and Thomas Turino, to explore how music contributed to the formation of identity, community and a new way of living in the industrial city.

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Introduction

Manchester has frequently been described as the world's 'first modern industrial city', renowned as a centre of commerce and the heart of the global textile trade.¹ Its rapid urbanisation at the beginning of the nineteenth century generated widespread discussion about the management and future direction of its evolving industrial society. Music, frequently regarded as an agent of particular moral power, often found a place in the debates. The importance Manchester's citizens ascribed to music, and the purposes to which it was put, affected the shape of their community, although music did not always act in the ways intended. Yet so far the place of music within industrialising Manchester has been overlooked by both historians and musicologists. It has been a commonplace that Charles Hallé 'brought music to Manchester', and consequently the wealth and significance of musical activity that took place prior to his arrival in 1848 has been largely missed.²

My project explores the practical, economic and social structures of the musical life of early Victorian Manchester. Initially I aimed to identify the opportunities that existed for participation in musical activities and to place such music-making within the wider context of the city's social and cultural history, in order to investigate relationships between music and the changing structures of a newly industrialised society. However, it quickly became apparent that the quantity and quality of surviving records detailing musical life were far greater than I had first envisaged. The ways in which musical and non-musical sources were interlinked also stood out, with many of the same people reappearing as patrons, musicians, participants and audience-members in a variety of different institutions and situations, hence the adoption of networks as an organising principle. The extraordinarily rich sources I have explored reveal a network of musical activity of wide-ranging scope and influence.

Manchester in the early Victorian era was at its pinnacle as an industrial powerhouse, incorporated as a borough in 1838 and granted city status by Royal Charter in 1853. The population of Manchester more than quadrupled between 1801

¹ Alan Kidd, *Manchester: A History* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2006), p. ix.

² For the pervasiveness of this epithet see for example the *Manchester Evening News* report on the Hallé Orchestra's 150th birthday: 'Tribute to Halle', *MEN*, 20 April 2010.

and 1851 (from 76,788 inhabitants to 316,213) as new patterns of work and habitation developed.³ The resulting social and civic needs of the industrial environment and its inhabitants brought significant new challenges. Quality of life, health, education, political stability and representation, and other fundamentals of a modern civil society were debated among the citizens of Manchester at all levels. Cultural life was an important part of such debates, both at the time and in more recent histories of industrial society. Significant social-historical literature includes work on middle-class involvement in the development of an art-world in industrialising Manchester, and valuable articles by Howard Wach on structures of class, culture and popular knowledge in early Victorian Manchester.⁴ Such work also intersects with the wider body of research on the leisure history of industrial society, and ideas current in the history of leisure are pertinent to the history of musical culture.⁵

Musical life in Manchester during the first half of the nineteenth century has so far been considerably under-researched. Important monographs by Michael Kennedy and Robert Beale focus on Sir Charles Hallé and the orchestra he founded, while Wilfred Allis's dissertation on Manchester's Gentlemen's Concerts foregrounds Hallé's role in this and other organisations.⁶ Michael Kennedy's various publications primarily recount conductors and repertoire, and his 1982 history of the Hallé Orchestra sums up the entire history of music in Manchester prior to Hallé's arrival in two pages.⁷ Robert Beale's book provides more context, detailing many of the other musical institutions and ensembles active during Hallé's lifetime, together with key details about their personnel, but his work inevitably remains Hallé-centric. The importance and influence of Hallé and his orchestra is undeniable, but far from being 'the man

³ Kidd, *Manchester: A History*, p. 14. Maps from 1794 and 1843 illustrating the urban expansion are provided as Appendices 1.1 and 1.2 respectively.

⁴ Janet Wolff and John Seed, eds., *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power, and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Howard Wach's work includes 'Culture and the Middle Classes: Popular Knowledge in Industrial Manchester', *Journal of British Studies*, 27 (1988), 375–404.

⁵ See for example Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780–c.1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

⁶ Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition: A Century of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960); Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé, 1858–1983: A History of the Orchestra* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982); Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Wilfred Allis, 'The Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts', unpub. MPhil diss., University of Manchester (1995).

⁷ Kennedy, *The Hallé, 1858–1983*, pp. 1–2.

who brought music to Manchester', Hallé in fact took up residence in a community already teeming with musical activity. References to earlier musical initiatives, where they exist at all, commonly position Hallé's work as a step ahead of what had come before, but such judgements rely excessively on Hallé's autobiography which, as Beale highlights, tends to exaggerate his own achievements and gloss over those of his contemporaries.⁸ Concerts in Manchester in the period 1800–48 are comprehensively listed in Rachel Gick's 2003 PhD dissertation (drawn on extensively by Beale), revealing the quantity and variety of musical performances before Hallé's time.⁹ A focus on public concerts, however, with particular emphasis on the orchestral scene, neglects the many other kinds of musical activities in nineteenth-century Manchester, and consequently much of the city's musical landscape remains unmapped.

My research is largely contained within the timeframe 1836–57, neatly bookending a period of particularly rapid social change in Manchester with two landmark festivals: Manchester's Musical Festival of 1836 and the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857. The intervening years exhibit an explosion of activity in concert life, musical societies, and institutions where music played a role, many of which have surviving archives. The two framing events provide interesting and useful fixed points, inviting analysis of the structures of cultural life underpinning the festivals, and if and how the structures changed in the period between them. My outer boundaries are occasionally porous, as several of the societies and institutions I investigate have roots earlier in the century, but the coherence and industriousness of musical life in Manchester from the mid-1830s onwards stands out.

Methodology

In her Dent Medal address of 2007, Georgina Born espoused the need for musicologists to expand their intellectual framework, to reconfigure the boundaries of the various subdisciplines of music and to embrace the neighbouring disciplines of anthropology, sociology and history.¹⁰ Born critiqued the integrative model of

⁸ Beale, *Charles Hallé*, p. xvi.

⁹ Rachel Gick, 'Concert Life in Manchester, 1800–1848', unpub. PhD diss., University of Manchester (2003).

¹⁰ Georgina Born, 'For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 135 (2010), 205–53.

interdisciplinarity and suggested an ‘agonistic-antagonistic’ model arising out of opposition to the limitations of the component disciplines and thereby engendering new epistemological and ontological foundations. Two dominant conceptual boundaries of musicology were identified—what music is, and what counts as music to be studied—and by problematising the assumptions underlying these boundaries Born sought to point the way towards a new foundation for the study of music.¹¹ These two boundaries had ensured that for much of the twentieth century, nineteenth-century British music was neglected as an object of research. The history of Western art music as constructed by musicologists until the cross-disciplinary shifts of the 1970s afforded overwhelming privilege to the Austro-German symphonic repertoire, relegating anything not in line with the canon to secondary status. Nineteenth-century Britain was dismissed as ‘the Land without Music’, a term attributed to the German writer Oscar Schmitz in 1914 and often quoted since.¹² Research was further limited by the long-standing assumption that the proper object of musicology was ‘the music itself’,¹³ with the ‘social’ or ‘context’ of secondary concern at best.¹⁴

In fact, in recent years, the field of nineteenth-century British music studies has quietly engaged in just the kind of reconfiguration Born advocates. The opening up of musicology in recent decades to embrace the cultural history of music, underpinned by the work of the New Musicologists in areas such as canon formation, feminist theory and popular music, has created opportunities for a rethinking of nineteenth-century British music.¹⁵ Given that the focus of much of this research has been on previously inadmissible objects, the need for a new theoretical framework was evident from the

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 208–11.

¹² For a summary of the origin of the phrase see Nicholas Temperley, ‘The Land without Music’, *The Musical Times*, 116 (1975), p. 625. For a succinct deconstruction of the terminology see Jürgen Schaarwächter, ‘Chasing a Myth and a Legend: “The British Musical Renaissance” in a “Land without Music”’, *The Musical Times*, 149 (2008), 53–60.

¹³ For a defence of the term and approach ‘The Music Itself’ see Scott Burnham, ‘Theorists and “The Music Itself”’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 15 (1997), 316–29. For the opposite see Richard Taruskin, ‘Speed Bumps’, *19th-Century Music*, 29 (2005), 185–294, particularly p. 185 where Taruskin dismisses the phrase as ‘a term that to us has no meaning at all except as a way of loading the discourse with mystique’.

¹⁴ Born, ‘Relational Musicology’, p. 208.

¹⁵ For a brief summary of New Musicology and concurrent ideas see Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, ‘Preface’, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), v–xii.

outset, resulting in a field characterised by enthusiastic appropriation of concepts from a variety of related disciplines.

My project straddles both of the conceptual boundaries articulated by Born, necessitating engagement with neighbouring disciplines in explorations of neglected people and practices of music. It is located at the intersection between musicology, cultural history and social history, and also draws upon ideas current in urban studies, ethnomusicology and anthropology. It confronts directly the question of what music is, along with music's indivisibility from context, in an exploration of the role that 'music' in an expanded sense played in early Victorian Manchester.

Recently, much research on nineteenth-century British music has embraced interdisciplinarity to ask questions about the place of music in people's lives and the relationships between the musical and non-musical spheres. Common to this rapidly growing body of work is a desire to explore the meanings of music in the social and other contexts in which it is manifested, how music was experienced, what caused musical activity to take certain forms, and how musical relationships might have influenced theories and practices of identity formation.¹⁶ The field was initially London-focused, with particular attention paid to concert life. A model was provided by William Weber's seminal *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna*, which approached music history from the perspective of a sociologist seeking to explore the inter-relationships between structures of society and the forms and behaviours of concert life.¹⁷ Cyril Ehrlich's work on the Royal Philharmonic Society took the form of a cultural history detailing audience, economics, recruitment and patronage in addition to repertoire.¹⁸ Michael Musgrave's research into musical life at the Crystal Palace took a congruent approach.¹⁹ More recently, attention has turned to the provinces, as demonstrated by Rachel Cowgill and Peter

¹⁶ See for example the many publications in Ashgate's 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain' series, and Boydell & Brewer's series 'Music in Britain, 1600–2000'.

¹⁷ William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: the Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975).

¹⁸ Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

¹⁹ Michael Musgrave, *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Holman's 2007 volume of essays devoted to musical life beyond the capital.²⁰ Ranging from Wiltshire to Stalybridge and from gentlemen amateurs to provincial organists, the dominant focus of the contributing scholars' interests were consistently the institutional and other structures which enabled music to happen and the people involved in making the music.

This type of approach is not unique to the study of nineteenth-century British music. Simon McVeigh has undertaken comparable research into eighteenth-century London,²¹ and co-edited with Susan Wollenberg a volume on concert life in eighteenth-century Britain, which placed the focus on musical communities and social context.²² Important research looking elsewhere in Europe includes Alice Marie Hanson's work on musical life in Biedermeier Vienna, which investigates the impact of society, politics and institutions on musicians and musical taste, and also the historian James H. Johnson's *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History*, which explores the political, musical and aesthetic factors resulting in changing concert behaviour between 1750 and 1850.²³

The expansion of musicology to embrace related disciplines is not universally appreciated. In his 2006 book *Music and the Sociological Gaze: Art Worlds and Cultural Production*, Peter J. Martin stated his aim to return 'cultural objects to the social contexts in which they are produced and experienced', then argued forcefully that this is ground for sociologists and not for musicologists.²⁴ He asserted that musicologists should not be concerned with the 'analysis of intersubjectivity and everyday experiences in social situations' as this is 'well beyond the field of academic musicology, and quite properly so'.²⁵ He went on to provide a long list of texts he described as basic to the contemporary sociological landscape with which he claimed

²⁰ Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, eds., *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

²¹ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

²² Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

²³ Alice Marie Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, LA & London: University of California Press, 1995).

²⁴ Peter J. Martin, *Music and the Sociological Gaze: Art Worlds and Cultural Production* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the 'new' musicologists show little awareness and engagement.²⁶ This book is particularly relevant because Martin included a chapter about music in nineteenth-century Manchester.

Martin's narrow conception of the proper objects of musicology, and his criticism of musicologists, does not accurately represent the broader musicological field at his time of writing.²⁷ For example, Christopher Small had advanced his concept of 'musicking' as early as 1998, the ubiquitous quotation from which is: 'There is no such thing as music. Music is not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do'.²⁸ The longer definition proposes that 'music' encompasses anyone involved in musical activity, whether as participant, audience or facilitator, and asserts that acts of musicking celebrate the relationships that exist between those who participate in them. The inseparability of music from context was vehemently underlined by Richard Taruskin in 'Speedbumps' in 2005, a review article in which he characteristically pulls no punches in his criticisms of fellow academics, particularly those who still dare refer to 'the music itself'.²⁹ Georgina Born, in her 2007 address, persuasively challenged 'the ontological assumption that "music's" core being has nothing to do with the "social"', the idea that the 'social' is extraneous to 'music', and put forward an argument that the 'social' or 'context' is also music.³⁰ Furthermore, the long list of theorists, from Foucault and Bourdieu to Corbin and Chartier, cited in the introduction to *The Oxford Handbook to the New Cultural History of Music* demonstrates that musicologists are certainly not neglecting their sociology homework.³¹ If Martin's argument is moderated to address not all but some musicologists, however, then the criticism that

²⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁷ Having met Peter Martin at a conference recently, I discovered that at the time of writing his book he had fallen out with two specific musicologists (who shall remain nameless), and he no longer stands by this point.

²⁸ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), p. 2.

²⁹ Taruskin, 'Speedbumps'. See for example the first paragraph of the article, p. 105: 'Musicologists who have made their decision to let Theodor W. Adorno do their thinking for them take it as an axiom that, to quote Robert Walser, "social relations and struggles are enacted within music itself." says we all should have learned this from Adorno long ago, but some of us, having been briefly beguiled by the notion, have concluded that it is hogwash'.

³⁰ Born, 'Relational Musicology', p. 208.

³¹ Jane Fulcher, ed., *The Oxford Handbook to the New Cultural History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 3–9.

sometimes musicologists only engage superficially with parallel disciplines is a fair one, and a point also made by Taruskin and Born.

Martin's line of argument is further undermined by the fact that his chapter on nineteenth-century Manchester—'Musical Life in the "First Industrial City"'—contains conclusions which are demonstrably incorrect. Seeking to extrapolate class trends from musical experiences described by Allis in his work on the Gentlemen's Concerts, Martin concludes that, because many of the 'Manchester Men' subscribed to this society, its activities were representative of the activities and concerns of the 'capitalist entrepreneur' in the abstract. He asserts that the miscellaneous nature of the programmes, along with reported 'bad behaviour' at concerts, means that Manchester's middle class had little interest in 'serious music' and were motivated to subscribe primarily for the 'pressing need to display their social status'.³² Hallé, on the other hand, arrived in Manchester 'already imbued with the "serious music" ideology'; programmes at his concerts were 'devoted almost exclusively to the "serious" music of the master composers', and his most enthusiastic audiences were drawn from 'ordinary people rather than the self-conscious elite'.³³ Given Martin's defining claim that 'sociologists are not greatly concerned about the nature or alleged quality of the music in question', his judgement of the music in these two cases is not only rather severe but also unsurprisingly flawed.³⁴ Miscellaneous programmes and 'serious music' in the sense meant by Martin are not mutually exclusive;³⁵ also, Hallé's concerts embraced a far wider range of repertoire than just German symphonic music and frequently took a miscellaneous form themselves.³⁶ More disconcertingly, Martin based some sweeping conclusions on very limited evidence. His assertions about Hallé's ideology and influence are drawn primarily from evidence in Hallé's autobiography, which, as I have already noted, is often exaggerated, particularly with regard to audience composition. Similarly, conclusions about Manchester's middle classes in the first half of the century are based purely on the activities of the

³² Martin, *Music and the Sociological Gaze*, pp. 112–14.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁵ William Weber provides an excellent explanation of the aesthetic underpinning the miscellaneous programme in *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

³⁶ See Beale, *Charles Hallé*, pp. 9–15 for a summary of Hallé's orchestral programming.

Gentlemen's Concerts, to the neglect of other significant contemporary musical societies in Manchester.

The criticisms I have levelled at Martin's research, together with awareness of the limitations inherent in musicological paradigms, set the foundations of the methodological framework adopted for my project. My approach is grounded in microhistory, similar to a model described by Trevor Herbert in which 'evidence about small units of the past are investigated to analyse the relationships between musical and socio-economic processes, and to inform wider structures of music history, [focusing] on the experience of individuals and groups in order to understand the larger social mass'.³⁷ Given the incomplete nature of sources available, relevant methodology includes that discussed by Christina Bashford in her study of 'invisible' music-making in nineteenth-century Britain.³⁸ Bashford highlights the wealth of evidence to be found in the private sphere, including unpublished letters, diaries and auction catalogues, and makes use of R. G. Collingwood's notion of 'the historical imagination' as a means of carefully constructing a history which bridges gaps between critically evaluated pieces of evidence.³⁹ Rather than seeking to unpick the musical habits of a particular stratum of society, my aim, where possible, is to construct a history of music in Manchester by first looking to identify exactly who was involved in a cross-section of locations of musical activity; of what the musical life of these individuals consisted; and how musical activity related to other aspects of their lives. From that base of knowledge, I then aim to explore the wider implications of how music functioned on a societal level. With so little secondary literature available about music in early Victorian Manchester, however, the initial requirement of this project was necessarily to assemble sufficient primary source materials in order to begin to build a clearer picture of the potential of various musical activities and their substantial surviving archives, most of which have barely been broached by historians or musicologists thus far.

³⁷ Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton, eds., *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), p. 57.

³⁸ Christina Bashford, 'Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63/2 (2010), 291–360.

³⁹ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946).

Of relevance to the formulation of this approach to method is Ruth Finnegan's book *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*, which despite focusing on Milton Keynes in the 1980s likewise seeks to identify 'the musical practices and experiences of ordinary people in their own locality'.⁴⁰ Importantly, Finnegan observes the frequency with which involvement in music-making defies expected social stratification, which is particularly resonant for the highly class-conscious field of Victorian studies. Of course, Finnegan had an advantage in dealing with a living population whom she could question at length about their interests and motivations. The same luxury is clearly not afforded to research on nineteenth-century Manchester where, notwithstanding all that archival evidence can reveal, it necessarily imposes considerable constraints. For example, trying to establish motive for involvement in music is particularly problematic, as shown by Peter Shapely in his article on charity, status and leadership in Manchester.⁴¹ Such constraints may be mitigated to an extent by collecting and triangulating data from a wide range of sources to find the connections and contradictions between activities and people. Systematic searches have thus been conducted of sources including trade catalogues, library records, the Concert Programmes Database⁴² and newspapers including the *Manchester Guardian*.⁴³

Once a clearer picture of the extent of activity and the potential of the extant archives had been established, it became possible to select a variety of specific institutional records for triangulation, with the aim of identifying individual participants and placing them in the context of the wider social and cultural life of the city. Names have been cross-referenced with census records and trade directories to further develop understanding of exactly who these individuals were.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. xviii.

⁴¹ Peter Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man', *Journal of Social History*, 32 (1998), 157–77.

⁴² *Concert Programmes*, concertprogrammes.org.uk.

⁴³ Access is available to a fully digitised online archive of the *Manchester Guardian* through ProQuest Historical Newspapers via Manchester Library.

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the 1851 census records for Manchester are badly water-damaged and are consequently incomplete.

Music in Manchester in the Eighteenth Century

Of course, the story of musical life in Manchester does not begin in 1836, and there are surviving records detailing a busy concert life and musically enthusiastic populace at least as far back as 1744. Many of the tales of eighteenth-century music-making have grown in the telling, subjected to exaggeration and embellishment in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Nonetheless, the overall picture is intriguing, and many of the family names appearing in connection with earlier activities recur in the Victorian age.

A record of concerts given in 1744 survives, thanks to the efforts of the *Manchester Guardian* reporter John Harland, although the manuscript account book he had access to is now lost. He reproduced the manuscript contents in detailed articles for his newspaper, which were later collected into a Chetham Society publication.⁴⁵ The account book, that commenced on 1 November 1744, was understood by Harland to have indicated the foundation of a series of Manchester Subscription Concerts. It contained accounts, lists of subscribers, and programmes of music. Harland transcribed the initial list of subscribers in full, among whom are found names of leading men familiar in the history of Manchester, including Francis Reynolds of Strangeways Hall, Sir Thomas Egerton of Heaton Park, and members of the Arden, Tyldsley, Radcliffe and Minshull families, who were among the wealthiest in Manchester at that time. These concerts are believed to have been a cover for Jacobite meetings, and Harland recounted stories of a number of those on the list who were associated with the 1745 rebellion, including 'The Messrs. Deacon', one of whom was executed for his part in the plot and his head placed on top of the Exchange. Indeed the Young Pretender himself, who lived in Manchester for a time in 1745, is rumoured to have been the subscriber 'Mr Anonymous'. The music which belonged to the society, or should have belonged to the society, was listed as 'Handel's Overtures, compleat; Corelli's Concertos; Geminiani's Concertos; Fellow's Concertos, stolen or strayed'. This repertoire formed the main fare of their fortnightly concerts,

⁴⁵ 'The Manchester Concerts of the Last Century', *Manchester Guardian*, 31 January 1844; John Harland, *Collectanea Relating to Manchester and its Neighbourhood, at Various Periods*, Vol. II (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1867).

interspersed with various unspecified songs, harpsichord lessons and violin pieces, plus at least one solo per concert on the German flute.⁴⁶

It was also possible, after a fashion, to purchase music and instruments in Manchester in the 1740s and 1750s, as advertised by John Berry on his Map of Manchester, issued in 1741 with a second edition in 1751:

This Plan is printed and sold by John Berry, Grocer, at the New Tea Warehouse in Manchester, of whom may be had Grocery Goods, &c; also fine Gilt and Silvered Coat Buttons, or White and Yellow Buttons for Liverys, fine polished Steel, all Silver and Steel-plated Buckles of all sorts, Japn'd Waiters and Snuff Boxes, a variety of English and Dutch Toys (imported by himself), all sorts of small silver work, Jeweller's goods, and large Plate (if bespoke) as cheap as in London; all sorts of Snuff, Dr Daffey's Elixir, Dr Anderson Scot's Pills, Chymical Drops for Colds, and most other Medicines advertised in the London and Country Newspapers; Hungary Water, Lavendry Water, Wash Balls, &c.; Music and Musical Instruments, Fiddle Strings and Spinnet Wire, Gongs from Copper Plates, and most sorts of London, Sheffield, and Birmingham Goods, & N.B. He buys old Gold and Silver or Silver Lace.⁴⁷

Better known are Manchester's Gentlemen's Concerts, established around 1770. The precise date is not known but it was some years prior to the opening of their own concert hall in 1777. The society is commonly described as having originated in a gathering of amateur flautists, although the facts behind this are unclear. Joseph Aston described in his *A Picture of Manchester* in 1826 that a half century previously 'a Concert was performed by amateurs, at Day's Coffee House once a fortnight during the winter, when as much harmony as ten single-keyed German Flutes could produce, (for there was no other instrument for some time,) delighted the favoured auditors'.⁴⁸ Aston expanded on this in verse in 'The Metrical Records of Manchester':

⁴⁶ Harland, *Collectanea Relating to Manchester*, pp. 66–74; Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition*, p. 3.

⁴⁷ 'Berry's Map of Manchester, 1741–51', *Manchester Guardian*, 3 April 1876. Quotations from the map are reproduced and discussed at length in the newspaper's 'Local Notes and Queries' section.

⁴⁸ Joseph Aston, *A Picture of Manchester* (Manchester, 1826), p. 262.

To what we'd occasion to mention before,
 Of the year seventy-seven, a word or two more.
 Some years gone before it, a musical taste
 Had provided the town a slight musical feast,
 (Without souls for harmony men are but brutes), –
 Twas a concert, composed entirely of flutes!*
 Ere the year I have quoted, better taste had prevail'd,
 And the monotonous tones of the flutes had assail'd;
 An orchestra, varied with instruments due,
 Gave a concert of sounds to pure harmony true;
 A room, worth the object, that year was erected –
 A room by the musical world much respected;
 Since increased in its size, as the town has increased: –
 The science assembled has polish'd our taste.

**This is literally true. The concert was, in the first instance, held in a large room, at a tavern, in the Market Place, on the site of the north end of Exchange-street (pulled down when that street was opened), and the whole of the instruments were German flutes.⁴⁹*

The story has developed over time, with Kennedy describing the establishment of the Gentlemen's Concerts 'by 25 amateur flautists in a large room in a Market Street tavern' but he does not cite his source for this number.⁵⁰

Whatever the origin, the Gentlemen's Concerts rapidly grew in scale and intent. In its earlier decades the orchestra was made up of a mixture of amateurs and professionals, giving twelve public concerts and regular private concerts annually, with in the region of five hundred subscribers plus their families and guests attending as audience.⁵¹ By 1844, the Gentlemen's Concerts had a full subscription list of 600 at £5 5s each, each subscriber limited to two tickets, plus a further three or four hundred applications on a list with an average wait of four years before a subscription became

⁴⁹ Joseph Aston, *The Metrical Records of Manchester*, quoted in 'The Manchester Concerts of the Last Century'.

⁵⁰ Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition*, p. 4

⁵¹ 'The Manchester Concerts of the Last Century'.

available.⁵² The orchestra became increasingly populated by professionals.⁵³ The significance of this society derives in great part from it being the orchestra Charles Hallé conducted when he first came to Manchester, together with the fact that it continued to give concerts until 1920, but even in its early years it was evidently ambitious. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries its programmes routinely contained music by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Handel. Its concert hall, built on what is now called Concert Lane, is believed to have been the first such hall constructed in the north of England specifically for concert-giving. The hall was designed to hold 900 people, though it was reported to have accommodated an audience of up to 1200.⁵⁴ In 1830 the Gentlemen's Concerts moved to a new hall (Figure 1) built on the junction of Peter Street and Mosley Street, where the Midland Hotel is today.

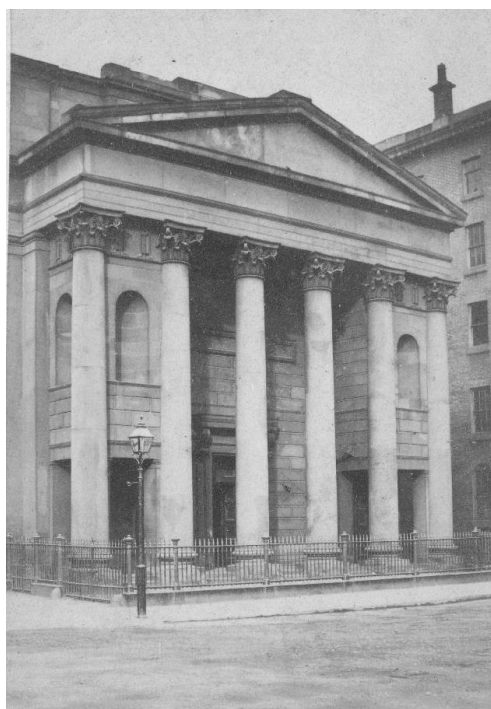


Figure 1: Gentlemen's Concert Hall, Peter Street, c.1865. Image Credit: Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives.

⁵² Harland, *Collectanea Relating to Manchester*, p. 76. According to The National Archives Currency Converter (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter, accessed 13 November 2020), £5 5s in 1844 was equivalent to 26 days wages for a skilled tradesman.

⁵³ The distinction between 'professional' and 'amateur' is investigated in more detail in Chapter 3 but, as a rule, I am led by how musicians defined themselves and how they were defined by their peers. Those who referred to themselves as professional singers or instrumentalists, or who were referred to by their peers as such, generally corresponded with those paid to perform, although it was not always their only profession.

⁵⁴ Kennedy, *The Halle Tradition*, pp. 4–5; Kennedy, *The Hallé, 1858–1983*, p. 1.

It was in connection with the Gentlemen's Concerts that Manchester held its first substantial music festival. While Manchester's Grand Musical Festivals of 1828 and 1836 have received the majority of scholarly attention in recent years, Brian Pritchard has noted a music festival to celebrate the opening of the organ at St John's, Manchester, from 29–31 August 1770.⁵⁵ Manchester also held a three-day music festival in 1777 to mark the opening of the first concert hall, organised by Sir Thomas Egerton and described by Kennedy as 'one of the first of its kind in Britain'.⁵⁶ Music festivals were subsequently held in 1781, 1785, 1789 and 1792. Emulation of the London Handel Commemoration in provincial festivals was typical at this time and Manchester was no exception; festival programmes featured oratorio and other selections from Handel, and were headlined by vocal soloists and orchestral principals from London, with a chorus of local singers provided by the choir of Manchester's Collegiate Church and from the chapel choirs of Hey, Shaw and Oldham.⁵⁷ The 1785 festival was even reported to have featured the double drums from Westminster Abbey.⁵⁸ These early meetings in Manchester, alongside similar events in Liverpool, were among the first provincial festivals besides the Three Choirs Festivals held alternately at Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester, which are believed to have commenced in 1715.⁵⁹ Pritchard has suggested the Manchester festivals 'may well be placed among the cultural first-fruits of the Industrial Revolution and they almost certainly represent attempts to satisfy a growing desire for cultural standing and prestige among the rising generation of northern manufacturers'.⁶⁰

Musical life in eighteenth-century Manchester would undoubtedly benefit from more detailed investigation, verification and contextualisation, but for the purposes of this project its primary significance is that Manchester and its inhabitants had a long history of musical activity prior to its expansion into an industrial powerhouse. As *The*

⁵⁵ Brian Pritchard, 'Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: 3. Liverpool and Manchester', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 7 (1969), 1–27.

⁵⁶ Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition*, p. 4

⁵⁷ Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784–1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 28.

⁵⁸ Lewis Foreman, 'The Twilight of an Age: The Manchester Grand Musical Festivals of 1828 and 1836, the Development of the Railway, and the English Choral Festival in the Nineteenth Century', *Manchester Sounds*, 6 (2005–6), p. 38.

⁵⁹ Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival: A History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), p. 11.

⁶⁰ Pritchard, 'Some Festival Programmes', p. 1.

Harmonicon, a monthly music journal published in London, put it in 1831, ‘the community of Manchester have in fact, and in the opinion of the public at large, been constantly in advance of all other parts of the Kingdom in their musical taste and knowledge’.⁶¹ It is equally important to highlight that the Manchester of the eighteenth century was a fundamentally different place and society to that of the early nineteenth century. While eighteenth-century Manchester had an unusually busy concert scene for a place of its size, it still followed a model of patronage and elitism typical of the age. With the arrival of the industrial revolution this was all set to change.

Manchester: The World’s First Industrial City

‘Nothing is more curious than the industrial topography of Lancashire,’ wrote Léon Faucher, a French visitor to Manchester in 1844:

Manchester, like a diligent spider, is placed in the centre of the web, and sends forth roads and railways towards its auxiliaries, formerly villages, but now towns, which serve as outposts to the grand centre of industry ... Manchester, which holds under its sway these industrial agglomerations, is itself an agglomeration the most extraordinary, the most interesting, and in some respects, the most monstrous, which the progress of society has presented. The first impression is far from favourable. Its position is devoid of picturesque relief, and the horizon of clearness. Amid the fogs which exhale from this marshy district, and the clouds of smoke vomited forth from the numberless chimneys, Labour presents a mysterious activity, somewhat akin to the subterranean action of a volcano.⁶²

⁶¹ Quoted in Kennedy, *The Hallé Tradition*, p. 5.

⁶² Léon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: Its Present Condition and Future Prospects* (Manchester: Abel Heywood, 1844), pp. 15–16. The French writer and political commentator Léon Faucher undertook a seven-week tour of English and Scottish manufacturing districts in 1843, for the purposes of writing a scholarly book. His section on Manchester was published separately as *Manchester in 1844*, the translation undertaken by the barrister J. P. Culverwell, a founder member of the Manchester Athenaeum (see Chapter 4). Culverwell added nearly 21,000 words of notes to the text, seeking to clarify some of Faucher’s points and to refute others. See Philip Morey’s ‘Through French Eyes: Victorian Cities in the Eighteen-Forties Viewed by Léon Faucher’, *Historical Research: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 88/240 (January 2015), 291–313, in particular pp. 304–8.



Figure 2: William Wyld, *Manchester from Kersal Moor*, 1852. Image Credit: Royal Collection Trust RCIN 920223.

Within the short period of a few decades, Manchester had grown from a relatively unremarkable textile town to the leading centre of the industrial revolution. It had already achieved national significance by the end of the eighteenth century for its role in the cotton trade and it was beginning to attract attention for its urban growth, but it was in the first half of the nineteenth century that its population grew exponentially and its significance became internationally apparent. Once its satellite towns were taken into account, as Culverwell observed in a footnote to Faucher, ‘a circle drawn around Manchester, at the distance of an hour’s ride, embraces a larger population than a similar circle drawn around London’.⁶³ Growth in population and trade transformed the urban infrastructure. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened in 1830, supplementing the existing canal network and ushering in the ‘Railway Mania’ of the 1840s.⁶⁴ Nicknamed ‘Cottonopolis’ and notorious for its factories, Manchester was equally important as a commercial centre; it was already known for its warehouses before factory construction began in earnest, and the

⁶³ Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*, footnote p. 15.

⁶⁴ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 27.

display and sale of goods remained as fundamental to the economy as manufacturing.⁶⁵ The wide reach of its trade and reputation of its product were alluded to poetically by William Cooke-Taylor in 1842:

It is the principle of a Manchester man that, 'nought is done where ought remains to do;' let him have but the opportunity, and he will undertake to supply all the markets between Lima and Peking ... The marks of Manchester manufacturers are as well known in Bokhara or Samarcand, as in Liverpool or London; and its patterns guide taste equally under the burning sun of Africa, and amid the snows of Siberia.⁶⁶

Alongside Manchester's growth in industrial importance came a corresponding growth in political importance. The Great Reform Act of 1832 brought Manchester parliamentary representation, giving the region a significant voice in the 1834 Poor Law Amendment, campaigns towards municipal incorporation from 1835, and the activities of the Anti-Corn Law League and their advocacy of free trade, resulting in the repeal of the corn laws in 1846.

Such rapid urban and political change inevitably ushered in a new societal structure. Alan Kidd has suggested that Manchester was unusual among nineteenth-century towns for being 'almost devoid of aristocratic influence'.⁶⁷ My research complicates this assertion, as the aristocracy did in fact patronise and attend Manchester's musical events and support its institutions, but the industrial middle-class elite undoubtedly felt themselves to be in a position of 'stewardship' over their city and its inhabitants.⁶⁸ Howard Wach has argued convincingly that 'the textile merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and medical and legal professionals composing

⁶⁵ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 16.

⁶⁶ William Cooke Taylor, *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (London: Duncan and Malcom, 1842), p. 10.

⁶⁷ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 59. On the same page Kidd claimed that 'The Earl of Wilton and Lord Francis Egerton survived the exodus, but neither played any part in local society'. However, Thomas Egerton, the 2nd Earl of Wilton (1799–1882) and Lord Francis Egerton (1800–57) were both enthusiastic supporters of music, regularly patronising (financially and with their presence) musical initiatives. Lord Egerton also served for a period as president of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution (1841–44).

⁶⁸ Howard Wach discusses the idea of middle-class stewardship in 'Culture and the Middle Classes', p. 376; and in 'A "Still, Small Voice" from the Pulpit: Religion and the Creation of Social Morality in Manchester, 1820–1850', *The Journal of Modern History*, 63/3 (1991), pp. 426–27.

this elite were acutely conscious of their status as both local notables and the vanguard of a newly reconfigured system of production'.⁶⁹ The key individuals elevated to positions of civic and political responsibility were frequently Liberal, dissenting, and in many cases Unitarian, worshipping at the Cross Street or Mosley Street Unitarian Chapels.⁷⁰ John James Tayler, minister at Mosley Street Chapel from 1821 to 1853, exhorted his congregation after the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 to take a 'liberal and comprehensive view of their duties and interests' and called upon them to devote themselves to 'raising the condition, increasing the comforts, enlightening the views, refining the habits, and elevating generally the moral, religious and social character of our labouring poor'.⁷¹ That congregation was happy to rise to the challenge, as we shall see in more detail in Chapter 4.

But good intentions alone were not enough to solve the social problems accompanying industrialisation. Throughout the early nineteenth century Manchester was beset by political agitation and civil unrest. The end of the Napoleonic wars brought financial pressures, increased migration and unemployment, and there were frequent riots in Manchester from 1812.⁷² Such disturbances reached crisis point in 1819 with the notorious 'Peterloo Massacre', when cavalry of the militia charged into a crowd gathered at St Peter's Field in the middle of the town who were agitating for parliamentary reform, resulting in at least fifteen people killed and hundreds more injured (Figure 3).

⁶⁹ Wach, 'A "Still, Small Voice"', p. 425.

⁷⁰ Howard Wach is among those to have highlighted the disproportionate influence of Manchester's Unitarian population within middle-class culture. Unitarians took leading positions in the Literary and Philosophical Society, Royal Manchester Institution, Manchester Athenaeum, Manchester Mechanics' Institution, the *Manchester Guardian*, the Manchester Statistical Society, and Owens College, as well as providing several mayors and members of Parliament. Wach, 'A "Still, Small Voice"', p. 427.

⁷¹ From a sermon preached on 17 June 1832, quoted in Wach, 'A "Still, Small Voice"', p. 439.

⁷² Gary Messinger, *Manchester in the Victorian Age: The Half-Known City* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 27.



Figure 3: Richard Carlile, a coloured engraving that depicts the Peterloo Massacre, 1819. Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Further riots accompanied the rise of the Chartist movement, who presented their first charter to Parliament in 1839. The peak of the Chartist crisis in Manchester came during the Plug Riots of 1842, when the town was effectively placed under martial law with an entire Guards battalion dispatched from London on an overnight train to take control of the town. Further general unrest followed in 1848, when the Chartists presented their third petition to Parliament, against a backdrop of revolutions across Europe.

The campaign for working-class representation intersected with more immediate anxieties concerning working-class health, sanitation and poverty. Such issues were exacerbated as improving transport connections allowed the middle classes to move away from Manchester's centre to the new leafy suburbs of Ardwick Green or, later, Cheetham Hill and Higher Broughton. Such segregation of residence along class lines became an increasingly urgent problem as the unsanitary living conditions of the poorest areas were brought to light, most famously for posterity by Friedrich Engels in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), but also

importantly prior to that in Kay-Shuttleworth's influential report of 1832.⁷³ The fictional works of Elizabeth Gaskell and Charles Dickens also raised awareness of the challenges of the industrial environment.⁷⁴ The problems acquired new urgency when they suddenly became regarded as a threat to the wealthier classes during the cholera outbreak of 1832. As Kay-Shuttleworth reported in his introductory letter to the second edition of his book: 'before the appearance of the Cholera, they [the manufacturers] were not so well convinced as they now are, that the minute personal interference of the higher ranks is necessary to the physical and moral elevation of the poor. A new sphere is now opened, to which their personal safety attracts their attention ... The pestilence is in their cities—at their very doors—daily it smites in the crowded manufactories, and snatches its victims from their very side'.⁷⁵

Similar language, foregrounding the threat posed by the working classes to the established order of things, was deployed to encourage support for the intellectual and moral improvement of the expanding citizenry:

The communication of moral instruction ... to those great masses of men, who are now beginning to think and act for themselves, and whose influence on the general condition of society is every year becoming more important, is not only an act of justice, but a measure of safety.⁷⁶

As Wach emphasises, much of this half-century was 'a time when revolution seemed possible', providing an impetus to 'improve' the working classes by 'inculcating patience, sobriety, and a healthy respect for the established order'.⁷⁷ This explains the urgency of the need, perceived in Manchester and nationally, to consider how this new society should best function, how to preserve social and political stability and, more fundamentally, just what it meant to be a citizen in industrial Manchester.

⁷³ James Phillips Kay Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, 2nd ed. (London: James Ridgway, 1832).

⁷⁴ Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1848) and *North and South* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855); various books by Charles Dickens, in particular *Hard Times* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854).

⁷⁵ Kay Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, p. 11.

⁷⁶ *Report of the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution* (Manchester: J. Harrison, 1836), p. 5.

⁷⁷ Wach, 'Culture and the Middle Classes', p. 403.

My project aims, through a series of interconnected case studies, to explore how music functioned within this newly industrial society, how it shaped and was shaped by the unsettled urban environment and its inhabitants. Each chapter has a different focus, in terms of particular archives and the modes of interrogating them, but the overall progression develops from a study of individuals and their connections through increasingly larger groups until it is possible to assess the broader significance of music within the industrial context. The complexity of the networks evident in Manchester's early Victorian musical life are such that while efforts have been made to separate the various institutions, societies and individuals into coherent case studies, many of the names reappear in every chapter. Chapter 1 is constructed around the biography of the entrepreneurial musician Richard Hoffman Andrews, tracing through his numerous professional activities and relationships the intricacies and complexity of a career in music within industrial society. Chapter 2 forms a comparative study of three musical societies—the Amateur Glee and Catch Club, Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club, and the Manchester Madrigal Society—with an emphasis on their importance as locations for sociability and the interconnectedness of their leadership and personnel. Chapter 3 develops themes from Chapter 2 in a study of the Hargreaves Choral Society, the programme notes and press reviews of which allow an exploration of the importance of print culture and display a notable seriousness within musical engagement. Chapter 4 traces elements of sociability and intellectualism into the realm of institutional musical activity, where the elitism of the Royal Manchester Institution and the philanthropy behind the Manchester Mechanics' Institution turn out to be far more closely intertwined than they are distinct. Chapter 5 draws out a key element common to the three institutions addressed in Chapter 4—the music lecture—and subjects it to a more detailed examination. These chapters are framed by a Prelude and a Postlude focusing respectively on Manchester's Grand Musical Festival of 1836 and Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857, which provide snapshots of music in Manchester at the start and end of the period under review and invite consideration of musical and societal 'progress'. A concluding chapter aims to synthesise the findings of each case study, drawing on related histories and theories to explore how music contributed to the formation of identity, community and a new way of living in the industrial city.

Prelude: Manchester's Grand Musical Festival of 1836

In 1836 Manchester held a Grand Musical Festival. And grand it was: some twenty-seven hours of concerts over four days, concluding with the fancy dress ball obligatory upon such occasions. Many leading British and foreign performers of the day were engaged to take part, playing to packed houses at the Theatre Royal and the Collegiate Church (now Manchester Cathedral). A study of this festival provides a snapshot of music in Manchester in 1836, introducing characters and organisations of pertinence to the remainder of this dissertation, for while the festival itself was a unique occasion, it was firmly rooted in the pre-existing musical expertise and enthusiasms of Manchester's inhabitants.

The first three decades of the nineteenth century witnessed rapid growth in the number of regional music festivals in Britain, ranging from the regular triennial festivals at Birmingham, Liverpool and Norwich to many one-off events, such as those at Dublin and Bristol.¹ As Pippa Drummond has detailed, early nineteenth-century music festivals brought international artists to the provinces and allowed new cities in particular to demonstrate their wealth and to improve their cultural standing, while also raising substantial amounts of money for charitable purposes.² The model was a festival of several days' duration, centred on increasingly large-scale morning performances of religious repertoire in churches or cathedrals, with a similar number of concerts of miscellaneous vocal and instrumental repertoire in a theatre or hall in the evening, and a fancy dress ball to close.

After Manchester's eighteenth-century music festivals (outlined in the introductory chapter) there was a long gap until 1828, by which time Manchester had become a fundamentally different and exponentially more populous place. A contemporary account emphasised perceptions of development and progress, asserting how 'in former times, musical performances which our forefathers dignified with the name of "Festival" were held in Manchester, but they bore no resemblance—except in name—to those more extended, and, so to speak, more elaborate

¹ Lewis Foreman, 'The Twilight of an Age: The Manchester Grand Musical Festivals of 1828 and 1836, the Development of the Railway, and the English Choral Festival in the Nineteenth Century', *Manchester Sounds*, 6 (2005–6), p. 36.

² Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784–1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001).

entertainments which are of so frequent occurrence in these days throughout England'.³ The 1828 festival was indeed on a larger scale than those in the previous century, lasting a whole week and culminating in a fancy dress ball attended by at least 3400 people.⁴ Several hundred of the attendees at this ball are captured in a grand painting by Arthur Perigal (Figure 4).⁵



Figure 4: Arthur Perigal, *A Fancy Dress Ball, Manchester, 1828*. Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

The king headlined the list of patrons of the festival (see Appendix 5.1), while Angelica Catalani and John Braham topped the roster of eminent vocal soloists, and leading instrumentals from London were engaged for the orchestra. Thomas Greatorex

³ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester, 1836: Some account of its origin and arrangements, a criticism of the musical performances, a description of the Fancy Dress Ball with a corrected and complete list of the company* (Manchester: C. Wheeler and Son, 1836), p. 2.

⁴ Programmes for the 1828 Manchester Musical Festival are at the British Library shelfmark 1501/24(1–2). Lists of attendees and their costumes were published in numerous locations, including in the *Manchester Courier* the morning after the ball. See ‘Manchester Musical Festival’, *Manchester Courier*, 4 October 1828, p. 3.

⁵ Arthur Perigal (c.1784–1847), *A Fancy Dress Ball, Manchester* (1828). This painting is currently displayed at Salford Museum and Art Gallery.

acted as conductor, within which role he was reported to have engaged all the performers on behalf of the organising committee in addition to directing the concerts.⁶ Foreman's article discusses the 1828 festival in detail and it is the primary focus of Michael Busk's forthcoming PhD dissertation.⁷

The published account of the 1836 festival suggests that there had been an intention after 1828 to hold a festival every seven years thereafter. However, the report continues:

obstacles have occurred to prevent the fulfilment of this intention. Few gentlemen feel disposed to undertake the thankless and fearfully arduous task of initiating and carrying out such an extended plan. The character of the town and the nature of our avocations, too, are opposed to such an entire and lengthened abstraction from business as is involved in the enjoyments of a five days' Festival. At the same time, however, the very feelings which deter our townsmen from entering frequently into these festivities prompt them, when once embarked, to make their arrangement on a scale which no other town of the empire can equal.⁸

The foundations for an even more spectacular event than that of 1828 were in place. There are a great many similarities between the 1828 and 1836 festivals in terms of patronage, programming and performers, but while the 1828 has significance as the first festival after a long drought, the 1836 festival achieved far greater notoriety and impact. It coincided with a notable expansion in Manchester's musical life in a way that the 1828 Festival did not, the surviving archival sources are of exceptional value, and the quantity of press discussion it generated on a national scale was heightened thanks to a series of controversies related to the occasion. When compared with the 1828 festival, the list of patrons for 1836 was longer, the musical programming was more ambitious, and the presence of a star soloist, Maria Malibran, guaranteed national

⁶ Foreman, 'The Twilight of an Age', p. 52.

⁷ Michael Busk, 'The Early Nineteenth-Century Music Festivals in Manchester and the Industrial North-West of England', PhD diss., Open University, forthcoming.

⁸ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 2.

attention. The archival materials are of particular importance in great part because one of the surviving sets of programmes belonged to Sir George Thomas Smart, who was the conductor of all the concerts in the 1836 Festival.⁹ In common with many of the programmes surviving from his long career, these are heavily annotated with his extensive handwritten notes, which provide a priceless insight into activities behind the scenes.¹⁰

Planning, Patronage, Audience

Concerts at the Collegiate Church were crammed with audiences of nearly 3000 people in addition to 400 musicians.¹¹ It is interesting to note the direct influence of the leadership of the Collegiate Church in instigating this festival, particularly given the arguments which developed concerning the appropriateness of the festival taking place in the church at all. Three of its churchwardens—John Bradshaw Wanklyn, Joseph Peel, and William Atkinson—prompted the whole event by writing to fifty ‘influential residents of the town and neighbourhood’ requesting a meeting on 22 January 1836 to consider holding a festival that year. A small initial meeting was followed just six days later by a public meeting in the town hall at which it was resolved that the festival would go ahead ‘in aid of the charitable establishments of the town’. The three churchwardens became deputy chairmen of the festival committee. The chairman was John Macvicar, Boroughreeve of Manchester, who, it was reported, had with the assistance of the Earl of Wilton succeeded in securing royal patronage for the festival. A sizeable committee was appointed, out of which sprang numerous subcommittees, including a patronage committee, guarantee fund committee, musical committee, architectural committee and finance committee. In common with similar festivals, the Manchester festival was underwritten by a

⁹ British Library C.61.g.13 [Programmes, Books of words, etc, of the Manchester Musical Festival of 1836. With M.S. notes by Sir G. T. Smart]. A second complete set is located at British Library 1501/24.(1.) [Programmes, books of words, and regulations of the Manchester Musical Festival for 1828 and 1836].

¹⁰ For a focused analysis of these annotations and their implications, please see my article: Rachel Johnson, ‘Reading Between the Lines: George Smart’s Annotated Programmes for Manchester’s 1836 Grand Musical Festival’, *British Library Journal* (2018), www.bl.uk/ebj/2018articles/article9.html.

¹¹ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 6.

guarantee fund, raised by subscription, that reached £30,000 within a month of its launch.¹²

The list of festival patrons (Appendix 5.1) was dominated by the aristocracy and members of Parliament, the majority of whom had direct connections to Manchester or with the wider North-West region. It was headed by the king (William IV), the queen, the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria. Other patrons included the Earl of Wilton (of Heaton Park),¹³ Lord Francis Egerton and Richard Wilbraham (MPs for South Lancashire), John Entwistle (MP for Rochdale), the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church, Peter Ainsworth (MP for Bolton), William Tatton Egerton (of Tatton Park, MP for Mid-Cheshire), Mark Philips (MP for Manchester), Richard Potter (Manchester businessman and MP for Wigan), Wilbraham Egerton (father of William), and Thomas Joseph Trafford (of Trafford Hall). While the 1828 Festival had been supported by 50 patrons, 63 are listed in 1836, of whom 27 had also been patrons of the earlier event. The expansion of the list in 1836 compared to 1828 is directly linked to the increase in parliamentary representation for the industrial north after the Reform Act of 1832: 13 of the patrons for the 1828 Festival are listed as MPs, whereas 31 patrons are listed as such for 1836, many of whom occupied parliamentary seats created in 1832 for constituencies around the Manchester region. Patrons were frequently reported in the press as having attended performances, including the Earl of Wilton, who was himself an amateur musician and composer. He took 20 tickets for the oratorio concerts in the church, allowing him to attend with a large party of family and friends if he so wished, although he did not obtain tickets for the evening concerts.¹⁴

Membership lists for the committees and subcommittees do not survive, but many of those involved in the organisation and management of the festival volunteered to take on stewarding roles at the concerts, in which capacity they were

¹² *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, pp. 2–6; *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival Held in Manchester the Second Week in September 1836: taken from the Manchester and Salford Advertiser of September 17* (Manchester: Printed at the Advertiser Office, no. 78 Market Street, 1836), p. 7. The National Archives Currency Converter equates this to just over £2,000,000 today.

¹³ Thomas Egerton, 2nd Earl of Wilton (1799–1882).

¹⁴ Patrons' concert-presence is detailed at various points in *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester* and the earl's ticket-buying is recorded in *ibid.*, p. 5. For details of the Earl of Wilton's compositional activity, see Maggie Humphreys and Robert Evans, *Dictionary of Composers for the Church in Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd, 1997), p. 364.

listed in accounts of the festival and in press reviews. Named stewards include John Bradshaw Wanklyn,¹⁵ Benjamin Hime,¹⁶ William Shore,¹⁷ Robert Brandt,¹⁸ Joseph Peel,¹⁹ David Bellhouse,²⁰ Paul Ferdinand Willert,²¹ and Robert Beale.²² The frequency with which these men appear in other case studies within this dissertation is striking. They either worked in the music profession or enthusiastically supported musical societies and are representative of the network of musicians and musically interested industrialists who underpin much of the musical activity explored within this project.

Tickets were expensive by any measure, ranging from 5 shillings per concert for the cheapest seats to 21 shillings per concert in the patrons' gallery. To put this into context, in 1839 power-loom weavers in the cotton industry earned between 9 and 17 shillings for a 69-hour working week, depending on how many looms they were operating and what cloth they were working on.²³ Tickets were also not easy to obtain, requiring attendance at the Grammar School during standard working hours to purchase them, and ticket holders then had to enter into a ballot to secure actual seats.²⁴ In consequence, as might be anticipated, newspaper reports of concert attendees indicate that it was an exclusive assemblage.²⁵ Only the most illustrious figures were actually named in the press, but a full list of attendees at the ball was published together with details of the costumes they were wearing. This list was

¹⁵ John Bradshaw Wanklyn (1800–70), merchant, churchwarden.

¹⁶ Benjamin Hime, of Hime and Addison, music and musical instrument sellers and publishers in Manchester.

¹⁷ William Shore, organist at Cross Street Chapel, organiser and conductor of vocal music including the Manchester Madrigal Society. See Chapter 2.

¹⁸ Robert Brandt, barrister. Brandt was involved with a vast array of cultural and civic initiatives, many of which were musical. He was at various times a subscriber to the Hargreaves Choral Society (see Chapter 3); chairman of the Gentlemen's Concerts Society and the 'Manchester Choral Society' Hallé launched in 1858; he was one of the first subscribers to and on the committee of Hallé's Classical Chamber Music Society; and he served on the councils of the Royal Manchester Institution and Manchester Athenaeum (see Chapters 4 and 5).

¹⁹ Joseph Peel (1801–61) of the engineering firm Peel, Williams & Peel.

²⁰ David Bellhouse junior, a Manchester-based engineer, was a keen amateur singer and a member of Manchester's Amateur Glee and Catch Club and Madrigal Society. See Chapter 2.

²¹ Paul Ferdinand Willert (1794–1879), merchant and financier, elected Commissioner of Police in 1828, made Alderman in 1841. He was a keen lover of music and played the violin as an amateur in the Gentlemen's Concerts.

²² Music seller in Manchester, later went into business with Benjamin Hime.

²³ David Chadwick, 'On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford, and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839–59', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 23/1 (1860), p. 24.

²⁴ Manchester Grand Musical Festival advertisement, *Manchester Guardian*, 10 September 1836.

²⁵ See for example 'Manchester Music Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, for a selection of names of those present at the concerts.

printed in numerous sources, but in one of the accounts of the festival it takes up 26 pages of dense text.²⁶ The social spectacle was captured in print, both at the time and retrospectively. As one such reminiscence, printed in 1889, recalled:

The town put on its gala attire ... Flags made the streets gay, and every window which commanded a view of the approaches to the church entrance was crowded with eager spectators ... The county people came in their carriages and four, and the streets along which they drove were lined with holiday makers. All around the churchyard, too, the available space was fully occupied, and many were satisfied with hearing the choruses from outside.²⁷

Personnel

The conductor engaged for Manchester's 1836 Festival was George Smart. Sir George Smart (1776–1867) was, as John Edmund Cox described him in his *Recollections* of 1872, 'so mixed up with all the prominent musical proceedings of the period ... that it is impossible to refer to one without continually mentioning the other'.²⁸ Smart had sung as a boy chorister of the Chapel Royal in the first Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey in 1784, and he conducted the last to be held there in 1834. He played violin in Salomon's concerts, and was on one occasion given tips on playing the timpani by Haydn.²⁹ Later, as organist for the Chapel Royal, he conducted the music for the funerals of two kings, two coronations, and the marriage of Queen Victoria. He was a founder member of the Philharmonic Society, for which he also conducted forty-nine concerts including the first British performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. He befriended and championed the music of Beethoven, Weber, Spohr and Mendelssohn, and his journal account of his travels to Vienna to learn directly from Beethoven the right tempi at which to conduct the composer's music has received some scholarly

²⁶ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, pp. 17–43.

²⁷ 'The Last Manchester Music Festival – II'. *Manchester Guardian*, 23 March 1889.

²⁸ John Edmund Cox, *Musical Recollections of the Last Half-Century* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872), pp. 90–91.

²⁹ H. Bertram Cox and C. L. E. Cox, eds., *Leaves from the Journals of Sir George Smart* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), p. 3.

interest.³⁰ Smart himself has received less attention, despite the frequency with which his papers have been consulted by researchers of nineteenth-century British music history, although John Cernelley's recent monograph at last gives Smart the recognition his life and career have long deserved.³¹

During the 1820s and 1830s, Smart was in constant demand as the leading conductor on the circuit of provincial festivals, including those mounted at Liverpool, Bath, Newcastle, Norwich, Edinburgh and Manchester.³² In addition to directing the music, the role of conductor generally encompassed related duties such as planning programmes, engaging soloists and orchestral players.³³ In 1836, Smart also directed festivals at Liverpool and Norwich, and there is significant overlap in personnel and programming across the three. Smart was dismissed by Nicholas Temperley as 'not a "conductor" as the term is now understood',³⁴ a perspective perpetuated rather disparagingly by Fiona Palmer in her discussion of Liverpool's festivals with reference to 'George Smart's involvement as so-called "conductor"'.³⁵ However, Cernelley argues convincingly that Smart should be regarded as 'the first British musician to make conducting his career', presenting evidence he used a baton as early as 1823 as well as directing from the pianoforte or organ.³⁶

³⁰ For example, Nicholas Temperley, 'Tempos and Repeats in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Music and Letters*, 44 (1966), 323–36.

³¹ The British Library's George Smart collection comprises his programmes, journals, account books and scores. His papers are at Add. MS 41771–9 and 42225. It has been invaluable to much research into music in nineteenth-century Britain, but apart from an article by Alec Hyatt King and a book by Percy Young, which is a biography of Smart disguised as a book about Beethoven, Smart has been surprisingly neglected as an important figure in his own right. John Cernelley's book is a development of his PhD thesis of 2008. See Alec Hyatt King, 'The Importance of Sir George Smart', *The Musical Times*, 91 (1950), 461–62; Percy M. Young, *Beethoven, A Victorian Tribute: Based on the Papers of Sir George Smart* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1976); John Cernelley, *George Smart and Nineteenth-Century London Concert Life* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015); John Cernelley, 'Sir George Smart and the Evolution of British Musical Culture 1800–1840', unpub. PhD diss., London (2008).

³² He conducted festivals at Liverpool in 1823, 1827, 1830, 1833 and 1836; Norwich, 1824, 1827, 1830 and 1833; Bath, 1824; Newcastle upon Tyne, 1824 and 1842; Edinburgh, 1824; Bury St Edmunds, 1828; Dublin, 1831; Derby, 1831; Cambridge, 1833 and 1835; London (Handel Festival, Westminster Abbey), 1834; Hull, 1834 and 1840; and Manchester, 1836. 'Smart, (1) Sir George (Thomas) Smart', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 23, p. 533.

³³ Drummond, *Provincial Music Festival*, p. 168.

³⁴ W. H. Husk and Nicholas Temperley, 'Smart, (1) Sir George (Thomas) Smart', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed 23 August 2017, www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25981pg1.

³⁵ Fiona M. Palmer, 'A Home for the 'Phil': Liverpool's First Philharmonic Hall (1849)', in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul Rodmell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 81.

³⁶ Cernelley, *George Smart*, in particular pp. 52–59.

Smart was approached by the organising committee to conduct in Manchester in the early stages of planning the event, but it emerged that the dates they had chosen clashed with Liverpool's festival, which was a well-established triennial event conducted by Smart since 1823. The absurd situation arose whereby Liverpool had secured the principal instrumental talent and Manchester the leading vocal performers. There was much heated discussion of the problem between deputations from Manchester and Liverpool. When the Manchester representatives reportedly highlighted how both festivals would be musically poorer if this situation was not resolved, the Liverpool committee are quoted as having said that they 'trusted more to their Fancy Ball than to musical performances for their success!'³⁷ Manchester eventually gave way and altered its dates. The composer and conductor Henry Bishop, who had in the meantime been engaged as conductor for Manchester, was told he was no longer required.³⁸

As with Thomas Greatorex at the 1828 festival, George Smart would have been involved in choosing and appointing musicians. He was assisted by two festival committee members, Joseph Peel and William Shore, who spent a fortnight in London working to engage performers.³⁹ It has been asserted that Smart made all the arrangements, but as Shore was himself a professional musician, organist at Cross Street Chapel and founder of the Manchester Madrigal Society, his role is likely to have been practical rather than merely ornamental.⁴⁰ The great operatic singer Maria Malibran de Bériot (1808–36), then at the height of her fame, headed a list of vocal soloists that also included Mrs Henry R. Bishop;⁴¹ Mrs Knyvett;⁴² the contralto, Mary Shaw (1814–76); the famous bass, Luigi Lablache (1794–1858); the soprano, Maria Caradori-Allan (1800–65); and the now elderly John Braham (c.1774–1856), who had been the pre-eminent tenor of his generation. All were household names and festival

³⁷ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 3. However we only have the Mancunian perspective, and the Liverpool-Manchester rivalry has a very long history.

³⁸ 'Manchester Music Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836.

³⁹ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Drummond and Foreman both ascribe the engagement of all the performers to Smart. Shore features prominently in Chapter 2.

⁴¹ Anna Bishop (1810–84), the young second wife of Henry Bishop.

⁴² Deborah Travis (1795–1876), wife of the singer William Knyvett.

regulars. The young Clara Novello (1818–1908) also appeared, standing in for Malibran in rehearsals and performing a number of vocal solos in the concerts.

In the orchestra, part of the attraction of these festivals was to have leading names in the principal chairs. Beyond that, given the limited rehearsal time and the number of other festivals with overlapping repertoire which Smart was conducting, it was a matter of common sense for Smart to rely on musicians he knew to fill the remaining places. In the space of four weeks, many of the instrumental and vocal performers appeared at Manchester, went from Manchester to the Norwich Festival, and from thence to Worcester, before returning north to Liverpool.⁴³ Consequently, in an orchestra list of 105 players (Appendix 4.1), 47 were from London, and the orchestral sections were led by the principal players of the Philharmonic Society and other London orchestras. Famous names included the celebrated partnership of the 'cellist Robert Lindley (1776–1855) and the double-bass player Domenico Dragonetti (1763–1846), the renowned flautist Charles Nicholson (1795–1837), and the clarinettist Thomas Willman (1784–1840), who was the leading exponent of his instrument in Britain at the time.

This makes those within the orchestra who did hail from Manchester all the more interesting, as while it has been alleged they were employed to make up the numbers, once their identities are inspected more closely it becomes clear the majority were already known to Smart or came to him highly recommended by other musicians of his acquaintance. Looking purely at those detailed as coming from Manchester, and leaving aside for now those from the satellite towns of Ashton, Stockport, Oldham and Bury, the list includes Banks, Clough, Cudmore, Ella, Gregory and Ward on violin; Andrews, Smith, E. Sudlow and Waddington on viola; Sudlow (Violoncello); I. Hill (Double Bass); Hughes (Oboe); Blomiley (Clarinet); Glover (Clarinet); Molineux (Bassoon); Gaggs (Horn); and Robinson (Bass Trombone). Ward, Andrews, both of the Sudlows, Hill and Hughes had all been on the orchestra list for the music festival at York in 1825.⁴⁴ No doubt they would have remained active on the

⁴³ Foreman, 'The Twilight of an Age', p. 54, highlights the mobility of musicians, although the order in which he places the festivals is incorrect. The dates of these festivals were: Manchester 13–16 September; Norwich 20–23 September; Worcester 27–30 September; Liverpool 4–7 October.

⁴⁴ *The Second Yorkshire Music Festival, held on the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of September, 1825, in York Minster* (York: W. Blanchard, Chronicle-office, 1825).

festival circuit and been joined by other players from the Manchester list in the intervening decade. Richard Andrews and Andrew Ward were among the leading musicians in Manchester in the 1830s, active as performers, teachers, and in business together as proprietors of a music shop.⁴⁵ David Ward Banks, Ward's nephew, had great success as a conductor and promoter of his own concert series from the 1840s, in addition to his work as a performer and teacher.⁴⁶ The brothers Edward and William Sudlow, players of the viola and cello respectively, were joint proprietors of a music shop in Hanging Ditch, alongside which they enjoyed long careers as professional players.⁴⁷ John Waddington junior features in Chapter 3 as conductor of the Hargreaves Choral Society. Richard Cudmore led the orchestra of the Gentlemen's Concerts for many years, and selections from his oratorio *The Martyr of Antioch* were performed in the Friday morning concert of this festival. These Manchester representatives were illustrious figures in their own rights, as judged against national standards.⁴⁸

The choir was predominantly made up of singers from the local area of Manchester and its satellite towns, notably Shaw which had a musically renowned chapel,⁴⁹ supplemented by a large contingent from Liverpool.⁵⁰ The sopranos were almost all women, apart from one Master Ripley from the Collegiate Church, but the altos were all male.⁵¹ The list of names includes many familiar from other areas of Manchester's musical life, at the time or subsequently, the majority of whom are known to have worked as professional singers. Notable among these are Mrs Birch, Miss Schofield, Mrs Winterbottom, William Barlow and John Waddington, the lives and

⁴⁵ Chapter 1 is built around Andrews' career, with Ward also featuring prominently as his business partner, and Andrews appears again in Chapters 2, 4 and 5.

⁴⁶ Banks also figures prominently in Chapters 1 and 4.

⁴⁷ They appear again in Chapter 3.

⁴⁸ I defend this point more thoroughly later in this dissertation.

⁴⁹ Archives for Shaw Chapel and Shaw Music Society are held by Manchester Archives and Local Studies and by the RNCM (SC – Shaw Club Archive). Singers from Shaw are referred to in various secondary literature, including Rachel Cowgill, 'Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club', *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 87–113.

⁵⁰ In addition to being listed in the programmes, all performers are also listed in *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, pp. 3–4.

⁵¹ The changing place and role of the high male voice during the nineteenth century is a fascinating story. For an introduction, see Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), in particular Chapter 7, 'The Nineteenth Century', 149–81.

careers of whom are described in more detail in later chapters of this dissertation. The names of C. and T. Clough, E. Hughes and J. Sheldrick also commonly occur in lists of choral singers, glee clubs and occasional soloists around the region, although their lives and identities remain more obscure.⁵² Given that these singers all routinely received payment for their services, coupled with evidence demonstrating that other choruses in Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s were paid, it is highly likely that the chorus for this festival received remuneration, although it is not explicitly stated in surviving sources. This conclusion is further reinforced by an important footnote to a report on 'Grand Musical Festivals' in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, stating that the large chorus for York's 1825 festival, which included 50 singers from Lancashire and the borders of Cheshire, 'was further considerably increased by supernumeraries, say at least 40, who performed gratuitously, or at least for small remuneration'.⁵³ This is rare but clear evidence that it was the norm for festival chorus singers to be paid.

Interestingly, several of the musicians who came to perform at the 1836 festival ended up making Manchester their home—notably the cellist, William Lindley, and the violinist, Charles Seymour. William Lindley (1801–69), son of the famous Robert Lindley, moved to Manchester to take up the post of principal cello of the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1837. He also led the cellos in the orchestra of the Hargreaves Society, played in a long-running series of 'Quartett Concerts' and appeared regularly as a soloist in benefit and miscellaneous concerts. Charles Seymour (1810–75) had studied at the Royal Academy of Music, in the initial intake, and by 1836 was working there as a tutor. He was offered the position of leader of the Gentlemen's Concerts orchestra in 1838, and having accepted this he moved up to Manchester, continuing a successful playing and conducting career and ultimately taking the role of leader when Hallé established his orchestra.⁵⁴

⁵² These singers may be found performing as soloists with the Hargreaves Choral Society (see Chapter 3), various madrigal societies and glee clubs (see Chapter 2), and in numerous concert series. I provide further biographical and musical details in later chapters.

⁵³ *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, Volume 7 (1825), p. 419. Payment of chorus members and the careers of Manchester's professional singers are addressed in Chapters 2 and 3.

⁵⁴ Liz Cooper, 'The Theatre Royal, Manchester, in Edward Loder's Time', in *Musicians of Bath and Beyond: Edward Loder (1809–1865) and His Family*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 43–44.

Concert Programmes and Reception

Manchester's 1836 festival consisted of seven concerts: four performances of sacred music in the mornings at the Collegiate Church and three Grand Miscellaneous Concerts in the evenings at the Theatre Royal.⁵⁵ The morning programmes were constructed around complete performances of oratorios by Haydn, Handel, Bishop and Spohr, supplemented by selections and miscellaneous items. The Tuesday concert began with Haydn's *The Creation* in full, followed by a selection from Mozart's *Requiem*, before concluding with Henry Bishop's cantata *The Seventh Day* (Figure 5). It was more common at the time to omit the third part of *The Creation*, and indeed Drummond has stated that this occurred in Manchester in 1836.⁵⁶ It was, in fact, performed in full, without a break, as Part One of this concert. Henry Bishop directed his own oratorio from the piano, which perhaps provided some consolation for his having been removed as conductor of the festival.

Wednesday morning's concert took the form of 'A Grand Performance of Sacred Music', principally Handel, plus the first performance in England of *The Christian's Prayer* by Spohr. Thursday morning was given over to the customary performance of *Messiah*. The Friday concert began with Beethoven's *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, the first English performance of which had been conducted by Smart in 1814, continued with selections from Cudmore's *The Martyr of Antioch* and concluded with Spohr's *Last Judgement*. Minor novelties included in the sacred concerts included a song for Mrs Shaw composed for her by Sigismund Neukomm, with an obligato played by Willman 'on his newly invented *basso clarionet*'; one reviewer described how 'the instrument, which is in fact a clarionet of so large dimension as to be of the same pitch as the bassoon, is yet capable of improvement'.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The concert programmes are transcribed as Appendix 2.1.

⁵⁶ Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 80.

⁵⁷ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836.

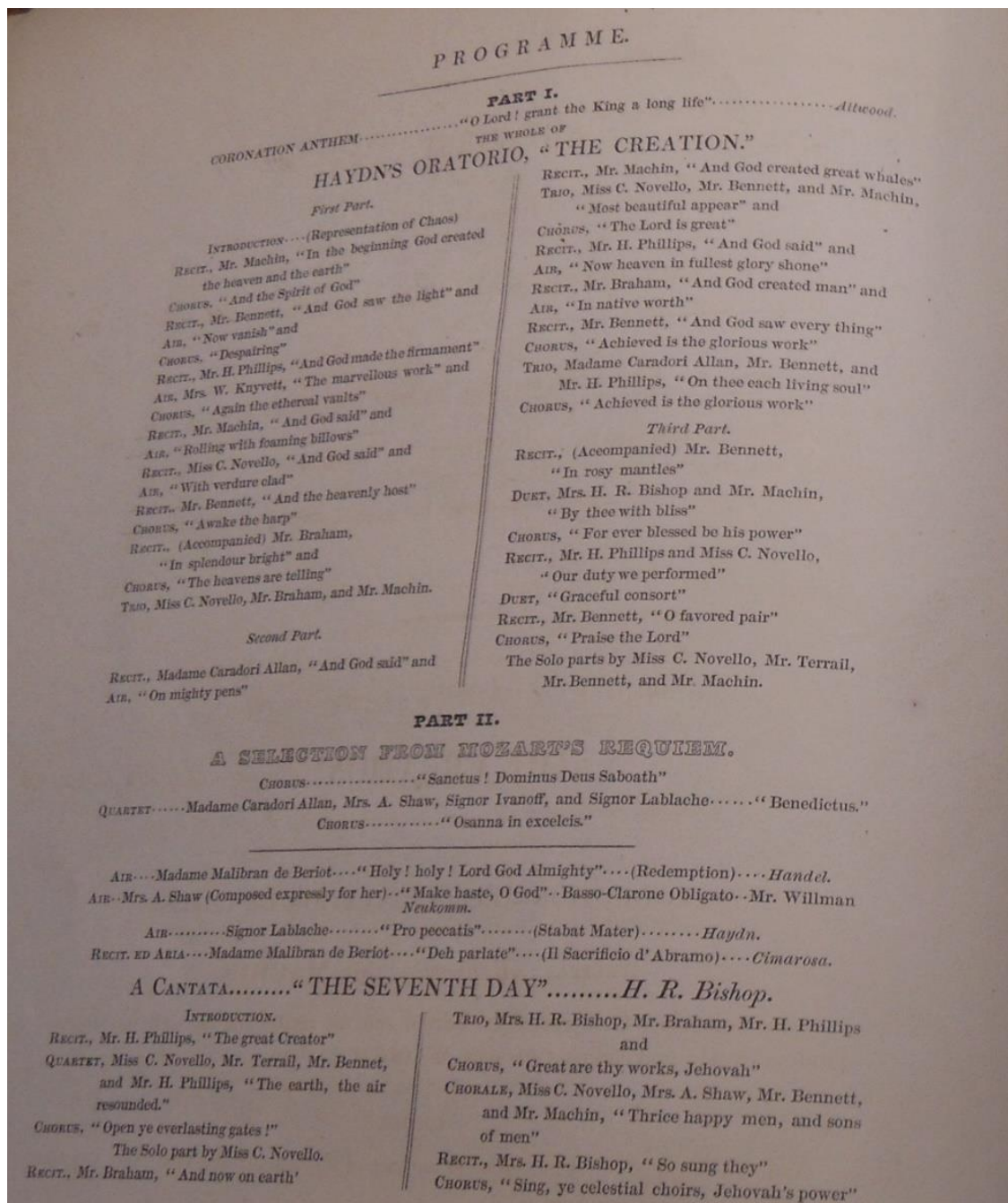


Figure 5: Concert Programme, Sacred Concert, Tuesday 13 September 1836.

The miscellaneous concerts given in the evenings at the Theatre Royal presented a mixture of orchestral pieces, from opera overtures to full symphonies, concertos and other instrumental solos, and vocal solos including operatic arias and popular songs. This Theatre Royal, the second of that name in Manchester, had opened in 1807 and would burn down in 1844. It was routinely used for musical performances during its existence, in part because the Gentlemen's Concerts rarely

allowed their hall to be used by outsiders. Miscellaneous concerts frequently took place at the theatre, as well as theatrical performances incorporating musical elements. The concerts given by star touring performers on their visits to Manchester, including Liszt in 1824 and 1825 and Paganini in 1832, also used this venue. Adaptations were made to the theatre for the purposes of the festival, raising the floor of the pit and raking the seating from the front of the centre box down to the stage. Cushions were also added to the seats, which were much approved of by the critics.

The first miscellaneous concert (Figure 6) was typical of the pattern for the week, and of festival miscellaneous concerts in general.⁵⁸ It differed from more routine miscellaneous concerts in length only; less prestigious occasions had the same combination of repertoire, just less of it. This concert, on the Tuesday evening, opened with a symphony by Haydn, named on the programme as 'No. 8' but clearly identified in the reviews as the 'Drumroll' symphony.⁵⁹ A vocal item followed, the 'Recitative and Romanza' from Morlacchi's opera *Teobaldo ed Isolina*, which was enjoyed by the *Manchester Guardian* and *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* reviewers, but dismissed by the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* as having come 'from an exceedingly dull opera which was produced at our theatre'. A comic duet from Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* followed by a ballad by John Stevenson, dismissed by the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer as 'rather insignificant', led to a virtuoso *dialogo brillante* by Bochsa for flute and clarinet, performed by the two instrumental stars Nicholson and Willman to great acclaim. Vocal items then filled the remainder of the first half of the concert, progressing through an aria from Mozart's *La Clemenza di Tito*, a trio by Spohr, a *scena* from Herold's *Zampa*, a duet from Bellini's *Norma*, and the sextet from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* to conclude. This sequence alone displayed a sometimes uneasy mix ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous. The *Manchester Guardian* reviewer dismissed the *scena*, sung by Braham, as 'a very trashy affair', an opinion with which the other reviewers and the audience appear to have concurred. In fact, the *Advertiser* was even

⁵⁸ An interesting comparative account of the festivals which took place in 1828 is published in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, Vol. 10 (1828), pp. 135–82.

⁵⁹ The *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* reviews quoted in this paragraph were collected in *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*, pp. 15–16. The *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* reviews were reprinted in *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester, 1836*, pp. 11–12. The *Manchester Guardian* reviews were published in that paper on 15 September 1836 and 17 September 1836.

blunter: 'Braham defeated our hopes of him by a *scena* from a sort of Corsair opera. The subject, being piratical, was bad; the air tawdry, and the combinations too elaborate to be worth the trouble of listening to them'. Part Second opened with Beethoven's overture to *Fidelio*, then proceeded through a similar jumble of opera arias and stage ballads. It was broken halfway by De Bériot performing one of his own violin concertos, in which all the reviewers measured him against Paganini, and the concert concluded with Weber's overture to *Oberon*.

P R O G R A M M E .	
PART FIRST.	
SINFONIA	(No. 8).....Haydn.
RECIT. E ROMANZA Mademoiselle Assandri.....	"Cara suono lusinghier,".....(Teobaldo ed Isolina)
Harp and Flute Obligati.....	Messrs. Nicholson and ChallonerMorlacchi.
DUEETO, Signori Ivanoff e Lablache.....	"Non fuggir".....(Guillaume Tell).....Rossini.
AIR, Mrs. W. Knyvett.....	"Give that wreath to me".....Sir J. Stevenson.
DIALOGO BRILLANTE, for Flute and Clarinet,.....	Messrs. Nicholson and Willman.....Bochsa.
SCENA.....	Mr. Braham....."Laws are mine".....(Zampa).....Herold.
TRIO, Mrs. H. R. Bishop, Miss C. Novello, and Mrs. A. Shaw.....	"Night's lingering shades"
	(Azor and Zemira)Spohr.
RECIT. ED ARIA, Madame Malibran De Bériot.....	"Non più di fiori"
Corno di Basetto Obligato,.....	Mr. Willman.....(La Clemenza di Tito).....Mozart.
DUETTO, Madame Caradori Allan and Mademoiselle Assandri ...	"Deh con te"....(Norma).....Bellini.
SESTETTO, Madame Malibran De Bériot, Mademoiselle Assandri, and Miss C. Novello, Signor Ivanoff, Mr. H. Phillips, and Signor Lablache.....	"Sola, sola".....(Il Don Giovanni)Mozart.
PART SECOND.	
OVERTURE TO FIDELIO.....	Beethoven.
RECIT. ED ARIA, Madame Caradori Allan.....	"Io L'udia".....(Torquato Tasso).....Donizetti.
RECIT. AND AIR, Mr. H. Phillips	"The light of other days"Harp and Cornet à Piston Obligati
Messrs. Challoner and Harper.....	(The Maid of Artois).....Balfe.
DUETTO, Madame Malibran De Bériot and Signor Lablache.....	"Oh ! guardate che figura"
	(La Prova d'un Opera Seria).....Guglielmi.
CONCERTO VIOLIN.....	Monsieur De Bériot.....De Bériot.
AIR, Mrs. H. R. Bishop.....	"Come, summer come".....H. R. Bishop.
BARCAROLA, Signor Ivanoff.....	"Or che in cielo".....(Marino Faliero).....Donizetti.
TERZETTO, Miss C. Novello, Mr. Bennett, and Signor Lablache....	"Tremate ! empi tremate"....Beethoven.
AIR, Mrs. A. Shaw.....	"A lonely Arab maid".....(Oberon).....C. M. Von Weber.
ARIA, Signor Lablache.....	"Largo al factotum".....(Il Barbiere di Siviglia).....Rossini.
OVERTURE TO OBERON.....	C. M. Von Weber.

Figure 6: Concert Programme, Miscellaneous Concert, Tuesday 13 September 1836.

It is difficult to judge how the less familiar repertoire was received by the festival audience, because the responses of the critics were often completely polarised, and in the items each critic reacted against they usually neglected to mention the audience response entirely. The reviewer for the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* really did not like Spohr, on aesthetic grounds—his review of *The Christian's Prayer* complained that 'the cantata laboured heavily along, to the delight of those who care nothing about the value of poetry and are able to enjoy the luxury imparted by learned combinations of sound'—although he positioned himself as an expert on the serious and substantial repertoire in each programme and sought to educate his readership about the merits and demerits of Beethoven, symphonies in general, and Haydn's orchestration. His comments on the singers and the relative merits of their vocal styles and execution seem astute, but he was utterly scathing about the novelty items and musical trifles in the programmes. The reviewer for *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* did not appreciate the Spohr either, but for different reasons, principally that he found it dull. He particularly enjoyed all the light novelty items, however. The *Manchester Guardian* reviewer was far more enthusiastic about Henry Bishop's new works and fulsomely appreciative of Spohr, but less taken with Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony—'the composer failed most egregiously when he thought he could paint by musical sounds, in such a way as that they stood the slightest chance of being recognised, "a scene by a rivulet", a "rustic dance interrupted by a thunder storm" and "the Shepherd's song of gratitude"; for so the books informed us the different movements of the symphony were entitled'—and even more disparaging of the novelties than the *Advertiser* had been, exclaiming in the review of the Thursday evening concert that:

several of the selections might without injustice may be classed under the designation of 'musical trash'. How they came to be obtruded on the notice of a first-rate audience, such as that which graced the Theatre Royal on Thursday night, we are entirely in the dark. The fact is that it was little less than an insult to the public of Manchester to occupy their time by compelling them to listen to such worthless inanities.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 17 September 1836.

What the audience as a whole made of the different elements of the programming is therefore a mystery, but the opinions expressed by the different critics likely reflect different camps among the attendees more broadly. The music of Spohr, in particular, was so divisive that the *Advertiser* reviewer approached the first Spohr piece in the programmes thus:

‘The Christian’s Prayer’: We tremble with apprehension, as we approach this subject. Our musical friends are divided upon its merits; by the law of arms we shall be compelled to take one side.⁶¹

Henry Bishop’s cantata, *The Seventh Day*, which had been written for the Philharmonic Society and was first performed in 1834, was strongly criticised by the *Wheeler’s* reviewer for being too much like Spohr. He described it as ‘a very learned production, of the school of Spohr, from whose works it is not much deteriorated, if at all. But would not the musical connoisseur prefer the choice of Handel or Mozart as a model?’ Perhaps in consequence of its similarities with Spohr, the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer loved it, proclaiming that it ‘may be placed by the side of the best continental productions of the day, without suffering by the comparison’.

For the concluding ball, the Theatre Royal was connected to the Assembly Rooms and the Portico (Figure 7). One account of the festival described how it was possible to enter the first ball room in the Assembly Rooms from Mosley Street, then to pass through a newly created door and a gallery over Back Mosley Street to enter the Grand Ball Room in the Theatre Royal. Further newly constructed passageways and staircases, with a one-way system, led back from the theatre to a saloon and a banqueting hall in the Assembly Rooms, then from there to a third ball room in the Portico. Four separate quadrille bands and a military band occupied different rooms within this labyrinth, although the music was emphatically not the focus of this portion of the festival, as attested to by the pages and pages of names and costumes of attendees.⁶²

⁶¹ *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*, pp. 15–16.

⁶² *The Second Grand Musical Festival*, pp. 14–16.

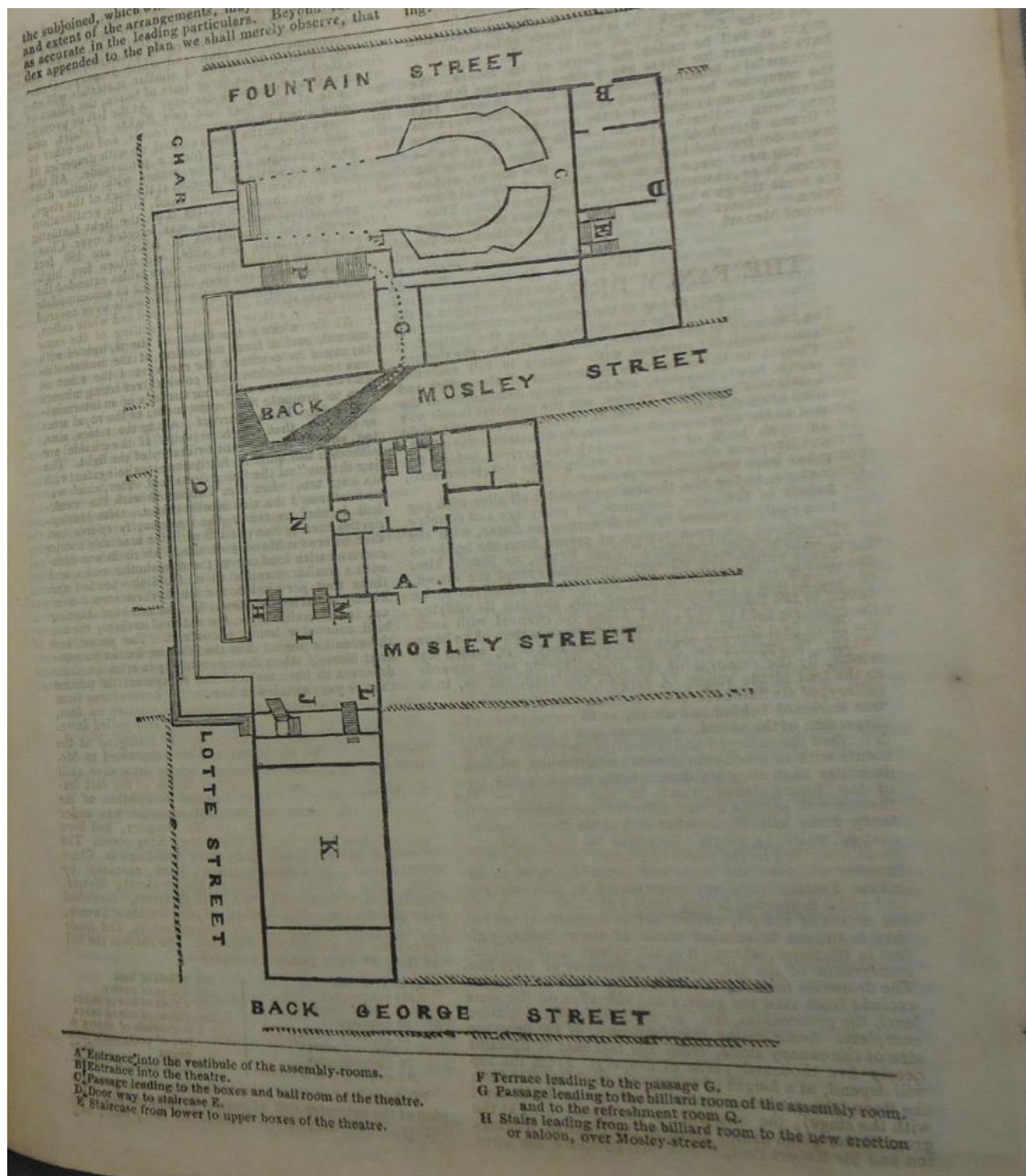


Figure 7: Plan of the Rooms for the Ball. *Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*, p. 23.

George Smart spent the week before the festival in Manchester, overseeing the final arrangements. On the Monday at the beginning of festival week there was a rehearsal under his direction for the daytime concerts from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon, followed by an evening rehearsal for the theatre concerts which did not finish until eleven at night. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that Smart:

was early at his post. His professional brethren, well aware of his punctuality on such occasions, were no loiterers ... Every composition that was new to the professional persons engaged, or that seemed to present any difficulty from its intricacy, or in which the same parties, including the leading London professors, had not been engaged together, was gone through.⁶³

The subtext here is that much of the music was not rehearsed, albeit with the caveat that the majority of musicians present had performed it previously within a similar grouping at a previous festival. The historical account of the festival explicitly named Bishop's new cantata, the selections from Cudmore's work, and Spohr's oratorio as the items focused on in this rehearsal.⁶⁴ The briefness of rehearsals for orchestral concerts and festivals in this era is widely recognised, but the fact that a majority of musicians worked together across a variety of such events, and therefore had a deep familiarity with one another and with the repertoire, appears less well understood. For example, Clara Novello recorded in her *Reminiscences* how at the Worcester festival of 1836, just days after the Manchester festival concluded, at which she and many of the same singers and instrumentalists appeared, she was requested to sing 'With verdure clad' from Haydn's *The Creation* in place of a planned appearance by Malibran. No orchestral parts were available, however, so she and the orchestra all played and sang from memory.⁶⁵ The fact that they were able to do so attests to the depth of their knowledge of key festival repertoire.

Smart meticulously recorded timings on his programmes, including start and finish times of parts of concerts, and durations of oratorios and symphonies.⁶⁶ The average length of the concerts was four hours. This seems extraordinary now, but it was a typical duration for such events in the early nineteenth century. According to Smart's notes, the Tuesday evening concert commenced at 7.30 p.m. and concluded at

⁶³ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836.

⁶⁴ *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*, p. 10.

⁶⁵ Clara Novello, *Clara Novello's Reminiscences* (London: Edward Arnold, 1910), pp. 56–57.

⁶⁶ This is one of the areas in which his papers have received prior attention, including an article by Nicholas Temperley in 1966 which compared the timings indicated by Smart to timings in modern recordings, in an exploration of tempo and observance of repeats in the early nineteenth century. This research is made all the more meaningful by Smart having learnt his Beethoven tempi direct from Beethoven, and by having studied with musicians who sang for Handel. See Nicholas Temperley, 'Tempos and Repeats'.

11.29 p.m. Wednesday's morning concert ran from 11.04 a.m. to 3.16 p.m. Any suggestion that the length may have been due in part to extended intervals can be ruled out: Wednesday morning, for example, had a '5 minute stop' from 12.58 until 1.03, then a 24 minute break between 1.48 and 2.12. While concerts of this length were normal, other sources generally contain some uncertainty over precise durations of pieces, cuts and breaks. Smart records all such details. He clearly liked his concerts to commence punctually, so the delay of four minutes to the start of Wednesday morning displeased him greatly. He noted at the top of the programme that that this was:

at the suggestion of Mr Willert [the concert steward] who said that the performance should be delayed Ten minutes as, in consequence of a Fire the streets were blocked up therefore the Patrons &c could not pass – but in a conversation with Earl of Wilton he recommended the delay of 2 or 3 minutes only.

The Earl of Wilton's name appears regularly both in press reports and in Smart's papers in connection with the festival, suggesting that as well as evidently being a musical enthusiast he also made good use of his influence as an aristocratic patron to intervene in matters of organisation. This is valuable information when balanced against assertions made by Kidd and others, as referred to in the introductory chapter, that the regional aristocracy no longer played any part in Manchester's society.

In contemporary reports, the length of the concerts occasioned less comment than the duration of certain pieces within them. Thursday's evening concert began with Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, which caused the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer to suggest that the managers of the festival had committed a great mistake 'in introducing a composition which occupied *three quarters of an hour* in its performance. It was, however, exquisitely played, and no doubt afforded extreme pleasure to those who were gifted with patience'.⁶⁷ The full performance of *The Creation* also proved unpopular with this paper:

⁶⁷ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 17 September 1836.

It will be observed from the above bill of fare, that the whole of 'The Creation' was performed. This has been unusual of late years, and we cannot but think it was an error in judgment on the part of the committee. The public have latterly been satisfied with a portion of this work, magnificent as it is; the second and third parts contain some lengthy, not to say heavy compositions, and by their omission room would have been afforded for more novelty and variety.⁶⁸

It is interesting to compare the preferences of the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer with those of the reviewer for *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle*, who rated the Pastoral Symphony very highly, enthusing that 'this, alone, was worth the toil of a fifty miles' journey to hear'.⁶⁹ This reviewer also wrote far more appreciatively of *The Creation*, writing perceptively about its illustrative musical language, although he did acknowledge it was a little long for one act of a concert.⁷⁰

The musicians and singers listed in the programme were not always those who actually performed on the day: various antics behind the scenes, as indicated in Smart's annotations, suggest situations that approached farce. Some changes were made for unavoidable reasons, for example the ophicleide player, who had been injured in a stagecoach accident. The press could not resist the pun, lamenting the absence of Mr Ponder and his ponderous instrument.⁷¹ More often, changes were occasioned by singers arriving late for concerts or being in some way indisposed, necessitating that the piece be performed by an alternative singer. During the Tuesday morning concert, Smart recorded that 'Mrs A. Shaw did not come into the orchestra until past 2'. Given this second part of the concert had begun at '21m to 2', and she was due to sing in the vocal quartet which comprised the second piece of the part, this no doubt caused some consternation.

⁶⁸ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836.

⁶⁹ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 14.

⁷⁰ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 7.

⁷¹ *The Musical World*, 3/27 (September 1836), p. 12. For an interesting account of the perils of stagecoach travel for festivals in the 1830s, see Robert J. Bruce, 'An Incident at Severn Stoke, 11 September 1830', *The Musical Times*, 150/1908 (2009), 57–64, which recounts the accident which befell several musicians travelling to the Three Choirs Festival at Worcester, including Franz Cramer, the leader of the orchestra.

Central here too were the events concerning Maria Malibran de Bériot, which resulted in much popular commentary at the time and scholarly attention since. Smart's notes and comments, written on the programme as the situation developed, give a fascinating insight into the impact on the performances of the drama as it unfolded and the steps taken to mitigate the situation. In the July of that year, two months prior to the festival, Malibran had suffered a riding accident. She never fully recovered, as a result of the head injury she received and the pregnancy she is believed to have lost as a result of the fall, but she nevertheless continued to fulfil all engagements up to the Manchester festival regardless of her deteriorating health. Smart noted on his programme from the Tuesday morning of the festival, next to her first appearance, that 'Madame De Beriot was very unwell but sang well tho she commenced feebly'. Reviews of her performances over the next three concerts were each more positive than the last. The highest praise was given to the duet by Mercadante that she sang with Caradori Allan on the Wednesday evening. They were each determined to outdo the other, the press described:

Malibran, being second, took it upon herself to oversing the principal in the graces and shakes of Caradori's own choosing. This may have been a joke. It looked very like earnest. Malibran's eyes, let us hope, do not always shoot those fires to her friends.⁷²

The piece was enthusiastically encored, at the end of which Malibran collapsed. Smart recorded that she was unable to sing again and was carried to her inn. On the Thursday morning, Malibran came to the church but was too weak to perform. Smart appears to have been on stage while the situation developed, as he was kept informed by notes from the committee written on scraps of rough paper and preserved within the programme (Figure 8). The first: 'Mrs Knyvett is not yet come'. The second, referring to Malibran, 'She is in hysterics & fits – quere if she comes?'

It seems that while attempting to conduct the early stages of the concert, Smart was faced with the indisposition of one soloist and the late arrival of a second. In the same concert he had to send someone in search of the singer Phillips, as he was

⁷² *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*, p. 18.

not yet present and had a solo fast approaching. Smart wrote on the programme 'Mdme Malibran came to church but was too ill to remain. Had Mrs. W. Knyvett arrived in time she would have been requested to have sung the song'. The song in question was 'Rejoice greatly' from *Messiah*, which was instead performed by Caradori Allan.

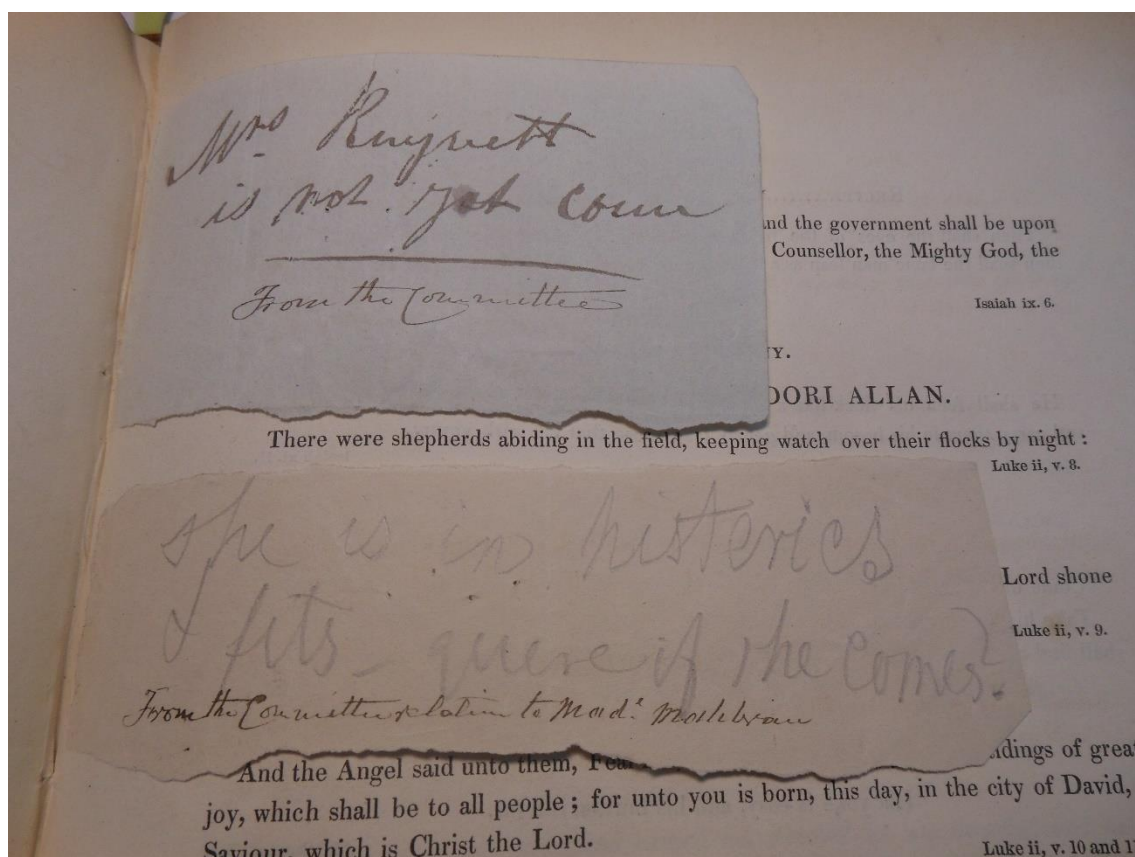


Figure 8: Notes bound into Smart's programme for the morning of 15 September 1836.

Malibran was not to sing again. Her health declined sharply and she died in Manchester the week after the festival. Smart recalled in his journal:

Malibran's death may have been accelerated by her extraordinary exertions while singing in a duet with Madame Caradori Allan; they settled the manner at rehearsal as to how it was to be sung, but when the time came Madame Caradori Allan made some deviation; this prompted Malibran to do the same, in which she displayed the most wonderful execution. During the well-deserved encore she turned to me and said, 'If I sing it again it will kill me'. 'Then do not', I replied,

'let me address the audience'. 'No', said she, 'I will sing it again and annihilate her'.⁷³

Some valuable evidence about the audience's response to items within the concerts is provided by the records of which pieces received encores. This also affords interesting and sometimes unexpected insights into behaviour and conduct at the event. It is interesting to compare the planned encores, which Smart noted on his programmes, with those actually given, as reported in newspaper reviews. Smart planned just one encore for each of the sacred concerts. Press commentary reveals the etiquette of not applauding in church, with praise awarded for 'chaste' and 'correct' performances, particularly by the female singers.⁷⁴ Encores were requested politely from the patrons' gallery, for example on the Tuesday, when the 'Benedictus' from Mozart's *Requiem* was reported to have been particularly desired by the Earl of Wilton.⁷⁵ On Wednesday morning, a repeat of the duet 'Qual anelante' by Marcello was requested via a paper note passed to Smart (Figure 9). It was repeated, as requested, but not until sometime later, during *Israel in Egypt*, in between the duet 'The Lord is a man of war' and the chorus 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever'.

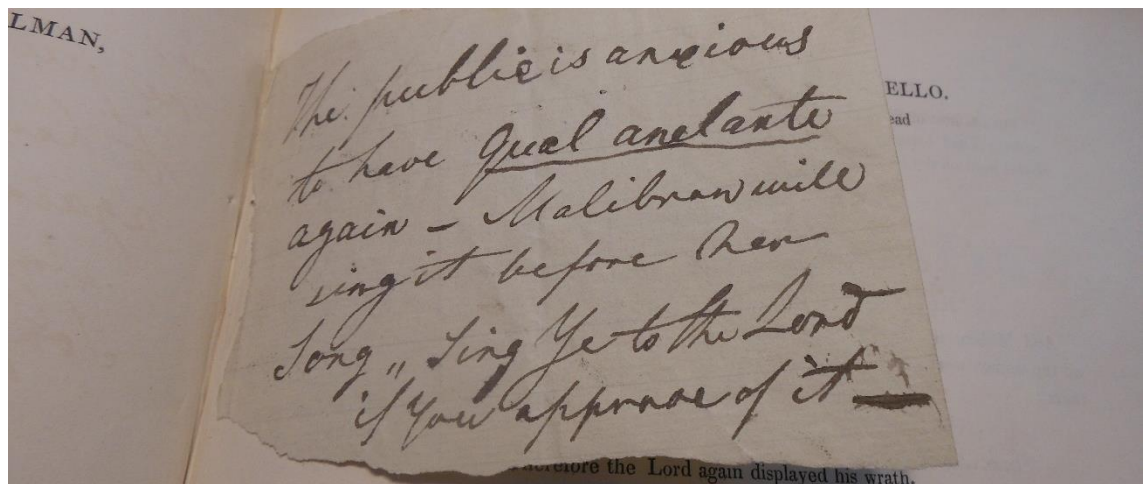


Figure 9: Encore request bound into Smart's programme for the morning of 16 September 1836.

⁷³ Cox and Cox, *Leaves from the Journals of Sir George Smart*, p. 283.

⁷⁴ The *Manchester Guardian* reviewer appears to have been particularly reserved in this regard, while the *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* reviews collected in *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester* seem sympathetic to the more dramatic performances.

⁷⁵ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 8.

Encores in the miscellaneous concerts were a different matter. Up to five pieces were repeated every evening, with a reviewer noting:

There was apparently no disposition on the part of this numerous auditory to be fastidious or hypercritical. They came there to satiate themselves with music, and scarcely a piece was sung or performed, without an attempt from some part of the house to procure an encore.⁷⁶

All the items that Smart put a question mark next to in his evening programmes were called for again as encores, according to the press accounts. Several additional encores were also requested, the majority of which were vocal items divided equally between arias and popular songs. Conduct was not always polite; a duet by Mozart was repeated 'after a sharpish contention between those who wished to hear it again, and those who did not'.⁷⁷

The importance of appropriate conduct at oratorio concerts indicated here, and how conduct at the theatre concerts differed, is inseparable from contemporary discussions around the appropriateness of putting on a music festival in a religious venue at all. The sermons given at the Collegiate Church around the time of the festival, and subsequently published, took great care to justify the festival from a religious perspective, whether responding to, or pre-empting criticism. The Reverend J. H. Marsden spoke on the Sunday immediately prior to the festival, providing many reasons why the music festival was appropriate, before cautioning his congregation:

When these sublime and awful mysteries, the sum of what we believe and the substance of what we hope for, are sounded in your ears, - when the words of inspiration are conveyed to your understanding, through the medium of an art, which has always an influence that elevates the soul; - beware, my brethren, of the gross and earthly mind, which finds in all this, nothing more than a gratification of the love of harmony, and the merely sensual pleasure, which that love produces:- for this would amount to little less, than a profanation of all that we hold sacred ... Let us not venture to make our religion, a mere handmaid to

⁷⁶ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

our pleasures ... If you can trace his presence, in all the works of his wonderful creation around you, ... forget him not, my brethren, when his praises are sung in the house where he loveth to dwell, and in the words which He Himself hath taught us.⁷⁸

His critics remained vociferous, however, as demonstrated by published correspondence responding to this sermon from the Reverend R. Frost, Curate of St Stephen's Church Salford, who, in the course of fourteen pages of angry prose, attempted to refute any possible religious justification for the music festival, attacking not just the performances but the preparations, the character of the performers and the 'ungodly exhibition' of the fancy dress ball. He was particularly incensed by the modifications made to the Collegiate Church:

If we add the consideration of the previous preparation, the tearing down of pews, and the entire removal, for the time, of the pulpit and the desk, the conclusion, I think, cannot be resisted, that on occasion of the Musical Festival, the Collegiate Church has been subjected to an act of solemn desecration.⁷⁹

This line of argument was countered by an equally vociferous defence, in the form of a publication put out by the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, initially in the paper then later issued as a separate and expanded volume.⁸⁰ While the author of this text is unattributed, the editor and joint proprietor of this newspaper was George Condry, a barrister who was subsequently described as 'a man of great accomplishments' who 'had few equals as a critic of music, painting, and the drama'.⁸¹ The Hargreaves Society's programme note for their performance of *Messiah* on 29 December 1841

⁷⁸ 'A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of Manchester on the 11th of September 1836, being the Sunday preceding the music festival, by the Rev. J. H. Marsden, B.D., clerk in orders of the collegiate church and fellow of St John's college, Cambridge' (Manchester: Henry Smith, 1836), pp. 14–15.

⁷⁹ 'A Letter to the Very Reverend The Warden of Manchester on the subject of the late Musical Festival, with especial reference to two sermons recently preached in the Collegiate Church and since published. By the Rev. R. Frost, M.A., Curate of St. Stephen's Church, Salford' (London: L. B. Seeley and Sons / Manchester: George Simms, 1836), p. 11.

⁸⁰ *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*.

⁸¹ Thomas Swindells, *Manchester Streets and Manchester Men* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1908), p. 66.

directs its readers back to this essay and explicitly names its author as George Condry.⁸² His personal intellectual interest in music and his reputation as a critic underpins the contents of this remarkable volume, which is completely different in tone and content to other reports about this festival, or indeed to music criticism during this period in general. It deserves a fuller analysis than the scope of this chapter allows, but as an indication of its approach, it begins with an erudite essay, described by its author as a 'meagre chronological sketch' but which is in fact in the region of seven thousand words, detailing references to music in the bible and in antiquity and providing a thoroughly researched account of the origins and place of music in the church, with references to numerous scholars and relevant literature.⁸³ His criticism of those who questioned the appropriateness of the festival, and of music in church more generally, is blistering:

On what authority is the religious sincerity of those who attend the oratorios impeached? Not on scripture; not on the custom of the church; not on the sense of the pious, calculated by any sort of majority. It can only come from the dictation of a narrow sect; and a sect, with all the Christian world and the examples and authority of all scripture against them, can scarcely be entitled to interfere with the religious pleasures of others.⁸⁴

This is of course part of a far broader period of discussion and disagreement in Britain concerning the place and role of music in churches and services of various denominations. The musical activities of established and dissenting churches, and their connections with Manchester's wider musical and civic life, are recurring subjects throughout this dissertation.⁸⁵

⁸² See Chapter 3.

⁸³ *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*, pp. 3–7.

⁸⁴ *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival*, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Wiebke Thormählen provides a useful summary of the state of English church music in the 1830s, and the related literature, in her chapter 'From Dissent to Community: The Sacred Harmonic Society and Amateur Choral Singing in London', in *London Voices, 1820–1840: Vocal Performers, Practices, Histories*, ed. Roger Parker and Susan Rutherford (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 159–78.

Conclusion

Several themes emerge out of this snapshot of a moment in Manchester's musical history: the interests and insecurities of Manchester's industrialists; sources for and organisation of musicians; the growing importance of the press for musical dissemination and opinion-forming; and the religious influences upon Manchester's musical life. The motivating factors of ambition and prestige behind the staging of festivals in the new towns and cities have, as discussed, been highlighted by Drummond, Foreman and Pritchard. The desire to display wealth and power while also signalling cultural pretensions undoubtedly played a part in the planning of Manchester's festival, particularly in a town whose inhabitants frequently found themselves accused of the pursuit of financial gain at all costs.⁸⁶ Equally apparent, however, are the genuine musical interests of many of those involved, among the performers, the organisers, the audiences and the press. There was a sincere desire among the organising committee to put on an event as much a musical as a social spectacle. The passion for music these key individuals and groups exhibited underpins every chapter of this dissertation.

Despite the tragic demise of Malibran, the festival was deemed a great success musically, socially and financially, making a profit of around £5000 to be distributed for charitable purposes.⁸⁷ It lived long in Manchester's memory, as attested to by the various reminiscences published fifty years or more after the event.⁸⁸ The festival also caught the attention of the national press, and occasioned much commentary, particularly in light of Malibran's death. However, such accounts did not always have the musical focus that the festival organisers may have wished for. An article in *The Spectator* on 17 September 1836, for example, described the numerous attendance and apparent musical success in a sentence, before devoting extended paragraphs to stagecoach accidents in which several of the performers were caught up on the way to

⁸⁶ The charges of philistinism and mercenary behaviour are further developed later in this dissertation, in particular in Chapter 4, in the Postlude, and in the concluding chapter.

⁸⁷ The various published reports of the festival and newspaper reportage provide very detailed accounts of income and expenditure, including a breakdown of precise quantities of items of food purchased for the Fancy Dress Ball, but do not actually state where the profits went, beyond the general statement of 'Manchester charities'.

⁸⁸ 'Some Manchester Festivals', *Manchester Guardian*, 5 August 1890; 'The Last Manchester Music Festival – II'. *Manchester Guardian*, 23 March 1889.

Manchester, and to the arrangements for the fancy dress ball, with a shorter paragraph discussing the presence of pickpockets at the oratorio concerts.⁸⁹

Given the persistence of condescension towards the musical life of the provinces, at the time and in more recent literature, it seems particularly important to emphasise that Manchester's Grand Musical Festival of 1836 was a product of, and indebted to, the thriving music scene already present in the town. Leading musicians and music enthusiasts, active in other areas of Manchester's musical life, took the initiative in organising and promoting the festival. Key members of the musical community took part in the performances. While the occasion by its nature invited and celebrated the presence of London instrumentalists and international stars, the town was equally proud of its home-grown chorus and its own musicians among the throng. The lives and careers of two of these musicians – Andrews and Banks – form the substance of Chapter 1. Key members of the organising committee, and local professional singers who formed part of the chorus for this event, are central to Chapters 2 and 3. The majority of named characters from this short prelude reappear elsewhere in this dissertation.

⁸⁹ 'The Manchester Festival', *The Spectator*, 17 September 1836.

Chapter One: Networks of Musical Entrepreneurship

Musicians, as William Weber has highlighted, are often given too little credit for their roles in shaping and reshaping musical life, instead being seen as subordinates within society or as spiritually superior to and separate from it.¹ It therefore seems appropriate to start detailed exploration of Manchester's musical networks with a study of the lives and careers of some of its musicians. A handful of such characters appears to have dominated most organised forms of music-making in Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s, working in highly entrepreneurial ways. Weber defined an entrepreneur as one who takes up an opportunity at his or her own expense. He pointed out that a freelance musician is by definition entrepreneurial, often undertaking a variety of performing, composing and teaching activities in order to make a living.² In this respect, the characteristics of the careers of nineteenth-century musicians continue to be echoed in the portfolio careers so often still pursued by musicians today. This chapter explores the networks of the influential figure Richard Hoffman Andrews, and the intersecting careers of two of his colleagues, Andrew Ward and David Ward Banks. Following the paths and connections of these protagonists sheds light on the practicalities of musical entrepreneurial networks, and their relationships with broader social and cultural structures, regionally and nationally.

Detailed studies of the nature of the music profession in Great Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been made by Cyril Ehrlich and Deborah Rohr.³ Both highlighted the tremendous growth in the numbers of professional musicians in the course of the nineteenth century, as evidenced by the growth in numbers recording music-related occupations in census returns. Ehrlich and Rohr also both emphasised the relatively low social status musicians occupied and the necessity this imposed on them to undertake a variety of different activities in order to survive.⁴

¹ William Weber, 'The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700–1914', in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), p. 3.

² Weber, 'Musician as Entrepreneur', p. 6.

³ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴ Ehrlich, *The Music Profession*, pp. 2, 42; Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, pp. 22, 134.

Rohr further expanded upon the entrepreneurial nature of the work, describing the breadth of activities pursued beyond performing, teaching and composing, to encompass music publishing and selling, the musical instrument trade, and the establishment of music shops and warehouses.⁵ Such variety and versatility is characteristic of the professional musical culture of Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s.

But while the studies of the careers of British musicians by Ehrlich and Rohr are important and valuable pieces of work, the statistics they derive from a data set weighted towards London inevitably conceal some of the more interesting variations evident elsewhere in the country. Furthermore, their discourse is burdened by the negative associations that the term 'provincial' has acquired over the years, in that it is not just used as a geographical descriptor but also as an indication of marginality, narrow-mindedness and unsophisticated ways.⁶ The resulting assumptions about the nature of music in the provinces compared to London have become ingrained and are often repeated as fact without much enquiry as to whether they are actually true, from the common trope that influence flows from London to the provinces, to the slur that those who did not work in London or achieve fame outside their region must have been inferior or unsuccessful musicians, or even that the everyday lives of 'ordinary' musicians are not in fact that interesting.⁷ For example, right at the beginning of his book, Ehrlich divided the profession into 'fame and obscurity, genius and mediocrity', described how in eighteenth-century England 'the typical family of musicians engaged in activities which were humdrum and little noticed', and noted 'it would be tedious to enumerate too many family sagas of modest competence'.⁸ His discussion of Manchester was limited to the observation that in the second half of the nineteenth century the railway network allowed visiting soloists and small groups to bring their music to the provinces, and he asserted that Manchester's German community 'with

⁵ Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, pp. 134–52.

⁶ 'provincial', *Oxford English Dictionaries*, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/provincial> (accessed 15 January 2018).

⁷ Cowgill and Holman highlighted the tendency for research to focus on London, together with the wealth of activity still to be explored away from the capital, in the Preface and Introduction to their edited book *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*.

⁸ Ehrlich, *The Music Profession*, pp. 2, 11, 12.

an inherent taste for music' formed the core of concert-goers, although he did allow that 'there was also an element of commercial enterprise and civic pride'.⁹

As this chapter will demonstrate, while the lives of Manchester's early nineteenth-century entrepreneurs display many of the characteristics of the music profession as described by Ehrlich and Rohr, they also differ in a number of important aspects from the situation in London. These differences relate directly to the distinct social and cultural environment evident in the new city. While some areas of musical life paralleled or emulated London, in other areas the music professionals were treading new ground.

Richard Andrews: Early life and apprenticeship to Andrew Ward

Richard Hoffman Andrews (1803–91) lived to the grand age of 87, working variously throughout his long life as a teacher, pianist, organist, violinist, composer, lecturer, concert promoter, music shop proprietor and founder of a music circulating library. He raised a musical family and one of his sons, Richard Hoffman, went on to have considerable success as a concert pianist in America. Andrews' autobiography was published but unfortunately it is only three pages long, covering just the earliest years of his career.¹⁰ His son Richard's autobiography is much more substantial, containing valuable information about his father's life and music in Manchester, as well as his own subsequent career overseas.¹¹ The texts of several of Andrews' lectures also survive, together with numerous newspaper reports, advertisements, and records of various musical societies and institutions. When all these sources are taken into consideration it is possible to paint a vivid picture of Andrews' musical activities and networks. Andrews' *Autobiography*, while truncated, does contain an interesting list of the 44 subscribers to the book, including notable figures from Manchester such as Oliver Heywood and Sir Thomas Sowler, plus individuals from London, Glasgow and

⁹ Ehrlich, *The Music Profession*, pp. 61–62.

¹⁰ Richard H. Andrews, *The Autobiography of Richard Hoffman Andrews* (Manchester, 1886). Equally disappointing, the copy held at Manchester's Henry Watson Library, to which is appended the catalogue of Andrews' music circulating library, was lost during the Manchester Central Library refurbishment of 2010–14 and has not yet been relocated at the time of writing.

¹¹ Richard Hoffman, *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years, with a biographical sketch by his wife* (London: William Reeves, 1910). Richard Hoffman's career also forms a substantial case study in a recent doctoral thesis: Spencer Allen Huston, 'Cultivating Virtuosity: Resident Pianists in New York City and the Nineteenth-Century American Musical Scene', unpub. PhD diss., University of Kansas (2016).

elsewhere in the country.¹² There may have been benevolent motivations behind support for this book, as Andrews was in his later years reliant on his son for financial support, but the list does still indicate the high esteem in which Andrews continued to be held at the very end of his life.¹³

His father, Andrew Burgess Hoffman (1772–1837), was a Covent Garden tailor who took to the stage as an actor and singer, adopting the stage name ‘Andrews’ as his family strongly disapproved of his theatre career. He was particularly successful as a character actor and was reported to have been especially popular in London for his personal resemblance to, and accurate representation of George IV in ‘The Coronation’.¹⁴ He was a regular performer in the theatres of Manchester and Liverpool, where Richard Andrews recalled playing for his father’s benefit performances, noting they were attended by large audiences attracted by the actor’s popularity as a vocalist and as a performer of Shakespeare.¹⁵

Following in the steps of his father, Richard Andrews’ earliest employment was as a child actor, appearing in Birmingham in 1808, then in 1809 at the Theatre Royals of both Liverpool and Manchester in the ‘Blind Boy’ and ‘Children in the Wood’ alongside his sister. He played the role of Tom Thumb in 1810. In 1811, he recalled:

I played pantomime in the Lord Douglas's *dream* in ‘Chevy Chase’, representing his castle being attacked, and the lady love being forcibly carried away. I well remember the carrying off business, as my lady (aged six years) and myself almost came to grief before we could clear off the stage, my bodily strength almost yielding to a downfall of both parties.¹⁶

¹² Andrews, *Autobiography*, p. 4. Oliver Heywood (1825–92), banker and philanthropist, commemorated with a statue in Manchester’s Albert Square. The Heywood family, in particular Oliver’s father Sir Benjamin Heywood, are central to Chapter 4. Sir Thomas Sowler (1818–91), proprietor of the *Manchester Courier*.

¹³ ‘For many years he was a very hard-working man, as, in addition to his own family expenses, the support of his parents devolved upon him for nearly twenty years’. Hoffman, *Recollections*, biographical sketch by his wife, p. 42.

¹⁴ Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 8.

¹⁵ Andrews, *Autobiography*, p. 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

In 1812 he was apprenticed to Andrew Ward (1789–1838), leader of the band of the Manchester Theatre Royal, violinist, pianist, organist, music publisher and owner of a successful music academy and shop in the town. Ward's life and career supports Rohr's assertion that 'far from such options being alternatives chosen by unsuccessful performers, it was often the most successful musicians who could amass the capital to establish a music shop'.¹⁷ Ward maintained premises in Spring Gardens, in the commercial heart of Manchester (Figure 10). This address doubled as his residence and Andrews stayed with him during his apprenticeship.¹⁸ By 1836 they ran their business activities from 55 Spring Gardens and at Andrews' house in the upper-middle-class suburban district of Cheetham Hill.¹⁹ While it might be assumed Andrews' apprenticeship focused more on the music trade side of the profession, his recollections are of a thorough training as a performer and teacher. He was given opportunities to lead orchestras in Manchester and Liverpool from 1813, when he was only ten years old, and during the remainder of that decade he performed a number of piano solos and violin concertos.²⁰ By the 1820s, if not before, he was joining Ward in the orchestra on the provincial festival circuit.²¹ He was also instructed in the teaching methods Ward used and took organisational and performing responsibilities in Ward's forays into concert promotion. They developed a close relationship and in January 1824 Ward announced proudly in the newspapers that he had formed a partnership with his former pupil Richard Andrews.²² This partnership continued to be one of trade, tuition and performance and lasted until Ward's death in 1838.

Ward and Andrews later took on David Ward Banks, Andrew Ward's nephew, as their apprentice. As with Andrews, Banks had a busy and varied term of service, including opportunities for him to perform and teach from a young age. Josiah Slugg, a contemporary of his, recalled:

¹⁷ Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, p. 152.

¹⁸ 'Letter to the Editor', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 August 1886.

¹⁹ 'Education', *Manchester Guardian*, 16 July 1836. For a description of the changing nature of Manchester's districts and its Victorian suburban growth see H. B. Rogers, 'The Suburban Growth of Manchester', *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* (1962), 1–12.

²⁰ Andrews, *Autobiography*, p. 6.

²¹ As detailed above.

²² *Manchester Guardian*, 8 January 1825.

I became acquainted with him during his and my apprenticeship, and remember seeing him frequently riding down Market Street, on horseback, early in the morning, on his way to the country, once a week, travelling as far as Bury and Haslingden, to give lessons in music at various schools and private families.²³

After Ward's death, a shop and musical academy remained an important part of Andrews' working life. More accurately, shops and academies, as he moved frequently and often ran multiple premises at once. These included 'Richard Andrews's Musical Repository' at 6 Aytoun Street, later at 41 Piccadilly, out of which he also ran a music circulating library. The shop offered pianos, instruments for hire, piano tuning and sheet music for purchase.²⁴ The circulating library advertised itself as supplying new music weekly to subscribers, containing '150 volumes [consisting of] Select Oratorios, Masses, Sacred Music, Madrigals, Operas, Sonatas, Airs with variations, Waltzes, Quadrilles, Concertos, Mozart's Cantata "David", Songs, Duets, and Glees, by the most eminent classical composers; also Flute, Violin, Guitar, and Harp Music ... A large assortment of vocal and piano-forte music just received. Music lent out to copy'.²⁵ During the 1840s and 1850s his central premises moved frequently, advertised variously at the Palatine Buildings (near the Cathedral), Princess Street and St Ann's Street (see Figure 10). Its name changed often, in line with prevailing fashions, and included the 'London Piano Forte and Harp Bazaar' and the 'Parisian Piano Depot'. He also maintained suburban premises throughout this time, moving by 1849 to 84 Oxford Street, Chorlton-upon-Medlock.²⁶ He was still in trade at Oxford Street in November 1861, when a fire was reported to have broken out in his shop, damaging some sheet music but thankfully not reaching the pianos.²⁷

²³ Josiah Thomas Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1881), p. 103.

²⁴ 'Andrews's Musical Repository', *Manchester Guardian*, 13 October 1841.

²⁵ 'New Music Circulating Library', *Manchester Guardian*, 5 January 1842.

²⁶ 'Herr Pischek's Admired Songs', *Manchester Guardian*, 30 May 1849.

²⁷ 'Fires in Manchester, Yesterday', *Manchester Guardian*, 25 November 1861.

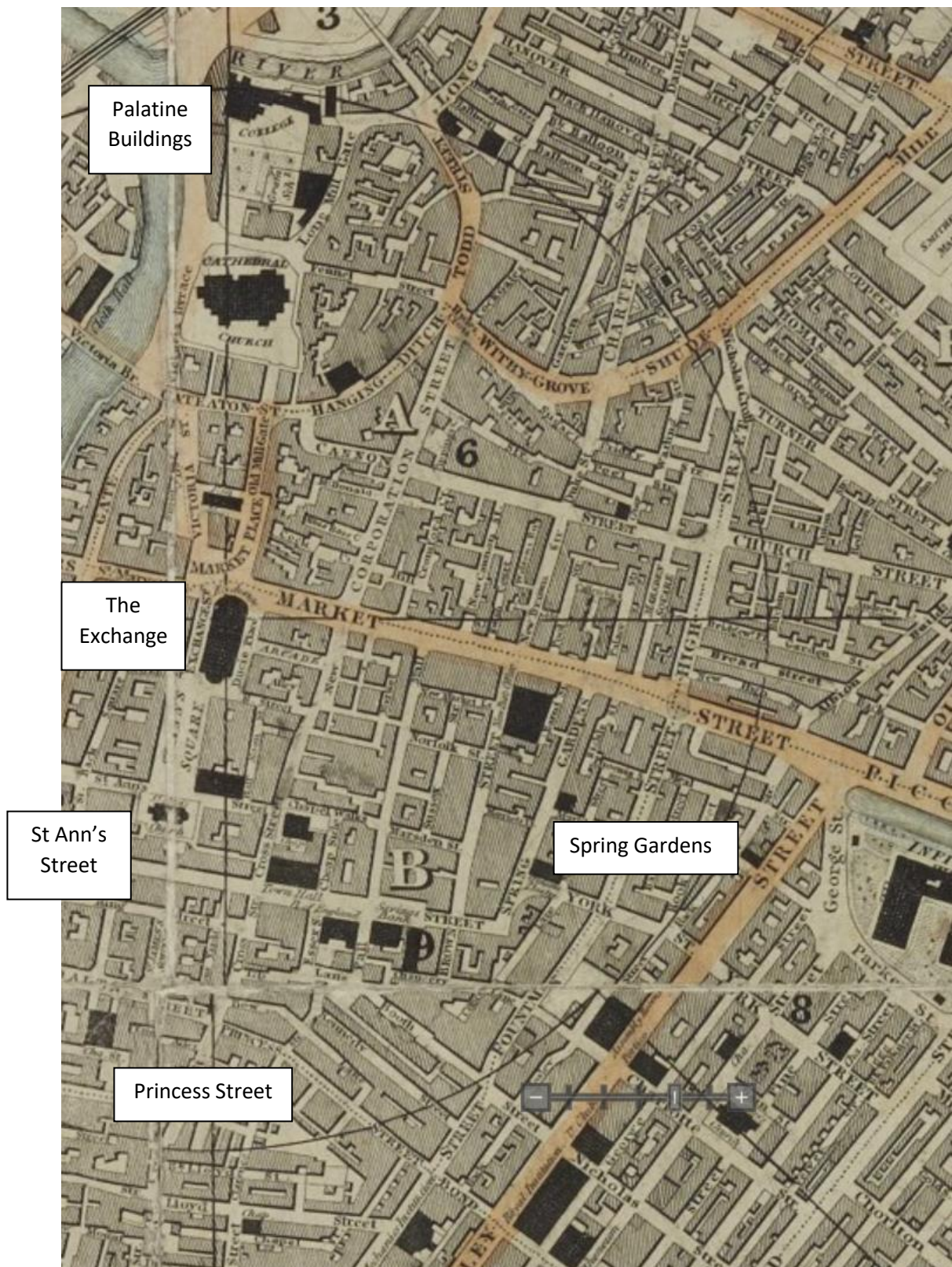


Figure 10: Annotated excerpt from *A Plan of Manchester and Salford with Vicinities* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1850). See Appendix 1.3 for larger version and full reference.

Richard Andrews as Performer and Composer

Andrews participated in many of the key musical societies and ensembles in Manchester during the course of his career. He was busy as an orchestral player, performing on the provincial festival circuit and for occasional concerts as well as being contracted as a regular violinist in the orchestra of the Gentlemen's Concerts.

Andrews' worth as a violinist appears to have been such that, when Hallé took charge of the Gentlemen's Concerts and issued new contracts stipulating attendance at all rehearsals, special dispensation was granted to allow Andrews to miss morning rehearsals, presumably due to teaching and other work commitments, but still to play in the concerts.²⁸ His son Richard described attending these concerts as a boy, providing a valuable insight into the orchestral performance practice of the time:

To these concerts I was always taken and was allowed to be on the stage near my father, whose chair I occupied while he was playing. The English orchestral players (except, of course, the 'cellos) always stood while they played; and they were not allowed the privilege of sitting and crossing their legs in the listless manner which so often offends the eye in our modern performances. I was taken to these concerts from the time I was six years old, and I am told that I often fell asleep during a symphony, and that my father occupied his 'rests' in prodding me with his bow.²⁹

In addition to his work as a violinist, Andrews was in demand as a pianist and organist, frequently called upon to accompany singers in concerts around the Manchester region. His most visible work as an organist took the form of a succession of concerts to celebrate organ openings, many of which were masterminded by Andrew Ward. The opening of the organ at St Augustine's Chapel, Granby Row, was delivered on a particularly grand scale, featuring a mass by Haydn performed by full orchestra and chorus.³⁰ The orchestra, numbering about ninety musicians, was filled

²⁸ Gentlemen's Concerts Musical Committee Minutes, 20 March 1850. Henry Watson Library shelfmark BR780.68Me68.

²⁹ Hoffman, *Recollections*, pp. 63–64.

³⁰ Advert, *Manchester Guardian*, 8 November 1823. Review, *Manchester Guardian*, 22 November 1823.

with Manchester's leading professional players, and the chorus was also predominantly professional. Ward made all the arrangements, while Andrews presided 'very ably' at the organ. The review declared:

As a musical performance, we consider this among the most interesting that has taken place here; the mass being one of the choicest productions of Haydn's genius, and the orchestra, by which it was executed, containing a concentration of professional talent, especially in the choral department, equal to any thing that could be got together elsewhere. It was, indeed, a finished performance, and highly creditable to all engaged in it.³¹

The fact that this was a Catholic chapel, which had opened in 1820, and the opening of the organ was being celebrated with a 'Grand Pontifical High Mass', was entirely secondary to the musical performance, from the reviewer's perspective. However, while the Manchester press frequently commented on services, events and music in the established church and various dissenting chapels during the 1820s, '30s and '40s, this sort of detailed account of a Catholic service is rare, so the lack of comment on the unusual context is intriguing, as is the fact this event took place at all, on such a scale, at a time when the practising Catholic population in Manchester remained small.³²

In yet another role, this time as accompanist, Andrews was a constant presence at the Amateur Glee and Catch Club. Andrew Ward was also a member of this club, which is covered in more detail in Chapter 2. This small but important society provided an opportunity for musicians and musically interested businessmen to meet together in one another's houses as relative equals. Although there were a small number of 'honorary' professional members, including Richard Andrews, who took on the role of pianist to the society for 16 years, the regular paid-up members of the society included Andrew Ward and other working musicians. Additionally, Andrews was frequently listed as piano accompanist for Hallé's Classical Chamber Concerts from 1850. Hallé

³¹ 'Pontifical High Mass at St Augustine's Chapel', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 November 1823.

³² A much-needed corrective to the standard focus on Manchester's Irish poor has recently been provided by Neil Smith in his PhD dissertation 'The Irish Middle-Class in Nineteenth-Century Manchester', unpub. PhD diss., The University of Liverpool (2020). He describes St Augustine's in the 1820s as an enclave of middle-class English Catholics.

usually featured as the solo pianist, but Andrews appeared often, primarily accompanying the vocal items in the programme. His employment in this setting suggests in itself a high level of accomplishment and professional standing. David Ward Banks also fulfilled the same role on occasion. Andrews' piano playing was often complimented and thanked in press reviews, although rarely in detail. His family provided more revealing accounts. His daughter-in-law recalled that his skill on the piano remained evident even at an advanced age, writing that 'when he was seventy-five I heard him play all the scales on the piano with remarkable velocity, and with a wine glass full of water on the back of one hand, never spilling a drop nor moving the glass'.³³

In addition to indicating his accomplishment as a performer, his orchestral and accompaniment work allowed him to develop close relationships with conductors, soloists and other instrumentalists which proved invaluable for his own concert-promoting activities. His work as a concert organiser provides the clearest impression of his national and international musical network. In addition to engaging and coordinating performances by visitors to Manchester, he organised smaller scale events including the vocal class concerts at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution and the ensembles required by visiting music lecturers.³⁴ His son Richard described how, 'as my father knew and entertained many of the musicians and singers who came to Manchester, I was much favoured in opportunity to hear them'.³⁵ The Novello family were close friends, particularly the daughters of Vincent Novello. Andrews' son described Clara Novello as 'a special favourite ... greatly beloved by all of us'.³⁶ George Smart was regarded as a friend and gave singing lessons to Andrews' daughter Helen. The Andrews family also spent time with Mendelssohn during his visit to Manchester.

Franz Liszt's first appearance in Manchester was organised by Ward and Andrews, who made arrangements for him to give concerts in 1824 and 1825, when the pianist was still a child prodigy. Surviving correspondence, together with the press interest these occasioned, gives a clear picture of the logistics and practicalities of

³³ Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 4.

³⁴ These are discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

³⁵ Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 87.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

organising the events. The terms of engagement for the two concerts in 1824 were an exceedingly expensive 100 guineas, plus free bed and board in Ward's house for Liszt and his father.³⁷ The grand piano, a seven octave Erard, was sent from London especially for the concerts and on Liszt's account.³⁸ In addition to Liszt, the concerts featured an orchestra led by Richard Cudmore, leader of Manchester's Gentlemen's Concerts,³⁹ Richard Andrews presided at the piano, and the 'Infant Lyra' was also engaged. Andrews recalled, 'She was a remarkably interesting child, playing favourite national airs with great feeling and expression upon a small harp'.⁴⁰

The same terms were agreed in 1825 and the newspaper advertisements made a point of commenting upon the unusually great expense of this engagement.⁴¹ The concerts took place on 16 and 20 June at the Theatre Royal under the direction of Andrew Ward with Richard Andrews again presiding at the piano, joined by a full orchestra and a number of vocal soloists drawn both from London and locally. Ticket prices ranged from 2 shillings in the gallery to 5 shillings in a box and were obtainable from all the music shops and principal inns in the town. The concerts were immensely popular and therefore a financial success, resulting in receipts of £377.⁴² The extended newspaper advert containing the programme for the first concert, based on the printed advertisement (Figure 11) is headed by Master Liszt, 'now only twelve years old', but also proudly proclaims:

Master Banks, only nine years old, Pupil of Messrs. Ward and Andrews, will have the honour of making his first appearance before the Manchester Public, and lead, on the Violin, the Overture to Lodiska, composed by Kreuzer.⁴³

³⁷ The National Archives Currency Convertor equates 100 guineas to c.£6000 today, or to 700 days wages for a skilled tradesman at the time.

³⁸ Richard Andrews, 'Letter to the Editor', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 August 1886.

³⁹ See the 'Prelude', where Cudmore was mentioned in his capacity as a composer.

⁴⁰ Richard Andrews, 'Letter to the Editor', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 August 1886.

⁴¹ 'Two Grand Concerts', *Manchester Guardian*, 21 May 1825.

⁴² Richard Andrews, 'Letter to the Editor', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 August 1886. Not enough information survives to establish to what extent this translated into profits for the organisers, after all expenses were paid.

⁴³ 'First Grand Concert', *Manchester Guardian*, 11 June 1825.

The novelty and spectacle of child prodigies made them a recurring feature of concert life around Europe throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and Manchester enthusiastically embraced the trend.⁴⁴ Liszt was due to perform compositions by Czerny and Hummel plus an extempore fantasia on a theme volunteered by the audience on a new grand piano by Erard. The orchestra opened the concert with the overture to *Der Freischütz*. The remainder of the programme was filled out with songs and glees.

SECOND GRAND CONCERT,
Theatre Royal, Manchester.
MONDAY, JUNE 20, 1825.

A NEW GRAND OVERTURE,
COMPOSED BY THE CELEBRATED MASTER LISZT,
 Will be performed (for the First Time in Public) by the Full Orchestra.

MASTER BANKS, *(D.W. Banks)*
(Only Nine Years old), Pupil of Messrs. Ward and Andrews,
 Having received the most decided Marks of Approbation at the First Concert, on Thursday Evening last, will have the
 honour of LEADING, on the VIOLIN, the favourite
 Overture to Tancredi, composed by Rossini.

Mr. BROADHURST will (by particular desire) sing "JOHN ANDERSON, MY JO!"
And several of his most Popular Ballads.

AIR, with Grand Variations by Herz, will be performed on the Grand Piano Forte by
MASTER LISZT,
 Who will likewise perform an EXTEMPORE FANTASIA, and respectfully request Two
Written Themes from any of the Audience, upon which he will play his Variations.

Glee, "Hark the Curfew's Solemn Sound," accompanied on the Harp by Mr. T. HORABIN.
 The admired Hunting Chorus from *Der Freischütz*,
 With the Orchestral Accompaniments.

A GRAND QUINTETTE, composed by Ries, will be performed by Master LISZT, and
 Messrs. Cudmore, E. Sudlow, Sudlow, and Hill.

PRINCIPAL PERFORMERS.

MASTER LISZT, *(only Twelve Years of age), allowed to be the greatest Piano Forte
 Player of the present day.*
 Miss SYMONDS, *(from the Nobility's Concert.)*
 MASTER BANKS, *(only Nine Years old), Pupil of Messrs. Ward and Andrews.*
 Mr. BROADHURST.
 Messrs. ROYLANCE, BENNETT, & ISHERWOOD.

LEADER Mr. CUDMORE.
 PRINCIPAL SECOND VIOLIN Mr. A. WARD
 Mr. R. ANDREWS will preside at the GRAND PIANO FORTE.
The Orchestra will be numerous and complete.

Tickets and Places may be had of Mr. ELAND, at the Box Office, on Saturday and Monday next, from
 Eleven to Two o'Clock each day.
 The Doors to be opened at Six o'Clock, and the Performance to commence precisely at SEVEN.
 Boxes, 5s.—Upper Boxes, 4s.—Pit, 3s.—Gallery, 2s.
 Balls, containing the words, will be given at the Doors of the Theatre, on the Evening of Performance.

J. ASTON, PRINTER, ST. ANN'S STREET, MANCHESTER.

Figure 11: Concert Advertisement, Liszt in Manchester, 20 June 1825. Image Credit: Schubertiade Music & Arts.

⁴⁴ A fascinating account is provided in Yvonne Amthor, "Wunderkinder" – Musical Prodigies in European Concert Life between 1791 and 1860', unpub. PhD diss., The University of Leeds (2012).

Giulio Regondi (1822–72), a celebrated guitarist and concertina player, featured in several of Andrews' concerts. Richard Hoffman recalled:

My father first knew him when, as a child in Manchester, he was travelling about with the man who called himself his father, but whose subsequent conduct belied any such claim. When the boy had made a large sum of money by his concerts, and seemed able to maintain himself by his talents, the so-called father deserted him, taking with him all the proceeds of the child's labours, and leaving poor Giulio to shift for himself. My father befriended him at this time, and his gentle and winning disposition endeared him to all my family.⁴⁵

Andrews took him under his wing, providing him with accommodation, performance opportunities and other assistance.⁴⁶ A lifelong friendship resulted, with Regondi visiting Manchester frequently and the younger Richard often staying with Regondi in London. Once Regondi had firmly established himself, he returned to give a concert at the Manchester Athenaeum in 1847. The *Manchester Guardian* review poetically reminisced how 'from a child, when he used to walk along our streets with flowing golden locks and a face all radiant with youthful beauty, he appears to have had the power of musical expression in a degree rarely acquired'.⁴⁷ The concert itself was reported to have been 'unusually classical and interesting', including quartets by Mozart and Beethoven, a violin sonata and concertos on piano, guitar and concertina, plus some vocal music performed by Andrews' daughter, 'the whole under the tasteful and efficient conductorship of Mr R. Andrews'.⁴⁸

Aligning with the trend for presenting juvenile performers, Andrews frequently put on concerts featuring his own children. He arranged a sixth birthday concert for his eldest son Richard:

⁴⁵ Richard Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 78.

⁴⁶ Concerts in Manchester by Regondi alongside his 'father' were given in 1836. His 'father' sang and Richard Andrews played the piano. See the review 'Master Regondi's Concert', *Manchester Guardian*, 30 April 1836.

⁴⁷ 'Giulio Regondi', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 October 1847.

⁴⁸ 'Giulio Regondi', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 October 1847.

Mr R. Andrews most respectfully announces his intention of giving a JUVENILE BIRTH-DAY CONCERT, in the Exchange Room, on Friday the 26th inst. For his Son, Master RICHARD HOFFMAN ANDREWS, who will, at that period, attain his sixth year, and execute several Airs on the Violin, and sing “The Peasant Boy” and “Cuckoo”. He will also play “The Battle of Prague” on the piano-forte, *entirely without a copy*; and a Duet, composed by Herz, with his sister, Miss Helen Andrews (seven years of age), who will play solo on the piano-forte “Home of my Childhood”, with variations, and sing “The Maid of Savoy” and “The Infant’s Prayer”, accompanied on the violoncello by Mr William Lindley, who will also play a solo, and accompany Mrs Henry Andrews in Mozart’s admired song, “Chide me, dear Masetto” (Don Juan). Mr R. Andrews will play a Fantasia on the grand piano-forte, composed by Czerny and Herz. And Correlli’s celebrated Trio, for two violins and violoncello, will be played by Mr A. Ward, Master Andrews, and Mr William Lindley. A grand Duet, by Czerny, will be played on the piano-forte, by Master Handel Hibbs and Mr R. Andrews.⁴⁹

Marketed with a family audience in mind, the concert was to commence at half past six, and the ticket options included a family ticket to admit three at 7s 6d and tickets for children under fourteen for 1s 6d. The concert was positively reviewed, noting the considerable numbers of young people in the audience.⁵⁰

Andrews’ programming abilities, his versatility across genres, and his ability to attract and captivate different audiences, whether by unusually novel music or by unusually serious music, assisted by the willingness of his sizeable network of musical colleagues to join in with his plans, are all very impressive and testify to his character, his musical understanding and his commercial acumen.

Andrews composed prolifically throughout his life, primarily vocal repertoire (solos, glees and sacred music) and piano pieces. Often he was writing for the specific market of his own students and contacts, self-publishing much of this music and advertising it for sale from his own shop.⁵¹ Some of his compositions were, however,

⁴⁹ Concert Advert, *Manchester Guardian*, 13 May 1837.

⁵⁰ ‘Master Andrews’s Concert’, *Manchester Guardian*, 27 May 1837.

⁵¹ Around one hundred of Andrews’ compositions, anthologies and writings survive at the British Library.

produced with a broader reach in mind and he had connections with London publishing firms for this repertoire. His editions include an English version of Mozart's cantata *Davidde Penitente*, dedicated to the Manchester Choral Society and declared as the first time the piece was published in England, with an accompaniment for piano or organ arranged by himself.⁵² Adverts for subscribers to the publication were placed in the *Manchester Guardian*, and presumably other newspapers nationally given the content of the text, at the beginning of 1841. They stated that names of subscribers were to be 'received at all the principal music-sellers in the United Kingdom'.⁵³ His arrangement was reprinted by a number of other publishers over the next several decades, including Novello, Ewer & Co.⁵⁴ Vincent Novello had purchased a copyist's score of this cantata from Mozart's widow in 1829,⁵⁵ and given Vincent Novello's friendship with Andrews, and the later Novello publication, it is intriguing to consider the web of connections through which the Andrews edition came about. The list of subscribers to the first edition includes a host of well known names, as well as recurring individuals from the Manchester region who should by now be becoming familiar: William Knyvett, Ignace Moscheles, J. A. Novello, Henry Phillips, Sir George Smart, Edward Taylor, Sir Benjamin Heywood and William Shore, to name just a few. By the second edition, published in 1845, Sir Henry Bishop, John Braham, William Lindley and Giulio Regondi were among the many added to the original list, along with multiple choral societies from as far afield as Boston, America.⁵⁶

Music for use in the church formed an important part of his output. He edited and arranged collections such as *The Congregational Psalmist*, which he intended as a musical hymn book for congregations or Sunday schools, and he evangelised about the benefits of congregational singing.⁵⁷ Educational music was also important to him, and he published a number of anthologies containing pieces and exercises that he used in

⁵² Advert, *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January 1841.

⁵³ 'Publications', *Manchester Guardian*, 27 January 1841 and 6 February 1841.

⁵⁴ A copy of the Novello edition, published 1875, is held at British Library shelfmark H.1120.c.

⁵⁵ The circumstances of this are recounted in Chris Banks, 'From Purcell to Wardour Street: A Brief Account of Music Manuscripts from the Library of Vincent Novello now in the British Library', *British Library Journal*, 21/2 (1995), p. 251.

⁵⁶ A copy of the 'new and enlarged edition', published by Addison & Hodson (c. 1845), which includes the initial list of subscribers and a second list of subscribers, is held at British Library shelfmark H.1120.a.(3.).

⁵⁷ 'The Congregational Psalmist', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 June 1842.

his own teaching, for example 'Rudiments of Vocal Music arranged for Pupils in Classes, as taught by Mr R. Andrews, at the Institutions in Manchester'.⁵⁸ Anthologies produced for domestic use included *The Family Vocalist*, published for Christmas 1845 and subsequently 'honoured by presentation to, and most graciously received by, her majesty Queen Victoria', and its sequel *Songs of the Hearth*, which was advertised as a 'New Musical Christmas Present' available by subscription in 1846.⁵⁹ By 1851 he was also marketing himself openly as a Mason, publishing editions of Masonic songs and calling himself Brother Richard Andrews in his adverts.⁶⁰ His promotional and commercial activities were endlessly creative, and apparently tremendously successful.

As late as 1884 the *Manchester Guardian* continued to review new compositions by Andrews favourably:

Our venerable townsman Mr Richard Andrews still continues to exercise his musical abilities. His arrangement of "Father! O, guide Thoust me" (Williams, London) will commend itself to those who desire something above the mediocrity of most modern vocal music.⁶¹

Teaching: Ward, Andrews and Banks

Ward, Andrews and Banks taught according to the Logierian system of piano instruction, a system of group instruction underpinned by the teaching of harmonic theory and practice from the earliest stages of learning. The man behind the method was Johann Bernhard Logier (1777–1846), a German musician who came to England at a young age after the death of his parents, before settling in Dublin early in the nineteenth century. His method featured a device of his invention called a 'chiroplast' (Figure 12), patented in 1814, designed to help beginner pianists keep their hands in the correct position. The popularity of the Logierian system in the latter years of the 1810s and in the 1820s turned into a scandal in London, with the Philharmonic Society

⁵⁸ 'Rudiments of Vocal Music', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 December 1841.

⁵⁹ 'Songs of the Hearth', *Manchester Guardian*, 28 November 1846.

⁶⁰ 'Masonic Songs', *Manchester Guardian*, 27 September 1851.

⁶¹ 'Some New Songs', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 April 1884.

publicly denouncing Logier as a charlatan.⁶² This has affected its reception history as, in consequence, twentieth-century descriptions of its nineteenth-century incarnations tend to be dismissive, following the Philharmonic line. Arthur Loesser is typical in positioning Logier as an example in proof of his assertion that ‘when what the teachers had to give was undervalued, or ignorantly overvalued, or ill understood, it was inevitable that baser motives should taint their profession and that incompetent or fraudulent persons could thrive in it’, dismissing Logier as ‘a musician of sorts’, suggesting the only reasons behind the structure of his system were maximum monetary gain, and denouncing the chiroplast as ‘snake oil’.⁶³

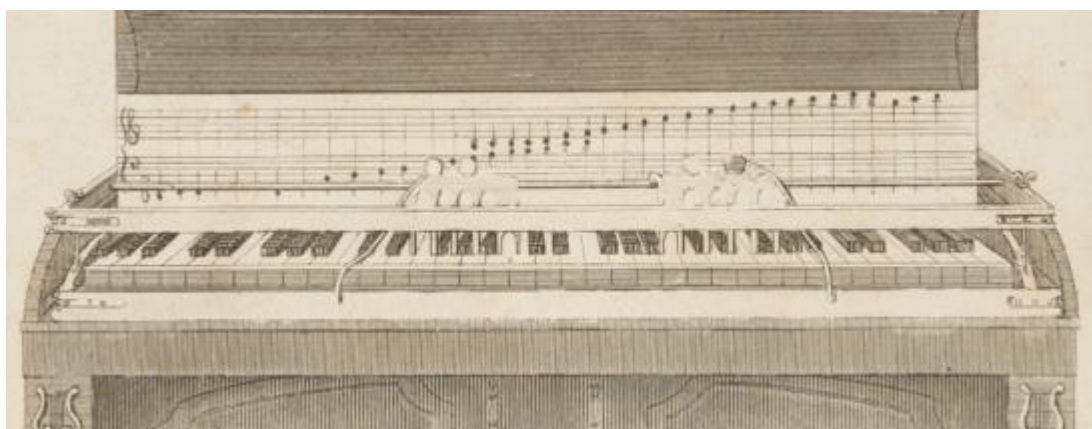


Figure 12: Logier’s Chiroplast. Image Credit: Glasgow University Library.

In fact, the contemporary reactions to Logier and the reasons for the mixed response were far more complex. One important factor in the Philharmonic Society’s reception of the method was in fact protectionism. While this account from the *Ladies’ Magazine* of 1828 does not address the musical value or otherwise of Logier’s system, it does highlight one of the reasons for its popularity:

⁶² In an attempt to counter stirrings of discontent with his method from elements of the profession, Logier organised an exhibition performance to which he invited members of the Philharmonic Society, publishing an account of the proceedings the following year. This was countered by a broadside by members of the Philharmonic Society, notably Smart, Crotch, Greatorex and Novello, critical of Logier and his system. See J. B. Logier, *An Authentic Account of the Examination of Pupils* (London: Hunter, 1818); G. Smart and others, *An Exposition of the Musical System of Mr Logier with Strictures on the Chiroplast* (London: Budd and Calkin, 1818).

⁶³ Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (1952, repr. Dover Publications: New York, 1990), pp. 293–301.

The *fact*, that fashion has subjected young ladies to the necessity of acquiring this art, makes it desirable that the shortest method of obtaining this object should be adopted. We all know, that year after year is consumed in thrumming away upon the keys of this instrument. Now if there is a way to save time and acquire superior knowledge, the inventor deserves the thanks of every parent; for all the time thus saved could be devoted to more important branches of female accomplishment.⁶⁴

The financial basis of the system was also a point of contention in London, a fact upon which Andrews commented in his *Autobiography*:

In after years it created a long paper war, as Logier demanded 100 guineas from each Professor, and obtained it in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Dublin, &c., many of the towns boasting of three or four adopters, of which Mr. A. Ward was one of the most enthusiastic. My recent letters in the Orchestra and Standard are easily to be obtained even now. The Philharmonic Society in London were dead against Logier – principally the money question and controversy in Harmony. Many first-class teachers adopted it in London, and Logier disputed the ground manfully. Many pamphlets were written for and against, when Logier entered into an agreement at Berlin, and the system was successfully established there by the Government.⁶⁵

This last point is important, as it highlights the fact that Logier gained critical success and support from the establishment in other countries, notably Ireland and Germany, while several high-profile members of London's musical community also lent their support. Louis Spohr was so impressed by a Logier class he witnessed in 1820 that his recommendation led to the Prussian government inviting Logier to Berlin to establish his system.⁶⁶ Muzio Clementi, J. B. Cramer and Samuel Wesley all approved the

⁶⁴ Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, *The Ladies' Magazine* (Boston: Putnam & Hunt, 1828), p. 91.

⁶⁵ Andrews, *Autobiography*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ Bernarr Rainbow, 'Johann Bernhard Logier and the Chiroplast Controversy', *The Musical Times*, 131/1766 (1990), p. 194.

chiroplast, while Kalkbrenner set up a Logierian academy in London.⁶⁷ Clara Schumann was among those taught according to its methods.⁶⁸ William Sterndale Bennett was also given early instruction in the Logierian system by his father Robert, who ran a Logierian academy in Sheffield.⁶⁹ William Gardiner provided a valuable and positive account in his memoirs of his witnessing a lesson:

At not less than twenty piano-fortes were seated near thirty young ladies, some not more than five years of age. The lessons, in which they all joined, were so composed that the difficult and showy passages were given to the best players, and those of lesser talent had parts of easier execution. When the whole was put in motion, the sounds, rising from so many instruments of different make and shape, produced an effect rich and curious. The advantage of this plan, in giving them a correct notion of time, was very obvious; besides which, every one, even the youngest, felt the importance of their own powers in contributing to the general effect.⁷⁰

He then described the harmonic literacy and responsiveness of the class, as they demonstrated some harmonic exercises, before he was volunteered by the lecturer to write an air of his choosing on the board:

I stepped from the place, and, on being presented with a large piece of chalk, I blundered out eight bars of something like a tune. Half-a-dozen of the little creatures, each with a piece of chalk, flew to the board, and a bass and full harmony were added in five minutes. Each one put in a note here and there, all writing at the same time; the taller ones reaching over the heads of others. They returned to the piano-fortes, and performed it; a thunder of applause followed,

⁶⁷ Rainbow, 'Johann Bernhard Logier and the Chiroplast Controversy', p. 193.

⁶⁸ Nancy B. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London, 2001).

⁶⁹ Interestingly, Logier's son Henry was sent to Sheffield as an articled pupil of Robert Bennett. William Sterndale Bennett's instruction by his father was curtailed by his father's death when William was only three. J. R. Sterndale Bennett, *The Life of William Sterndale Bennett* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), pp. 8–9.

⁷⁰ William Gardiner, *Music and Friends*, Vol. 2 (London: Longman, Orme, Browne, and Longman, 1838), pp. 647–49.

and I was requested to write an additional eight bars as a finish, which was treated with the same skill and expedition.

The conflicted and competing responses to Logier are captured in two Cruikshank cartoons printed in quick succession.⁷¹ The first (Figure 13), published 1 April 1818, was entitled 'A German mountebank blowing his own trumpet at a Dutch concert of 500 piano fortes!!'. It shows Logier dancing on top of a piano while playing a trumpet marked with his own name, surrounded by a number of pianos and young pianists, while many of the audience look suspicious or cover their ears in horror. The second (Figure 14), published 23 April 1818 is entitled 'The Logierian system, or unveiling the new light to ye musical world!! With the discovery of a general thoro' base discord in the old school'. To the left of the picture Logier stands on a stage flanked by two colleagues, together proclaiming 'Honesty is the best policy! We want no private consultation or inventions, let us be judged of according to our works!' A cheering audience stands at their feet. To the right of the picture are drawn members of the Philharmonic Society grumbling among themselves. The dialogue in their clouds of smoky speech is headed by the statement 'Our only chance is now to keep all the Amateurs as much in the dark as we have very wisely done before; by uniting firmly to persuade them that this new discovery is all a take in; for they know so little that they cannot – dare not, – form their opinions without consulting us'. Rainbow has highlighted that while both cartoons were drawn by Cruikshank, each was designed by a different individual and the designer would have provided the text, hence these images so neatly capturing the two alternative perspectives.⁷²

⁷¹ The prints are in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, BM Satires 13035 and 13036.

⁷² Rainbow, 'Johann Bernhard Logier and the Chiroplast Controversy', p. 195.



Figure 13: George Cruikshank, *A German mountebank blowing his own trumpet at a Dutch concert of 500 piano fortes!!*, 1818. Public Domain, via the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Cartoon Prints, British.



Figure 14: George Cruikshank, *The Logierian system, or unveiling the new light to ye musical world!! With the discovery of a general thoro' base discord in the old school*, 1818. Public domain, via the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Cartoon Prints, British.

Back in Manchester, the use of the Logierian system appears to have been very successful, arguably because Ward and Andrews were accomplished musicians who employed it intelligently, grounding the method in deep musical understanding rather than deploying it as a gimmick. Ward and Andrews had attended Logier's academy in Dublin together in 1817, after which Andrews described Ward as one of the most enthusiastic adopters of the method in Manchester. Andrews' autobiography conjures up a wonderful image of the system in use:

The class-teaching required great energy and active exertion on the part of the teacher; also large premises and a number of pianos for playing in concert. We had, in 1825, ten pianos, harp, harpsichord and organ in the large room, and two

private teaching rooms used by myself and another apprentice. Ward never was more happy than in the general concert playing of Clementi, Scarlatti, Mozart, and Beethoven. These were days to be remembered by our numerous class pupils.⁷³

Logier's method had lasting success in Manchester. In January 1840 four separate establishments taught according to its methods, namely those run by Richard Andrews, David Ward Banks, Robert Weston and Miss Dyson, all of whom had presumably paid the 100-guinea franchise fee. It seems appropriate that industrial, mechanised Manchester embraced an industrial, mechanical method of piano instruction, albeit one with a strong musical underpinning.

In addition to teaching at their academy and offering private lessons, Ward and Andrews also taught from other locations and visited schools. In January 1840 Andrews taught at his Aytoun Street Music Academy on Wednesdays and Saturdays, gave an evening class for gentlemen at his Academy at 8 Crumpsall Terrace, Cheetham Hill, and taught in Stockport, Broughton, Bolton and Bury 'upon the usual days'.⁷⁴ In 1846, announcing a change of premises for his 'Music Academy and General Piano Forte Repository', his advertisement described his Logierian Academy of Musical Education, instructing on the piano, violin, singing and harp, with lessons in singing and on the guitar also given by his daughter and lessons on the piano and concertina given by his son Richard. They offered private lessons and home visits in addition to group classes at the academy. Music sales continued together with 'a choice assortment of Piano Fortes, Harps, Violins, and Guitars, selected by himself from the most approved London makers, for sale or hire'.⁷⁵

Ward and Andrews also had close connections with the three major institutions which existed concurrently in Manchester by the 1830s: the Royal Manchester Institution, the Manchester Mechanics' Institution and the Manchester Athenaeum. These institutions, the role of music within them and the contributions of Ward and Andrews are covered in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁷³ Andrews, *Autobiography*, p. 7.

⁷⁴ 'Mr Richard Andrews', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 January 1840.

⁷⁵ 'Bloomsbury Music Academy', *Manchester Guardian*, 27 May 1846.

David Ward Banks had only just reached adulthood at the time of Andrew Ward's death, catapulting him from apprenticeship to an independent existence, with a pressing need to market himself more overtly. In October 1838 he announced that in consequence of the death of his uncle he proposed to open his own academy based on the Logierian system in a central location in Manchester.⁷⁶ Within a year of opening it his teaching week looked like this:

Logierian Academies of Music. Mr D. W. Banks begs to inform his Friends and the Public, that his Academies will Re-Open on the following days:

Chapel-street, Salford, on Monday afternoon, the 20th, at two o'clock precisely.
72 George-street, Manchester, on Wednesday afternoon, the 22nd, at one o'clock.

Mr D. W. Banks will also have great pleasure in attending his Pupils at the Seminaries on the following days:

Altrincham	Monday morning, at nine o'clock
Croft's Bank	Monday afternoon, at half past two
Oldham	Tuesday morning, at ten
Bardsley	Tuesday afternoon, at three
Bury	Thursday morning, at half past nine
Broughton	Friday morning, at half past eight
Eccles	Friday morning, at twelve
Patricroft and Barton	Friday afternoon, at two

Schools and private families supplied with music. Organ and piano class every Monday evening, from six o'clock to eight. Piano fortes tuned and repaired.⁷⁷

The same month as the above advert, and demonstrating his entrepreneurial spirit, he gave a course of three lectures free of charge at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution 'on the Science and Practice of Music, illustrative of the Logierian System'.⁷⁸ The first lecture was reviewed:

⁷⁶ 'Logierian System of Musical Education', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 October 1838.

⁷⁷ 'Logierian Academies of Music', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 January 1840.

⁷⁸ 'Manchester Mechanics' Institution', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 January 1840.

Mr D W Banks, professor of the Logierian system of musical tuition, gave the first of a course of three lectures explanatory of the principles and practice of its founder, at the Mechanics' Institution, on Monday evening last. The lecture was principally introductory. The important feature in the system of tuition adopted by Mr Logier, was, that it united inseparably the *theory* and *practice* of the art. The illustrations were given upon three piano fortes, played in concert, a good method of attaining a knowledge of time. The lecture was well attended, many of the audience being ladies, who appeared to take great interest in it.⁷⁹

As well as undoubtedly being an excellent means of acquiring additional pupils, this lecture course also proved valuable in building closer connections between Banks and the Mechanics' Institution. In subsequent years he was to play an increasing role in the musical life of the institution, taking an instrumental class and organising and conducting part of their concert series.

David Ward Banks, building on his experience organising concerts at the Mechanics' Institution, ultimately developed his work into a speciality of large-scale affordable concerts. It was for this area of activity that he was most remembered in later years. He began a series of 'Grand Instrumental Concerts' in 1849, on similar lines to Jullien's, with tickets costing one shilling or sixpence. The first had an audience of over 2000. These 'Concerts for the People' took place every Monday night between January and June at the Free Trade Hall, with 'extra concerts' on a number of Saturdays, plus Christmas Day and Easter Day oratorios. As Robert Beale puts it, this 'gives the lie to the assertion, made by some, that Manchester's popular audience had no interest in orchestral music before Halle'.⁸⁰

Banks' choral achievements included conducting the Manchester Harmonic Society (founded as the Amateur Choral Society in 1840) and training the chorus for an 1849 performance of *Elijah* (conducted by Julius Benedict and featuring Jenny Lind). His work with choirs around the region included that of the Bury Athenaeum. John Lord, author of *Bygone Bury* and a young man of twenty-one at the time of the event, recalled the occasion upon which Sims Reeves came to Bury in 1856 to sing with the

⁷⁹ 'Lecture on Music at the Mechanics' Institute', *Manchester Guardian*, 8 January 1840.

⁸⁰ Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 49–56.

choir in a performance of a cantata by Richard Hacking junior,⁸¹ conducted by the composer, and *Judas Maccabeus*. His description captures Banks' character and precision:

Those responsible for the success of the whole performance ... no doubt felt desirous of having as perfect a chorus as possible; and therefore all members of the chorus respecting whom there was the least doubt were required to attend an examination before the conductor, Mr D. W. Banks, who was accompanied by the late Mr Kay Wild in his capacity as secretary. The examination was held in one of the rooms of the Bury Athenaeum, and in carrying it out Mr Banks presided at a piano. Mr Banks was a most sympathetic, yet exacting, examiner. And no wonder he was exacting. The success of the whole concert depended upon an intelligent appreciation of the conception in the mind of the composer, to be attempted before the audience only by such as had a fair knowledge of the elements of music as to time and tune. Fugue singing exacted the greatest attention to time; and correct pitch was equally essential, for harmonies and discords required accuracy of ear, in order that the intention of the composer might be realised. The writer recalls one incident at his own examination, following upon Mr Banks's rather sudden sternness (assumed, of course, for the occasion) in questioning the candidate. 'What do you know about music? And where do you sing on a Sunday?' Somewhat taken aback, the candidate replied to these general questions. Turning over a piece of music which was before him on the piano, 'What key is this in?' asked the ruddy-faced, yet kindly and relenting examiner. The correct answer was again given. A few other questions and answers; and then, settling himself, to give a fair chance to the timid candidate for the crucial test, the examiner turned over some pages till he came to a piece which required a number of bars to be played by the accompanist, before the vocal notes were called for. That was the awful moment! It was the

⁸¹ Richard Hacking junior was from Bury, son of Elizabeth Openshaw and Richard Hacking. His father was an enthusiastic musician and founder of Hacking's Brass Band. Richard Hacking jun. obtained the degree of Bachelor of Music from Oxford in 1855. He later became the Rev. Richard Hacking, Mus. Doc., Rector and organist of Rodbourne, Wiltshire. John Lord, *Bygone Bury* (Rochdale: James Clegg, Aldine Press, 1903), pp. 12–15, p. 20.

transition from theoretical knowledge to practical application; a test of the value of voice added to knowledge of how to use it.⁸²

This sketch neatly illustrates the musical knowledge and standards expected of an average chorus singer in one of Banks' choirs, plus the expectation that such a chorus singer would also sing in a church or chapel choir on a Sunday. The Bury choir was evidently an amateur choir, unlike several of the choirs addressed later in this dissertation, but high standards were clearly still expected.

Richard Andrews' Family

Further evidence of the exceptionally high standards of these Manchester musicians, compared nationally and internationally, is found in the lives of Richard Andrews' children. Richard Andrews married Helen Harries (1808–90) at St John's Church, Manchester, on 22 December 1828. Together they had nine children, all of whom, according to his daughter-in-law, were 'educated to the profession of music. In the case of three of them it was successful, but for the other six it proved a waste of time'.⁸³ Their daughter Helen was a promising singer, who was at one time a student of George Smart. She was forced to give up her career on her marriage to Captain Onslow Lewis as he disapproved of her appearing on the stage. Their son Richard Hoffman's wife spoke very highly of Helen's abilities:

It had even been arranged by Barnum that she should accompany Jenny Lind to America and appear with her in oratorio. A few days before sailing a concert was given in Manchester by the company, where Helen sang the contralto part in an oratorio selection; the audience was so insistent in its applause that Mademoiselle Lind was obliged to sit down, after rising to begin her own part, and allow the young contralto to repeat her number. A few days after this, or perhaps the next day, the engagement for America (which had been made with her father, she being under age) was cancelled and the position of pianist for the company was given to her brother Richard, then in New York.⁸⁴

⁸² John Lord, *Bygone Bury*, pp. 12–13.

⁸³ Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 3.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

This son, Richard Hoffman (1831–1909) had, as we have seen, appeared in public at his father's concerts from the age of six, playing the piano, violin and concertina. It is interesting to trace his father's connections through Richard's own early career: at the age of 14 he was sent to review the Birmingham Music Festival in 1846 by a friend of his father who was a critic for the Manchester papers;⁸⁵ he stayed with Regondi when he visited London for lessons; Joseph Alfred Novello assisted at the concert he gave at Erard's rooms;⁸⁶ and when Mendelssohn came to Manchester they had the opportunity to meet. In fact, Richard Andrews wanted to send his son to Germany to study with Mendelssohn, but the composer had too many other engagements at that time to be able to take on pupils. Instead, Richard continued under his father, with a few lessons from Leopold de Meyer.⁸⁷ His father's contacts also gained him an introduction to the aristocracy, though all did not go quite to plan:

When I was hardly thirteen years of age my name was sent in as a candidate for the position of organist at the Prestwich Parish Church. Lord Wilton, an excellent musical amateur, had this appointment as well as the living of the church at his disposition, and I was invited to go to Heaton Park, his country seat near Manchester, to play for him. I was sent on this drive quite alone in a cab, at about nine in the evening, in order to reach there after dinner. I well recall the ordeal of that memorable occasion. I was ushered into the drawing-room at about ten o'clock, the guests being all assembled after dinner. There was an organ at one end, as well as a grand piano, and I had hoped to be asked to play on the latter, but his lordship conducted me to the organ and told me that he wished to judge chiefly of my reading at sight.

He did this well enough to be asked to try the service the following Sunday. The morning went well,

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 63–74.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 88.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

but in the afternoon I was probably tired (it will be remembered I was only twelve years old) and in the midst of the second chant, when most of the stops were out, and I was putting on all the steam I could command, I suddenly lost my balance on the organ bench, my foot slipping off the swell pedal, and fell headlong onto the key-boards. In trying to avert the catastrophe I plunged from Scylla into Charybdis, tumbling among the foot pedals and creating a cataclysm of sounds that must have scandalized the congregation.

He continues, however:

I recall in a vague sort of way that my brothers never considered the disaster in the light of an accident. I was very anxious to obtain the position with the work it entailed, and it is barely possible I may have taken this way out of it...⁸⁸

Whatever the truth of the matter, Lord Wilton wrote to Richard Andrews praising his son's talents but stating he considered him too young to assume the responsibilities of directing a choir.

He was sent to America at the age of 16 in the care of an uncle, where he had an interesting and successful career. The review of his performance in the concert at which he appeared alongside Regondi shortly before his emigration is revealing, about both himself and his father:

The young *pianiste*, Richard Hoffman Andrews, next calls for a few words of notice. He has a firm and powerful touch, surprising in one so young, with considerable powers of execution. The higher graces of expression will doubtless come with experience and a more matured intellect. How often have we to regret the neglect of the intellectual powers—which impart dignity and force to musical expression—in the hot-house culture of the tender musical plant! There is no fear of this mistake in the present instance. The judicious solicitude of the accomplished father will provide against that.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Hoffman, *Recollections*, pp. 89–91.

⁸⁹ 'Guilio Regondi', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 October 1847.

The education provided by his father allowed him to excel in America, which in itself speaks volumes about his father's abilities. Among his many achievements, he played concertos most seasons with the New York Philharmonic Society, including Mendelssohn's G minor concerto at the age of 17 and a Chopin concerto a few years later; he toured with Barnum for Jenny Lind's concerts; performed duets with Julius Benedict; and played in concerts with Hans von Bülow, including 'in the concerto for four pianos, when a pupil of his and one of mine took the third and fourth pianos'.⁹⁰ This concert, together with his wife's description of his performances for the Sanitary Fair during the Civil War where he was joined by some of his best pupils to perform works for four and eight hands, inevitably brings to mind the image of his father's group piano classes.⁹¹

Regarding the Barnum tour, according to Richard Hoffman, in a circuitous way his father had had some influence in Jenny Lind's introduction to Barnum:

Mlle. Lind had been unwilling for some time to listen to any overtures from Barnum or to sign an agreement for an American tour. She even refused to see Mr Wilton, his agent, in England. Mr Wilton knew my father, however, and begged him to suggest some way by which he might secure an audience with the diva. My father introduced him to Sir George Smart, who had taught my sister, and also had given some lessons to Jenny Lind. He consented to give the agent a letter of introduction, begging her at least to see Mr Wilton. This plan seems to have succeeded, for after this meeting she signed for the American engagement.⁹²

Conclusion

Richard Andrews' career and network clearly demonstrate the nature of musical life for an entrepreneurial musician in industrial Manchester. It showcases the wealth of new, exciting opportunities available for those willing and able to take advantage of them, across the full range of musical activities. It indicates the high levels of musical

⁹⁰ Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 146.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁹² Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 115.

accomplishment that could be achieved by such individuals and the high standards within which they operated. It also makes apparent the fact that Manchester evidently allowed for a satisfying career without the need to move to London, although the careers of Andrews, Banks and of course Hallé all demonstrate how they possessed contacts that would have made such a move possible if so desired.

The new industrial city also appears to have fostered an environment of collaboration and cooperation within the profession. Ward, Andrews, Banks, and later Hallé frequently made use of each other as collaborators in their own initiatives, whether as musicians in one another's concerts or as providers of useful services. The employment of Andrews and Banks in Hallé's Classical Chamber Concerts has already been noted. Similarly, an obituary of the singer W. S. Barlow, reprinted in *Bygone Bury*, referred to his being a member of the small but accomplished body who met under D. W. Banks at the Bury Athenaeum, noting: 'Even Sir Charles Hallé—he was plain Mr Hallé then—was glad to make use of the highly trained nominees of Mr Banks on occasions when his choir needed augmenting, a fact which speaks volumes for the thoroughness of the methods which this old-time Athenaeum conductor adopted'.⁹³

Furthermore, perhaps because the top tier of society in Manchester was often made up of merchants or manufacturers rather than aristocracy, aided further by Ward and then Andrews owning music shops and thus being in trade, the status that these musicians held in Manchester was higher than the status of musicians in London at the same time is generally held to have been. Thus, in Manchester, professional musicians and musically enthusiastic businessmen routinely interacted as equals in the membership or on the committees of the more specialist societies, as will be explored further in the next chapter. Interestingly, Richard Hoffman described in his *Recollections* that 'The English seem by nature the best chorus singers in the world. Many of them are from the lower middle classes, who are not as a rule very cultured or refined, but the moment the spirit of music is awakened within them they are for the time being transformed, and able to interpret compositions of the most lofty and sublime character'.⁹⁴ This raises interesting questions about self-definition and what class these musicians would have perceived themselves as belonging to, considering

⁹³ 'The Late Mr W. S. Barlow', *Bygone Bury*, p. 19.

⁹⁴ Hoffman, *Recollections*, p. 73.

that the Andrews family evidently regarded themselves as far higher up the social strata than the 'lower middle classes' upon which they commented.

The activities of Manchester's entrepreneurial musicians provide a valuable counterpoint to received ideas about the provinces and the nature of the music profession outside of London. Early Victorian Manchester had close musical connections with London but was not reliant on the capital for maintaining a high-class musical culture. Visiting performers were often engaged by interested parties in Manchester and their visits coordinated by Manchester's musicians. There was an independence to industrial musical life and a tangible enthusiasm. Subsequent chapters will further explore these enthusiasms and interests of the industrial population, but the centrality of Ward, Andrews, Banks and their fellow entrepreneurial musicians across the many areas of organised musical life is a key component of the networks of musical activity which follow.

Chapter Two: Networks of Musical Sociability

The Amateur Glee and Catch Club; The Gentlemen's Glee Club; The Madrigal Society

To the glee, more than to any other harmonised musical form, the social influences exerted by the charms of music belong. The power of music to move the better feelings of our natures, to inspire with hope, to move to pity, and to set off the claims and pleasures of friendship, is perhaps, more fully displayed, when, and where the music of the Glee enfolds us, than when we are addressed by any other form of the secular side of the art. The Glee was born in a social atmosphere; and though times, and music with them, have greatly changed, it still loves best the social surroundings, and the social hour; and the Gentlemen's Glee Club, in that modest repast, to which members and visitors sit down together, when the dignified service to Apollo is ended, not only finds that music justifies, and flavours the feast, but that the appetite for the music, if not for the repast, has grown by what it has fed upon.¹

This passage, from Henry Watson's *Chronicle of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club*, poetically eulogises the English Glee and the environs within which it found its home, but it also points us towards the two major themes of this chapter: the sociability of the multitude of glee, catch and madrigal societies in existence during the first half of the nineteenth century; and the genuine musical enthusiasm and expertise which accompanied the drinking that was an important feature of such societies. The arguments advanced here are based on the substantial surviving archives of three societies, which overlap chronologically, thematically, and in personnel and repertoire: the Manchester Amateur Glee and Catch Club, the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club, and the Manchester Madrigal Society.²

¹ Henry Watson, *A Chronicle of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club, from its Foundation in 1830 to the Session 1905–6* (Manchester: Herald and Walker, 1906), p. 12.

² Substantial archives for the Amateur Glee and Catch Club survive at Chetham's Library, shelfmark D.4–D.5, including a list of members and rules, an index and tables of glees sung, and 17 volumes of bound music. For the Gentlemen's Glee Club, in addition to Watson's *Chronicle*, programmes survive at the Henry Watson Music Library, shelfmark R780.69 Me69. A volume of programmes for the Manchester

The world of nineteenth-century glees, catches and madrigals is surprisingly under-researched. Christina Bashford has observed:

If ever a pair of genres was destined to be marginalized by music history, it was probably the English catch and glee. Saddled not only with connotations of frivolity (the glee; the clue is in the misleading name) and licentiousness (the catch), but also with what we might term the curse of being English, these two types of vocal 'chamber' music have been repeatedly down-played, if not condemned, by commentators, many of whom, ironically, are British. As a result, the cultural significance of the catch and glee – genres gendered almost exclusively male – has been largely unexplored.³

Such attitudes, prevalent throughout much of the twentieth century, are typified by David Johnson's characterisation:

Unlike the average madrigal, the average glee is poor stuff ... so many were written by minor figures who specialized in choral music, lived in the provinces, or were still in their early 20s.⁴

Percy Young highlighted, rather more perceptively, that:

these bodies ... had community significance over and above their musical aims. The countless catch, glee, madrigal and choral societies that abounded by the middle of the Victorian era were both symbolic and part of the process of democratic organization. Because of their relationship with other institutions, theirs was an influential part.⁵

Madrigal Society is held by the Henry Watson Library, shelfmark R780.69 Me77. This society is also discussed at length in the local newspapers.

³ Christina Bashford, Review, 'Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England by Brian Robins', *Music & Letters*, 89/3 (2008), p. 411.

⁴ David Johnson, 'The 18th-Century Glee', *The Musical Times*, 120/1633 (March 1979) p. 200.

⁵ Percy Young, *The Madrigal in the Romantic Era* (New York: American Choral Review, 1977), p. 71. This was in effect a special edition journal (*Journal of the American Choral Foundation*, 19/4), but the entirety of this volume was written by Young.

While Young's focus on the social significance of such societies forms an important corrective to their marginalisation, and is particularly pertinent to this chapter, it still leaves the joys of the actual music unsung. Christopher Price has filled this space admirably in his recent doctoral thesis, which overflows with enthusiasm for the glees and catches enjoyed by the Canterbury Catch Club in the early nineteenth century.⁶ Where Price's work differs most significantly from other musicological writers on the matter is in his evangelism for the abiding value of glee and catch as sounding music in present-day environments. Many academics, while suggesting the forms are worthy of reassessment when placed in their historical and cultural contexts, remain somewhat apologetic about the genre, and attach caveats and limits to their judgements of its value. Price, in contrast, has succeeded in bringing the music back into his own practice as a performer in a variety of contexts, and writes from the perspective of one who sings and shares this repertoire:

... we can, in fact, recapture something of the convivial aesthetics of this music. Audiences have shown themselves willing and able to join in ... and the engaging humour of the repertoire has proved its enduring appeal in performances over the last few years in a variety of contexts including stately homes, Archives Reading Rooms, after-dinner entertainments, Arts Festival evenings, and – of course – pubs. Musicologists have, at various points in the last few decades, urged a re-appraisal of this repertoire on musicological grounds. The point of this thesis has been to urge a re-appraisal – at least in part – on musical grounds.⁷

Indeed, the *Music in Nineteenth Century Britain* Conference 2019, which took place in Canterbury and was chiefly organised by Price, featured a conference dinner run as a Catch Club gathering in the upstairs room of a Canterbury drinking establishment. Good food and plentiful wine fuelled riotous singing, some pieces

⁶ Christopher Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission; Manners, Musicians, and Music at the Canterbury Catch Club', unpub. PhD diss., Durham University (2018). Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/12660/>

⁷ Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', p. 280.

performed by Price's vocal group *Cantuar*, many more sung communally. The glees and catches enjoyed included John Stafford Smith's 'Anacreontic Song' in honour of our American visitors (the date of the dinner was the fourth of July), Henry Harrington's witty 'I Cannot Sing This Catch', and Nicholson's highly suggestive composition, which opens with the line 'Miss Kate took John's oboe in her hand' (Figure 15). The MNCB Canterbury Catch Club 2019, in which I participated, demonstrated the conviviality, humour and musical enjoyment such an occasion and such a repertoire can still elicit today. I only wonder what those drinking and dining downstairs in the pub that evening made of it all. It is hoped that within this chapter, while the social significance of the Manchester societies is explored in detail, the vitality of the music-making also shines through.

As a musical form, the catch is a type of canon; its text is typically humorous and often very rude. The interlocking nature of the musical lines causes the comedy to become fully apparent only once all the parts are voiced. The glee, in contrast, is generally a more serious affair, which developed in tandem with a move towards respectability and a 'politer' society, where the bawdiness of the catch was no longer quite appropriate, particularly once women became involved.⁸ Brian Robins observed, 'While it is certainly true that humorous examples exist, at the height of its attainment and popular influence the glee tapped above all into the vein of male sociability and the fashionable exploitation of the "sentimental"'.⁹ Christopher Price presents an honest assessment of the glee in his thesis:

Of all the genres falling under consideration in this study, the glee is perhaps the least understood – even by comparison with the catch, which has been tragically, if understandably, misrepresented for several centuries. Its oddity is beautifully captured by Emanuel Rubin in his encyclopaedic study of the genre when he muses that the predominance of the glee in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries meant that 'England turned left while the rest of the

⁸ Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), p. 65–66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

parade turned right'.¹⁰ Culturally, it is difficult to account for it: even if it were not tainted by its association with the catch, and with convivial music-making in informal settings – which it most certainly was – it would be difficult to imagine Matthew Arnold, to take one example, including it in his definition of culture ... Even those who liked it seem perplexed.¹¹

Miss Kate Took John's Oboe
[Vol. 9, p. 60; transposed down a perfect 4th]

Nicholson

1 Miss Kate took John's ho-boy in her hand one day, she took it in her hand, she

2 "See, this thing, the reed, Miss, so slender and long, so slender and long,

3 "O, 'tis a might-y, pret-ty thing, I de-clare, 'tis a might-y, pret-ty thing,

5 took it in her hand, in her hand one day. Says Miss, "I would vast ly like to try,

2 so slender and long, so slender and long. In-tro-duce it

3 'tis a might-y, pret-ty thing, 'tis a might-y, pret-ty thing,

9 2 should like to try, should like to try,

2 just be-tween the lips, and pinch be-tween the lips, in-tro-duce it just be-tween the

3 It tick-les me, it makes me laugh, it tick-les, ha, ha, ha,

12 should like to try, to try to play." Says John, "Hold it there, no, put it in fur-ther,

2 lips, pinch strong be-tween the lips, pinch strong, then you'll get a tone, well done, now 'tis com ing, now 'tis

3 ha! It makes me laugh, it tick-les me so. O Lord, O Lord, O

Figure 15: Nicholson, 'Miss Kate Took John's Oboe', in Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', p. 447.

¹⁰ Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III* (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), xvii.

¹¹ Christopher Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', p. 199.

While it is outside the scope of this chapter to do much more to further understanding of these genres musically or critically, I hope it may help to illuminate why the Manchester Men we encounter liked their glees and catches so much.

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revival of the madrigal has, in comparison, received rather more favourable scholarly attention. The Madrigal Society was founded in London in the early 1740s and still exists today.¹² It underwent a marked increase in its musical ambition and in the social standing of its members during the 1830s, which must have partially inspired the establishment of numerous regional societies during the course of that decade. Madrigal societies sprang up in Exeter in 1825 and Bristol in 1837 in direct imitation of the London society; in fact Sir John Leman Rogers, who established the Devon Madrigal Society, had previously been elected a member of the London Madrigal Society in 1819 and served as President of the London organisation from 1827 until his retirement in 1841.¹³ By 1841, madrigal societies existed in Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Bristol, Ely and Salisbury, and there were four additional London-based societies.¹⁴ This rapid expansion of interest resulted in a wealth of publications of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English madrigals early in the nineteenth century, and also prompted the resurgence of the madrigal as a compositional form.¹⁵ In contrast to glees and catches, the madrigal retained a scholarly legitimacy, connected with the long history of veneration for 'ancient music' and the work of organisations such as the Musical Antiquarian Society, and thus fared better in later nineteenth-century and twentieth-century histories.

Musical Sociability and Identity

The ideas in this chapter are underpinned by research into (male) sociability and identity formation. Existing work on associational culture is important in this context. The history set out by Peter Clark in his seminal text remains pertinent to the societies

¹² See Thomas Oliphant, *A Brief Account of the Madrigal Society from Its Institution in 1741, up to the Present Period* (London: Calkin and Budd, 1835); Reginald Nettel, 'The Oldest Surviving English Musical Club: Some Historical Notes on the Madrigal Society of London', *Musical Quarterly*, 34 (1948), 97–108; J. G. Craufurd, 'The Madrigal Society', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 82 (1956), 33–46.

¹³ James Hobson, 'Three Madrigal Societies in Early Nineteenth-Century England', in *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Paul Rodmell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 37.

¹⁴ Hobson, 'Three Madrigal Societies', p. 38.

¹⁵ Percy Young, *The Madrigal in the Romantic Era*.

under consideration here, as Manchester's glee and catch club model so clearly derives from eighteenth-century incarnations.¹⁶ Alexandra Mitchell's PhD thesis on associational culture and middle-class masculinity in the nineteenth century, focusing on Manchester and Liverpool, further developed Clark's foundations into the new century.¹⁷ Mitchell highlighted the setting of the club or association as an environment within which men found opportunities to express identities and tastes, enjoy male fellowship, and access business networks and political contacts.¹⁸ Also helpful, in the field of social network theory, is Christina Prell's consideration, based on the work of the sociologist Noah Friedkin, of how actors 'who are similar according to attitudes, values and behaviours are likely to be socially tied to one another. Further, it is through this social tie that these actors mutually influence one another and become similar to one another over time'.¹⁹ All these themes of association culture, from the practicality of business networking to the less tangible threads of fellowship, identity and commonality, are relevant when considering nineteenth-century musical societies.

Furthermore, the substantial body of work relating to sociability and identity formation within more recent musical settings and societies also has much to contribute to the discourse when considered historically. The ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino highlighted the fact that 'participatory music and dance have special qualities and characteristics for creating solid feelings of community and identity. Sounding together articulates and realizes a special way of being together'.²⁰ He pursued this idea of participatory music as a means by which individuals can develop their understanding of personal and collective identity:

When a performance is good, I get a deep sense of oneness with the people I am playing with. I think that what happens during a good performance is that the multiple differences among us are forgotten and we are fully focused on an

¹⁶ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁷ Alexandra Mitchell, 'Middle-Class Masculinity in Clubs and Associations: Manchester and Liverpool, 1800–1914', unpub. PhD diss., The University of Manchester (2011).

¹⁸ Mitchell, 'Middle-Class Masculinity', p. 12.

¹⁹ Christina Prell, *Social Network Analysis: History, Theory & Methodology* (London: Sage Publications, 2012), p. 28, referencing Noah Friedkin, *A Structural Theory of Social Influence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

²⁰ Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 157.

activity that emphasises our *sameness* – of time sense, of musical sensibility, of musical habits and knowledge, of patterns of thought and action, of spirit, of common goals – as well as our direct interaction. Within the bounded and concentrated frame of musical performance *that sameness* is all that matters, and for those moments when the performance is focused and in sync, that deep identification is *felt* as total.

He perceived his observations as analogous to the anthropologist Victor Turner's work in 1969 on the idea of *communitas*, which Turino defined as 'a possible collective state achieved through rituals where all personal differences of class, status, age, gender and other personal distinctions are stripped away allowing people to temporarily merge through their basic humanity'.²¹

Christopher Small's work on musicking provides a wide-ranging model within which to frame this type of thinking. He highlighted:

The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. They are to be found not only between those organized sounds which are conventionally thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between the people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance; and they model, or stand as metaphor for, ideal relationships as the participants in the performance imagine them to be: relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and even perhaps the supernatural world.²²

Placing similar ideas historically, the sociologist Peter Martin has described how the use of music in everyday situations is 'a collaborative process involving a network of relationships in which the music derives its meaning from the pattern of social activities in which it is embedded, and vice versa'. He explored how music functions

²¹ Turino, *Music as Social Life*, p. 18.

²² Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), p. 13.

‘not as the manipulator of passive victims, but as a means through which individuals can actively construct a sense of self and proclaim a distinct identity’. By way of example, he positioned Manchester’s Gentlemen’s Concerts as a place for subscribers to affirm their social status and sense of identity.²³

In addition to sociability and musical enthusiasm, a further important theme runs through this chapter. Initially, it was envisaged that this would be a case study of participatory music-making, based around the surviving archives of these three societies. Once the detail of the archives became apparent, it emerged that two of them were less participatory than anticipated, and all the more interesting for it. Concert performances of glees and madrigals, by professional musicians, to an audience of subscribers, were key elements of the Gentlemen’s Glee Club’s and the Madrigal Society’s activities. Such professionalism complicates our understanding of the nature of such societies, modifying elements of their social functions, while also reinforcing some of the ideas introduced above, and later in this dissertation, in relation to education and expertise.

Catch and Glee Clubs

The history of catch and glee clubs prior to the nineteenth century is traced in Brian Robins’ monograph on the subject, which focuses deliberately on club culture and its significance, rather than on the music which they enjoyed.²⁴ He describes how the glee and catch reached their height of popularity in the second half of the eighteenth century, and consequently his book concentrates largely on this period. The first club formed in London for the specific purpose of performing catches and glees was the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club, established in a tavern in November 1761, and still extant today, based at the House of Lords.²⁵ The ‘Nobs and Gents’ quickly found a place in fashionable society, frequented by members of Parliament and by the upper classes. Viscount Gladstone recorded that three kings and four Royal Dukes had been

²³ Peter J. Martin, ‘Music, Identity, and Social Control’, in *Music and Manipulation: On the Social Uses and Social Control of Music*, ed. Steven Brown and Ukrik Volgsten (Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford, 2006), pp. 63–67.

²⁴ Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*.

²⁵ Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas & Harald Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History* (London: Cypher Press, 1996).

members of the Catch Club by the time he wrote his history.²⁶ Women were excluded, professional musicians were invited to assist as ‘honorary members’, and the performance of music requiring soprano voices relied upon boy choristers who were invited to attend as required.²⁷ Many of its organisational practices—rotating presidents, complex systems of fines and forfeits, an annual prize for new compositions—were subsequently adopted by a host of provincial societies which took the London club as their model. Robins regarded the establishment of an annual prize as particularly important for the development of the genre:

It seems certain the Catch Club progressed far beyond the original convivial intentions of the founder’s aristocratic membership. By means of the prize competition, a positive encouragement to composers to devote themselves to the catch and glee was established, thus creating not only a large corpus of works that increasingly came to be seen as the foundation of a truly national repertoire, but in essence creating in the glee a new genre that formed the core of that repertoire.²⁸

Pieces were sung one voice to each part, according to a system where members of the club, called upon strictly in order of seniority, were each required to choose a piece in turn and to choose a part within that piece to sing. They were then joined at their seat by other members of the club who would take the remaining parts.²⁹ Two quotations from the rules of the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club are particularly worthy of insertion here, illustrative of the fact that members of the club were expected to sing, but perhaps only if they could sing well enough, and indicative of how important alcohol was to the proceedings:

²⁶ Gladstone, Boas and Christopherson, *Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club*, p. 36.

²⁷ Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²⁹ R. J. S. Stevens left an account of his attendance at a Catch Club evening in 1782 in his *Recollections*. See Mark Argent, ed., *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), pp. 42–43.

Excerpts from Rubric VIII: 'Of the manner of holding the weekly meetings'³⁰

Any person whether a Member or Other may decline his song when called upon, provided he drinks a glass of wine as an acknowledgement of his inability to sing.

If any person who takes a part in any piece of music during the first round, is found deficient in his part, and actually sings out of time or tune, or stops before the piece is finished, he is to drink a glass of wine of any sort at that time upon the table, at the requisition of any Member, and by order of the President.

No coffee, tea, or other such heterogeneous beverage is to be brought upon, or drank near the table where the Club is seated upon any account; but if a Member either for himself or any other submits to call for such unnatural mixtures, they must be carried to a distant table, and the parties concern'd must take them at that place, with a due sense of the Society's indulgence.

Price's dissertation brings detailed consideration of catch clubs and their contexts into the nineteenth century, and into the provinces, via close study of a lithograph of a meeting of the Canterbury Catch Club, dated 1826. Price takes the image as a frame through which to explore the history and culture of the club in microscopic detail, interrogating his source to establish what it shows us clearly, what it suggests, and what is significant by its absence, before diving into a wealth of archives and related materials to uncover the truths and meanings behind the print. The opportunity the Canterbury archive gave Price to explore the club's repertoire in detail is of particular value.³¹ Many of the practices exposed in the London and Canterbury cases explored by these historians are also found in Manchester, but there are some important differences, sometimes due to the idiosyncrasies of individual clubs, sometimes more significant.

³⁰ From the club's first collection of Laws and Regulations, compiled from the Minutes in 1767, and subsequently known as the Digest. It is quoted at length in Viscount Gladstone's history of the club contained within the *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club: Three Essays towards its History*, from where these excerpts are taken (pp. 27–28).

³¹ See in particular Chapter 10 of Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission'. The depth and detail Price was able to enter into is unusual and welcome, providing a unique record of the Canterbury club. The available archival resources for Manchester and Canterbury at the same point in time are remarkably congruent, inviting and allowing comparison of the two society's repertoires at the same point in history.

The Manchester Amateur Glee and Catch Club

Founded in 1822, the Manchester Amateur Glee and Catch Club provides the kernel from which the later societies discussed in this chapter emerge. Its history is preserved in a fascinating archive held at Chetham's Library, comprising a minute book, a list of members and rules, a book of recommendations and proposition, tables of glees sung, and seventeen volumes of glees.³² This club was fully participatory, taking the form of a small group of singers meeting socially to sing a variety of glees, catches, madrigals and other vocal items.³³ It met regularly until January 1842, at which point the records abruptly cease. Its archive allows a detailed exploration of its organisation, practices, intentions, and repertoire, as well as the nature of the relationships between the members of this club and Manchester's wider society, musical and otherwise. The manuscript notebook of 'Recommendations and Propositions or Notices of Motions', the reverse of which contains the 'List of Members and Rules', contains only sketchy material for the first six years of the society's existence, primarily recording recommendations of music to be ordered and the name of the club member making each suggestion. From 1829 onwards, however, the notebook is used to record a far wider array of motions, registers of attendance, accounts, and general club business.

The first of the club's rules was that it was to consist of ten members, exclusive of Honorary Members. It remained a small gathering for the duration of its existence, generally numbering between seven and ten full members, and between five and seven honorary members. There was however a slow decline in the number of full members during the 1830s, and at the final four meetings of the club, which occurred sporadically between January 1840 and January 1842, only three full members remained. The remnants of a list of founder members is preserved as item two in the 'Rules', but it is so marred by crossings out, changes of address, resignation dates and later additions that its original format is hard to decipher. An attempt to reproduce its content is made below (Tables 1 and 2).

³² Chetham's Library, shelfmark D.4–D.5.

³³ The fact that all club members were singers is evidenced by a motion proposed by Wainwright Bellhouse, but subsequently withdrawn: 'That two members who are not singers be added to the number of the Club'. Minutes, 2 October 1830.

Table 1: Initial List of Members of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club, plus later additions to the page

Robert Barnes	Manor Street, Ardwick	Resigned 24 September 1831
Richard Aubrey		Resigned Nov 1824
Thomas Boothman, jun.		(retired)
John Duffield	Mr Houldsworth's Factory	(left Manchester)
James W. Fraser		Resigned 18 October 1825
Henry McConnel		Resigned October 1824
Samuel Matley	8 [Inpsley?] Street	Resigned 28 February 1829
John Shuttleworth	No. [9?] Oxford Road Chorlton	
Andrew Ward	18 Spring Gardens	
George Evans Aubrey	62 Grosvenor Square	
David Bellhouse, jun.	Grosvenor Square	
6 October 1827		
Wainwright Bellhouse		
William Norris	[Address scribbled out]	Resigned
William Shore	Broken-Bank, Salford	Resigned 16 October 1830
Richard Kay	St John's 27 Sep 1828	Resigned 24 September 1831

Table 2: Initial List of Honorary Members of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club

John Ditchfield	Dublin	
Richard Matley	8 Mosley St	
James Bennett	[address illegible]	
William Barlow		31 January 1829
Samuel Webbe Esq.	Liverpool	28 February 1829
Robert Barnett	Falkner Street	
John Isherwood	Back Square	
J Waddington	28 Sydney Street Salford	
Richard Andrews	18 Spring Gardens	
John Roe Esq.	London	

As with the clubs by which this organisation was inspired, its activities were supported by the appointment of a number of Honorary Members. However, slightly

unusually, the list of full members also includes musicians, and the list of honorary members also contains businessmen. This unconventional division remained a feature of this club for the duration of its existence. The two names which should immediately leap out, given the content of the previous chapter, are Andrew Ward in the list of founder members, and Richard Andrews as an honorary member. Ward was an active member of the club until 1836, attending most meetings, taking his turn hosting, and playing a full part in club business.³⁴ The club also benefited from his business, and his business from the club, as the accounts report regular payments to Ward and Andrews for music. Andrews took on the role of club pianist, from its establishment up until his resignation in January 1836. He was rewarded for his long period of service with minuted statements of thanks and the presentation of a salver.³⁵ Andrews was also associated with the club as a composer of glees, some of which the club voted to purchase, others of which Andrews presented to the club as gifts.

It is clear from the document that some of these names were added to the list subsequent to its initial writing, most obviously the entry for Samuel Webbe, as he has been added at the bottom of the page and his entry is dated. This is indeed Samuel Webbe junior (1768–1843), significant glee-composing son to an even more significant glee-composing father (Samuel Webbe senior (1740–1816)), who took up residence in Liverpool around 1798 as organist at the Unitarian Chapel, returned to London around 1817 where he taught according to Logier’s system, before moving back up to Liverpool in the late 1820s.³⁶ Presumably, around the time of his return to Liverpool he agreed to become an honorary member of this club. Sadly, he never appears to have graced them with his presence, as he receives no mention in the minutes, and he is never recorded or even named on a register of attendance.

The original membership list contains a number of significant Manchester names. Henry McConnel (1786–1863) was the eldest son of a leading cotton manufacturer, James McConnel. The family firm, established in 1795, employed over

³⁴ The 1834 accounts record a payment of £3 11s 6d to Ward & Andrews. The payment is not itemised, but music is the most likely object.

³⁵ The minutes record a Salver was presented to Richard Andrews on 26 March 1836, ‘in thanks for 16 years service as Pianist’.

³⁶ Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, ‘Webbe, Samuel’, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800, Volume 15: Tibbett to M. West* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), p. 325.

one thousand people by 1816. Upon the retirement of his father's business partner John Kennedy in 1826, Henry became a partner in the company.³⁷ He later became a significant art collector and commissioned work from Turner.³⁸ John Shuttleworth (1786–1864) was also a successful cotton manufacturer and a supporter of parliamentary reform, one of the prominent group of Manchester non-conformist liberals who championed this cause.³⁹ Robert Barnes (1800–71), likewise in the cotton trade, was elected Mayor of Manchester in 1851.

David Bellhouse junior (1792–1866) and Wainwright Bellhouse (1800–85) are particularly interesting, as they remained members of this club right up until its very last meeting, and they have also left traces of involvement across a whole array of Manchester's musical life. Furthermore, their lives have been chronicled in a substantial biographical work by one of their descendants.⁴⁰ Their father, David Bellhouse (1764–1840), starting out from humble beginnings as a joiner, constructed a business empire centred on the building trade, which resulted in him amassing a fortune in excess of £60,000 by the time of his death.⁴¹ David Bellhouse junior gradually took over responsibility for the building and contracting side of the business from about 1816. His work includes the 1830 Warehouse at Manchester's Liverpool Road Station, now Grade 1 listed and part of the Museum of Science and Industry; the Manchester South Junction Railway;⁴² and the foundation work of the Royal

³⁷ 'Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co.', <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-mck> (accessed 15 October 2019).

³⁸ Julian Treuherz, 'The Turner Collector: Henry McConnel, Cotton Spinner', *Turner Studies*, 6/2 (1986), 37–42.

³⁹ The group, which also included John Edward Taylor, Archibald Prentice, Absalom Watkin, Joseph Brotherton, Thomas and Richard Potter, William Harvey, Fenton Robinson Atkinson, John Benjamin Smith and Edward Baxter—known as the 'Little Circle'—was highly influential politically and in the shaping of public opinion. See David J. Knott, 'The Little Circle and Manchester Politics, 1812–46', unpub. PhD diss., The University of Manchester (2018).

⁴⁰ David Bellhouse, a descendent of the Bellhouse family and a Professor Emeritus of Statistical and Actuarial Science at the University of Western Ontario, has written a comprehensive and thoroughly researched family history. He published it as a book—*David Bellhouse and Sons, Manchester* (London, Ontario: D. R. Bellhouse, 1992) —but he has since updated and revised his work and made it available online as pdfs at www.uwo.ca/stats/davidbellhouse/hobbies/bellhouse-family-history/index.html (this online version is hereafter referred to as *Bellhouse Family History*).

⁴¹ Bellhouse, *Bellhouse Family History*, p. 26. This figure equates to c.£3,600,000 today, according to The National Archives Currency Converter.

⁴² This extended from London Road Station (later renamed Manchester Piccadilly) to the Grand Junction Railway line near Ordsall Lane. This mile-and-three-quarter-long stretch of railway consists of track laid on a thirty-foot-high arched viaduct. Bellhouse, *Bellhouse Family History*, p. 35. This line, arching its way from Piccadilly through Oxford Road Station and Deansgate to Castlefield, is a familiar sight to anyone in

Manchester Institution.⁴³ In his social life, in addition to his membership of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club, David Bellhouse was a member of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club and the Manchester Choral Society. Wainwright took over running the cotton mill from the early 1830s onwards. Musically, he was also a member of the Gentlemen's Glee Club and the Choral Society. The brothers were both on the organising committee of the 1836 Manchester Musical Festival and acted as stewards at the concerts. In his article on charity, status and leadership in Manchester, Peter Shapely has highlighted the difficulties inherent in trying to establish motive for involvement in activities from historical evidence, but by any measure the musical participation of the Bellhouse brothers demonstrates a much broader interest in music than mere social display.⁴⁴

George Evans Aubrey appears to have been less successful with his own business (he and his brother Richard, both listed as merchants, were declared bankrupt in 1821) but he was in demand as a secretary in both his professional and social life.⁴⁵ As well as taking on the position of secretary for organisations including the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and the Committee of Manchester Master Spinners, he held Honorary Secretary roles for societies including this club, the Gentlemen's Glee Club, and the 1828 Manchester Musical Festival. A letter he wrote in this capacity to *The Harmonicon* captures the combined essence of his musical enthusiasm and civic pride, as he firmly refutes the content of an earlier article critical of Manchester's forthcoming festival. The offending article criticised the costs of the forthcoming festival and the small proportion which would go to charity, particularly when the 'overwhelming number of paupers – of poor, degraded English men, women and children' were taken into consideration. It continues:

how could you reconcile it to your consciences to offer for a few German warblings, a sum of money equal to what you pay for a year's labour—labour at

Manchester and remains in heavy use today. Containing 224 arches, it remains an impressive piece of civil engineering.

⁴³ For which he was also a founding subscriber. See Chapter 4.

⁴⁴ Peter Shapely, 'Charity, Status and Leadership: Charitable Image and the Manchester Man', *Journal of Social History* (1998), 157–77.

⁴⁵ George Elwick, *The Bankrupt Directory* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1843), p. 15.

the rate of fourteen hours a day—to forty, nay I might say fifty, of your countrymen, of your wretched weavers? I anticipate your reply: ‘It was to supply funds in aid of the hospital’. Do not lay this flattering unction to your souls, sirs; it was that you might enjoy a kind of carnival; that you might vie with your neighbours at York, that you might outstrip your brother-manufacturers at Norwich in extravagance.

Aubrey’s letter of response, as well as politely correcting a number of errors contained within the article about the arrangements and expenses, firmly asserts Manchester’s right to have a festival regardless of its charitable foundations:

It must be obvious that the second town in the kingdom ought to have a festival (if it chuses to undertake one at all) as efficient as any other; ... If the Dilettante could shew that the funds of our hospitals were not in a depressed state, or that the deficiency could be supplied by any other means, I should still say that he had made out no case against our enjoying a great musical treat, if we chose to pay for it. His remarks about the poor, therefore, however interesting in themselves, appear to me to be no argument against musical festivals, nor against the purposes to which their profits are generally applied.⁴⁶

The last of the full members of the club to pay close attention to here is William Shore (1791–1877). Shore reportedly worked as a stock and share broker, although further detail about his non-musical work is limited. He took on an increasing amount of musical employment, serving for several decades as organist of Cross Street Chapel, and composing a quantity of music, particularly for the church.⁴⁷ Henry Watson refers to Shore’s early work with Manchester’s madrigal and glee societies as having occurred before he became a professional musician, implying he did this at a later date.⁴⁸ The

⁴⁶ The original article is ‘Extracts from the Diary of a Dilettante’, *The Harmonicon* (1828), p. 156. G. E. Aubrey’s letter of response is on pages 175–76 of the same volume.

⁴⁷ William Axon, *The Annals of Manchester: A Chronological Record from the Earliest Times to the End of 1885* (Manchester: J. Heywood, 1886), p. 361.

⁴⁸ Henry Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 5.

lasting impact of and respect for William Shore and his work is reflected in his obituary in *The Musical Times* in 1877:

Mr William Shore, who died at Buxton on the 16th ult., in his 86th year, was well known not only as an excellent musician, but as a composer; his music to Burns's 'Willie brew'd a peck o' maut' being perhaps the most popular of his works, although many of his sacred pieces have met with much success. He was also the founder and original Conductor of the Manchester Madrigal Society, one of the promoters of the Gentlemen's Glee Club, and intimately connected both with the Manchester Choral Society and the Hargreaves Musical Society. Mr Shore was much respected in private life. Of Sir Henry Bishop, Madame Malibran, and Clara Novello he was the personal friend, the last-named artist always making his house her home on visiting Manchester.⁴⁹

William Shore and his work will be discussed further in the section about the Manchester Madrigal Society, below.

Among the Honorary Members, the names of Barlow, Isherwood and Waddington stand out. William Barlow was an alto who sang in the choir of Cross Street Chapel.⁵⁰ John Isherwood (d.1849) was a celebrated bass singer in Manchester. His son James, who also sang bass, joined this club as an honorary member in 1835. It is unclear from these records whether the John Waddington named was the father or the son, as both were musical and feature significantly in the work of the Hargreaves Choral Society (Chapter 3).

The membership of the Manchester Amateur Glee and Catch Club thus forms a microcosm of the societal relationships I illuminate elsewhere in this dissertation. Within this small collection of individuals, we find leading merchants and manufacturers, prominent representatives of Manchester's political and civic life, and a man who was arguably Manchester's preeminent music professor at the time. A variety of political and religious interests were also represented: Barnes was a lifelong

⁴⁹ 'Mr William Shore', *The Musical Times*, 18/408 (1 February 1877), p. 70.

⁵⁰ John Harland, ed., *Collectanea relating to Manchester and its neighbourhood*, Vol II (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1867), p. 84.

Conservative, Shuttleworth was a Unitarian who attended Cross Street Chapel, while McConnel and the Bellhouses were also Unitarians, but attended the Mosley Street chapel. All these members came together as equals within the setting of the club to sing and dine well.

Practices

The club met fortnightly from September to March, at the houses of each regular member in rotation. Rule Four stipulated: 'That the hour of Meeting be seven o' clock—the opening Glee to be commenced at half after seven o' clock precisely—(the time to be determined by the President of the evening)—every Member not present at its conclusion, to forfeit two shillings and every Member not attending during the evening, to forfeit two shillings and sixpence'. Monetary fines were a core element of the functioning of the club, and Rule Five made it clear that all fines were to be used for the purchase and the binding of music. A flavour of the organisational practices relating to music and the fines applied for infringements, the 9th of which is a particularly large fine, are preserved in the following rules:

9th That no music be performed till the Gleees &c appointed for the evening have been gone through, or forfeit 1-1-0

10th That the Member appointing the selection, be obliged to furnish, for the accommodation of the Club, a copy of each Glee &c to be sung – and to forfeit one shilling for fixing on a Glee of which a copy is not provided.

11th That any Member declining to perform any part appointed for him shall be fined one shilling for every part so declined – unless prevented by hoarseness which excuse must be admitted by a majority of Members present.⁵¹

13th That all Members neglecting to return the Music of the Club, before the Meeting, be fined five shillings.

14th That the Notices of Meeting with the parts appointed, be sent round within four days of the preceding meeting and that any Members omitting to do so, be fined five shillings.

⁵¹ Even the professionals among the regular membership did not escape the fine system. On 29 September 1832, for example, Andrew Ward was fined 7/- 'for not having taken his part in the glees set down for him'.

Dinner was an important part of proceedings, and became more so later in the club's existence, but so far as the records reveal, the food was less extravagant and the alcohol consumption less copious than at the London club. In the initial list of Rules, number six directs: 'That supper, to consist of cold beef and a tart only, be served at 10 o' clock precisely'. For some unknown reason 'a tart' is underlined four times in a different colour of pen. On 6 January 1838, the minutes record, 'Mr Bagshaw proposed that at future meetings of the Club it be allowable that cold roast fowls may be introduced, at the option of the President of the Evening, in addition to the usual supper fare of cold beef'. On 20 January 1838, it was agreed that 'Cold fowls, Ham or Tongue may also be introduced at the discretion of the President of the Evening'. Also, interestingly, although the Manchester club adopted a system of fines for lateness, non-attendance or poor preparation, these were always recorded in the minutes as monetary fines. Alcohol fines were written into the rules of the London club, but not here. Alcohol was never even reported as having been drunk, either for pleasure or punishment. This does not mean, of course, that alcohol was not consumed, and it would be surprising if it was completely absent from the club's evenings, but, as Chris Price has noted in respect of the Canterbury club gatherings, overt attempts at presenting respectability and sobriety were being made, even if the reality was rather different.⁵²

There are no indications that women were present at club meetings during its first decade, but a motion was carried unanimously in 1833 'That the Lady of the house where the Club shall be held, shall be at liberty to introduce two female friends to the Glee Club Room until half past nine o' clock'. This covers part of the period during the singing, prior to the arrival of food, but gives little indication of the extent to which these women may have been involved in the proceedings, or if they were merely invited to be present. A resolution passed unanimously on 20 January 1838 is clearer on the matter, though marred by a handful of illegible words:

That the introduction of Ladies not only to the Music Room but to the supper table of the Club, having been productive of much gratification to its members

⁵² Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', pp. 44–45 and 71–72.

and their [?] and that such having been found an experience to be [?] of the art of Glee Singing and its more general introduction into Society, it was unanimously resolved—That the President of the Club for the Evening be authorised to introduce to the Club during its entire meeting such number of Ladies as he may deem proper.

The admittance of women deserves further comment. The majority of glee and catch clubs, and madrigal societies, were explicitly gendered male. The impression given publicly by such societies, both in their lists of members and in the rules and regulations, was that women were by and large kept out. However, in practice, the presence or absence of women was more nuanced.⁵³ Price has highlighted, in the case of Canterbury, that although the picture he analyses is exclusively male, ‘Women, it is also clear from Minutes and newspaper records, formed part of the audience and—exceptionally for this culture in the country at large—were frequently heard performing (often better paid than the men) in this provincial gathering’.⁵⁴ Given this practice was happening in Manchester too, perhaps it was not so exceptional in the country at large, just suppressed in the fields through which these clubs built their public image.

Repertoire

While sociability was important, the music was too. Being well-prepared musically was written into the rules of the club, as listed above, and ill-preparedness was punished with a financial penalty. Efforts were made by the membership to stretch and develop as glee singers during the course of their meetings. For example, G. E. Aubrey proposed in 1829 ‘that it be a rule of the Club that two Glees at least shall be sung, (or attempted) every evening, without any instrumental accompaniment’.⁵⁵ This was formally added as a new rule of the club in October of that year.

At each meeting, new items of music to be purchased were proposed and voted on. The costs of purchasing this music over the course of the year were split

⁵³ This was also the case in Canterbury. See Price, ‘Mr Ward’s Commission’, p. 44.

⁵⁴ Price, ‘Mr Ward’s Commission’, p. 71.

⁵⁵ Minutes, 26 September 1829.

equally between regular members, once fines applied for lateness or forgetting of music had been deducted from the total. Purchases ranged from popular glees by Henry Bishop through items from Mozart's *Requiem* to music by Dowland and Orlando Gibbons. However, a statement of glees made by the club in 1831 (see Appendix 3.1 for a transcription) listed which music had actually been sung and on how many occasions, and what of the music in the club's ownership had never been sung. Large numbers of glees by Bishop, Calcott, Horsley, Paxton, R. J. S. Stevens and Samuel Webbe senior were owned by the club and sung regularly, but while music by Weelkes, Wilbye and Dowland had been purchased, at this stage it had not been sung. Chris Price has created similar tables for the music performed by the Canterbury club during their 1825–6 season.⁵⁶ Comparing the lists of pieces by each composer performed, Calcott, Bishop, Webbe senior, R. J. S. Stevens and Stevenson are in the top eight for the Manchester club and the top fourteen for the Canterbury club.

The club was publicly and enthusiastically connected with Manchester's wider musical scene, and to musical life nationally. The club subscribed 'in its corporate capacity' to both the 1828 and 1836 Manchester Musical Festivals.⁵⁷ After the events of the 1836 Festival, attendance at the funeral of Malibran by members of the club was also reported in the minutes. Connections to other cities and societies are particularly evident in the activities of its honorary members, some of whom were musicians who for at least a time were resident elsewhere. Some were regular members of the club who had moved away but were granted honorary membership, giving them leave to join in with the club on any occasion they found themselves in the region. Particularly significantly, the membership of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club directly influenced the establishment of the next club under consideration: the Gentlemen's Glee Club.

⁵⁶ Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', pp. 186–92.

⁵⁷ Minutes, 20 February 1836.

Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club

Manchester's Gentlemen's Glee Club was established in 1830 and remained active into the twentieth century.⁵⁸ Out of the sixteen members of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club listed in 1829, nine were founder members of the Gentlemen's Glee Club, and six of these were on its committee, including William Shore as Chairman and G. E. Aubrey as Honorary Secretary (Table 3). The Gentlemen's Glee Club membership numbered 60 in its foundation year.⁵⁹ As with the Amateur club, this society contained an interesting combination of individuals primarily employed in the music profession alongside those working in other spheres. It met in rooms at a succession of inns and hotels, initially on the first Wednesday of every month from September to April.⁶⁰

Table 3: The Original Committee (1830) of the Gentlemen's Glee Club.

William Shore: Chairman

Robert Barnett	Samuel Lees
George Hargreaves	Robert Barnes
George Condry	William Seddon
R D Jones	John Shuttleworth
John Isherwood	Joseph Willoughby

G E Aubrey: Hon Secretary

It appears to have been set up with distinctly different priorities to the Amateur Glee and Catch Club. Its model of practice, further to its associations with the Amateur

⁵⁸ Henry Watson, who joined the club later in its existence, compiled a very helpful *Chronicle* based on sources which are no longer extant: *A Chronicle of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club, from its Foundation in 1830 to the Session 1905–6 compiled by Henry Watson, Mus. D., Music Director of the Club* (Manchester: Herald and Walker, 1906). His *Chronicle* includes: lists of honorary members; the original committee of 1830; the original members of 1830; pianists and conductors 1830–1905; honorary secretaries; presidents; members of the choir; librarians; a complete list of glees, madrigals and so on sung at meetings of the club since its foundation until 1905–6; various photographs and sketches. Programmes for Gentlemen's Glee Club concerts also survive and are held by the Henry Watson Music Library, shelfmark R780.69 Me69.

⁵⁹ The original members list is reproduced in Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ Facsimile of the original Rules, reproduced in Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 14.

club, was a combination of Manchester’s Gentlemen’s Concerts and the London Glee Club, resulting in a curious mixture of exclusivity, sociability and professionalism. The latter resulted in Benjamin Love claiming in his 1839 book, *Manchester As It Is*: ‘It is generally admitted that there is no musical club out of London that for excellence can be placed in comparison with the Manchester Glee Club’. While this book no doubt employed considerable hyperbole, the way the society was set up and the manner in which professional singers were deployed predisposed the quality of glee singing at their gatherings to be unusually high.

Even in its early days, this was not a society in which the members routinely sang. Watson explained that:

It was a pleasant fiction ... that every member of the Club should be, and was, capable of taking his share in the execution of the programmes. Even this fiction has vanished now; but at the outset of the Club’s history, the number was a goodly one of the members who sang at the concerts, especially in pieces that needed choral reinforcement. ... The Club at the outset, however, relied chiefly, as did the London Club, upon professional members, in rendering, as well as in rehearsing and accompanying, the pieces sung.⁶¹

Watson listed the ‘Professional Members’ active during the earliest stages of the club’s existence, briefly noting elements of their expertise (Table 4).⁶²

Table 4: ‘Professional Members’ of the Gentlemen’s Glee Club	
William Barlow – a ‘noted alto singer’	
J. Hudson – sang soprano when required	
William Shore – ‘at that time an amateur musician’	
John Isherwood – ‘the celebrated bass singer’	
Andrew Ward and Richard Andrews – ‘the music sellers’	
William Wilkinson – organist. Club pianist for the first 15 years, succeeded by a different William Barlow (organist at St Ann’s Church)	

⁶¹ Watson, *Chronicle*, pp. 4–5.
⁶² Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 5.

With the exception of Hudson and Wilkinson, all these musicians were key members of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club.

In the early years of the club, the amateurs who sang alongside the professionals were evidently expected to rise to the occasion. One such singer expressed their concerns about preparation in a letter to William Shore in 1833:

Dear Secretary,

Is it understood that the awkward squad are to have anything to do with the arrangement for Thursday evening, and if so, can you tell me what? I have seen Barlow to-day, but he cannot tell me if anything further is to be done than shout in the choruses. If a glee is to be sung, it certainly will be necessary for some of us to know, and to physic accordingly. Will you be kind enough at your desire to let me hear from you.

Truly yours,

H. B. Peacock.

King street

Tuesday Afternoon⁶³

By mid-century the choir was fully professional. Watson deliberately does not go into detail about the process, writing 'It would occupy much more space than it could possibly excite interest to trace to progress of the change by which the choir, from being self-contained among the members, as well as honorary in character, became, as at present, a paid organisation. The process was gradual, but it had completed itself by, at least, the year 1859'.⁶⁴ From a modern perspective where such gatherings have long been assumed to be largely amateur, such an account would have excited significant interest, but we will have to read between the lines.

As with the London clubs and the Amateur Club, a different President was selected for each meeting, among whose tasks was the choice of music and allocation of parts for that evening. Responsibility for selection of music was later reallocated to the Committee as a whole.

In comparison to the convivial, participatory Amateur Glee and Catch Club, the evenings of the Gentlemen's Glee Club appear to align far more closely with accounts of meetings of the Canterbury Catch Club during the same period, taking the form of a

⁶³ Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 9.

more formal 'concert' earlier in the evening, with less formal amateur participatory singing occurring later in the night. An account of Canterbury meetings by Mr Welby, who was possibly the bassoonist in the lithograph investigated by Price, described how:

A full rehearsal always took place on Saturday evening for the Wednesday concerts, of which 30 were given from the first Wednesday in October to the last in March ... When the program was concluded the early birds retired, and for some forty years the after evening was celebrated by amateur free and easy singing, the mirth growing fast and furious till the small hours. No Bruce [police] being then in existence, our grandfathers made a night, and often, too, a morning of it.⁶⁵

In the case of the Manchester club the 'concert' preceded supper. After dinner the combined gathering sang Byrd's 'Non nobis', as did the London Glee Club, then the after-dinner singing was when amateur members of the club were most likely to feature. As Henry Watson described it:

At the Club's ordinary meetings, a chairman and stewards are appointed by the Committee; that the chairman selects the glees and assigns the parts; that supper is at 9.30; and that at twelve, midnight, precisely, the meeting separates. ... Then, as now, the concert proper at the ordinary meetings, preceded the supper, after which it was the genial custom to continue the musical repast with a lighter programme of solo and concerted music, in which visitors frequently took an interesting part, and in which original compositions in song and glee were sometimes introduced.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ 'A description copied from a manuscript, by Mr Welby, 1875' is reproduced in full as Appendix C in Christopher Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', pp. 289–91. His source for the account was Percy Scholes, ed., *The Music Student*, 12/8 (May 1920), p. 468.

⁶⁶ Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 8.

On top of their monthly meetings they held an ‘extra concert’ annually, to which the public, and in particular ladies, were invited and admitted as guests of the members. The first of these extra concerts was held in Salford Town Hall, on 28 April 1831. The *Manchester Courier* noted in reviewing this event that ‘the wines, which were of the best quality, were provided by Mr Hayward, of Bridge Street’, which only seems fair given that it was at Hayward’s Hotel the club most frequently met. Similarly, the *Chronicle* reported in its review of the Extra Concert of 1832 ‘there was a great variety of wines, cold meats, confectionary, and fruit’.⁶⁷ At standard meetings of the club, however, while food was provided, members and their guests were expected to purchase their own alcohol.⁶⁸

Ladies were introduced in October 1838 as ordinary members. Perhaps significantly, the resolution to admit ladies for the entire meeting of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club had been made earlier that same year. However, professional female singers are recorded in Watson’s list of choir members as having sung with the club as early as 1831.⁶⁹ Prior to that point, Watson notes in his list a number of male altos—professional and amateur—who sang soprano when required, namely Andrew Ward, Mr F. Brookes, and George Hudson. Offering memberships to ladies does not appear to have lasted, as the revised rules of 1849 refer only to admitting ladies to one or more meetings each session ‘under such limitations and regulations as the Committee shall direct’.⁷⁰

Repertoire

The concert programme collection of the Gentlemen’s Glee Club contains a combination of handwritten and printed material. Volume One, covering September 1830 to April 1840, comprises handwritten lists of meeting location and date, then the titles and composers of the pieces sung. Later volumes contain collections of printed programmes, but handwritten music lists are also bound in. Some of these later programmes include names of performers annotated next to the post-dinner songs. Other miscellaneous material in the volumes includes a handwritten choir list for 1853,

⁶⁷ Both quotations are reproduced in Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 8.

⁶⁸ Rule 9, ‘Rules of the Gentlemen’s Glee Club’, reproduced in Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 14.

⁶⁹ Watson, ‘The Members of the Choir’, *Chronicle*, pp. 33–37.

⁷⁰ *Rules of the Gentlemen’s Glee Club, Manchester* (Manchester: T. Sowler, 1849), p. 6.

and a list of members as of 1859. The programme for the first ever concert of the society, which exists in handwritten form in the programme collection, was reproduced in print in Watson's *Chronicle* (Figure 16).

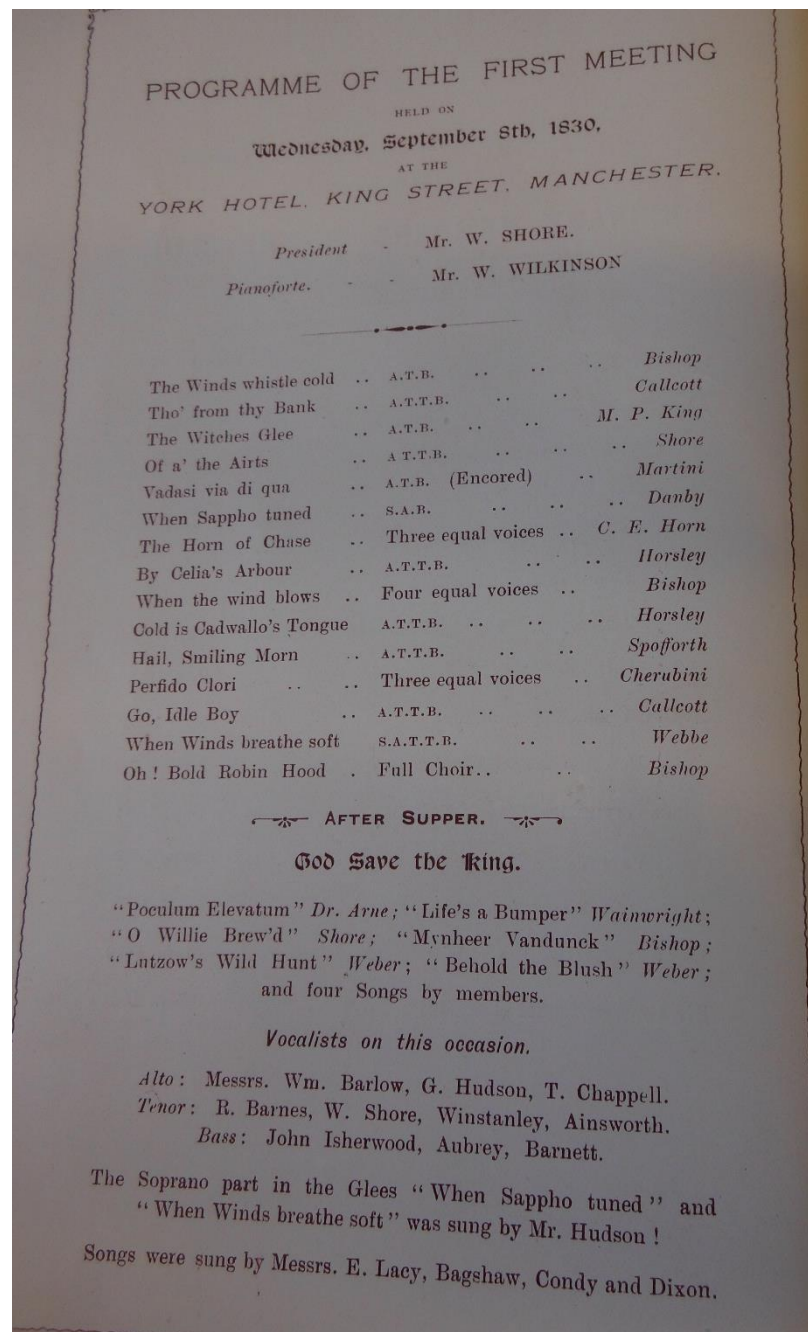


Figure 16: Programme of the First Meeting of the Gentlemen's Glee Club. Reproduced in Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 16.

The vocalists listed as having sung on this occasion largely overlap with the membership of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club, and were more professional than

amateur in character. The programme, built around music by leading composers of this repertoire—Bishop, Callcott, Horsley, Spofforth, Webbe—also contains pieces by William Shore, and another composer with Manchester connections, Richard Wainwright. Shore’s ‘O Willie brew’d’ was his most famous and lasting composition. Likewise, Wainwright’s ‘Life’s a Bumper’ was one of his most popular and enduring pieces. Richard Wainwright (1757–1825) came from a family of Manchester organists. His father John Wainwright (1723–68) was appointed organist at the Collegiate Church in 1767. John was succeeded upon his death by Richard’s brother Robert Wainwright (1748–82), then Richard took over the Collegiate Church position in 1774 when Robert moved to Liverpool. All three composed, particularly for the church.⁷¹

The music performed by the club during its existence largely comprises glees, but the occasional catch also appears, particularly during the early years of the club, such as Baildon’s political satire ‘Mr Speaker’ on 5 January 1831. Interestingly, in the printed programme for 6 May 1841, after the formation of the Madrigal Society, a madrigal is inserted into each half of the Gentlemen’s Glee Club programme, with the composer and the date of composition highlighted in bold. This does not appear to have been a regular feature of the programmes at this time, which makes it a curious inclusion.

Looking in detail at the music performed during the nine meetings held during the first year of the club’s existence, Table 5 lists the composers whose works were performed during the season, and the number of pieces by each composer which were presented.⁷² The middle column includes the number of individual pieces, but some of these pieces were performed on several different occasions, so the right hand column reflects the total number of performances of items by that composer. Most popular, by some margin, was Henry Bishop, with 28 performances in total of 16 separate pieces. After him, the most frequently featured were Webbe the elder (16 performances, 8 pieces), Callcott (12 performances, 6 pieces), Horsley (11 performances, 5 pieces), and Shore (11 performances, 3 pieces). The pieces performed

⁷¹ Ronald Kidd, ‘Wainwright Family’, *Grove Music Online* (accessed 27 September 2020).

⁷² 9 meetings: 8 September 1830, York Hotel; 6 October 1830, York Hotel; 3 November 1830, Hayward’s Hotel; 1 December 1830, Hayward’s Hotel; 5 January 1831, Hayward’s Hotel; 2 February 1831, Hayward’s Hotel; 2 March 1831, Hayward’s Hotel; 30 March 1831 (for April), Hayward’s Hotel; 28 April 1831, Public Night, Salford Town Hall.

the greatest number of times tended to appear in the after-dinner slot, therefore were clearly particular favourites of the club membership as a whole. These included: 'O Willie Brew'd' (Shore, 6 times); 'Hail Smiling Morn' (Spofforth, 6 times); 'O! Bold Robin Hood' (Bishop, 5 times); 'Lutzow's Wild Hunt' (Weber, 5 times); 'Life's a Bumper' (Wainwright, 4 times); 'Vadasi via di qua' (Martini, 4 times); 'Of a' the airts' (Shore, 4 times). The after dinner element of the evening, in addition to glees and catches including the repeat appearances detailed above, also featured a number of songs, often Scotch ballads, which are included in the full list of music sung during this season (see Appendix 3.2). One unusual item from this part of the proceedings, not included in this table due to lack of attributed composer, is a nine-part round titled 'Let's Have a Peal', which must have been an entertaining proposition late in the evening after large quantities of wine.

An instrumental piece was included just once: a piano solo by Czerny, as part of the public night at the end of the season. By contrast, the Canterbury club involved a large orchestra, and the 'concert' part of proceedings included overtures and symphonic repertoire.⁷³ Robins and Price have both noted that provincial glee and madrigal societies rarely programmed full evenings of glees and madrigals, tending rather to put on mixed programmes of vocal and instrumental music.⁷⁴ The Manchester club's programmes therefore appear to have been unusually focused.

The club sponsored prizes for glee composition, and Henry Watson's *Chronicle* details the practicalities and the outcome of the early annual contests. In 1831, the first year of competition, only seven glees were submitted. By 1832 the club and its competition were sufficiently well known, and the prize sufficiently tempting, that 46 glees were submitted, and the winners were none other than Vincent Novello and Henry Bishop. The submissions were examined anonymously, so their names alone did not produce this outcome. Bishop won the prize for a Serious Glee with 'Where shall we make her grave', while Novello succeeded with his Cheerful Glee 'Old May Morning'. Watson records, interestingly:

⁷³ Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', pp. 289–91.

⁷⁴ Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p 90; Price, 'Mr Ward's Commission', pp. 183–86. The case studies in Hobson's article do also contradict this narrative, however.

It is curious to state that though Sir Henry Bishop wrote other competitive Gleees for other Clubs as well as for the Gentlemen's Glee Club, the only prize he ever won was that which the above composition secured him; it is somewhat remarkable too, that 'Old May Morning' is the first and only prize Glee to which Mr Vincent Novello's name was ever attached.⁷⁵

Table 5: Gentlemen's Glee Club Repertoire, First Season (1830–31)		
Composer	No. of Pieces Performed	Total No. Performances
Richard Andrews	1	3
Attwood	1	1
Dr Arne	2	4
J. B.	1	1
Baildon	2	2
Bishop	16	28
Callcott	6	12
Dr Chard	2	2
Cherubini	1	1
Dr J. Clarke	1	1
T Cooke	2	3
Czerny (piano solo – public night)	1	1
Danby	3	6
Dyme	1	1
C. L. Evans	1	1
T. Ford	1	1
?Geller	1	1
Guglielmi	1	2
Hargreaves	2	2
Harington	1	1
Hime	1	1
C. E. Horn	1	1
Horsley	5	11
Ireland	1	1
M. P. King	1	1
Knyvett	2	3
Martini	1	4
T. Moore	1	1
T. Morley	1	1
Lord Mornington	1	1

⁷⁵ Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 41.

Mosca	1	1
Mozart	1	3
Dr Nares	1	1
Parrin	1	1
Paxton	3	4
Pucitta	1	1
Purcell	1	1
Rossini	3	4
Shield	1	1
Shore	3	11
J. S. Smith	1	1
Spofforth	3	8
R. J. S. Stevens	4	5
Wainwright	1	4
Webbe	8	16
Weber	3	8
T. Welsh	1	2
Willis	1	1

Manchester Madrigal Society

The Gentlemen's Glee Club, while successful at encouraging and popularising glees, and bringing them to a large audience, did however limit itself by only admitting glees into its programmes. A separate Madrigal Society was consequently established in 1840, inspired by Edward Taylor's lectures on English music.⁷⁶ As Henry Watson put it, in relation to the Gentlemen's Glee Club, 'Parent and child regarded each other with affectionate interest throughout the whole course of the latter's history'.⁷⁷ An early newspaper report of the activities of the Madrigal Society announced:

It may not be generally known, that, during the year which has just closed, a number of gentlemen, lovers of the old English part-singing, and stimulated by the admirable courses of lectures on this and kindred branches of vocal music, delivered here by Mr Edward Taylor, Gresham professor of music, formed themselves into a society, which, we believe, now numbers about 80 members, under the above title ... The society availed themselves of Professor E. Taylor's

⁷⁶ See Chapters 4 and 5 for more detailed information about Edward Taylor and music lectures.

⁷⁷ Watson, *Chronicle*, p. 11.

present visit to this town, to invite him to be their guest, on Saturday evening last.⁷⁸

Taylor was invited to conduct the evening and, from the evidence of the newspaper report, took the opportunity to engage in teaching the society about the music which they were singing, preceding each piece with a mini lecture about its history, context and any peculiarities of style. For example:

The next madrigal, 'When all alone, my bonny love' (date 1580), Mr Taylor said, was composed by Geronimo Converso; and, like many other of the Italian madrigals of that period, it was only known to us by the translation given by a Mr Young, who imported many of these madrigals into England soon after they appeared in Italy, and to all of them furnished a translation, some of which were incomparably the most unintelligible things he had ever read.⁷⁹

Taylor then drew on his friendly connections with the society to support his lectures over the next week, and the newspaper reports of his lecture series refer to him inviting members of the Madrigal Society onto the stage at various points to illustrate some of the music under discussion.⁸⁰ Manchester was not the only town to acquire a Madrigal Society largely as a result of the evangelism of Edward Taylor. Taylor was also directly responsible for the formation of Bristol's Madrigal Society and inspired further madrigal activities around the country as a result of his lecture tours.⁸¹

But while Taylor may have provided the impetus, a number of figures now familiar to us guided its establishment and the shape it came to take. As with the development of the Gentlemen's Glee Club out of the Amateur Glee and Catch Club, so too was there significant overlap between the Gentlemen's Glee Club and the Madrigal Society. Most significantly, William Shore, who had been founding chairman of the Gentlemen's Glee Club, became the driving force behind the Madrigal Society, chiefly

⁷⁸ 'Manchester Madrigal Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 January 1841.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ 'Professor E Taylor's Lectures on English Opera, *The Manchester Guardian*, 9 January 1841.

⁸¹ Hobson, *Three Madrigal Societies*, pp. 45–6.

responsible for its formation and serving as its conductor for its whole existence. In November 1843, Shore was presented with a silver tea service by the Madrigal Society as a mark of respect for his exertions on behalf of the club. The newspaper report of this occasion contains a number of valuable comments for our knowledge of Shore and this society. Shuttleworth, by now an Alderman, gave the address, including the lines:

To his personal exertions the society, in a great measure, was indebted for its existence; and to his personal and exemplary qualifications it owed, in a great measure, its success; and it could scarcely be an exaggeration to say that to him it entirely owed the character which it had already attained ... he had also further benefited it, and established for himself claims upon the consideration of its members by a merit exclusively and personally his own – (applause): – by applying, on behalf of the society, that extensive acquaintance he possessed in this department of musical science, he had enriched the musical collection of the society by contributing a numerous and valuable stock of composition, which his known researches and taste had enabled him to select from the almost forgotten or unnoticed works of many deserving authors whose works had almost sunk into oblivion, but whose reputation had been in some measure restored by the knowledge which Mr Shore's researches had given of their excellences.⁸²

Shore's response included this passage, which is particularly valuable for the purposes of this chapter, foregrounding the networks of friendship which sustained and enlivened these gatherings:

He might be pardoned for mentioning what struck him as a rather singular coincidence, that his friend Mr Shuttleworth, 16 years back, had been deputed by another musical society—of which Mr Shuttleworth, Mr Wainwright Bellhouse, and himself (all now present), were members—to present him (Mr Shore) with a token of their favour. He hoped he might allowed to say, in the presence of those two friends, that he trusted he had not yet forfeited the

⁸² 'Manchester Madrigal Society: Presentation of a Mark of Respect to Mr W. Shore', *Manchester Guardian*, 29 November 1843.

estimation of which that gift was the memorial; and, if he remained 16 years amongst the members of this society, he hoped he might in like manner be able to say that he still retained their favourable estimation, friendship, and esteem.⁸³

He was referring, of course, to the Amateur Glee and Catch Club.

No detailed society records or minute books survive, but the Madrigal Society's programmes (1842–64), a catalogue and index are still extant and are held at the Henry Watson Music Library.⁸⁴ The nature of surviving archival materials renders it harder to build a picture of its personnel and practices in comparison to the earlier societies in this chapter, but its programme collection contains much of interest, and press reports help flesh out some of the details.

Upon its foundation it met on alternate Saturdays, beginning with tea at six then business at seven, and numbered about 80 members. The society appears to have been rather itinerant, at least as far as the annual meetings are concerned. After meeting in the Exchange Dining Room and the Royal Manchester Institution in 1842 and 1843, the majority of subsequent meetings took place in the Town Hall from 1844 to 1856 (apart from the meetings of 1847 and 1848, which were hosted by the Royal Manchester Institution), before moving to the Society's own Rooms in John Dalton Street for 1859, 1860 and 1861. They used the Free Trade Hall for an Illustration of Church Music in 1857 and for their Private Dress Concert in 1861.

A *Manchester Guardian* article of 6 January 1841 describes how:

After tea, coffee, & c. had been served, the members seated themselves at the outside of tables placed round the room, so as to leave an open space (for the converging harmony, we suppose) in the centre. ... The madrigal was then sung by some 70 or 80 voices, including among the trebles, Miss Leach, Miss Graham, Mrs Birch, Mrs Andrews; amongst the altos, Messrs Barlow, Standage, Heeles, &c.; amongst the tenors, Messrs Walton, Cooper, and others; and, amongst the

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Henry Watson Library, Madrigal Society Programmes shelfmark R780.69 Me77; Catalogue and Index shelfmark MSF 780.84 Me 51.

basses, Mr Sheldrick and other professional singers; besides many practised gentlemen amateurs. The effect was very striking and pleasing.⁸⁵

This society, then, relied significantly on professional singers too, with considerable overlap between honorary members of the previous two societies, members of the chorus for the 1836 Festival, and members of the Hargreaves Choral Society.⁸⁶ But, unlike the Gentlemen's Glee Club, the emphasis within the Madrigal Society was on a large body of singers and as much participation as possible. Indeed, during his visit in January 1841, Edward Taylor made a point of commenting before the last piece of the night:

Mr Taylor then said he could not come to the last piece, without expressing his very great delight at the performance he had witnessed and partaken of; for there all both gave and received pleasure; none were idle; there were no drones in the madrigalian hive.⁸⁷

The Madrigal Society proudly included female singers from the outset. In Shore's response to the presentation of his tea service, he explicitly stated: 'In this society they were supported by the voices of ladies, which the London Madrigal Society had not—and which certainly gave the Manchester society the advantage; for boys' voices were not to be compared to female voices'.⁸⁸ In contrast, all the societies discussed in Hobson's chapter used boy choristers for the top parts—in the case of the Bristol Madrigal Society right up until 1945—and never appear to have even considered admitting women.⁸⁹

The Manchester Madrigal Society appears to have been a more sober, serious organisation than its forebears. Accounts of meetings refer to the service of coffee, prior to the singing commencing and during breaks in proceedings, rather than alcohol,

⁸⁵ 'Manchester Madrigal Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 January 1841.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 3.

⁸⁷ 'Manchester Madrigal Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 January 1841.

⁸⁸ 'Manchester Madrigal Society: Presentation of a Mark of Respect to Mr W. Shore'.

⁸⁹ Hobson, 'Three Madrigal Societies', pp. 34, 40, 50.

and the gathering terminated significantly earlier than the Gentlemen's or Amateur Glee Clubs, with carriages instructed to be present for ten o' clock.

The content of an early regular meeting of the society is preserved in the report of the gathering conducted by Edward Taylor in January 1841.⁹⁰ The music performed was as follows:

Madrigal	'All creatures now are merry-minded'	John Bennet (1598)
Madrigal	'When all alone, my bonny love'	Geronimo Converso (1580)
Anthem	'I will arise, and go to my father'	Rev. Robt. Creighton (1680)
Madrigal	'Flora gave me fairest flowers'	Wilbye (1598)
Madrigal	'Cynthia, thy song enchanting'	Giovanni Croce (1560)
Madrigal	'Quando dal terzo'	Palestrina (1594)
Anthem	'O come let us worship'	C. P. E. Bach (1758)
Madrigal	'Sweet honey-sucking bees'	Wilbye (1609)
Four part song	'My mistress is as fair as fine'	Bennet (1614)
<i>Villanella</i>	'Sigh not, fond shepherd'	Giovanni Ferretti (1580)
Anthem	'Hosanna to the Son of David'	Orlando Gibbons
Madrigal	'Thyrsis, sleepest thou'	Bennet (1599)
Madrigal	'Down in a flowery vale'	Constantin Festa (1541)
Madrigal	'The waits'	Jeremiah Savile (1667)

More consistent records exist for the content of the annual gathering, variously called 'Public Meeting', 'Annual Dress Meeting', or (from 1859) 'Private Concert', for which one printed programme survives for most years in the archive. From 1849, the programmes included detailed programme notes. The Hargreaves Choral Society forms the basis of the next chapter, and its unusually early programme notes, which were provided from 1841, are a key area of exploration. The Hargreaves Society, which employed a fully professional chorus for an audience of subscribers, ceased to exist in 1849. There were overlaps in management and also in performers between the Madrigal Society and the Hargreaves Society, and the primary author of the

⁹⁰ 'Manchester Madrigal Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 6 January 1841.

Hargreaves notes, Charles Sever, explicitly thanked William Shore for his input into the preparation of the programme notes for the Hargreaves Society. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the Madrigal Society notes began from the date the Hargreaves Society expired.⁹¹

Conclusion

These three societies might have been expected to function along largely similar lines, and might also have been expected to be of an amateur, sociable, participatory character. Instead, we find one small society meeting in private houses at which all members participated in the singing; one large society which put on concert-style performances of glees at which members did not sing, although dinner remained a feature of the evening; and one society with an explicitly didactic purpose, which included professional and amateur singers performing madrigals together in public.

The overlapping membership between the societies, including at an organisational level, resulted in some significant collaboration. The three societies appear to have complemented each other and supported one another's aims, working together for major events such as when Henry Bishop came to Manchester. The Amateur Glee and Catch club was a subscriber in its corporate capacity to the Guarantee Fund for Manchester's 1828 and 1836 music festivals, subscribing £100 to each. The societies also participated in national networks: The Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club and the Manchester Madrigal Society both subscribed to the Musical Antiquarian Society, to which several members of all the societies also held individual subscriptions.⁹²

In the context of the broader sweep of this dissertation, there are some interesting points to draw out, in particular the equality between professional musicians and businessmen apparent in the Amateur Glee and Catch Club; the opportunities membership afforded for furthering business relationships within the context of the sociable music event; and the intellectual interest in music displayed in all three societies, countering the stereotype of the Manchester Man as industrial

⁹¹ Charles Sever also printed the programmes for the Madrigal Society concerts.

⁹² For more information about the Musical Antiquarian Society, see Richard Turbet, 'The Musical Antiquarian Society, 1840–1848', *Brio*, 29 (1992), 13–20.

philistine. The Madrigal Society, in particular, displayed an increasingly serious engagement with music, with its repertoire linked directly to music lectures and to original research, its practices less concerned with non-musical revelry, and its programme notes and reports of its meetings reflecting a significant didactic aspect in its activities. The theme of intellectualism is further developed in the next chapter, which focuses on the Hargreaves Choral Society and its highly enterprising programme notes.

Immediately after the quotation with which this chapter opened, Henry Watson excerpted a verse of a glee to reinforce his point. This, the second verse from Samuel Webbe's 'Glorious Apollo', forms an appropriate conclusion here:

Here every gen'rous sentiment awakening,
Music inspiring unity and joy,
Each social pleasure giving and partaking,
Glee and good humour our hours employ.
Thus then combining,
Hands and hearts joining,
Long may continue our unity and joy.⁹³

⁹³ Henry Watson, *A Chronicle of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club*, p. 12.

Chapter Three: Networks of Musical Critics and Connoisseurs

The Hargreaves Choral Society and its Programme Notes

Musical perceptions of nineteenth-century Lancashire and Yorkshire are inextricably bound up with the stereotype of the northern amateur choral society, operating on a large scale and with a predilection for Handel. Contemporary and more recent literature romanticises the image of the working classes congregating to sing oratorios, famously described by George Hogarth:

In the densely peopled manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Derbyshire, music is cultivated among the working classes to an extent unparalleled in any other part of the kingdom. Every town has its choral society, supported by the amateurs of the place and its neighbourhood, where the sacred works of Handel and the more modern masters are performed, with precision and effect, by a vocal and instrumental orchestra, consisting of mechanics and work-people; and every village church has its occasional oratorio, where a well-chosen and well-performed selection of sacred music is listened to by a decent and attentive audience, of the same class as the performers, mingled with their employers and their families.¹

Similarly, in the 'Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education' in 1841, it was reported:

In the northern counties of England choral singing has long formed the chief rational amusement of the manufacturing population. The weavers of Lancashire and Yorkshire have been famed for their acquaintance with the great works of Handel and Haydn, with the part-music of the old English school, and those admirable old English songs, the music of which it is desirable to restore to common use.²

¹ George Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography and Criticism* (London: John W. Parker, 1835), p. 430.

² Quoted in E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 154.

This depiction has persisted to the present, featuring colourfully in the work of Rainbow, Mackerness, Bailey and other such writers on music and recreation.³ Bailey quotes a line written in 1844 that Handel and Haydn were ‘as household words’ in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and that there was no difficulty in raising choirs among the factory operatives.⁴ Howard Smither’s monumental history of the oratorio also perpetuates this narrative, asserting in his volume on the nineteenth century that the sight-singing movement created a large body of amateur singers, feeding demand for appropriate repertoire.⁵

Less widely discussed is the fact that, certainly during the first half of the century, the choruses for music festivals, oratorio concerts, choral concerts and, as discussed in the previous chapter, often even for smaller scale glee and madrigal societies, were significantly or entirely constituted not of amateurs, but of paid, professional singers. Although Smither acknowledges chorus singers were sometimes paid, specifically in the context of cathedral choirs contributing to provincial festivals in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, he privileges the amateur chorus from the outset, referring to it in his ‘Preface’ before developing the theme in chapters on Britain.⁶ His discussion of choral singing in Lancashire is entirely in the context of the amateur tradition, even when describing the famous ‘Lancashire chorus-singers’, who he positions as ‘a remarkable exception in a period when amateur singing societies were rare’.⁷ A number of writers have noted that these key Lancashire chorus singers, and indeed choruses more generally during the first half of the nineteenth century, were distinctly professional—including Pippa Drummond’s work on provincial

³ E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge, 1964); Bernarr Rainbow, *The Land Without Music: Musical Education in England 1800–1860 and Its Continental Antecedents* (London: Novello and Company, 1967); Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the context for control, 1830–1885* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 11.

⁴ The quotation is drawn by Bailey from the footnotes to Faucher’s *Manchester in 1844*, which were provided by the translator as commentary on the text, as detailed in the introductory chapter. Léon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844; its Present Condition and Future Prospects* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. and Manchester: Abel Heywood, 1844), p. 49.

⁵ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio Volume 4: The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

⁶ *Ibid.*, in particular p. xix and pp. 267–84.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 267. The history and idea of the ‘famous Lancashire chorus singers’ is explored in more detail later in this chapter.

festivals,⁸ Robert Beale's research into the nature of professionalism in the context of Manchester's singers,⁹ and, while he does not mention payment, Dave Russell's nuanced discussion of the social composition of nineteenth-century choral societies and the tendency historically to conflate northern accents with working class origins¹⁰—but the nature of the professional chorus has not entered into the wider discourse, and its implications in the context of broader themes within musical life has not yet been explored.

The Hargreaves Choral Society gives us an important example of such a chorus. It was not a participatory society, instead functioning as a society of subscribers who then attended as audience concerts performed by a paid chorus and orchestra. Its surviving archive (a compact but detailed collection of minute books, programmes and a register of subscribers) together with copious press commentary provides insights into the practices and practicalities of choral singing in early Victorian England and illuminates the new approaches to music developing in the growing industrial regions. A full list of subscribers survives, allowing detailed identification of the membership.¹¹

A highly significant feature of this society is that it provided substantial and notably early programme notes from its very first concert on 25 November 1841. Close study of these programme notes and their dissemination, taken together with the professionalism pursued by the society, illuminate a concert series which aligns far more closely with narratives of criticism, connoisseurship and 'serious listening' than with the trope of popular participation more commonly pursued in relation to choral societies.

The standard narrative, as explored in several publications by Christina Bashford, sets out a chronology whereby programme notes first became established in London in 1845 at John Ella's Musical Union concerts:

⁸ Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784–1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), in particular pp. 248–52.

⁹ Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 102–6.

¹⁰ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 248–71.

¹¹ The archive of the Hargreaves Choral Society is held by the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Archives and Local Studies. It includes Minute Books 1841–49 [R780.68Me76], a Membership Register 1841–46 [R780.68Me76], and sets of Programmes [R780.69Me74].

[Programme notes] emerged initially in London, the dominant, pre-eminent locus for concerts, in the middle decades of the [nineteenth] century, and primarily at the meetings of a varied group of concert societies that promulgated serious musical values, beginning with John Ella's Musical Union (1845–81).¹²

While Bashford acknowledges the existence of printed programme notes earlier, for example at concerts in Edinburgh in the late 1830s, she states:

London is nevertheless emphasised ... because it was the place where the phenomenon of programme notes first became firmly rooted.¹³

Bashford credits Ella with being the first to regularly provide audiences with notes and being the first to institutionalise the use of programme notes and silent listening on a sustained basis.¹⁴ But work on the growth of serious listening tends to pinpoint the canonisation of the symphonic and chamber-instrumental repertoire as central to the narrative, hence perhaps the overlooking of this provincial choral society.

The Hargreaves Society's Foundation and Management

At a meeting in Manchester on the evening of Monday 16 August 1841, the following statement was read:

The late Mr Hamer Hargreaves, by his will, bequeathed the residue of his property to Messrs. John Owen and John Waddington, 'upon trust that they should, with all convenient speed, after his decease, appropriate all his music, musical instruments, music stands, and every other article or thing appertaining to music, to the establishment of a Choral Society in Manchester, for the purpose

¹² Christina Bashford, 'Not Just "G": Towards a History of the Programme Note', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 117.

¹³ Bashford, 'Not Just "G"', endnote 8, p. 135.

¹⁴ Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 138–9. The first of the annual Reid concerts on 12 February 1841 contained analytical programme notes for most pieces, written by the concert's conductor Professor Thomson (Edinburgh Central Library, shelfmark ML42). Henry Bishop conducted in 1842 and 1843, for which concerts no programme notes were provided.

of Practicing Sacred Music with an Instrumental Band, having one leader and one conductor, professionally engaged; and that, should it be thought desirable to practice occasionally with an organ, one might be purchased, not exceeding £120 in value; the organist and leader both to be under the control and direction of the conductor'. The testator further directed, that the residue of his personal estate should be appropriated, by his executors, 'in such manner as they might deem most advisable for the promotion of the same object: presuming that by these means, and with the aid of subscribers, a respectable Choral Society might be founded; which might become an ornament to the town, and a benefit to the rising generation, as a school for musical instruction'.¹⁵

For the purposes of this chapter, the last sentence is particularly significant.

Hamer Hargreaves, a Manchester-based surveyor of taxes who had died earlier that year, was described as a talented and enthusiastic amateur musician.¹⁶ He had formerly lived in Preston, where he undertook the same line of work while also superintending the Preston Choral Society, before working in Manchester for his last ten years.¹⁷ An anecdote published in the *North of England Magazine* in 1843 captured his character and enthusiasm:

THE LATE MR. HAMER HARGREAVES – He was the most perfect devotee at the shrine of music I ever knew. His whole soul seemed made up of harmonious sounds, and when surrounded in his own private music room, by his musical friends (with the baton in his hand), was the impersonation of a truly happy man. Being in London with him on one occasion, and happening to speak of a bargain I had made in a small lot of second-hand music, he asked me to accompany him to the shop in Oxford-street. On entering the premises, he took a seat, and requested the shopman to reach him down one lot after another in rapid

¹⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, 21 August 1841.

¹⁶ His death, which occurred on 5 March, was reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, 6 March 1841.

¹⁷ Peter Whittle, *A Topographical, Statistical & Historical Account of the Borough of Preston* (Preston: P. Whittle, 1821), p. 65.

succession. I perceived he was delighted; but the man began to weary, seeing, after more than an hour's exertion, no signs of a purchase. At length, Mr Hargreaves said – turning towards this crabbed-looking attendant, pointing, at the same time with his stick to the mass which covered one side of the shop – “And now, sir, what will you take for the lot?” The man looked bewildered – then smiled, then rubbed his hands, then laughed outright. A bargain was soon made; and the whole packed off to add to his already burthened shelves in Manchester.¹⁸

Upon his death, in addition to a bequest in money of £1000, he left for the purposes of the new society his music library, described by the *Manchester Guardian* as ‘worth considerably more than £1000’ and ‘considered to be one of the best collections of choral music in the kingdom’.¹⁹

Present at the August meeting were more than fifty of the ‘200 gentlemen, professionals and amateurs, connected with our various musical associations, and other known admirers of music’ issued with invitations.²⁰ The executors reported several applications had been made to them by existing societies hoping to make use of this bequest, including David Ward Banks who made a case for his Amateur Choral Society, but the executors and trustees preferred and proposed the establishment of an independent society.²¹ Thus the Hargreaves Choral Society came into existence.

A committee was duly elected and quickly set about establishing rules and regulations. An exploration of the membership of this committee and the records they kept forms a useful starting point for detailed investigation into how the Hargreaves Society functioned. The minutes provide a wealth of interesting details on subjects from the recruitment and management of musicians to the furnishing of the concert room, giving insights into the practices and practicalities underpinning an early Victorian choral society’s activities. The names and professions, where identified, of members of this committee are provided in Table 6, drawn from the membership

¹⁸ *North of England Magazine*, February 1843, reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian*, 22 February 1843.

¹⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, 28 August 1841.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ ‘Correspondence’, *Manchester Guardian*, 20 March 1841.

register and cross-referenced against trade directories. The twelve individuals first elected to the committee were predominantly musically interested businessmen. It is therefore not surprising that this society was run like a business, with meticulous records and a profusion of subcommittees.²² During the society's first weeks a further eight committee members were elected, predominantly professional musicians. Particularly notable among the latter group are John Waddington junior, son of one of the executors of Hargreaves's will, elected as conductor of the society; Michael Conran, a highly entrepreneurial Manchester-based violinist and conductor, elected as leader; and cellist William Lindley, son of the famous cellist Thomas Lindley.²³

Table 6: Hargreaves Choral Society Committee Members	
Initial Committee Members of the Hargreaves Choral Society:	
G. M. Ainsworth Silk Merchant	Charles Meredith <i>Law Stationer</i>
John Cutts Brassfounder	William Rolfe Music Seller, Piano Seller & Tuner
James Braid Surgeon	Charles Sever Printer & Critic
Samuel Livesey Publican	James Saunders Solicitor
Peter Hewitt	James Rothwell
Peter W. Hammond	W H Farmen
Further Committee Members elected shortly afterwards:	
John Waddington jun. Conductor of the Society	Michael Conran Leader of the Hargreaves Society
William Lindley Cello, son of Thomas Lindley	James Hill Double Bass
James Allen Tenor	Edward Sudlow Viola; co-owner of music shop
John Twiss Honorary performing member – Cello	J Gledhill Double Bass

One of the committee's first tasks was the recruitment of members. This was achieved by placing adverts in the newspapers on 18 and 21 August, with subscription

²² Including a subcommittee specifically assigned to organise refreshments for ladies at the rehearsals.

²³ William Lindley appeared in connection with the 1836 Festival, and the Waddingtons featured in Chapter 2.

sheets printed and sent to the various music shops ready to receive signatures. About 100 invitations were sent directly 'to such professional and amateur vocalists and instrumentalists of the town as it may be thought desirable to associate with the Society'.²⁴ The text of this invitation was as follows:

Sir, you have been nominated a Performing Member of the above Society. Should you be willing to accept the nomination, you are respectfully requested to fill up the form annexed. As a meeting of the Performing Members will be held at the Committee Room, George-street, on Thursday evening next, August 19th, (after the Rehearsal) ...

Mr Rolfe, Music-Seller, King Street²⁵

By early November, 185 names had been received as subscribers and the minutes record notice being sent to all those individuals informing them of their election to the society. A Collector was tasked with beginning to visit all subscribers to obtain their payments.²⁶

Another urgent task was the selection of music for their concerts. A Music Committee was appointed comprising some of the key musical members of the full committee: Lindley, Twiss, Ainsworth, Waddington and Conran.²⁷ They prepared a programme of selections for the first concert, then presented their recommendations at the full committee meeting of 6 September. In obtaining music they made full use of their local and national contacts; thanks were given later in their first season to Manchester's Madrigal Society for the loan of music,²⁸ and payments for music to Joseph Surman of London, conductor of the Sacred Harmonic Society, were recorded in the accounts, as were payments to local traders and musicians including Hime, Beale & Co.²⁹ A committee member, William Rolfe, was paid on a number of occasions for piano hire and tuning, while John Waddington's father was paid for 'completing parts'.

²⁴ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 16 August 1841.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 9 November 1841.

²⁷ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 26 August 1841.

²⁸ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 21 June 1842.

²⁹ Accounts, Hargreaves Society Minutes, 21 June 1842.

Equally vital for the committee's attention, though more surprising from a present-day perspective, were the drastic measures required to turn the rooms the society hired into a venue fit for public concerts. It is well known that, in the absence of concert halls in Manchester, various other locations were appropriated for musical purposes. Less well known are the modifications then undertaken, minutely detailed here in the records. The Music Committee took the lead on choosing premises, recommending £50 be paid to the proprietors of the Wellington Rooms for their use for rehearsals, concerts and committee meetings.³⁰ A 'Room and General Purposes Committee' was then formed, which drew up a plan of the orchestra (in this context, 'the orchestra' means the seating and staging arrangements for the choir and orchestra) and lighting (fourteen chandeliers of four lights each, plus lights at the entrance and exit).³¹ It was later decided that this lighting plan would be too expensive and produce too much light, so the number was reduced from 56 to 40.³² Even more dramatically, major structural changes were made to the building. In the minutes of 23 November 1841, Mr Farnen reported that 'having learnt that the contemplated inside staircase at the back of the orchestra could not be made in time for the ensuing concert, he had on behalf of the Room Committee given directions for the fixing of an outside staircase to the end window in Mr Brogden's yard'.

The date for the first concert was initially set as Tuesday 9 November. However, it emerged at the meeting of 14 October that some of the principal vocalists of the society had been engaged by the Shrewsbury Festival for 10 and 11 November, so the date of the concert was changed to Thursday 18 November. At the meeting on 26 October it was pushed back yet again to 25 November. Initially, performing members of the society were allocated tickets for the concert, but by 16 November uptake of subscriptions was so successful that concerns were raised that all those interested in joining the society might not fit in.³³ A ticket was sent to the secretary of each of the Gentlemen's Concerts, the Choral Society, the Amateur Choral Society, the Gentlemen's Glee Club, the Cheetham Hill Glee Club, the Musical Club and the

³⁰ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 6 September 1841.

³¹ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 13 September 1841.

³² Hargreaves Society Minutes, 26 October 1841.

³³ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 16 November 1841.

Madrigal Society. Tickets were also sent to the leader of the Gentlemen's Concerts and a couple of tickets to each of the editors of the Manchester newspapers. 847 tickets were issued, 704 tickets were received at the doors, and it was estimated that a further 200 could be accommodated in the room. The committee consequently decided to keep the subscription lists open until 300 members were reached.³⁴ These meticulous preparations resulted in a highly successful first concert and first season, reported upon favourably and extensively in the press.

Performers at Hargreaves Society Concerts

Payment records in the minute book reveal the fact the Hargreaves was a society employing a paid orchestra and paid chorus.³⁵ Cross-referencing this list with the register of members from 1841–6 confirms the overwhelming majority of performers were not subscribers, and the few exceptions were generally members of the committee. The orchestra and chorus lists are filled with leading lights of the region's music scene: instrumentalists familiar from the orchestra of the Gentlemen's Concerts; principal vocalists in demand across the area for oratorios, madrigal societies and glee clubs.³⁶ Notably, all the vocal soloists for the 1841–2 series are included in the payment list as members of the chorus. The inference that these soloists sung in the chorus in addition to their individual responsibilities is supported by a review in *The Musical World* of the performance of Beethoven's *Mount of Olives*, which commented that 'It was delightful to see the whole of the solo singers retain their places till the end of the performance, and lend their aid to the difficult and elaborate choruses'.³⁷

The relative popularity and expertise of each performer was reflected in a complicated scale of fees, agreed by the committee for payment at the end of the first year. Payment of orchestra and chorus fees formed the most significant expense of the society. The Treasurer's report for the end of the society's first year recorded £498-9-8 in the bank at the last report, out of which had been withdrawn £359-9-0 for orchestra fees.³⁸ The soprano Miss Leach and the tenor Walton commanded the highest fees at

³⁴ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 30 November 1841.

³⁵ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 7 June 1842. The list is transcribed as Appendix 4.3.

³⁶ Many of the Hargreaves performers featured in previous chapters and recur in subsequent chapters.

³⁷ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *The Musical World*, 51/17 (22 December 1842), p. 410.

³⁸ Treasurer's Report, Hargreaves Society Minutes, 21 June 1842.

30 shillings per concert. The conductor, leader and principal instrumentalists were paid 21 shillings per concert. At the other end of the scale, the lowest-paid instrumentalist received 7 shillings and bottom-of-the-list tenors 3/6.

Persistent problems of unauthorised absence from rehearsals and concerts caused an even more complicated system of fines and deductions to be agreed. For example:

Any Member not in attendance when the Orchestra door is closed, previously to the commencement of any concert, but who can prove that he was present within ten minutes of the time of closing, shall be fined as for absence from a full rehearsal, but if not present within that time he shall be fined as for absence from either Parts.³⁹

Such fines were often necessary, as evidenced by the frequent examples in the minutes of absent performers and the measures taken to deal with them. The singer James Isherwood and principal second violin James Gregory were absent without notice from the concert of 10 March; the Secretary was instructed to express the regret of the committee as to this occurrence.⁴⁰ Gregory began to be habitually absent, and after a meeting in May it was resolved 'that unless he attend the next Rehearsal (tomorrow evening) or give a satisfactory reason for his absence, he will be considered to have forfeited his appointment as a Performing member'.⁴¹ Some of these absences even occasioned press comment. The concert of 30 May 1845 opened with Weber's overture to *Oberon*, which was 'exceedingly well played, except that in the first movement, the entry of the flutes and clarinets was wanting in precision. We did not see the principal flute and clarinet in their places at the commencement of the overture'.⁴² More disastrously, in the *Messiah* performance of 29 December 1841: 'The band was in most respects complete; perhaps a little thin in first violins; and unfortunate in the absence of the principal trumpet, which prevented the celebrated

³⁹ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 7 June 1842.

⁴⁰ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 15 March 1842.

⁴¹ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 9 May 1842.

⁴² 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 June 1845.

air, “The trumpet shall sound,” from going off with the same success as almost every other piece during the evening’.⁴³ Unfortunately, although the trumpeter was present when *Messiah* was next performed by the Hargreaves Society in 1843, this moment did not go much better: ‘The very difficult trumpet obligato to “The trumpet shall sound” was a failure, and had to be supplied by the violin. Surely it would be better to take this accompaniment upon the cornet-à-piston, than to subject the singer to such hazard’.⁴⁴

The initial orchestra list for the Hargreaves contains 42 performers, of whom eight were honorary members and the remainder were paid (Appendix 4.3). An orchestra list for the Gentlemen’s Concerts in 1843 contains 45 performers, 15 of whom were honorary, of which four were classified as ‘not paid professors’ (Appendix 4.2).⁴⁵ There are 25 names common to both lists, including the majority of section principals, and wind and brass players in general. The professional players common to both include many names familiar from the orchestra of the 1836 festival, the entrepreneurial musicians of Chapter 1, and some of the key musical professionals identified in Chapter 2, albeit in that chapter some of them were singing. Thirteen of the Hargreaves players performed in the 1836 festival orchestra, in fact: nine string players, both bassoonists, one horn player and one trombonist.

Lancashire had long been celebrated for a small group of chorus singers, sometimes called the ‘Lancashire witches’, who were in demand as leaders of choral sections for festivals and choral concerts during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁶ Contemporary newspaper commentary and festival advertisements regularly made reference to them as a particular attraction of an occasion. They supported events from the 1770s onwards including the Three Choirs Festivals at Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester, and festivals at Birmingham,

⁴³ ‘Hargreaves Choral Society’, *Manchester Guardian*, 1 January 1842.

⁴⁴ ‘Hargreaves Choral Society’, *Manchester Guardian*, 19 April 1843.

⁴⁵ An orchestra list for December 1843 is preserved in the minute books, Henry Watson Library shelfmark BR780.68Me68.

⁴⁶ See Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 241; Simon McVeigh, ‘Introduction’, in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot, 2004), p. 14; a provisional list of eighteenth-century Lancashire Chorus Singers is provided in Gick, *Concert Life*, Appendix A (II); Reginald Nettel, *The Englishman Makes Music* (London: D. Dobson, 1952) references the Lancashire Witches (p. 68); Sally Drage, ‘The Larks of Dean: Amateur Musicians in Northern England’, *Music in the British Provinces*, 195–222; Pritchard ‘Musical Festival’, pp. 118–47.

Liverpool and Salisbury, as well as being engaged to bolster the chorus for oratorios presented by the Ancient Concerts in London.⁴⁷ As discussed above, Smither appears to have assumed they were amateurs, but this was not the case. It is not always possible to trace details of their lives and wider careers but there is evidence many of these singers received payment for their work with a variety of organisations and occasions.⁴⁸ Questions of payment, and of what constituted professional or amateur, remain complex. Robert Beale differentiates between ‘amateurs’ who were wealthy enough to be able to sing for free and ‘professionals’, often of a lower social standing, who required payment to replace lost income. He points out that ‘to be “professional” was not to earn all one’s income from singing, but to be one who felt that the labourer was worthy of his hire’, drawing an analogy with the ‘professionals’ of Rugby League as opposed to the ‘amateurs’ of the Rugby Union.⁴⁹ While the observation that it is possible for singing professionally to be part of a portfolio career is an important one, akin to the varied activities undertaken by musical entrepreneurs discussed in Chapter 1, this division of those receiving payment on the basis of financial need as determined by social class underestimates the musical expertise and value of these Lancashire singers.

The Hargreaves Society engaged 78 vocal soloists during the course of its concerts: 36 women and 42 men.⁵⁰ As we have seen, in the first year all these soloists were listed as paid members of the choir and often took the lead within their choral sections as well as performing solo items. As the years went by, the numbers of

⁴⁷ Various examples of their publicity are provided in Catherine Dale, ‘The Provincial Musical Festival in Nineteenth-Century England: A Case Study of Bridlington’, in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 328. Smither references some of their appearances in *History of the Oratorio*, p. 267.

⁴⁸ More work remains to be done, but to give a few examples: The *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* names two of the ‘celebrated chorus singers from Lancashire’ in the 1770s as Miss Radcliffe and Miss Harrop, the latter of whom was engaged for one hundred guineas for the three choirs festival of 1778, before marrying Joah Bates (*QMMR*, Vol. 7 (1825), p. 123); see also p. 419 of this same volume, in relation to the York festival of 1825, already cited in this dissertation’s ‘Prelude’, which separately mentions supernumerary members of the chorus who performed gratuitously, in addition to all those listed who therefore were paid; Drummond identifies Miss Travis as one of these celebrated singers a few decades later (*Provincial Music Festival*, p. 241), and provides some information about her life and career, although Drummond does not identify that Miss Travis later become Mrs Knyvett, as discussed earlier in this dissertation (in the Prelude).

⁴⁹ Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 103.

⁵⁰ I have taken into account the fact Miss Leach married and became Mrs J Wood. It may be possible that other women returned under married names where I have not yet identified the connection.

famous singers from further afield engaged as soloists for one-off appearances increased. In fact this became a point of contention, as reviewers observed that too much of the society's money was being spent engaging star singers who did not even turn up to rehearsals, detracting from the original focus of the society on choral music with orchestral accompaniment.⁵¹ That said, a number of the soloists employed during the early years of the society remained frequent soloists for much of the society's existence. These include Miss Leach (Mrs J. Wood) who made 27 appearances, Mrs Winterbottom (22 appearances), James Isherwood (19 appearances) and Mr Walton (19 appearances).

Miss Leach (Mrs J. Wood from 1844), who sang regularly with the society from its first year, was a frequent soloist for all the major concert series and societies in the Manchester region during the 1830s and 40s. She contributed to the musical activities described in the preceding and following chapters of this study, engaged by the Manchester Glee Club and for Edward Taylor's lectures.⁵² She had also sung in the chorus for the 1836 Festival, as her husband John Wood later recalled, in a long passage which is nonetheless worth reproducing in full:

About this time my first wife (then Miss Leach) was recognized as the principal soprano vocalist in Manchester, more especially for oratorio and Mass music, and she was, with other principals, engaged to support Madame Malibran in the oratorios and also to lead the trebles in the choruses. For the latter purpose, as well as for another which will appear later on, she was provided with a seat immediately behind Malibran, but at a higher level. At the early morning rehearsal of the principals it was at once whispered about that Malibran was very ill and suffering from the pains of maternity, and it was very doubtful if she could appear at the performance.

⁵¹ The review of the concert held 22 February 1849 is particularly blunt on these points. With regard to the star singers, it includes the comment: 'several of [the pieces] which have charming orchestral accompaniments were sung to the piano forte ... This arises from a disinclination of the leading Italian singers to attend rehearsal'. 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 February 1849.

⁵² To give just one example: the 'Manchester Glee Club Annual Concert', *Manchester Guardian*, 14 May 1842, where she is a named singer in the review alongside other Hargreaves soloists Mrs Winterbottom, Miss Graham, Miss Hardman, Mr Standage, Mr Cooper, Mr Isherwood, Mr Walton, Mr Heelis, Mr Hughes and Mr Sheldrick.

De Beriot, whose cupidity prompted him to take his doctor with him on tour, was then consulted and remonstrated with, but he in the most brutal manner commanded Malibran to go on with the rehearsal, as he was not going to sacrifice so much of her salary for the sake of saving her a little further pain. This speech so exasperated Miss Leach that she offered through the conductor to assist Madame in every way she could, more especially in taking up the higher notes, leaving Madame to reserve her strength for the lower notes. This offer was at once thankfully accepted by Malibran, and the two ladies immediately began to practise the parts together; and after repeating them several times, satisfied all present that the attempt was feasible and would not be detected. So when the great trial came on and Malibran rose for the task, Miss Leach leaned forward so that her voice would go over Malibran's shoulder, and the whole piece was such a success that no one in that vast audience suspected the ruse which had been practiced upon them.

I was told afterwards that some members of the chorus were highly indignant at Miss Leach craning her neck in such a manner as if she were listening to detect any flaw in her notes, but the surprise was greater when Malibran turned round at the finish, and bowed her thanks for the assistance she had received. But it was only at the close of the performance when Malibran, in leaving the platform, clasped Miss Leach with both her hands and sobbed her acknowledgments (she could not speak) that the whole truth became known, and then Miss Leach was greeted with a burst of applause for her generous action ... In later years it was a great pleasure to my wife to relate this story at meetings of her musical friends, and which she considered one of the brightest epochs in her musical career.⁵³

Mrs Winterbottom (Miss Howarth) was born in Ogden, near Rochdale, before moving to Oldham with her parents around 1833. In 1834 she was engaged to sing in the choir of the local parish church, a few months after which she married her fellow

⁵³ 'The Death of Malibran: Remarkable Incident', *Manchester City News*, 2 May 1896.

choir member Samuel Winterbottom, eldest son of the choirmaster James Winterbottom. It was recorded that:

She continued to sing here until 1840, when Mr Graham, organist to the chapel attached to the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Asylum in Manchester came to Oldham, and hearing her sing was so much pleased with her voice, that he offered her and her husband a large salary to sing at that chapel, an offer which they accepted, and removed to Manchester. Soon afterwards she began to appear at the public concerts, when her deep rich contralto voice, and her tasteful style of singing soon obtained for her a deserved popularity. She is now an established favourite, and in 1846 a public concert was given for her benefit in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, at which the handsome sum of £150 was realised. Mrs Winterbottom is well known as an oratorio singer throughout England and Scotland.⁵⁴

Among the female singers who were drawn from the local region who appeared less frequently but still count as regular soloists, Susannah Sunderland is a particularly interesting character. Mrs Sunderland, née Sykes, was born in Brighouse, near Huddersfield, in 1819. She became well known around the country for oratorio and recitals, including appearing in London as a soloist with the Sacred Harmonic Society, though her greatest fame remained in the North. The reviews of her performance in *Messiah* with the Sacred Harmonic Society in 1856 include the following passages:

The Times, 13 December: The 'soprano' was Mrs Sunderland, a songstress renowned in the northern provinces, and who, had she made London her residence instead of Yorkshire, would probably long before this have earned abundant fame in the metropolis. Certainly, with the exception of Madame

⁵⁴ Edwin Butterworth, *Historical Sketches of Oldham* (Oldham: John Hirst, 1856), p. 253. This was written prior to Butterworth's death in 1848.

Novello, there is no English singer of the present day able to give the ‘soprano’ music of the *Messiah* so efficiently and at the same time so impressively.⁵⁵

Daily News, 11 December: Mrs Sunderland is the Yorkshire *prima donna*, who has long enjoyed unbounded favour in the northern counties, though she has been little heard in London. We should be glad that she were heard, for she is a singer of high attainments, worthy to hold a principal place in any metropolitan orchestra. Her voice is a real soprano, at once clear, mellow, flexible, and delicately in tune ... her performance, taken altogether, was admirable; and could scarcely have been surpassed by any of our English sopranos.⁵⁶

Mrs Sunderland sang as soloist with the Hargreaves once each season between 1843–4 and 1847–8. She is still remembered today with an annual Mrs Sunderland Music Festival in Huddersfield.⁵⁷

Also of interest is Miss Graham, who appears to have been the daughter of the Mr T. Graham who, as organist of Manchester’s Blind Asylum, engaged Mrs Winterbottom and her husband for his choir. Mr Graham advertised musical tuition (vocal class, piano, organ and singing) throughout the 1830s and 40s, and Miss Graham sometimes appeared on the same advert, independently offering singing lessons from the same address.⁵⁸ She then went to study at the Royal Academy of Music early in the 1840s. The *Manchester Guardian* review of a Hargreaves concert in October 1844 stated Miss Graham had ‘for some time past ... been a pupil of the Royal Academy’. The review continued: ‘Miss Graham suffered under some disadvantages, especially in the solo 19a, in which the band was so uncertain, as greatly to impair the effect, and to disconcert the singer. Some of her recitatives were ably given; she has considerably improved, but she has yet to attain greater flexibility of voice, and more expression and feeling’.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Mitchell and Son, 1856), p. 53.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵⁷ ‘Huddersfield Mrs Sunderland Festival’, www.mrssunderlandfestival.com (accessed 12 November 2020).

⁵⁸ For example, Advert, *Manchester Guardian*, 16 July 1836.

⁵⁹ ‘Hargreaves Choral Society’, *Manchester Guardian*, 23 Oct 1844. This concert was of Mendelssohn’s *St Paul*, and 19a is named in the programme as solo ‘Ananias arise’.

Less information appears to survive for the society's male soloists. James Wright Isherwood (1812–54) was a sought-after bass, composer, and organist of St Ann's, Manchester.⁶⁰ His father, John Isherwood, was a bass vocalist who frequently appeared in oratorios and at provincial festivals.⁶¹ Both Isherwoods performed frequently as soloists for concert series and societies in the Manchester region, and both were important in the domain of glee and madrigal singing. Walton's engagements as a soloist or as a singer within a glee or madrigal party are similarly frequent, but it has not even been possible to discover his first name. Henry Burnett (1811–93), singer and music teacher, who was listed as a soloist at eight Hargreaves concerts, was the husband of Charles Dickens' sister Fanny, whom he had met while they were both studying at the Royal Academy of Music. The Burnetts had moved to Manchester in 1841. The obituary published in *The Athenaeum* of Mr Machin, who appeared ten times as soloist, records significant details of his career, revealing the path taken by one of these colourful vocalists:

The death of Mr Machin, the bass singer, took place suddenly last week, at his residence near Birmingham, of which town he was a native. He was in his 73rd year, and his hale and hearty appearance was noticed at the recent Festival, at which he was present. He was apprenticed, at an early age, to a manufacturer of papier-mâché and japan works. Joining the choir of a meeting-house, his fine voice attracted notice, and he commenced his career as a vocalist in the Lichfield Cathedral choir. It was on the recommendation of the late Sir Robert Peel that he became a member of the Chapel Royal, and subsequently was named one of the vicars choral of St Paul's Cathedral. He also sang for years in the Temple Church. Mr Machin for many years shared with the veteran Mr Henry Phillips the bass parts at the defunct Ancient Concerts, the provincial Musical Festivals, the Sacred Harmonic Society, &c. It was more by the quality of his organ that Mr

⁶⁰ James Brown and Stephen Stratton, *British Musical Biography: A Dictionary of Musical Artists, Authors and Composers, born in Britain and its Colonies* (Birmingham: S. S. Stratton, 1897) p. 216. This book erroneously describes James Isherwood as a tenor.

⁶¹ Brown and Stratton, *British Musical Biography*, p. 216.

Machin won distinction than by the display of executive skill; yet he was a careful and conscientious artist, always anxious to do his work to the best of his ability.⁶²

The diversity (and professionalism) of these Lancashire singers' careers is striking, as are the esteem in which they were held nationally, and the fact that their engagements took them around the country and sometimes into London, even when their primary residence remained the North.

The Audience

Detailed information about the audiences for the Hargreaves concerts is preserved in the membership register, which lists name, address, and (where volunteered) occupation of subscribers. In his very brief discussion of the Hargreaves Society, Robert Beale makes reference to some of the occupations listed and concludes this was a much more socially inclusive society than the Gentlemen's Concerts.⁶³ Analysis of the 336 subscribers from the 1841–2 season reveals, however, that the Hargreaves was evidently composed in a very similar form to the Gentlemen's Concerts: expensive, exclusive, with a membership comprised in great part of the city's middle-class elite. Leading merchants and manufacturers dominate a list also containing fourteen solicitors, six surgeons, six bankers and five accountants.⁶⁴ Reviews often refer to the attendance at Hargreaves concerts of leading members of Manchester's musical community, a fact about which the society was very proud. The audience for the performance of Rossini's *Stabat Mater* on 20 October 1842, for example, was reported to have numbered 'not fewer than eleven hundred auditors, including most of our lovers of good music, and many influential members of both the Manchester and the Amateur Choral Society, as well as of the Gentlemen's Concerts and Glee Club'.⁶⁵

⁶² *The Athenaeum*, No. 2239 (24 September 1870), p. 412.

⁶³ Beale, *Charles Hallé*, p. 46.

⁶⁴ A transcription of the membership list for the society's first year, including any declared occupations, is Appendix 5.2.

⁶⁵ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 October 1842, p. 3.

Attendance at the concerts rapidly increased during the first year to upwards of 900, at which point it became limited by the size of the room.⁶⁶ Fortuitously for the society, John Knowles decided in the autumn of 1844 that he wished to purchase the site of the Wellington Inn and Brogden's Horse Bazaar to build his new theatre, after the Theatre Royal in Fountain Street was destroyed by fire. He wished for immediate possession. According to the annual report of the Hargreaves Society:

To this arrangement an obstacle was presented by your committee; who, of course, could not consent to the relinquishment of their tenancy in the Wellington Concert Room without notice, and without adequate accommodation being provided elsewhere. Without entering into details, it may be sufficient to state, that Mr Knowles undertook, for the same rental and incidental charges to which the committee had been subject at the Wellington Concert Room, to provide for the society's concerts and rehearsals, during the then ensuing season, in the Free-Trade Hall.⁶⁷

This outcome was very much to the benefit of the Hargreaves Society, as the Free-Trade Hall was modified into a more favourable venue for concerts than the Wellington Concert Room, and the increased size allowed them to add significantly to the number of subscribers.⁶⁸

The committee of the society actively sought to change the behaviour of their audience, through education, regulation, and the environment they created. The first area they addressed related to the common habit of members of the audience leaving concerts before the performance had actually concluded. Preparations for the second concert of the first season included the resolution that 'the company should be urgently requested to keep their seats until the close of the concert'.⁶⁹ How this

⁶⁶ Concert 1: 847 tickets issued, 704 received at the doors. Concert 2: 1000 tickets issued, 850 taken at the doors. Concert 3: 1070 tickets issued, 913 received at the doors. Final concert for 1841–2: 1129 tickets issued, 936 received at the doors.

⁶⁷ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 13 August 1845.

⁶⁸ From 380 to 589 during the 1844 season, according to the annual report. 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 13 August 1845.

⁶⁹ Hargreaves Society Minutes, 28 December 1841.

resolution manifested in practice is amusing, and occasioned comment in the press. The review of the first concert included the observation:

We were glad to see a doorward movement, on the part of some persons, in the midst of this fine piece, arrested by the general 'hush' of the great mass of the auditory. This practice, of quitting before the close, must be nipped in the bud; or it will destroy much gratification to those who attend to hear the music – a class, we would hope, by far the most numerous in the body of subscribers.⁷⁰

Subsequent to the above resolution, the situation had developed by the second concert:

A very decided, but we think perfectly justifiable, course was taken to prevent the annoyance caused by parties leaving the concert room before or during the performance of the last piece – in this instance that grand composition, the 'Amen' chorus. Not only were those who quitted their seats, and attempted to proceed to the door, greeted with a very marked and general cry of 'Hush, hush'; but to the few (and we are glad to say there were but few exceptions) who persevered in attempting to effect an egress, there was opposed the obstacle of a locked door which was not opened for any one, till the last note of the chorus had vibrated through the room. We hope that this salutary hint will be taken another time, and that people will consider that, being bound to remain in the room, they might as well keep their seats till the close.⁷¹

Appreciative though the reviewer was of this solution, which also recurred at the close of the third concert, there must have been complaints as a compromise was instigated at the fourth concert which then became standard practice for this society. Namely, as inserted in the Regulations on the cover of the programme for the fourth concert: 'There will be an interval of five minutes in the course of the Second Part, of which interval it is hoped that those parties who desire to leave before the conclusion of the

⁷⁰ 'Hargreave's [sic] Choral Society First Dress Concert', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 December 1841.

⁷¹ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 January 1842.

Concert will avail themselves; and that no persons will afterwards on any account leave until the *last piece* is finished'.⁷² This initiative was recognised nationally. A *Musical Times* article from 1848 on 'The Education of Audiences', primarily discussing the Sacred Harmonic Society, recorded that 'The Concert Managers at Manchester were amongst the earliest to point out the impropriety and disturbance occasioned by impatient departure, and it has long been a habit at their concerts to allow five minutes after the last piece but one, when the doors are closed until the conclusion of the Finale'.⁷³

Sometimes the programmes made a particular point of suggesting appropriate behaviour, which was largely followed by the audience then commented upon in press reviews. One example of this occurred during a performance of *Messiah*. The programme note for this concert on 13 April 1843 says of the 'Hallelujah' chorus:

At many festivals and other music meetings it is usual for the audience to rise and remain standing during the performance of this chorus, as a tribute to its transcendent merit. This is a custom defensible upon no sound canon of taste; and the disturbance of the attention consequent upon its observance is not particularly favourable to a full enjoyment of the piece.

The *Manchester Guardian* reviewer quotes this statement verbatim, preceded by the comment: 'We fully concur in the following criticism from the programme, and in the feeling of high admiration which prompted it; and we may add, that the audience seemed so far to participate in the feeling, that with very few exceptions they remained seated during the performance of the sublime chorus'.⁷⁴

Judging by frequent observations in the reviews, there was a move within the audience of this society towards quieter listening, but the explanations for this behaviour did not always follow the positive interpretation of appreciative listening commonly ascribed to such behaviours. A review of the performance of *The Creation* observed, in an ambivalent take on the idea of focused attention:

⁷² Hargreaves Concert Programme, 10 March 1842.

⁷³ 'The Education of Audiences', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 1 December 1848.

⁷⁴ 'The Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 19 April 1843.

It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that notwithstanding the admirable style in which almost every piece was given, and the high enjoyment manifested by the audience, there was not a single encore. This is partly explainable by the fact, that many persons have a conscientious objection to encore or even applaud sacred music; and another reason which we hazard is, that the music and general treatment of this oratorio are such as to hold the imagination and feeling captive, rather than excite them to that degree of active energy essential to an encore.⁷⁵

In contrast, the review of the miscellaneous concert of 16 May 1844 was entirely negative about this quietness:

We are afraid the Hargreaves audience are taking a leaf out of the book of etiquette in vogue in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall, and are determined to abstain from vulgar applause and encores. If this be so, they may depend upon earning a sufficiency of flatness in the performances. Hearty applause is essential to the infusion of a due spirit into the performers; and many of the pieces on Thursday evening deserved much warmer approval than they obtained.⁷⁶

Repertoire

The Hargreaves Choral Society gave 48 concerts in total over its lifetime. Twenty concerts were based around the performance of a complete oratorio; eight were miscellaneous programmes of sacred music; and twenty were miscellaneous secular programmes. A full list of the music performed at each concert is included as Appendix 2.2. Cyril Ehrlich described oratorio performances as 'the quintessentially Victorian socio-musical event', and the Hargreaves oratorio performances were indeed regarded by the committee and by the press as the pinnacle of the society's achievements.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 20 December 1843.

⁷⁶ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 May 1844.

⁷⁷ Ehrlich, *Music Profession*, p. 68. Cited Smither, *Oratorio Vol. 4*, p. 249.

However, given the professional nature of these performances and the high standards pursued, they do not otherwise fit the image envisioned by Ehrlich.

Furthermore, the Hargreaves Society was adventurous in its oratorio programming (Table 7). Handel's *Messiah* received three performances and *Israel in Egypt* appeared in 1842 and 1843 but, more unusually, the society (or, at least, the writer of its programme notes) championed *Judas Maccabaeus* as being in many ways superior to the other two, and promoted it enthusiastically for its three performances. The concert programme for its first appearance in February 1844, for example, states: 'There may, in the *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt*, be single pieces of greater sublimity; but there is varied character in *Judas* ... which is not exceeded in any other of the composer's works'. Later it continues: 'It is to be regretted that full justice is rarely done to this oratorio, as it is usual to give selections from it, even at the Festivals, than to perform it entire. By this course, the connexion is broken, and those effects which depend either upon contrast or continuity are greatly injured'. Rossini's *Stabat Mater* was very new, first performed in Paris in January 1842, before receiving its London premiere that July. The Hargreaves advertised this in October 1842 as the first performance in England outside of London, 'with the full instrumental score of the composer'.⁷⁸ The fact it was the height of novelty and fashion is reflected in adverts in *The Musical World* for that month, for 'The Stabat Mater Quadrilles' composed by J. W. Davison, and for 'Gems of Rossini's Stabat Mater' arranged for harp and piano by J. B. Chatterton.⁷⁹ Its Manchester reception is discussed further below.

All the works by Mendelssohn presented by the Hargreaves were early appearances. According to the programme for the *Hymn of Praise*, on 26 October 1843: 'it was performed for the first time in England at the Birmingham Musical Festival in September, 1840; since which time it has not, that we are aware of, been performed in the provinces'. *St Paul* had received a number of significant performances in London and the provinces since its premiere at the Liverpool festival

⁷⁸ Concert Programme, 20 October 1842.

⁷⁹ *The Musical World*, 17/40 (6 October 1842), p. 324.

of 1836, but it remained unfamiliar and had not been performed publicly in Manchester.⁸⁰ The Hargreaves performance of *Elijah* is discussed in more detail below.

Table 7: Oratorio performed by the Hargreaves Choral Society

29 December 1841	Messiah	Handel
10 March 1842	Israel in Egypt	Handel
20 October 1842	The Stabat Mater	Rossini
	Mass (No. 12)	Mozart
8 December 1842	The Mount of Olives	Beethoven
16 March 1843	Israel in Egypt	Handel
13 April 1843	Messiah	Handel
26 October 1843	Hymn of Praise	Mendelssohn
	Mass (No. 6)	Haydn
14 December 1843	The Creation	Haydn
29 February 1844	Judas Maccabaeus	Handel
2 April 1844	The Stabat Mater	Rossini
17 October 1844	St Paul	Mendelssohn
28 November 1844	Dettingen Te Deum	Handel
	The Mount of Olives	Beethoven
3 April 1845	The Messiah	Handel
30 December 1845	The Fall of Babylon	Spohr
26 February 1846	Judas Maccabaeus	Handel
9 April 1846	Mass (In C)	Beethoven
29 October 1846	The Creation	Haydn
20 April 1847	Elijah	Mendelssohn
28 October 1847	Elijah	Mendelssohn
6 April 1848	Judas Maccabaeus	Handel

⁸⁰ It had been performed at the Gentlemen's Concerts on 12 April 1841 under Sir George Smart but, as the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer of the Hargreaves concert put it, 'we cannot call its performance within the exclusive walls of the Concert Hall a public performance' ('Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 28 October 1844).

Spohr's *The Fall of Babylon*, which was premiered at the Norwich Festival in September 1842, had likewise only been performed once before in Manchester, in the privacy of the Gentlemen's Concerts in December in the same year. Even the more familiar items of programming, including *The Creation* and *Israel in Egypt*, were more frequently performed with cuts (or, in the case of *The Creation*, the omission of the whole of Part 3, as discussed earlier), or accompanied only by piano or organ, so the performances the Hargreaves gave of full versions with full orchestral accompaniment often contained material which was strikingly unfamiliar to Manchester audiences.

The miscellaneous sacred concerts, together with the assorted sacred items that augmented the oratorio concerts, present an interesting collection of repertoire. Table 8 lists all the composers featured in these concerts but requires elaboration. Some of the composers featuring only once or twice were represented by a major work, notably Romberg's Ode *The Transient and Eternal*,⁸¹ which featured twice during the 1841–2 season, and G. B. Bierey's 'Sacred Cantata' *Faith and Adoration*.⁸² Other substantial items in the miscellaneous sacred programmes included Weber's 'Grand Mass in G' and Mendelssohn's cantata *Praise Jehovah*. In contrast, all three performances of music by Marcello were of his popular duet 'Qual' anelante', while performances of music by Mozart, who at first glance is apparently well-represented, were in fact mainly items from the *Requiem* performed either individually or in a small selection of two or three movements grouped together. Other Mozart works were the motets 'O God, when thou appearest', 'Praise Jehovah', and 'Ne pulvis', plus four numbers from the Mass No. 12, which is no longer attributed to Mozart.⁸³ Handel was, as might be expected, the most regularly performed composer, although numbers by him were drawn from an impressively wide range of his oratorios: *Saul*, *Esther*,

⁸¹ Andreas Romberg (1767–1821), *Was bleibet und was schwindet*, Op. 42, published in an English edition by Novello.

⁸² Gottlob Benedikt Bierey (1772–1840)

⁸³ Very many thanks to Martin Harlow for this information: "'Praise Jehovah" is probably "Laudate Dominum" from the Solemn Vespers K.339, though could be from K.321; "Ne pulvis..." is "Ne pulvis e cinis superbe"; "O God, when thou..." is "Splendete te Deus". The latter two 'motets' are drawn from Thamos K.345: "Ihr Kinder" and "Schon weichet dir". Both have appropriated religious texts, becoming "motets". The Mass #12 is interesting. It was wildly popular in the 19th century largely due to Novello's edition (reduction for keyboard/organ) which sold in thousands. Both "Splendete" and "Ne pulvis" were published in vol. 1 of Novello's *Collection of Motets for the Offertory* (c.1818). Novello's editions are the driver behind these inclusions.'

Deborah, Athalia, Joshua, Judas Maccabaeus, Redemption, Theodora, Solomon, Jephtha, Samson and Belshazzar, as well as the expected Messiah and Israel in Egypt.

Table 8: Miscellaneous pieces included in the Hargreaves Society sacred programmes (total number of performances of works by each composer, including repeat performances)			
Handel	63	Leo	2
Haydn	24	Palestrina	2
Mozart	20	Neukomm	2
Mendelssohn	13	G. B. Bierey	1
Beethoven	10	Guglielmi	1
Hummel	6	Orlando Gibbons	1
Marcello	3	Himmel	1
Pergolesi	3	Sir J. Stevenson	1
Rossini	3	arr. Novello	1
Spohr	3	S. Bach	1
Romberg	2	C. M. Von Weber	1
Cherubini	2	Winter	1

The secular miscellaneous concerts had a rather different character and relied far more on vocal soloists, particularly during the later years of the society. Occasionally these secular programmes would focus on glees and madrigals, but more commonly they comprised a heterogeneous collection of orchestral overtures, instrumental solos, and opera excerpts for vocal soloists, small vocal ensembles or chorus, plus glees, part-songs and ballads. Programmes averaged eighteen items, arranged in a typical order for a miscellaneous programme during the first half of the nineteenth century: each part began with an orchestral overture and featured an instrumental solo in each half, with the remainder of the programme filled with vocal items. The final piece of the concert tended to be a large-scale choral number, which was a point of divergence from miscellaneous concerts in general but befitted the principal focus of this society as choral. Italian opera featured prominently, dominated by Rossini (*Semiramide, Cenerentola, Mosè in Egitto, Il Turco in Italia, Il Barbiere di*

Siviglia). The operatic and some oratorio works of Handel (*L'Allegro, il Penseroso, Alexander's Feast, Acis and Galatea, Orlando, Athalia*), Weber (*Euryanthe, Oberon, Der Freischütz*), Mozart (*Don Giovanni, Così fan tutte, Die Zauberflöte, Idomeneo, Le nozze di Figaro*), Beethoven (*Fidelio, Ruins of Athens*) and Haydn (*The Seasons, The Tempest*) also had a regular presence.

Glees and madrigals featured often, undoubtedly holding a privileged status in Manchester thanks to the activities of the specialist societies discussed in the previous chapter. The overlap in performing (and coordinating) personnel between those societies and the Hargreaves would also have encouraged the presentation of popular or interesting items from the smaller societies in this grander context. The prevalence of items from English opera is also notable, in particular the works of Henry Bishop, but also pieces from operas by Michael Balfe (*The Siege of Rochelle, Daughter of St Mark, Bohemian Girl, Joan of Arc, Maid of Honour*), John Barnett (*The Mountain Sylph, Fair Rosamond*), Edward Loder (*The Night Dancers*), John Liptrot Hatton (*Pascal Bruno*), and Manchester-based Richard Cudmore (*Martyr of Antioch*). Even Thomas Arne made an appearance, with a performance of 'Water parted from the sea' from *Artaxerxes*. There were also a number of more ephemeral songs, ballads and national airs included in the programmes, often championed by particular soloists.

The society's adventurous programming was generally appreciated. The review of Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* enthused:

It is, therefore, creditable to the spirit and enterprise of a young society, of scarcely more than two years' standing, to resolve on giving a new work, of which, perhaps, not a single member of the choir had ever heard a note. We are able to add, that its performance on Thursday evening was no less creditable to all engaged in it, vocally and instrumentally, than it was remarkable as a proof of the good training and great capabilities of our Lancashire choral singers.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 November 1843.

Table 9: Miscellaneous vocal pieces in the Hargreaves Society secular programmes by composer (total number of performances of works by each composer, including repeat performances)					
Rossini	28	Loder	2	F. Romer	1
H. R. Bishop	27	Sir J. Stevenson	2	P. B. Czapele	1
Weber	19	Rossi	2	E. Perry	1
Handel	18	Wallace	2	Kücken	1
Mozart	16	W. Maynard	2	Flover	1
Beethoven	14	J. C. Bach	1	Werner	1
Donizetti	14	Dr John Clarke	1	Cudmore	1
Haydn	12	G. Converso	1	Himmel	1
Mendelssohn	11	George Smart	1	Stevens	1
J. B. Van Bree	8	Jackson	1	Verdi	1
Balfe	7	Spofforth	1	Hobbs	1
Webbe	7	T. Morley	1	Madame Solari	1
T. Cooke	7	G. Ferretti	1	Clifton	1
Bellini	5	Storace	1	Müller	1
John Barnett	5	Nicolini	1	Martini	1
Wilbye	4	J. H. Griesbach	1	G. A. Macfarren	1
W. H. Callcott	4	John Bennet	1	Earl of Mornington	1
Meyerbeer	4	John Ward	1	Paneron	1
J. L. Hatton	4	A. D. Roche	1	Gastoldi	1
Horsley	3	J. De Pinna	1	Holmes	1
Auber	3	Méhûl	1	Cimarosa	1
Purcell	2	Giovannelle	1	Gluck	1
Festa	2	Mazzinghi	1	Dibdin	1
G. Linley	2	H. B. Richards	1	S. Glover	1
Spohr	2	Paër	1	Generali	1
Schubert	2	Curschman	1		
Knight	2	Sterne	1		
Mercadante	2	Arne	1		

In April 1847 the Hargreaves Society welcomed Felix Mendelssohn to Manchester to conduct *Elijah*. Having premiered *Elijah* at the 1846 Birmingham Festival, Mendelssohn made a number of changes then performed the revised version in London on 14 April 1847 with the Sacred Harmonic Society. The orchestra in Manchester did not see the revised parts until 17 April as the only set was in use in London. Mendelssohn then travelled to Manchester on 19 April ahead of the concert the next day. In Colin Eatoock's book *Mendelssohn in Victorian England*, this concert is described with some typical assumptions about the nature of music in early Victorian Manchester, reflective of the stereotype of Manchester Men as mercenary philistines,

which will be addressed more fully in the concluding chapter of this thesis. Eatock wrote:

The excursion took just two days, with rehearsals on 19 and 20 April, and performance on the evening of 20 April. Mendelssohn stayed with his wife's relatives, the Souchays, and threw himself into the task with characteristic alacrity ... Nevertheless, despite all the obstacles, Mendelssohn is said to have graciously remarked that the performance 'far exceeded his hopes and expectations'.⁸⁵

Conducting in Manchester, according to Eatock, was a chore to be endured and Mendelssohn was being diplomatic in his praise. A closer look at the evidence, however, suggests this perception is hardly fair to Manchester. According to the *Manchester Guardian*:

The Hargreaves committee have acquired credit for producing this noble oratorio on such a scale of completeness; and we have high authority for saying that it was a more finished performance of *Elijah* than has yet been given either at the Birmingham festival or at Exeter Hall.⁸⁶

This could, of course, be a case of a Manchester paper exaggerating the impact of a Manchester event, but several key facts back up the assertion. The chorus, fully professional and with a history of rehearsing and performing together over many years, was described on other occasions as one of the finest in the country, and their regular conductor John Waddington rehearsed *Elijah* thoroughly with them in the run up to Mendelssohn's arrival. The orchestra likewise comprised a stable grouping of experienced professionals, which was not always the case for London orchestras at this time, which suffered with minimal rehearsals and too many deputy players. The Hargreaves Society's principal strings (Seymour, Conran, Sudlow, Lindley) had given the successful 'Quartett' series together since 1839. Furthermore, for this

⁸⁵ Colin Eatock, *Mendelssohn and Victorian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 106–7.

⁸⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, 24 April 1847.

performance, the same principal vocalists who had performed in the Exeter Hall performance a few days previously came up to perform in Manchester. While rehearsal time with Mendelssohn himself was limited, the foundations were in place for a successful performance. This small case study is in itself indicative of the scale, ambition, expertise and success of the Hargreaves Society, and of its performers and soloists.

The Hargreaves Society's Programme Notes

A further indication of the seriousness of musical intention within the Hargreaves Society and in Manchester more generally in the 1840s may be found in the concert programmes provided for its audiences. In the directions given by Hargreaves in his will, quoted earlier in this chapter, he wished that the choral society founded at his bequest might become 'a benefit to the rising generation, as a school for musical instruction'. Perhaps this comment was the motivation behind the programmes that included extensive notes on the pieces to be performed. Certainly, the writer of the notes had very few models for the idea of programme notes in 1841, let alone their format.

The *Manchester Guardian* identified the author of these notes as the society's Honorary Secretary, Charles Sever (1807–88), the Manchester-based printer who was on the committee of the Hargreaves for the duration of its existence.⁸⁷ Sever also wrote as a music and theatre critic for a variety of publications, including the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Musical World*, and edited the *Exhibition Gazette* for the Manchester Mechanics' Institution.⁸⁸ His obituary recalled:

As a connoisseur and critic in musical matters, he held for many years an acknowledged position and enjoyed considerable influence. He was well acquainted with the productions of the chief English composers, and had a keen and discerning judgment on points of executive skill. The independent opinions

⁸⁷ The Honorary Secretary of the Society (Charles Sever) is identified as the author of the programme notes in the concert review 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 November 1843.

⁸⁸ Robert Beale (*Charles Hallé*, footnote p. 60) mentioned that the Manchester reviewer for the *Musical World* went by the name 'Sigma'; Sever's obituary makes reference to his writing for the *Manchester Guardian* under the corresponding symbol Σ, primarily as a theatre critic. His editorship of the *Exhibition Gazette* is referred to in his obituary.

which he formed on the merits of popular vocalists, though by no means universally accepted, he maintained with vigorous argument and conspicuous ability.⁸⁹

This willingness to put forward his own opinions, well defended by evidence and reasoning, is one of the more interesting features of the Hargreaves notes.

Born in York in 1807, Sever moved to Manchester in 1820 and was apprenticed to his brother-in-law George Cave, a letterpress printer. In his early twenties he was employed as a reporter by the *Manchester Advertiser*, before forming a partnership with Cave in 1836. The printing business Cave & Sever continued under the name Charles Sever after the death of Cave in 1867. Alongside managing his firm, Sever became involved at a senior committee level with a variety of cultural and civic institutions. His role within the Hargreaves Choral Society is remembered in his obituary, and he also served on the Board of Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, was elected to the Manchester Board of Guardians in 1857, chaired the Industrial and Vagrant Department, and from 1882 to 1886 took on the role of town councillor for St James's Ward. The obituary ends with a sketch of his character:

Mr Sever was remarkable for his fine social qualities and the polished courtesy of his manner. Something of mingled quaintness and graceful formality in his bearing suggested the studied demeanour of a former time, when the proprieties of salutation and farewell were more ceremonious than seem compatible with modern taste and our less leisurely modes of life. He had an extensive circle of friends, whose attachment and regard he sedulously cherished and reciprocated with characteristic cordiality. It was a privilege to enjoy his genial hospitality, and his conversation was replete with interesting reminiscences. With elegant tastes he combined an affectionate disposition, and the intelligence of his loss will excite sincere and wide-felt regret.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ 'The Late Mr Charles Sever', *Manchester Guardian*, 4 December 1888.

⁹⁰ This quotation, and all biographical details in this paragraph, are drawn from Sever's obituary.

His reputation for congeniality and diplomacy among his friends is important to note, given that a speech by Sever himself complicates our understanding of who actually wrote these programme notes. At the fourth annual meeting of the Hargreaves Society, Sever received a public vote of thanks for his hard work, 'in particular, to his share in the preparation of the excellent programmes which had been published'. Sever, in his acknowledgment of the vote, said: 'Some allusion had been made to the programmes; and he confessed that his part in them had been exceedingly small. He had been indebted to the good nature and industry of his friend Mr Ainsworth, and to the critical taste and knowledge of his friend Mr Conran. Without aid from these gentlemen, it would have been utterly impossible for him to have done the little that had been done by him to those programmes'.⁹¹ From what is known of Sever's character, and of his expertise as a writer, reviewer and editor, it seems likely that he is downplaying his own role.

Knowing these notes are a collaborative effort between Sever, Ainsworth and Conran, however, only adds to their interest and impact, given how embedded all three were across the spectrum of Manchester's musical life. Conran has appeared frequently already in this dissertation, and Sever occasionally, but Ainsworth has largely evaded attention so far. His biography and reliable information about his musical activities are harder to locate than for some of his peers, but it is worth briefly expanding on him for the benefit of his place in this chapter. Ainsworth described himself in the membership register for the Hargreaves as a merchant, but he was also a dedicated amateur musician. He played, without financial recompense, in the orchestras of the Gentlemen's Concerts and the Hargreaves Society. He also took a keen interest in vocal music and madrigals, and is found on the published subscription lists for numerous collections of music, including publications of the Musical Antiquarian Society, Richard Andrews' publications of sacred music, and various anthologies of glees, madrigals and catches.

The Hargreaves Society's programme notes commonly ran to 2000 words or more on each substantial work, plus a long paragraph or two for miscellaneous items. The intention of communicating the meaning of the music performed, and educating

⁹¹ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 13 August 1845.

and enlightening the audience through programme notes, was made clear at the outset. The first programme of 25 November 1841 began thus:

‘Music is a language of tones. By means of music, thoughts, feelings, occurrences, natural phenomena, pictures, scenes from life of every kind, are as distinctly and naturally expressed as by any language whatever in words’. –
IDEAS AND REFLECTIONS ON THE PROPERTIES OF MUSIC⁹²

[The descriptive notices prefixed to the respective pieces which follow, are given in the hope that they will increase the interest felt in listening to the performance of the latter]

In a letter to *The Musical World* in December 1836, the composer Charles Henry Purday proposed that ‘a prologue, if I may use the term, should preface every performance of the works of the great masters, giving a brief and pithy analysis of the composition to be performed, showing its relative character to the mind of the musician, the feelings by which he was actuated in the production of his work, and the circumstances (where known) under which it was brought out’.⁹³ Sever may have been familiar with this idea, as the Hargreaves programme notes routinely cover all these areas, successfully achieving a balance of description, analysis and criticism. The author(s) of the Hargreaves Society notes were certainly familiar with *The Musical World* as excerpts from this publication were quoted from several times in the Hargreaves programmes. Furthermore, Purday had lectured at the Manchester Athenaeum in 1839, and he appeared in Manchester as a vocal soloist for concerts in January of that year.⁹⁴

The significant scholarly foundation to these notes is one of their most striking features. The range of literature cited is impressive, including books by Hogarth, Burney, Hawkins, L.A.C. Bombet’s *Lives of Mozart and Haydn*, and Miss Hawkin’s

⁹² The source for this quotation is a book by the Crown Prince of Hanover (later George V), *Ideas and Reflections on the Properties of Music* (London: Henry Colburn, 1841), p. 7.

⁹³ *The Musical World* (2 December 1836), p. 191. Quoted in Bashford, ‘Not just “G”’, p. 115.

⁹⁴ For more about Purday’s lectures, see Chapter 5. His appearance in Manchester as a singer in January 1839 was reported in *The Musical World*, 147 (3 January 1839), p. 11.

Anecdotes. Musical and general periodicals cited include the *Quarterly Musical Review*, the *Musical Gem*, and *The Atlas*. Newspapers also have a place, often through referencing of previews or reviews of concerts from other series printed in the regional or national press. Extended quotations from these sources, often describing the content and structure of the pieces being performed, are routinely incorporated into the programme notes. Autograph scores and the vagaries of different editions and translations are referred to critically. The *Messiah* note, for example, discusses the existence of a facsimile of the last page of the score of *Messiah* in Handel's hand, reproduced in the *Musical Gem* in 1831. This is part of the first paragraph of the *Messiah* programme note (a photograph is included in Appendix 2.3), itself the first extended programme note the Hargreaves society published, for their first oratorio concert (the second concert of their existence), which made their intellectual ambition immediately clear to their audience:

The page in question contains, of course, the conclusion of the sublime 'Amen' chorus. It bears marks of great haste in the mere writing, many of the notes being erased, and others being so blotted and obscured as to have rendered it necessary for the composer to write the names of the notes over the notes themselves. The musical terms and the text of the oratorio, also, are intermixed; and confusion is so confounded, that it requires an Oedipus to unravel the mysteries of this musical enigma. Musicians have doubted the possibility of a work of such magnitude, both as to conception and execution, having been written in so short a time as twenty-one days; and Mr Hogarth, in alluding to the circumstance, says that of course the period named refers to the writing out of the MS. And not to the composition of the music. But however extraordinary the effort may appear, it is evident that M. Neukomm considers the memorandum on the score to refer to the *composition* of the oratorio; and in this he is confirmed by M. Stockhausen, who accompanied him on his very interesting errand.

While the references and quotations are generally drawn from printed sources, there is also evidence that personal connections to relevant experts contributed to the

depth of content and knowledge displayed in these notes. The note for the performance of Spohr's *The Fall of Babylon* on 30 December 1845 is particularly interesting in this regard. Spohr's most enthusiastic champion in England at this time, responsible for translating the libretto of this work, and ensuring performances of the composer's music at numerous festivals, was Edward Taylor. Taylor's connections with Manchester have been noted in Chapter 3 and will recur as the core case study of Chapter 5. This programme note relies heavily on Edward Taylor's knowledge about Spohr and his music, and draws on direct correspondence with Taylor, referred to in the programme note itself as 'the following interesting particulars have been politely furnished by a personal friend of the great composer'. The 'personal friend' was clearly Taylor, and this connection gave access to Taylor's direct correspondence with Spohr, quoted from within this programme note.

Also impressive is the willingness of the author to critique and correct the literature he references, and to point out perceived deficiencies in compositions, where he feels this is warranted. As an example of the depth of (correct) knowledge the author wishes to impart (while also perhaps seeking to display his own expertise), the note for Beethoven's *Mount of Olives* (8 December 1842), introducing a quotation by 'An ingenious writer in the Musical Review', corrects their description of a moment of instrumentation:

the trombones, hitherto only used to fill up and give effect to the bass in full pieces, are found beginning by themselves [This is an error; they are joined by the bassoons and horns.].

This same review quotes criticism by Hogarth, while also criticising the criticism: 'it may be urged in reply to the objection put forth towards the conclusion of Mr Hogarth's criticism, that the composition "wants the sustained gravity and solemnity of the ecclesiastical style", that the character of intense passion and powerfully dramatic action which pervades the piece, would seem to render a rigid observance of the strict church style inconsistent with a due musical expression of the text'.

Rossini's *Stabat Mater* (performed 20 October 1842) prompted particularly conflicted thoughts, which were communicated persuasively and at length:

There is one principle of musical criticism which can never be justifiably compromised – namely, that music is nothing less than one form of expressing sentiment, and that if it suggests ideas opposite to, or widely differing from, those with which the composer has avowedly connected it, it is radically in fault. Musical expression cannot legitimately convey a meaning BEYOND or DIFFERENT from that of the text to which it is applied; its true office is to give a more complete exposition of that meaning; just as, in painting, colours are added, more fully to realise to the mind the idea created by the mere sketch. It should reflect or illustrate the words. That Rossini has fallen into the implied error, in the ‘Stabat Mater’, an attentive comparison of the sentiment suggested by numerous passages of the music, with that of the words themselves, will, it is conceived, fully prove. It is not denied that there are numerous exceedingly beautiful passages in the composition, and not a few instances of highly effective instrumentation; but they are not appropriate to the deeply sombre character of the hymn itself; they excite feelings in the mind the very opposite to those conveyed by the words.

Three long paragraphs of focused, detailed criticism follow in support of this point, after which the note writer ultimately concludes: ‘The general impression produced on the mind by the Stabat Mater of Rossini is, that it is a collection of delightful – almost ravishing – musical strains, adapted to one of the most awful mysteries of the Christian Dispensation, the deeply reverential spirit inspired by which, the music fails to embody’.

The latter two examples, preoccupied as they are with the importance above all else for the music to reflect the words, particularly when the subject is sacred, extend the equivalent arguments expressed in the context of the 1836 festival reviews encountered earlier, in particular those reviews by the most well read and musically expert reviewer of the set, George Condry, in the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*. The Hargreaves programme notes may be a new format, but they perpetuate a depth of printed musical criticism in the region which had already emerged in Manchester’s local press.

Particularly enjoyable is an account of the translation of *The Creation*, in the note for its performance on 14 December 1843:

There are many translations of the words of the oratorio, but all of them are more or less defective; and it is no uncommon thing to have several versions in use in the same performance, especially at the Festivals and other large meetings.

The approach to analytical elements of the notes was interesting but could be inconsistent. Bruno Bower has suggested that ‘any fact given in a programme note serves as evidence that the author did not believe the audience could be guaranteed to know it already’.⁹⁵ The Hargreaves notes, however, are highly illogical in this regard. The note for the selections from Mozart’s *Requiem*, in the very first programme, uses complex terms without explanation or definition: ‘double counterpoint’, ‘imitations and suspended harmonies’, the Confutatis ‘concludes with a series of chromatic harmonies well accompanied by the trombones’, the Benedictus ‘consisting of free and pleasing “motivi” or subjects, in imitation, by both instruments and voice’. Similarly, in the *Messiah* note:

In the chorus – “Let all the angels”, the same motive is, by an ingenious fugal contrivance, made to perform the double capacity of subject and counter-subject, the latter accompanying the first in time twice the velocity – (by diminution).

In contrast, the programme for the miscellaneous concert of 27 January 1842 carefully sets out definitions for ‘the symphony’, ‘the overture’, ‘the chorus’, ‘the madrigal’, ‘the glee’. ‘The Overture’ defines the term and introduces the ones on this programme as being ‘excellent specimens of the overture proper’. The writer, shifting from basic explanation to more opinionated description in his characteristic style, describes how an overture should be ‘an analysis or epitome of the work itself; and should therefore

⁹⁵ Bruno Bower, ‘The Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts, 1865–1879: A Case Study of the Nineteenth-Century Programme Note’, unpub. PhD diss., Royal College of Music (2016), p. 108.

furnish the leading musical features of the more elaborate performance to follow. That these important conditions are always complied with in the composition of the overture, is by no means the case. Many overtures have no more relation to the works to which they are prefixed than if they were composed with a totally different object'. The same programme note, however, later presents an analysis of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte*, throwing in terminology such as fugue, subject, motivi and stretto, with no definitions whatsoever.

A number of the notes, increasing in frequency as the years passed, included examples of musical notation. The first to make a significant feature of this, including multiple excerpts as part of an extended analytical note, was for the performance of Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* on 26 Oct 1843 (Figure 17). This was a particularly detailed note, made up of seventeen paragraphs, almost all of which focused on analysing and describing the music, with fewer words devoted to composer and context than is typical for the Hargreaves notes as a whole. The second paragraph is amusingly Victorian in its struggles to classify this particular composition:

The Hymn of Praise belongs to no distinct class of compositions. It has not the dramatic quality nor the length of the oratorio, nor the exclusively vocal character of the cantata. It is more nearly akin, in its construction, to Beethoven's Choral Symphony, which, commencing with a long instrumental introduction, leads to a vocal adaptation of Schiller's Ode to Joy. In his manuscript score, the author called his Hymn a 'symphony for the orchestra and voices'; and in the published score it is aptly designated by the compound – a 'symphonia-cantata'.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26TH, 1843.

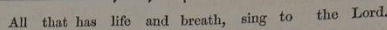
GRAVITY and purity of style are the characteristics of Mendelssohn's sacred works, mingled with that rich poetic fancy which abounds in "Sommerabendstraum," "Midnight's Dream," a composition so worthy of association with the glorious imaginings of Shakespeare. His style has been formed upon the best ecclesiastical writers of the German school, (among whom we may name the learned and classical Sebastian Bach,) vated taste. The music of these works, as applied under the direction of a highly cultivated

The Hymn of Praise belongs to no distinct class of compositions. It has not the dramatic quality nor the length of the oratorio, nor the exclusively vocal character of the cantata. It is more nearly akin, in its construction, to Beethoven's Choral Symphony, which, commencing with a long instrumental introduction, leads to a vocal adaptation of Schiller's Ode to Joy. In his manuscript score, the author called his Hymn a "symphony for the orchestra and voices;" and in the published score it is aptly designated by the compound—a "symphonia-cantata."

—a prevailing sentiment of the piece is that of grateful joy, occasionally mingled with melodies, plaintive, as in the solo, "The sorrows of death;" and it abounds with graceful relief and contrast; and as each subject is introduced, "into the form of a new tune, some new figure is presented by a different instrument, thus, into the form of a new melody, by its melodic beauty. The subjects just proposed are often heard from once rich and charming to the imagination. A judicious critic in the *ATLAS* thus speaks of the composition:—

ELISSESON'S "HYMN OF PRAISE."

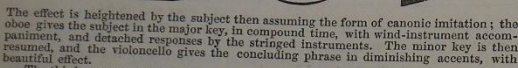
The *sinfonia* is the most masterly portion of the whole. It is in three movements, each of which, as to length and importance, is analogous to a portion of the ordinary concert symphony. Of these, the first, in G-flat major, the last leading to an *allegretto poco agitato* (♩ = 120), is the most brilliant. It is in 6-8 time, exhibiting some of the most original and original figures and novel, beautiful, and embellishing a stream of the vocal part, are, a duet for two soprano voices, and a solo for the tenor. The most remarkable features of the vocal part are, a duet for two soprano voices, and a solo for the tenor. The most remarkable features of the vocal part are, a duet for two soprano voices, and a solo for the tenor. The most remarkable features of the vocal part are, a duet for two soprano voices, and a solo for the tenor.



The melody leads to a more nervous and marked subject in accelerated motion, with appropriate tremolando accompaniments, developed by varied resources, until the orchestra tremolando, with florid passages for the violins, and the flute, oboe, and clarinet, and the trombones again give force the first subject with thrilling effect. It is then transferred alternately to the instruments, until the massive and bold strokes of responsive harmonies. Episodes and melodial phrases then give place to the more rapid and nervous passages. The full orchestral power is again called into exercise, by the elaborate treatment of some portions of the musical ideas already given; when the ear is again charmed by the intro-

duction of the oft-recurring first subject, which is then accompanied by passages in triplets, imparting a new and very agreeable effect, and conducting, with the use of the other subjects introduced, to the close of the first movement.

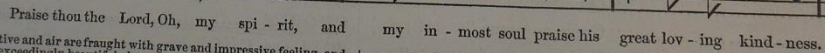
A cantabile cadence by the clarinet leads to the charming second movement in G minor ("allegretto poco agitato," the quaint old melody of which is given by the violoncello and violin, in octaves, and replied to by the bassoon and oboe, in the fourth below. We subjoin the notation of the melody as given by the latter instruments, for the sake of the exquisitely-beautiful modulation at the close:—



The third movement ("adagio religioso") immediately succeeds, the solemn subject of which being given by the stringed and wind instruments alternately, is conducted to the close on the tonic. The accompaniment of the strings then assumes a marked and interrupted character, as the wind instruments utter a species of responsive recitative in unison and octaves, affording a peculiar effect. As the movement becomes developed, the stringed accompaniment assumes the form called arpeggio, and reaches the period on the key note with more subdued expression.

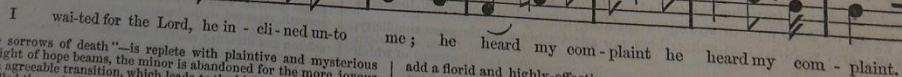
The second or vocal part is opened by the marked stringed accompaniment just alluded to, the trombones and the other wind instruments afterwards giving alternately the

opening theme, increasing until the full burst of the choral recitative—"All men, at things," enhanced greatly by the orchestral effect, produces a powerful impression on the mind. The principal subject of the whole piece is then taken up by the tenors, as given in the score, and followed by the soprano and alto voices, who enter gradually, first entering at the fugal intervals, joined by the full orchestra with exciting effect. An accompaniment ensues at the words—*"Praise the Lord,"* in which the accompaniment assumes a more rapid character, and the vocal parts are again introduced. As the chorus progresses a new and vigorous subject is given by the altos at the words—*"in strength,"* replied to, in figure, by the other parts; and after the resumption of the former style, the vocal parts are again introduced, and the principal subject is again introduced, bringing the music to the close of the first part. A new subject is again introduced, bringing this fine chorus to the tonal close; when the motion changes, and the vocal parts give the beautiful measured recitative—*"Praise thou the Lord,"* accompanied by the wind instruments, which is responded to by the chorus with fine effect. Here is the first part of the strain.



The succeeding tenor recitative and air are fraught with grave and impressive feeling, and harmonise with the solemn and exceedingly beautiful chorus in G minor which follows. The subject of the latter is proposed by the tenors, joined by the other parts, which, during the development of the composition, take the principal theme. The orchestral effects are varied, the violoncellos and violins giving an accompaniment in triplets alternately, while a pizzicato is produced by the second violins and violas, the subject with sustained harmonies being given to the wind instruments. The sustained sounds of the E flat horn,

accompanied by the stringed instruments, lead the ear by natural modulations from the key of G minor, of the last chorus to the exquisitely beautiful duet for two sopranos in E flat. The occasional responsive expression of reverential feeling by the chorus, exciting the most delightful emotions in the mind. We subjoin the leading musical ideas of this delicious



The tenor solo—"The sorrows of death"—is replete with plaintive and mysterious expression; but when the light of hope beams, the minor is abandoned for the more joyous major mode,—producing an agreeable transition, which leads to the highly-impetuous and agitated recitative—"We called through the darkness," which leads to the tremulous and plaintive strains, as the basses and clarinets move in, and when the voice of the soprano is introduced, the music is filled through the darkness." The expression is an appellate phrase, and silence is well given by the wind instruments. The expression is an appellate phrase, nation. The same idea, with modified treatment, is uttered by a plaintive and an expressive recitative, with an effect which is peculiarly exciting of sympathy, as the repeated question—"To the queen of heaven?" is answered—"To the queen of heaven?"—The soprano then announces that "the night will pass," and a feeling of pain and expectation is expressed by the wind instruments, leading at once to the solo given by the soprano and the chorus—"Let us gird on the armour." The chorus assumes the figural form of an instrument on the dominant bass, the former free character is resumed by the contrapuntal forms in the chorus.

"Let all men praise the Lord" is a grave chorale—a species of harmonised plain chant, which forms a trait in the German school of music. (The chorale is a composition of voices, derived from the forms given by the first and second species of counterpoint, and of which, when contrasted with the modern free composition, the effects are of the most grave and solemn kind.) The first voice of the chorale is given by the voices in six parts, and the second voice is given by all the voices in unison, while the more acute instruments

"My song shall be always" is a charming duet for tenor and soprano, supported by the basses and relieved by the fanciful acute parts.

The concluding full chorus is performed by the basses in a subject not unlike measured, accelerated speed by the other parts in the figural order, which is continued until the voice enters with "Oh, give thanks," with contrary motion denoting the more free style with a new subject. A more pleasing character is given by the figural form, which is developed with mass effect until the holding notes at the words—"Sing ye again" style of which the trumpets again give the principal melody, which proclaims the approaching close, and is taken up by the full orchestra, the prevailing musical notes are replied to in powerful mass and grand and elaborate work.

The Lobgesang was, for the first time, printed, and was first performed at the festival in honour of Gutenberg, the inventor of printing, for the first time in England at Leipzig on the 24th of June, 1840. It was performed for the first time in England at the Birmingham Musical Festival in September, 1840; since which time it has not, that we are aware of, been performed in the provinces. The words are Scriptural, being principally an adaptation of the Psalms.

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As a whole, the Hargreaves notes are impressively balanced in their presentation, avoiding value judgements and the expression of preferences or prejudices. The occasions on which this is not the case, therefore, may represent notes written by someone other than Sever. The notes relating to glees and madrigals stand out as unusual. As explored in Chapter 2, Manchester had a particularly strong culture of glee and madrigal societies, inspired by the lectures of visiting Gresham Professor of Music Edward Taylor, and spearheaded locally by individuals including Ainsworth and William Shore, both of whom were friends of Sever's and had connections with the Hargreaves. In fact, as mentioned earlier, Sever specifically thanked Ainsworth for his input to the notes. The particular interest of the author, or a contributing author, for the concert on 1 June 1843 is evidently the glees, and it has a more judgemental, dismissive tone about some of the other repertoire. When describing the Overture (*Anacreon*) by Cherubini, the author writes that they appreciate the skilfulness of the composition, but:

although the orchestral writing may not exhibit all the profound spirit or the more sombre harmonic traits of Beethoven, - the enchanting melodical grace of Mozart, or the poetical imagination and pathos of Weber; yet there is throughout great skill in the application of the instruments.

In contrast, below this, a highly enthusiastic note, taking up three paragraphs, is provided, for Webbe's glee 'when winds breathe soft' (Figure 18).

GLEE.....Miss LEACH, Messrs. HEELIS, WALTON, J. ISHERWOOD,
and SHELDRIK, and Chorus.....Webbe.

[Graceful and expressive melody, pure harmony, and modulation carefully studied and conducted, are the elements of a really fine and genuine glee. The legitimate subjects of glees, it seems to follow, are sentiments or pictures abstracted as much as possible from character. Whenever specific character and action mingle with the sentiment or picture, the composition ceases to be a glee; it is a "dramatic something." The composition of a really fine glee is a matter of no small difficulty. Some are too chromatic, others too dramatic; and by far the larger portion are wanting in those musical features already alluded to, and which are always required by the discriminating admirer of the genuine glee. Strictly speaking, a glee should be sung by a single voice to a part; but the effect of several voices to a part, when softly given, and when the sentiment will permit of such plurality, is very fine.

Speaking of the performance of glees, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe has these excellent observations:—"None who do not keep solely to it [glee singing] can execute them with propriety. If the leading voice permits itself to wander from the strict melody of the air, in order to shew graces or agility, as is too frequently the case when singers accustomed to other styles are called in, the effect is injured instead of being improved, as the great beauty of these compositions is derived from the complete union and equality of the voices, (none preponderating,) and from the simplicity of their execution."

Glee writing was in its meridian when Webbe began to compose (in the latter half of the last century); and he is allowed to be the greatest of our glee composers. "When winds breathe soft," (says Mr. Hogarth,) is a musical picture full of beauty, and of grandeur approaching the sublime.' The varied sentiment of the words,—the tranquil character of the opening,—the troubled grandeur of the storm,—the devotional expression of the lines describing the returning calm, and the joyous concluding strain, are admirable for descriptive power. In the present performance the composition is given in subdued chorus, as being necessary, it is conceived, fully to realise the sublime picture which the composer sought to depict. The words are said to be a free paraphrase of an anthem by Purcell, from the 107th Psalm, "They that go down to the sea in ships," and it is further said that Webbe received them as the envelope to some article purchased at the chandler's shop; and being struck with their beauty, set them to music. His editor, Mr. R. Clark, says he received this statement from the composer himself.]

Figure 18: Hargreaves Choral Society programme note for Webbe's glee 'when winds breathe soft', 1 June 1843.

Unusually, when the society performed an oratorio more than once, the notes generally contain significant new material, rather than simply being a reproduction of previous notes. The notes for the repeat of *Israel in Egypt* on 16 March 1843 begin with three entirely new paragraphs, which are more philosophical in approach, and include an extended quotation from the *QMMR* 'supporting a proposition, that the intellectual grasp of the composer is at least equal to that of the poet'. This updated note also includes a section of musical notation, from the instrumental introduction to 'He sent a thick darkness', to illustrate some detailed description of this opening contained within the text. The programme note for the repeat of *Messiah* on 13 April 1843 also contains significant new material and some changes of focus. The first four paragraphs are new, and similarly take a more philosophical approach. One of the paragraphs concentrates on 'the comparatively defective state of orchestral arrangement in Handel's day', in which context it discusses Mozart's instrumentation, before introducing a very long quotation from the *Musical Quarterly Review* all about

Mozart's additions. The programme note for the repeat of Rossini's *Stabat Mater* on 2 April 1844 likewise covers new ground in its first two paragraphs, before lightly reworking material from the earlier note. This time, the new material includes an account of the place of the 'Stabat Mater' within the musical service of the Catholic church, the origin of the words, and other settings of the text, specifically by Palestrina, Pergolesi and Haydn.

The programmes appear to have reached a very large audience. 700 were printed for the first concert, at which 704 tickets were received at the doors, so it was clearly intended to make the programme notes available to every concert attendee. Significantly, no extra charge for a programme is indicated on the programmes or in the records. This is surprising, as it was unusual throughout the century for concert series to provide notes without charging for them in addition to admittance.⁹⁶ This further demonstrates just how important the Hargreaves Society's committee felt the notes, and musical education more generally, were within their wider aims and objectives. Furthermore, the press disseminated the Hargreaves Society's programme notes to a far wider audience, regularly quoting from the notes within the reviews. Press attention to the activities of the Hargreaves more generally is, in fact, astonishing in its quantity and its level of detail. Focusing just on the *Manchester Guardian* coverage, the review of the first concert was around 1500 words long, and this length of review was not unusual for subsequent concerts. The programme notes are referred to in this initial review, in relation to the orchestral representation of chaos in *The Creation*:

The singularly strange effects produced by the unwonted combinations of the wind instruments cannot be adequately described; though the programmes (which, from their interesting historical notes, are valuable and useful to the auditor, and are worthy of careful preservation) contain a very graphic sketch of

⁹⁶ Christina Bashford, 'Concert Listening the British Way? Program Notes and Victorian Culture', in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 193.

the author's intention, and the means by which he has so successfully accomplished it.⁹⁷

The review of the second concert (*Messiah*) borrows extended quotations from 'the elaborate historical and critical notice of The Messiah, which forms so new and admirable a feature in the printed programmes of the Hargreaves Choral Society'.⁹⁸ This is established as the typical approach for reviews of Hargreaves concerts from the outset, with the notes first complimented and then quoted at length. The purpose of the notes was explicitly conveyed by the reviewer, who described them as 'gratifying, interesting, and instructive',⁹⁹ and explained 'the admirable "hand-book" [is] furnished in the programme for those who would know and understand, as well as listen to and enjoy, the fine music presented to them here'.¹⁰⁰ The incorporation of musical excerpts into the notes is reviewed favourably upon its first appearance, in the programme for *Israel in Egypt* on 16 March 1843:

As we have noticed this oratorio in greater detail, on its previous performance by this society, and have withal many pressing demands on our space, we must treat very briefly of this concert – referring all who seek information on the subject to the able historical and critical notice prefixed to the scheme of words; which exhibits, by the way, a new illustrative feature, giving, in neat musical typography, the instrumental introduction to the chorus, 'He sent a thick darkness'.¹⁰¹

In a similar vein, the review of the performance of Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise* later the same year stated: 'We were particularly charmed with the delicious little melody in the second movement, with which a few bars of musical notation in the critical remark served to make all musical readers acquainted before its actual performance, and gave additional interest to a passage that might else have been momentarily overlooked by

⁹⁷ 'Hargreave's [sic] Choral Society First Dress Concert', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 December 1841.

⁹⁸ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 January 1842.

⁹⁹ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 2 February 1842.

¹⁰⁰ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 May 1842.

¹⁰¹ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 18 March 1843.

some'.¹⁰² Later reviews themselves even include excerpts of notation, such as this example from *Elijah* (Figure 19):

The oratorio of *Elijah* is, in our opinion, not only the greatest work which Mendelssohn has written, but it is the greatest oratorio which has been produced since Beethoven's *Mount of Olives*. Its design appears to us to be larger than that of *St. Paul*, and the musical treatment more varied, more lofty and dramatic. It has been objected to *Elijah* that it has less melody than *St. Paul*; and it may safely be admitted, that of those simple forms of melody and harmony which are the characteristics of the chorales so abundantly introduced into *St. Paul*, it has fewer specimens than the latter; but it is clear that the composer's design did not admit of that form of melody being so freely used. Other forms, however, shorter but not less beautiful, are almost lavishly introduced; and many of the most lovely and melodious subjects that music can furnish us with, are to be found in *Elijah*. We subjoin one illustrative specimen; it is a passage from the recitative and chorus in which Elijah and the people pray for rain; and is one of the most delicious fragments of harmonised melody that we ever heard:—



Figure 19: Notation in the *Elijah* review, *Manchester Guardian*, 24 April 1847.

¹⁰² 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 November 1843.

To complicate matters, at least some of the *Manchester Guardian* reviews appear to have been written by Charles Sever himself as they are signed by 'Sigma'.¹⁰³ Earlier reviews are unattributed, but some of them display an unusually deep level of knowledge of the activities of the society and its committee, which begs the question as to whether these may have been written by Sever too. According to an essay in the papers of the Manchester Literary Club, Charles Sever initially wrote criticism for the *Manchester Guardian* under the name 'Sigma' in 1846,¹⁰⁴ but this does not preclude earlier unattributed contributions. The enthusiastic promotion of the programme notes within these reviews suddenly takes on a new colour, although the key arguments of education and dissemination remain valid, even if the author of these reviews may not have been entirely disinterested.

This conclusion is supported by the ways the concerts of the Hargreaves Society, and its programme notes, were reported in the wider press. Other local publications describe and quote from the programme notes in a very similar manner to the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Manchester Times*, for example, in its review of the performance of *Israel in Egypt* in March 1842, refers to the 'admirable historical and critical notice given in the programme', and the majority of its 2000 words is taken up with a sketch of the oratorio lifted directly from the programme.¹⁰⁵ Likewise the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, in a review of the *Messiah* concert of April 1845, discussed the additional accompaniments by Mozart and observed that:

The exceedingly instructive and well arranged critical notices usually attached to the Hargreave's [sic] Programmes, have undoubtedly the effect of exciting more interest in the concerts than might otherwise attach to the members of this society, and on the last occasion the prefatory observations alluded to, must have engendered a disposition, especially in the minds of amateur and

¹⁰³ Including the review of *Elijah* (*Manchester Guardian*, 24 April 1847) and the review of the concert of 29 March 1849 (*Manchester Guardian*, 4 April 1849).

¹⁰⁴ John Evans, 'Manchester Theatrical Reminiscences, 1842–1847', *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, Vol. IV (Manchester: Abel Heywood and Sons, 1878), p. 229. This paper also contains the sentence: 'The criticism of that day was severe; but not a little of the success of music and the drama must be attributed to the influence of Messrs. Sever, Peacock, and Harland'.

¹⁰⁵ 'The Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Times*, 12 March 1842.

professional musicians, to pay the strictest attention to the finishing touches of a master hand, such as that of the immortal Mozart.¹⁰⁶

Press interest was not limited to the local papers. The society was frequently mentioned in regional and national publications of wide geographical reach, including the *North of England Magazine*, *The Musical World* and *The Musical Times*. An article in the former, describing music in Manchester, included the paragraph:

Before leaving the subject of the Hargreaves' concerts, I will just mention an improvement in the programmes which is introduced there; a trifling matter perhaps, but still one worthy of record and imitation. Instead of the programmes containing only, as is usual, the words of the pieces to be performed, and the composers' and the singers' names, those of the Hargreaves society give also a short criticism of the principal subject of the evening's entertainment; sometimes a critique upon the principal composer's style and peculiarities, while the words of each piece are preceded by a few judicious remarks, directing the hearer's attention to the points most worthy of notice. It is evident that these little, unobtrusive lessons in the art, given too at the moment of illustration, must much increase the knowledge of true music. These little critiques, which for the most part are very good, are, I believe, written or selected by Mr Charles Sever, to whom, for services as secretary, the society is deeply indebted.¹⁰⁷

This press coverage has some important implications for our understanding of the dissemination and reception of these notes, and of what early Victorian musical connoisseurship entailed. In tandem with the pursuit of rational recreation, this was the age of the development of the reading public, whose literacy was underpinned by the Victorian desire to be well-read and informed.¹⁰⁸ The *Manchester Guardian* had a

¹⁰⁶ 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 5 April 1845.

¹⁰⁷ Horace Heartwell, 'Characteristics of Manchester No. VI', *The North of England Magazine*, Vol. II (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. / Manchester: Joseph Gillett, 1843), p. 236.

¹⁰⁸ Bashford touches on the relationships between programme notes and the Victorian reading public in 'Concert Listening the British Way?', pp. 194–95.

circulation of 8000 copies bi-weekly in 1844,¹⁰⁹ and the extended critical and scholarly articles on musical matters were clearly popular with a subset of that readership, or the paper would not have continued printing such a quantity of text for several decades. Furthermore, given the enthusiasm demonstrated by female audiences for concerts and music lectures (as we will explore further in Chapters 4 and 5), press discussion of musical life would have reached a large female audience within the domestic sphere, significantly expanding dissemination beyond the quantifiable fact of circulation figures. In addition to the one thousand or so audience members who encountered these notes within the concert hall itself, tens of thousands of readers had the opportunity to read and digest their contents within their homes in the company of their families and friends.

These programme notes shaped the development of musical life in Manchester and further afield, through both their educational impact and their model of practice. Far from being an outlier with no discernible influence on other programme note provision, the Hargreaves notes resulted directly in the provision of programme notes for a variety of related Manchester societies.¹¹⁰ As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Manchester Madrigal Society began to provide programme notes for their public concerts the year the Hargreaves Society ceased to exist. The first of these—the booklet for their Annual Dress Meeting on 18 December 1849—was printed by Charles Sever’s firm. The notes in this booklet follow the same general pattern as those for the Hargreaves miscellaneous programmes, with between 50 and 150 words provided for each anthem, madrigal or glee. Also of particular interest, discovered in the back of one of the surviving volumes of Hargreaves Society programmes, is a programme for a concert held at the Manchester Mechanics’ Institution (MMI) on 4 May 1844.¹¹¹ Programmes for this concert were priced at just one penny and include detailed notes with an educational focus. They were printed by Sever and bear all the hallmarks of his work; in fact they quote directly from a Hargreaves Society programme. These notes

¹⁰⁹ Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, eds., *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 394.

¹¹⁰ The characterisation as ‘outlier’ was made by Bruno Bower, ‘The Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts’, p. 36.

¹¹¹ Hargreaves Choral Society programmes, R780.69 Me74a. The Manchester Mechanics Institution and its concert series figure prominently in Chapter 4.

also include musical examples, illustrating church music. The concert was free for subscribers to the Mechanics' Institution and had the potential to reach a very different demographic to the Hargreaves, as will be explored further in the next chapter. Significantly, Sever was vice-chair of the MMI in 1843 and sat on the MMI Concerts Subcommittee in 1844.

The influence of these notes can also be traced through to Charles Hallé's programmes. The first reference Bashford makes to programme notes in Manchester is those provided by Hallé 'as early as 1849' for his chamber music concerts.¹¹²

Bashford uses these notes to illustrate the importance of social networks in British musical life, highlighting Hallé's friendship with Ella and observing that the notes for the chamber concerts sometimes derive from Ella's Musical Union notes. However, according to Sever's obituary, 'Mr Sever took an active part in the negotiations which induced this accomplished musician [Charles Hallé] to take up his residence here, and the intimate and cordial friendship then begun was never for a moment interrupted'. Sever frequently reviewed Hallé's concerts and took an active role at committee-level with some of Hallé's work, including the Gentlemen's Concerts, and the Classical Chamber Music Society. Furthermore, Sever's firm printed Hallé's programmes.¹¹³ While Hallé undoubtedly drew on Ella's work, he also had an inspiration for his own programme notes far closer to home than London.

Conclusion

The end of the Hargreaves Society came abruptly and the reasons behind its demise remain unclear. A letter to the *Manchester Guardian* in 1849 from a subscriber suggested a collection of factors, several occasioned by the commercial downturn affecting that year, but he also knew of some members who had discontinued their subscriptions because of 'the want of cushions to the seats' and, more fundamentally, too great a departure in the last season from the original focus of the society on choral music.¹¹⁴ This does not seem entirely fair to the organisers of the society, whose work

¹¹² Bashford, 'Not Just "G"', p. 124.

¹¹³ Sever was one of the first subscribers to the Classical Chamber Music Society, and his name recurs frequently in the handwritten lists of subscribers and attendees at meetings, which survives at the Henry Watson Music Library, shelfmark R780.69Me64. His name appears frequently in the minutes and the subscription lists of the Gentlemen's Concerts.

¹¹⁴ Correspondence, 'Hargreaves Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 September 1849.

still appeared to be supported and appreciated by the subscribers as a whole, but the drop in income occasioned by the turmoil of 1848 did reduce the amount of money they had available to spend on their concerts. Having become accustomed to putting on prestigious, ambitious events, the committee do not appear to have had an appetite for any reduction in scale, instead preferring to cease activities entirely.¹¹⁵

In 1881, the Hargreaves trustees donated the music library of the society plus what remained of its property to Owens College, on the understanding that the scores and parts should be made available for the use of local musical societies as well as by students and professors. The Hargreaves trustees intended to use some of the remaining funds to continue to add to the music library in future.¹¹⁶ This music ultimately made its way into the Henry Watson Music Library and much of it is still available for hire today.¹¹⁷ The trustees also established two scholarships, 'to be granted to the best student of the year in the senior and junior harmony classes of Owens College respectively, who was a member of one of a list of established choral societies in Manchester or the neighbourhood which had been approved of by the trustees'.¹¹⁸ Hargreaves Prizes are still awarded annually by the University of Manchester music department for excellence in examinations.¹¹⁹

The Hargreaves Society certainly made a lasting impact, despite its short life. Right up until the end of the century, before it passed out of living memory, it was being remembered warmly in the press as a high point in the musical life of Manchester.¹²⁰ It was even deemed worthy of an entry in George Grove's original *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, as a subsidiary entry under Manchester. The entry was written by Grove himself:

¹¹⁵ Charles Sever himself wrote a letter to the *Manchester City News*, published on 17 May 1879, prompted by some correspondence recalling the Hargreaves Society which had recently been published, which recounted the financial challenges and the parallel challenge of finding an appropriate hall for the concerts. He writes explicitly that the committee decided to cease the concerts before the financial challenges began to impact upon the quality of the events they were able to put on.

¹¹⁶ Joseph Thompson, *The Owens College: its Foundation and Growth; and its Connection with the Victoria University, Manchester* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1886), p. 597.

¹¹⁷ Communication with Ros Edwards, Henry Watson Music Librarian. The music is all mixed in with the larger collection now, but it is stamped and identifiable.

¹¹⁸ Thompson, *The Owens College*, p. 597.

¹¹⁹ 2018–19 Programme Handbook for MusB (Honours) Music, The University of Manchester

¹²⁰ See for example Thompson, *The Owens College*, p. 596.

The Hargreaves Choral Society was founded in 1841, on the bequest of a large sum of money, and an extensive library of choral music, by Mr Hamer Hargreaves, for the formation of a society for the practice of sacred choral music, with an instrumental band. The concerts were supported by 150 performers, under the direction of Mr John Waddington, through whose care and skill the performances attained a degree of completeness never before reached in the North of England. The Society had the honour of introducing Elijah to Manchester on April 20, 1847, under the direction of the composer. It was dissolved in 1849, mainly in consequence of a difficulty in obtaining suitable accommodation.¹²¹

The Hargreaves Society's activities, programme notes, musical networks, and press dissemination shed new light on narratives of criticism, connoisseurship and 'serious listening'. The society provides a fascinating case study of how musical life functioned in early Victorian Manchester, recording in its minutes how civic figures and leading musicians worked together to develop an ambitious, high quality concert series. The society encouraged focused listening and an intellectual engagement with music among its subscribers, at a time when such activities have more commonly been regarded as unusual. The press dissemination of the activities of the society suggests an interest in and engagement with such musical criticism far beyond its immediate network of subscribers. There is also evidence of the spread of such ideals to wider audiences through the philanthropic work of members of the Hargreaves committee, which contributed to the development of music education and the expansion of concert giving to far larger audiences. Through print and personal networks, the musical evangelism displayed at the Hargreaves was able to spread elsewhere in the city and further afield, helping to develop an intellectual, vibrant musical culture.

To close this chapter, the final paragraph of the review of the first ever concert of the Hargreaves Choral Society captures the essence of this organisation, while also pointing towards key themes of the next chapter:

¹²¹ George Grove, ed., *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880), p. 204.

We regard the opening of this society's concerts as the dawn of a new era in the annals of choral music here; for, till now, except at a musical festival, we have had very few opportunities in Manchester of hearing the full effect of choral music, as written by the composer; with all the splendour of its orchestral accompaniments, given by a full and efficient band. Now, for the first time, the man who has for years been accustomed to sing the works of Handel, Haydn, and Mozart, hears combinations of vocal and instrumental harmonies, which clearly reveal the true beauty and meaning of many a passage, thitherto regarded as inexplicable mystery, or, at best, but ill understood. We can, therefore, cordially hail the rapid, and apparently firm, establishment of this society amongst us; in an age when all are beginning to be conscious of the truth that music is one of the great instruments of refining the taste, the manners, and even the morals of a people; and that, consequently, it is one of the great agencies of true civilization'.¹²²

¹²² 'Hargreave's Choral Society', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 December 1841.

Chapter Four: Networks of Musical ‘Improvement’

Royal Manchester Institution; Manchester Athenaeum; Manchester Mechanics’ Institution

Three institutions dedicated to education, rational recreation and moral improvement existed concurrently in early Victorian Manchester: the Royal Manchester Institution (established 1823), the Manchester Mechanics’ Institution (established 1824), and the Manchester Athenaeum (established 1835).¹ As set out in their foundational documents, these institutions were aimed, respectively, at the city’s elite, its mechanics and artisans, and its clerks. All three offered varied programmes of lectures, classes, societies, access to news and reading rooms, and other such opportunities for sociability and intellectual pursuits. The majority of research on these institutions and their related national movements either ignores or only briefly considers musical activities: existing work on the Royal Manchester Institution focuses on its connections with art history, research into Mechanics’ Institutes tends to come from the perspective of the history of science or the relationship of the movement with ideas around social control, while the Manchester Athenaeum has received little scholarly attention at all.² This is a significant oversight, as surviving archival materials reveal that a wealth of musical activity took place at each. Music figured prominently in all three institutions’ programmes of activity and the place and role of music within these initiatives was debated vigorously by their respective managing committees and in the press. These archives make it apparent that music in these types of civic institutions had important connections with wider industrial society. The network of industrialists, philanthropists and entrepreneurial musicians traced during the course of this dissertation is particularly evident in the musical history of these institutions. The

¹ The RMI and Athenaeum archives are held by Manchester Archives and Local Studies (M6 and M2 respectively). They are both substantial archives—the RMI archive alone takes up 17 metres of shelving—and include minute books, annual reports, accounts, correspondence and sundry other items. The Manchester Mechanics’ Institution archive is held by the University of Manchester (GB 133 MMI) and is more compact, comprised primarily of annual reports and minute books.

² Typical of work on the RMI is John Seed, “‘Commerce and the liberal arts’: the political economy of art in Manchester, 1775–1850”, in *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*, ed. Janet Wolff and John Seed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 45–81. Mechanics Institutes, science and social control are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

importance that this influential network ascribed to music, and the purposes to which music was put, acted to change the shape of their society, although music did not always act in the ways these leaders intended it to.

This chapter explores the importance of these three institutions as sites of live music-making, including public concerts. It focuses on the perceived moral value and societal benefit of music, and the related ways in which institutional musical activities shaped, and were shaped by, the industrial society in which they were embedded. It examines in detail the declared intent behind musical programming, evidence of its actual impact, and its relationship with broader structures of industrial life. The archives which I have explored deepen our understanding of ideas about music and institutions set out in recent literature, restating the importance of music within such institutions in relation to wider society, and adding to knowledge about how such music was theorised and managed by those who organised it.³ This chapter also introduces the importance of the music lecture and its overlooked significance as a public event, and it highlights pioneering aspects of the various musical societies that the institutions hosted. The music lecture, which so far barely features in the scholarly literature, often functioned as a concert as well as a site for the transmission of significant scholarship, delivered to an audience of thousands. The significance of this aspect of the musical programmes of these institutions is such that it is considered separately in Chapter 5. Taken together, these two chapters complicate musicological narratives about concert life, audiences and musical ‘seriousness’, as well as contributing to wider debates around the aims and achievements of the Mechanics’ Institute movement, social control, identity formation, and the public sphere in the nineteenth-century industrial city.

Inevitably, in describing these institutions and their musical activities, it is impossible to avoid the notion of ‘social control’, the narrative within which Mechanics’ Institutes and related initiatives have traditionally been understood. The substantial body of literature on Mechanics’ Institutes dating from the 1960s and 1970s follows such an interpretation, highlighting their paternalism, commonly

³ See Paul Rodmell, ed., *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), in particular Paul Rodmell’s ‘Introduction’, 1–9; and Rachel Milestone’s chapter “‘A Melodious Phenomenon’: The Institutional Influence on Town-Hall Music-Making’, 55–77.

focusing on their scientific objectives and dismissing them as failures for not delivering the education they initially planned, to the population they initially targeted.⁴ This historiography has only recently been questioned, for example in work by Helen Hudson Flexner on the London Mechanics' Institution, and by Martyn Walker.⁵ These two writers successfully deconstruct the assertion that Mechanics' Institutes did not achieve their aims, uncovering important information about attendance and intent. However, while Walker's book challenges assumptions about membership and impact, he still focuses on the scientific and technical education they provided, neglecting the broader activities of the movement, and omitting music entirely. Furthermore, while arguments about the success or otherwise of such institutions tend to refer back to their founding objectives, such objectives were rapidly modified once they actually came into contact with the subscribers, at which point the aims of the institutions were rewritten. As this chapter will demonstrate, elementary instruction, recreation and social intercourse were placed at the heart of what the institutions hoped to achieve, and ought to be considered when their impact is assessed.

The social control narrative should certainly not be disregarded. It is a matter of fact that there were national concerns about the 'lower orders', particularly in the manufacturing districts. The MP Robert Slaney spoke in the House of Commons in February 1833 about the need for 'safety valves', without which 'the working classes will fly to demagogues and dangerous causes'.⁶ In Manchester, widely perceived to be a hotbed of agitation, the Mechanics' Institution's President Benjamin Heywood emphasised in his Address, delivered at their Annual Meeting of 1836:

The communication of moral instruction ... to those great masses of men, who are now beginning to think and act for themselves, and whose

⁴ Including: Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1960); Richard Johnson, 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', *Past & Present*, 49 (1970), 96–119; Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes, 'Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes', *Social Studies of Science*, 7 (1977), 31–74.

⁵ Helen Hudson Flexner, 'The London Mechanics' Institution: Social and cultural foundations 1823–1830', unpub. PhD diss., University College London (2014). Martyn Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond: Supporting Further Education for the Adult Working Classes* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

⁶ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 36.

influence on the general condition of society is every year becoming more important, is not only an act of justice, but a measure of safety.⁷

Part of the strategy involved diffusion of knowledge. Howard Wach has described how 'diffusing knowledge offered the hope of raising up the "lower orders" to social responsibility and respectability. A properly arranged distribution of knowledge held out hope for an ordered and orderly existence'.⁸ Importantly, the moral benefit of particular forms of knowledge became central to the debate, and in this context, music found itself privileged.

Hogarth's *Musical History* of 1835 provides a clear description of the perceived moral power of music, and it forms a useful starting point for the ideas explored in this chapter:

The diffusion of a taste for music, and the increasing elevation of its character, may be regarded as a national blessing. The tendency of music is to soften and purify the mind. The cultivation of a musical taste furnishes to the rich a refined and intellectual pursuit, which excludes the indulgence of frivolous and vicious amusements, and to the poor, a '*laborum dulce lenimen*', a relaxation from toil more attractive than the haunts of intemperance. All music of an elevated character is calculated to produce such effects; but it is to sacred music, above all, that they are to be ascribed. Music may sometimes be the handmaid of debauchery ... but that man must be profligate beyond conception whose mind can entertain gross propensities while the words of inspiration, clothed with the sounds of Handel, are in his ears ... Wherever the working classes are taught to prefer the pleasures of the intellect, and even of taste, to the gratification of sense, a great and favourable change takes place in their character and manners. They are no longer driven by mere vacuity of mind to the beer-shop; and a pastime, which opens their minds to the impression produced by the strains of

⁷ MMI Annual Report (1836), p. 5. This statement is a quotation from a contemporary commentator, but Heywood does not state his source. Benjamin Heywood's activities and influence are discussed in detail later in this chapter. Printed Annual Reports covering the period 1828–91 are held at shelfmark MMI/2.

⁸ Howard Wach, 'Culture and the Middle Classes: Popular Knowledge in Industrial Manchester', *Journal of British Studies*, 27 (1988), p. 375.

Handel and Haydn, combined with the inspired poetry of the Scriptures, becomes something infinitely better than the amusement of an idle hour. Sentiments are awakened which make them love their families and their homes; their wages are not squandered in intemperance; and they become happier as well as better.⁹

This belief in the diffusion of musical knowledge, with a particular focus on the power of sacred vocal music (with Handel at the pinnacle), as a means of improving working class behaviour and morality underpinned much of the early philanthropic use of music in Manchester.

But how music was intended to be used within these institutions does not necessarily reflect how it was used or received in practice, and a focus on social control risks diminishing the experiences of those involved. Gareth Stedman Jones has highlighted the typically one-sided narrative arising from such approaches, pointing out that ‘far more attention has been paid to the ways in which entrepreneurs or the propertied classes attempted to change popular uses of leisure time than to the ways in which craftsman, artisan or working-class activists attempted to organise their non-work time’.¹⁰ Although limited by surviving evidence, the majority of which was written and preserved by the dominant classes, enough traces remain in the archives that close consideration of institutional musical engagement can be a valuable route to rethinking the conflict of intent, agency and outcome within Manchester’s emergent civic society.

While the voices of the working classes are disappointingly silent in the institutional archives, a powerful defence of their character and a useful counter to the top-down perspective is provided by Samuel Bamford,¹¹ listing the accomplishments of his Lancashire workmates in 1844:

⁹ George Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism* (2nd edition, London: John W. Parker, 1838), pp. 273–75.

¹⁰ Gareth Stedman Jones, ‘Class expression versus social control? A critique of recent trends in the social history of “leisure”’, *History Workshop*, 4/1 (1977), p. 162.

¹¹ Samuel Bamford (1788–1872) was a weaver, poet, and leading radical reformer from Middleton, Lancashire. He led the Middleton contingent to St Peter’s Fields in August 1819 and was a key witness to and recorder of the events and aftermath of Peterloo. He wrote and published prolifically, chronicling important and interesting aspects of working class life and activism. See in particular his *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1967).

they are the greatest readers; can show the greatest number of good writers; the greatest number of sensible and considerate public speakers. They can show a greater number of botanists; a greater number of horticulturalists, a greater number who are acquainted with the abstruse sciences; the greatest number of poets, and a greater number of good musicians, whether choral or instrumental.¹²

His account is of particular relevance here because the activities listed are precisely those which the Manchester Mechanics' Institution came to offer during the 1830s and 1840s.

A similarly poetic description is provided by Culverwell in a footnote to Léon Faucher's *Manchester in 1844*, vigorously defending the musical activities of Manchester's working classes against the associations described by Faucher between music, gin palaces and other dissolute habits. The Manchester Mechanics' Institution came in for particular praise:

M. Faucher seems to regard the musical attractions as evidences of the dissoluteness of the people. They are, on the contrary, evidences of increasing temperance, and improved habits amongst them. Formerly, Gin and Intoxication formed the great attraction. They are now insufficient, and their place must be supplied by music, and milder drinks. The manufacturing districts of Lancashire have always been distinguished for the successful cultivation of two pursuits, which are not generally supposed to be consistent with grossness of taste, or dissoluteness of habits, viz. music and mathematics. And, it is to be observed, that of the various styles of music, Sacred music has always enjoyed the especial preference of the working classes. The oratorios of Handel and of Haydn, are as household words, familiar to them from childhood; and no difficulty is ever found in selecting from amongst the factory operatives, choirs capable of doing

¹² Samuel Bamford, *Walks in South Lancashire* (Blackley, 1844), pp. 13–14; quoted in Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p. 11.

justice to these immortal compositions. The Mechanics' Institution gives a concert every Saturday evening, which is well attended.¹³

The translator did however note that the Mechanics' Institution concerts would be better suited to the needs of the operatives if they were run as promenade concerts along similar lines to those at the public houses.

These images of the 'intelligent worker' interested in self-improvement, and of the accomplished amateur singer, are supported colourfully in fiction in the persons of Job Legh and Margaret Jennings in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton*.¹⁴ Jennings is a blind singer who, appositely, escapes from poverty after being selected to provide the vocal illustrations for a lecturer at the Mechanics Institution.¹⁵ Mary Barton may be fiction, but Elizabeth Gaskell and her husband William, the Unitarian minister at the Cross Street Chapel that many of the institutional directors attended, were both keen supporters of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution.¹⁶ Parallels have been noted between the career of Margaret Jennings and that of the singer Deborah Travis, originally of Shaw, near Oldham, who achieved substantial fame around the country, in particular in oratorio concerts, and regularly visited Manchester.¹⁷ We have already encountered Miss Travis (later Mrs Knyvett) in earlier chapters.

Descriptions such as these are undoubtedly subject to exaggeration and romanticisation, but they are invaluable in foregrounding the humanity, complexity and genuine (musical) enthusiasm of that class of society who so often appear in the minute books and annual reports as caricatures, figures to be 'improved' without regard to their own interests and motivations.

¹³ Léon Faucher, *Manchester in 1844* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1969), translator's footnote 20, p. 49. Background to this book, Faucher and Culverwell was provided in the introductory chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁴ See also Gregory Vargo, *An Underground History of Early Victorian Fiction: Chartism, Radical Print Culture, and the Social Problem Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), in particular Chapter 4: 'Questions from Workers who Read: Education and Self-Formation in Chartist Print Culture and Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton*'.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life* (London: Penguin, 1996; first published 1848), p. 94.

¹⁶ William Gaskell served as a Director 1840–41; he also lectured at Mechanics' Institutes around the region. The influence of Manchester's Unitarian community is discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁷ Terry Wyke, 'The Culture of Self-Improvement: Real People in *Mary Barton*', *Gaskell Society Journal*, 13 (1999), 85–103.

Manchester's Institutions

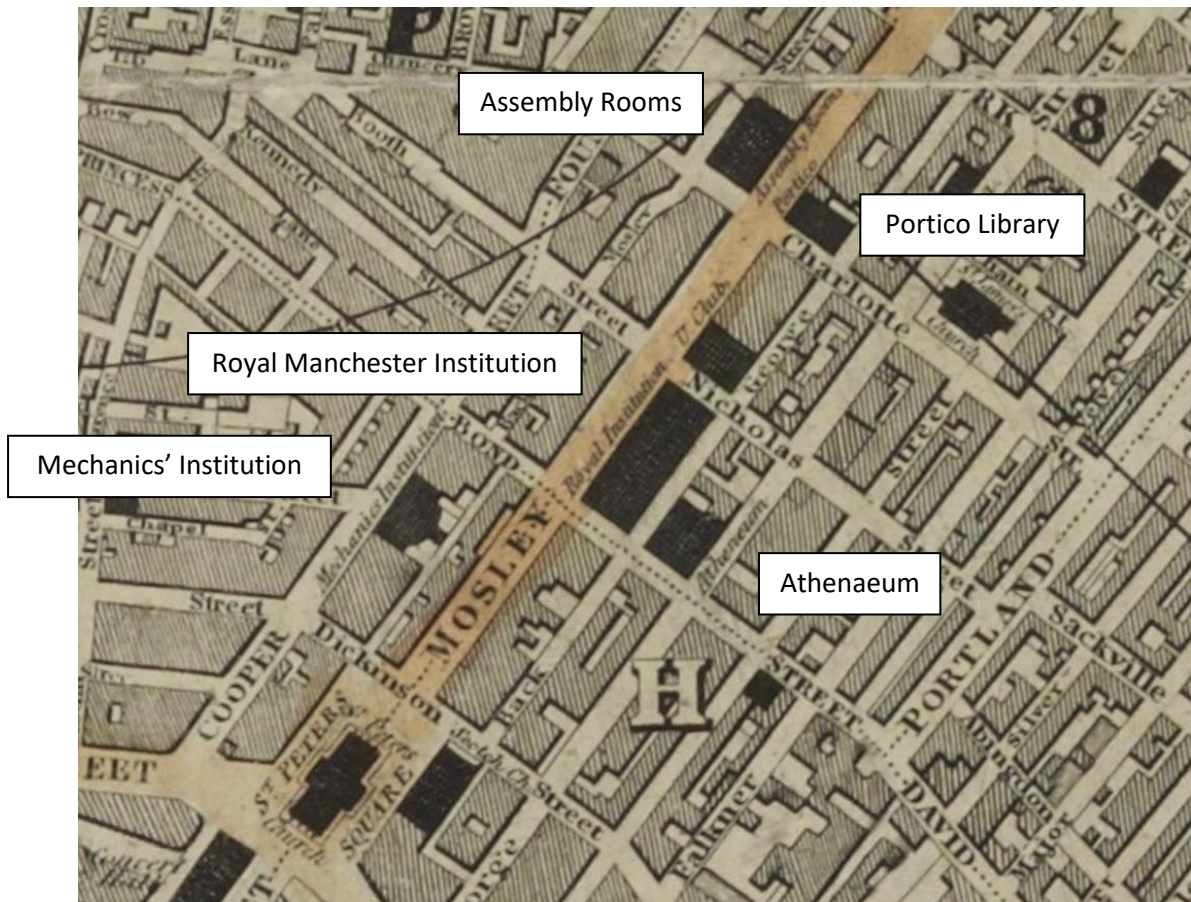


Figure 20: Locations of Manchester's Institutions.

The establishment and aims of these three institutions are firmly embedded in the histories of Manchester's industrial middle class, and in particular, its nonconformist, liberal core. As noted previously, Alan Kidd has suggested that Manchester was unusual among nineteenth-century towns for being 'almost devoid of aristocratic influence'.¹⁸ While the aristocracy did in fact patronise and attend Manchester's musical events and support its institutions,¹⁹ the industrial middle-class elite unarguably felt themselves to be in a position of 'stewardship' over their city, seeking to negotiate a new social and cultural framework against a backdrop of civil agitation

¹⁸ Kidd, *Manchester*, p. 59.

¹⁹ This was explored in more detail in relation to Manchester's 1836 Festival, and in the introductory chapter.

and unrest.²⁰ Identifying a peaceful way forward became a priority, and diffusion of knowledge was widely embraced as a potential solution, in part because of its perceived universal benefit. As Howard Wach has observed, 'while seeking to enlighten his city, the middle-class educator sought to enlighten both the worker and himself'.²¹

The Royal Manchester Institution (RMI) was established in 1823 'for the Promotion of Literature, Science, and the Arts'.²² It was organised by and intended for the elite of the city; the membership comprised principally hereditary governors who paid forty guineas on joining plus a further guinea a year.²³ Construction of its building, designed in Greek neo-classical style by Charles Barry (1795–1860) and still standing today as part of Manchester Art Gallery, began in 1827 and was completed in 1835 (Figure 21). The RMI aimed to foster closer relationships between members of Manchester's propertied class, as the initial proposals emphasised:

An Institution, such as this, would, moreover, serve as a point of union for the enlightened and liberal part of this widely scattered, and, in some respects, unconnected population ... As many individuals, who might otherwise have continued strangers to each other, would thus be brought into harmonious co-operation, the Institution, besides the direct benefits which it would confer upon the community, would have the pleasing effect of removing prejudice, or softening the asperity of party feeling, and of fixing the public attention upon an object, with regard to which vehement differences of opinion can hardly be expected to arise.²⁴

²⁰ Notably Peterloo (1819) and the Chartist disturbances of the 1830s and 40s. Howard Wach discusses the idea of middle-class stewardship in 'Culture and the Middle Classes', p. 376; and in 'A "Still, Small Voice" from the Pulpit: Religion and the Creation of Social Morality in Manchester, 1820–1850', *The Journal of Modern History*, 63 (1991), 426–27.

²¹ Wach, 'Culture and the Middle Classes', p. 376.

²² 'Mr G. W. Wood's Copy of the Exchange-Herald's Pamphlet relating to the Public Meeting of 1 Oct. 1823', shelfmark M6/1/79/1.

²³ S. D. Cleveland, *The Royal Manchester Institution: Its History from its Origin until 1882* (Manchester: Art Gallery, 1931).

²⁴ From the original proposals for the RMI, quoted in William Robert Whatton, *An Address to the Governors of the Royal Institution of Manchester* (Manchester: Henry Smith, 1829).



Figure 21: Thomas Hosmer Shephard, *The Royal Manchester Institution*, c.1836. Image Credit: Manchester Art Gallery, CC BY-NC-ND.

The RMI organised an annual art exhibition and regular lecture series. The latter, which sought ‘the encouragement of Literary and Scientific pursuits’, included a significant number devoted to music.²⁵ Additionally, rooms were let to third parties to be used for public concerts and private societies. These included Manchester’s Choral Society, which rented rooms from 1834 until it was dissolved in 1846, and the Madrigal Society, discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Non-musical societies which took rooms at the RMI included at various times Manchester’s Medical Society, Geological Society, Society of Mechanical Engineers and a Photographic Society.

As Manchester’s flagship intellectual institution, the RMI fulfilled a number of important functions in addition to its artistic objectives. The origin and persistence of the caricature of the northern industrial middle class as ‘bluff, plain-speaking, uncultured, Nonconformist, Liberal, self-made men, concerned wholly with making money’ has been highlighted by John Seed.²⁶ Matthew Arnold (1822–88) frequently described the entire industrial middle class as ‘philistines’, a charge reinforced in

²⁵ ‘Mr G. W. Wood’s copy of the Exchange Herald’s Pamphlet’.

²⁶ John Seed, “‘Commerce and the liberal arts’”, p. 45.

literature, notably in the characters of Gradgrind and Bounderby in Charles Dickens' *Hard Times*. This stereotype of the 'Manchester Man' will be revisited in my concluding chapter. From its inception, the RMI set out to counter these charges, about which Manchester's middle classes were already self-conscious. Its initial proposal regarded 'an alliance between Commerce and the Liberal Arts' as 'a counteracting influence to the gross and sordid spirit, which is too often the result of an undivided attention to mercenary pursuits', which seems to buy into the stereotype, but Manchester's men never appeared to truly believe it.²⁷

The year after the RMI's foundation, the Manchester Mechanics' Institution (MMI) was established. It was one of the earliest of a network of Mechanics' Institutes developed by philanthropists around the country for the education and improvement of the working man.²⁸ Subscription was set at 20 shillings per year—substantially cheaper than the 40 guineas required upfront by the RMI, but still a significant amount of money²⁹—and by 1836 there were 1,526 subscribers.³⁰ The stated purpose of the MMI at its foundation was 'to instruct Mechanics and Artisans in various Sciences, and their practical application to the Arts'.³¹ In its earliest years, classes were offered in mathematics, and in mechanical and architectural drawing, alongside lectures on various scientific topics. The MMI's leadership quickly recognised the need for the provision of leisure facilities as well as instruction, a theme which recurs in its Annual Reports throughout the 1830s and 1840s.³² The changing focus was necessitated by the membership, which covered a broader range of society than at first envisaged,

²⁷ 'Some of the text of the Proposal for establishing in Manchester an Institution for the Fine Arts', Pamphlet, shelfmark M6/1/79/2.

²⁸ The first to call itself a Mechanics' Institute appears to have been Glasgow (1823), although the Edinburgh School of Arts (1821) is often regarded as a forerunner of the movement. These were followed by the London Mechanics Institute (December 1823), then Manchester, Ipswich, Leeds and Dublin were all established in 1824. Mabel Tylecote provides a useful general history in *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957). By 1851, according to J. W. Hudson (*The History of Adult Education* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), p. vi), Mechanics' Institutes formed the greater part of the 700 adult education institutions in England.

²⁹ Approximately equivalent to the average weekly wage of 21 shillings for a cotton spinner in Manchester in 1824. George H. Wood, *The History of Wages in the Cotton Trade in the Past Hundred Years* (Manchester: Hughes, 1910), p. 28.

³⁰ MMI Annual Report (1836).

³¹ 'Rules' (1824), included in the Annual Report for 1828.

³² See, in particular, Benjamin Heywood's Addresses in the Annual Reports.

with large numbers of clerks, warehousemen and shopkeepers on its lists.³³ As a result, its purpose evolved to embrace concepts of rational recreation and moral improvement.³⁴ A much wider variety of activities was consequently legitimised, from gardening to gymnastics, and it was under the remit of rational recreation that music first appeared in the programme, initially in the form of a vocal class, later supplemented by lectures and concerts.

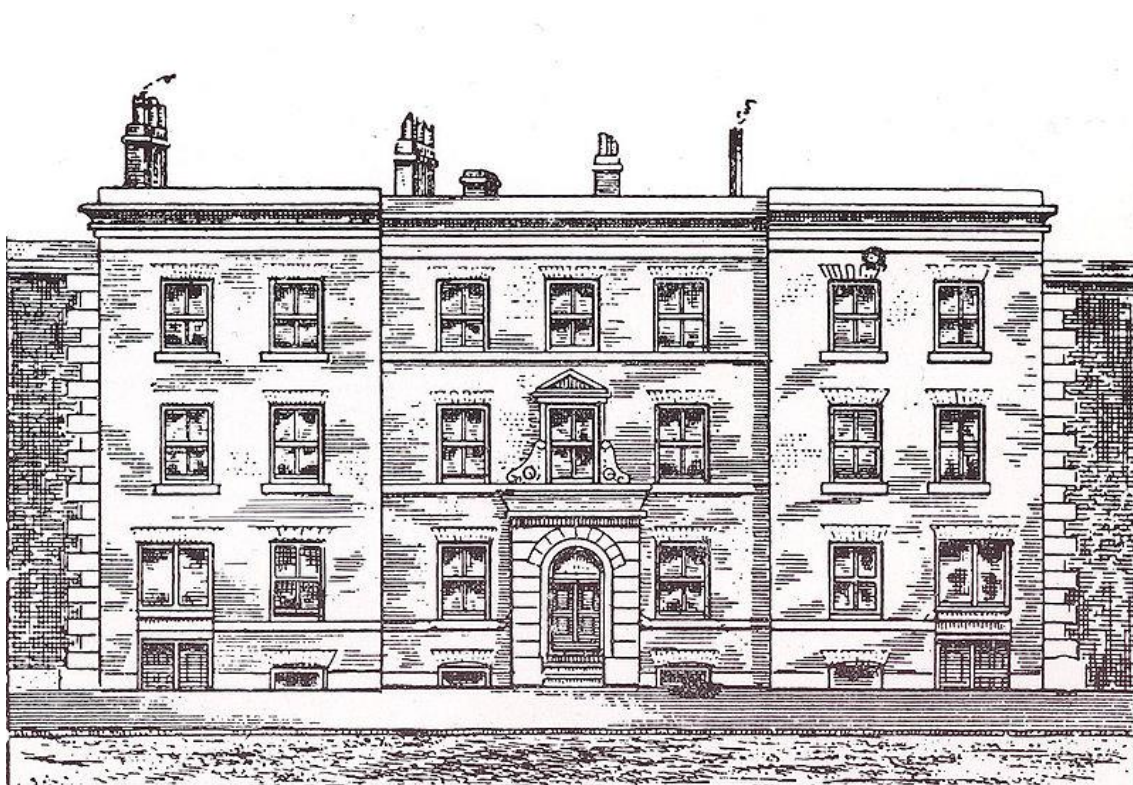


Figure 22: Manchester Mechanics' Institution, Cooper Street, 1825. Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

The Manchester Athenaeum, founded in 1835, filled the gap between the intended membership of the other two institutions, targeting professional students and young men engaged in commercial pursuits. Initial proposals were discussed by a small group of men including Richard Cobden,³⁵ who promptly obtained the support of

³³ The Annual Report (1836) contains a list of subscribers divided by profession, which includes 117 'Mechanics, Millwrights, Engineers', 240 'Clerks', 111 'Shopkeepers and their Assistants', and 242 'Youths'.

³⁴ The seminal text concerning rational recreation is Peter Bailey's *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*. See also Dave Russell's *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

³⁵ The manufacturer Richard Cobden (1804–65) went on to found the Anti-Corn Law League with John Bright in 1838, before becoming an MP in 1841.

the liberal industrialist Thomas Potter,³⁶ and within just three weeks had secured subscriptions amounting to £10,000 towards the new institution.³⁷ It sought, ambitiously, ‘to promote the diffusion of Literary and Scientific Knowledge and the progress of morality and intelligence amongst the inhabitants of Manchester’.³⁸ Its building, also designed by Charles Barry, was erected next door to the RMI and today forms an annexe to Manchester Art Gallery.³⁹ The annual membership fee was thirty shillings, and by January 1837 there were 1,150 subscribers. It too offered a newsroom, library and lectures, along with classes in various literary and scientific subjects.⁴⁰ A highlight of its history was a series of fundraising soirées in the 1840s, where the speakers included Charles Dickens, Benjamin Disraeli, Richard Cobden and Ralph Waldo Emerson.⁴¹ As at the MMI, musical activity within the Athenaeum also consisted of lectures, vocal classes and concerts.

It is significant that while the three institutions were intended to cater for different strata of society, there was considerable overlap in their leadership. Particularly notable in this context are the Heywood family. Benjamin Heywood (1793–1865), banker and philanthropist, was a founder of the MMI and its President until 1841; he was also a Vice-President of the Athenaeum at its foundation and served as President of the RMI in 1840. His uncle, Benjamin Arthur, gave the substantial sum of £500 at the foundation of the RMI to endow a medal, later called the Heywood Prize.⁴² Benjamin’s brother, James Heywood, was the founding President of the Athenaeum, while Benjamin’s son Oliver (1825–92), who we met briefly in Chapter 1, followed in his father’s footsteps as President of the MMI, as part of a portfolio of philanthropic work; his importance to the city is commemorated with a statue in Manchester’s

³⁶ Thomas Potter (1774–1845) was a liberal Unitarian manufacturer and reformer, who became the first Mayor of Manchester in 1838 and was knighted in 1840.

³⁷ The foundation of the Athenaeum is detailed in an Address Richard Cobden gave at the Athenaeum in 1847. See *Manchester Athenaeum Addresses, 1835–1885* (Manchester, 1888), p. 81.

³⁸ The text on the Foundation Stone, recorded in the Athenaeum Minutes, 27 April 1837.

³⁹ The text ‘For the Advancement and Diffusion of Knowledge’ is inscribed in large letters on the building’s exterior.

⁴⁰ Henry Yule Oldham, *The Manchester Athenaeum: Its History and Purpose* (Manchester: Geo. W. Pilkington, 1903).

⁴¹ Texts of these speeches were published in *Athenaeum Addresses 1843–8 [reprinted from the Manchester City News]* (Manchester: Printed for the Directors, 1875).

⁴² The text of B. A. Heywood’s letter is included in full in W. G. Sutherland, *The R.M.I.: Its Origin, Its Character and Its Aims* (Manchester: RMI, 1945), p. 7.

Albert Square. Similarly, the philanthropist George William Wood (1781–1843), partner in a hat-making business and an MP from 1832, was concurrently Chairman of the RMI, a Vice-President of the Athenaeum, and a Director of the MMI. Equally significant is the fact that Wood and the Heywoods were Unitarians. The key individuals taking on responsibilities in shaping Manchester’s future were often Liberal and dissenting, in many cases Unitarians worshipping at the Cross Street or Mosley Street Unitarian Chapels. Members of these chapels dominated the leadership of civic and philanthropic institutions in Manchester, holding key positions within the Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester Statistical Society, Manchester Guardian, RMI, MMI and Athenaeum.⁴³ The *Manchester Guardian*, established by the Unitarian John Edward Taylor in the wake of Peterloo, positioned itself as the voice of liberal reform.⁴⁴ Its consequent support for these institutions, and for the place of music within them, is evident in the column inches devoted to them and makes it a valuable source, although its sympathies and potential biases should be noted.

The Unitarian community in early Victorian Manchester regarded individual improvement as the foundation for general social improvement, and prioritised philanthropic responsibility, typified by John James Tayler, minister at Mosley Street Chapel from 1821 to 1853, who exhorted his congregation after the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 to devote themselves to ‘raising the condition, increasing the comforts, enlightening the views, refining the habits, and elevating generally the moral, religious and social character of our labouring poor’.⁴⁵ This language entered the discourse within the institutions. The RMI emphasised the power of the Arts to ‘refine the taste and soften the manners’; the Athenaeum sought to ‘elevate the taste, improve the habits and promote the happiness of a community’; and the MMI made ‘provision for improving habits’ and ‘elevating the moral and intellectual condition’ of the working population.⁴⁶ The same individuals who promoted the importance of rational recreation and moral improvement across all strata of society also seized upon

⁴³ Wach, ‘A “Still, Small Voice”’, pp. 426–27.

⁴⁴ John Edward Taylor (1791–1844), businessman, editor and publisher, was a Trustee of Cross Street Chapel and the son of a Unitarian minister.

⁴⁵ From a sermon preached on 17 June 1832, quoted in Wach, ‘A “Still, Small Voice”’, p. 439.

⁴⁶ These quotations are taken respectively from: ‘Some of the text of the Proposal for establishing in Manchester an Institution for the Fine Arts’; A proposal by Richard Cobden, *Athenaeum Minutes*, 13 October 1835; Benjamin Heywood’s Address, MMI Annual Report (1834).

the potential of music within such a scheme. Benjamin Heywood sought to 'place within the reach of the working man a pleasure so pure, and in its moral influence, so beneficial'.⁴⁷ Reverend J. G. Robberds, minister at Cross Street Chapel, explicitly expressed a hope for concerts and social intercourse at the MMI's annual meeting in 1837.⁴⁸

The congruence in leadership and in moral ethos between the institutions resulted in significant overlap in their music programming, and in the personnel engaged to organise and lead musical activities. This uniformity is particularly evident in the various lecture series that each organised, which will be addressed fully in the next chapter. Music classes and concerts also featured in the activities of all three institutions, although they were particularly important at the MMI. Here, the stated motives of the directors were expressly philanthropic, addressing the promotion of social order and appropriate forms of recreation for the 'lower orders'. Benjamin Heywood's address at the annual meeting of the Mechanics' Institution in 1834 expressed admiration for the city's population, but also concern at the lack of provision for improving habits and for elevating its moral and intellectual condition. He noted 'improvidence, immorality and a poor state of education'. In the very same speech, he reported that the members had expressed a desire for a class in music to be established, an idea he strongly supported on the grounds of the positive moral influence of music. He took the proposal further by stating his wish for occasional concerts to be held by the institution, and supported his position with an extensive quotation from a recent edition of *The Spectator*:

Music is one inlet to happiness; it is one of the purest, most elevated and most innocent sources of enjoyment that the benevolence of the CREATOR has vouchsafed to man, and those who are, from whatever cause, debarred from its participation, taste not one of the sweetest ingredients that PROVIDENCE has mingled in the cup of human life. It has unfortunately been perverted into an article of luxury, an expensive and exclusive pleasure – followed successfully by few as a profession –

⁴⁷ Benjamin Heywood's Address, MMI Annual Report (1834).

⁴⁸ MMI Annual Report (1837).

regarded by still fewer as a means of social enjoyment. It ought not thus to be. Were it taught as generally in our schools as in those of Germany its pleasures would be as widely diffused, and its true character and design as extensively felt. We should find it resorted to alike by rich and poor.⁴⁹

Within a month of this meeting, a vocal class was established under the leadership of Andrew Ward, who featured in Chapter 1. Later in 1834 it was reported that some members of the class had arranged additional evening meetings in which to practise glees and psalmody; Ward stated: 'it is very gratifying to me to know that, in so short a time, and at so little expense and trouble, they are able to spend their evenings in so happy and harmless a manner'.⁵⁰

The MMI claimed to be the first Mechanics' Institute in the country to provide concerts and congratulated itself on organising the first cheap concerts in Manchester.⁵¹ More research still needs to be done on other institutions before these claims can be adequately verified, but even if these were not the first examples they were notably early. Such concerts began as occasional additions to the programme, normally in association with the vocal class and lecture series, with members of the vocal class regularly featuring as performers. Admission for MMI members in 1838 was sixpence, substantially cheaper than concerts elsewhere in Manchester.⁵² From 1843 the concert programme was considerably expanded: that year there were fourteen 'Saturday Evening Concerts' and two more ambitious monthly concerts, with free admission to members of the institution. According to the Annual Report for 1845, attendance at concerts averaged 900 people. The revitalised series peaked at 36 concerts in the 1846 season.

⁴⁹ *Report of the Proceedings at the General Meeting of the Subscribers and Friends of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution* (Manchester: C. Wheeler and Son, 1834), p. 7. The quotation is from 'Music for the People', *The Spectator*, 4 January 1834. The author of this piece is not known but, interestingly, the music critic for *The Spectator* at the time was Edward Taylor, who has been mentioned in several chapters already, and figures prominently in Chapter 5.

⁵⁰ MMI Annual Report (1835).

⁵¹ Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire*, p. 177.

⁵² The cheapest available tickets for single events during the 1836 Manchester Musical Festival were five shillings, and other public concerts in existence in Manchester at this time were in expensive subscription series such as the Gentlemen's Concerts.

The full schedule of concerts during the 1847–8 season was reproduced in the annual report (Table 10). It was the most ambitious series of events presented to date at the Mechanics Institution, superintended by the Manchester-based entrepreneurial musicians David Ward Banks⁵³ and Michael Conran,⁵⁴ who put on six large-scale concerts between 2 October 1847 and 12 February 1848. These included four full oratorios: Haydn's *The Creation*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Handel's *Messiah*, and William Glover's *Jerusalem*. Glover (b. 1822), a Manchester-based composer and organist, conducted the first public performance of *Jerusalem* at the MMI on 12 February 1848, which was widely and favourably reviewed.⁵⁵ Performers for these events were generally familiar names from other areas of Manchester's musical life, including instrumentalists who frequently played with the Gentlemen's Concerts and vocal soloists routinely featured by the Hargreaves Society. For the performance of *The Creation* on 30 October, for example, the vocal soloists were Mrs Sunderland, Mr Burnett and Mr J. W. Isherwood, all of whom appeared in the previous chapter. For Glover's *Jerusalem* on 12 February, the same trio were joined by Mr Mellor, a chorus, and an orchestra led by Michael Conran.

A published letter to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* concerning a *Messiah* concert later that year proclaimed:

It is a fact which ought to be known o'er the length and breadth of the land, that the oratorio of the 'Messiah' was heard there last Saturday evening, at the remarkably low admission fee of 3d to the members of the institution; and to the public generally at 6d. The organ was taken by Dr Wesley, of Leeds; the principal parts by the best of our local artistes; and the choruses were given by a selection from the various choral societies of the city. The theatre where the concert took

⁵³ Discussed in detail in Chapter 1, David Ward Banks (c.1816–1880), nephew of Andrew Ward, was an accomplished violinist, pianist, teacher, conductor and concert promoter.

⁵⁴ Michael Conran, who has already appeared in this dissertation and will be further discussed in the next chapter, was a professional violinist, with commitments including leader of the orchestra of the Hargreaves Society and second violin for the 'Quartett Concerts'. He also demonstrated an interest in promoting his art more widely, taking on a Directorship at the MMI, lecturing on various musical topics across the institutions, and writing a book based on his particular interest in the history of music in Ireland (Michael Conran, *The National Music of Ireland* (London: John Johnson, 1850)).

⁵⁵ Glover includes a collection of these reviews in his published memoirs: William Glover, *Reminiscences of Half a Century* (London: Remington & Co., 1889), pp. 220–30.

place was filled to overflowing, and at least a hundred, or more, were obliged to go away without admission. The entire performance was listened to with an eager and intelligent interest, most gratifying to witness; and it ought to be noticed, that there was in the hands of the audience a plentiful sprinkling of copies of the music, a circumstance rarely (if e'er) to be seen in other auditories of the town of much higher pretension.⁵⁶

The majority of the remaining concerts in the season were given by performers active on a national touring circuit, notably Henry Russell, a popular singer who appeared six times in this series alone, between 1 May 1847 and 24 February 1848.⁵⁷ The 'Ethiopian Concert' of 20 March featured 'the Celebrated Original Ethiopian Harmonists', a blackface minstrel troupe from America.⁵⁸ Their appearance in Manchester was reported on by the local correspondent for *The Musical World* who, despite refusing to attend their performances as a matter of principle, still provided a scathing review. The condemnation of this reviewer appears to be based on his own personal musical taste, and his distrust of the widespread popularity blackface minstrelsy had suddenly achieved. He acknowledged that the original troupe, the Ethiopian Serenaders, were 'really clever', and had it been them performing, rather than these 'copyists', he would probably have attended the performance. However, he cautioned against 'the false taste which can give encouragement to such so called "musical entertainments"'.⁵⁹ The Distin family, famed exponents of the saxhorn, performed in November 1847.

As with the vocal classes, these concerts were also justified on the grounds of rational recreation and moral improvement, with a particular focus on keeping their

⁵⁶ 'Cheap Exhibitions and Concerts', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 November 1848. The Dr Wesley mentioned is the composer Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810–76), who was organist at Leeds Parish Church 1842–49.

⁵⁷ Henry Russell (1812–1900) was a pianist, singer and composer. Russell lived a colourful life. He moved to America at the age of 22 in 1836, where he made and lost a fortune, before returning to settle in London in 1841. See Andrew Lamb, *A Life on the Ocean Wave: The Story of Henry Russell* (Croydon: Fullers Wood Press, 2007). See also Susan Rutherford's chapter "'Singing For The Million": Henry Russell, Popular Song, and the Solo Recital', in *London Voices 1820–1840*, ed. Roger Parker and Susan Rutherford (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2019), 201–20.

⁵⁸ Concert Advert, *Manchester Guardian*, 20 March 1847, p. 1.

⁵⁹ 'Music in Manchester', *The Musical World*, 10 April 1847. For a comprehensive history of blackface minstrelsy in Britain, see Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

audiences away from musical performances held in what the leadership regarded as the inappropriate environment of the public house:

The object the Directors had in view in giving these cheap concerts, was to afford rational amusement to the members, and to those who participate in the Saturday afternoon holiday; and also to familiarize the popular taste with compositions of a superior kind, and thus to create a disrelish for those numerous entertainments, wherein music has been used as a lure to the most objectionable associations and indulgences.⁶⁰

Even more bluntly put:

It is a great credit to the members of the Institution, that they are willing to attend here for the pure love of music, and do not attempt to go to more vicious scenes, where music is also furnished, but where it is furnished at the expense of health and morals.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Twentieth Annual Report of the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution* (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1844), p. 11.

⁶¹ *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution* (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1847), p. 34.

Table 10: Saturday Evening Concerts at the Manchester Mechanics' Institution 1847–48

Taken from the Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1848)

1847

Feb	6	J. L. Hatton
	13	John Parry, and others
	20	Misses Kenneth
	27	J. Wilson
March	20	Ethiopian Concert
April	10	John Parry
May	1	Henry Russell (given at Free Trade Hall)
	8	J Field
	15	D. Macmillan
June	12	Collins Family
	19	Collins Family
	26	Collins Family
Aug	7	G Buckland
Sep	17	Tyler Family
	25	Tyler Family and Mr Higham
Oct	2	Miscellaneous, Vocal and Instrumental, conducted by Mr Banks
	9	John Parry
	16	Henry Russell
	23	Henry Russell
	30	Haydn's "Creation," conducted by Mr D W Banks
Nov	6	J. Wilson
	13	Henry Russell
	20	Distin Family
	27	John Parry
Dec	4	Mendelssohn's "Elijah," conducted by Mr Conran
	11	Miscellaneous, Vocal and Instrumental, conducted by Mr Banks
	18	J Templeton

1848

Jan	29	Handel's "Messiah," conducted by Mr D W Banks
Feb	5	John Parry
	12	Glover's "Jerusalem," conducted by the composer
	19	Henry Russell
	24	Henry Russell

Prompted in part by the success of the Mechanics' Institution concerts, the Athenaeum established their own concert series. As at the MMI, this began as occasional concerts in association with the vocal class and lectures, before developing into something more substantial. It was a deliberate move for the opening of the

lecture theatre at the Athenaeum to be marked by a course of lectures on music followed by a concert.⁶² The Athenaeum directors announced their own series of monthly glee and choral concerts during the 1843 season; in addition they highlighted the concerts by visiting professionals they had hosted and made available at a reduced rate to the membership.⁶³ As with so much of Manchester's institutional musical activity, these concerts were widely advertised and thoroughly reviewed. Performers often overlapped with the MMI and included the Distin family, the singer Henry Phillips, three 'Professional Instrumental Concerts', and three concerts by the Infant Sappho, a child harp prodigy.⁶⁴ An ambitious series, subsidised by the institution, continued during 1844 and 1845, and although after that the Athenaeum resolved no longer to run their own concerts at a financial loss (justified previously on the grounds of public benefit), they did continue to offer reduced price admission for the membership to concerts taking place in their lecture theatre.⁶⁵

Internal politics sometimes affected institutional musical activity. Though the broader philosophies of the leadership prepared the ground for music, how this then developed in practice largely depended on the interests, enthusiasms and persistence of the several musicians called upon by the institutions to instruct classes and direct concerts. The occasions on which such entrepreneurial musicians were overruled by the directors are consequently particularly notable, such as the circumstances surrounding the suspension of the vocal class at the Mechanics' Institution. From time to time visiting tutors offered classes employing a range of popular methods. Henry and Fanny Burnett (née Dickens, sister of Charles Dickens) offered a course of singing using the Wilhem-Hullah method to all three institutions in 1842.⁶⁶ In an exceptional step, the RMI advertised the Burnetts' course in a note circulated with the accounts in

⁶² 'Mr Purday's Lecture on Music – Opening of the Lecture Theatre of the Athenaeum', *Manchester Guardian*, 12 June 1839.

⁶³ *Report of the Directors of the Manchester Athenaeum, and Resolutions of the Eighth Annual General Meeting* (Manchester, 1844), pp. 14–15.

⁶⁴ Louisa Vinning (b. 1836), a child prodigy who had been touring the country with her father from the age of two singing, performing on the harp and demonstrating her skill at exercises and aural tests upon demand. See 'Louisa Vinning', *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, 1085 (13 November 1841), 307–10.

⁶⁵ Athenaeum Annual Report (1847).

⁶⁶ A system of large-group vocal instruction devised in France by Guillaume Wilhem (1781–1842), adapted and popularised in England by John Hullah (1812–84).

advance of the annual meeting. Lord Francis Egerton, President of the MMI that year, encouraged the engagement of the Burnetts to the extent that he contributed £5 to defray the expense.⁶⁷ The directors of the Athenaeum were equally enthusiastic. While the Burnetts were lauded and subsidised, Richard Andrews was tasked with making his vocal classes at the Athenaeum and the MMI self-supporting; perhaps unsurprisingly, he resigned.⁶⁸

The intercession of Lord Egerton regarding the Burnetts, together with his presidentship of the MMI, is notable given the received wisdom that the aristocracy was by this stage largely absent from Manchester, already challenged earlier in this dissertation. While the industrial middle-class elite did largely take the lead in civic and cultural life, it is apparent that the gentry continued to retain influence through their patronage and participation in areas which concerned them, notably cultural institutions, music and the arts. Egerton's involvement is also an example of a broader trend, namely the differing directions taken under the tenure of the various institutional presidents. The most vital period for music at the MMI came under the leadership of Benjamin Heywood. With the change of president to Lord Francis Egerton in 1841 and then to James Aspinall Turner in 1844, the management sought to refocus the institution on its 1824 objectives, namely scientific instruction and its practical applications. The always-popular class for 'figure, flower and landscape drawing' was reformulated at the request of the directors to be 'more immediately useful to the artisan', by applying the skills of general drawing to pattern design;⁶⁹ the Mutual Improvement Society was discontinued;⁷⁰ and after Andrews' resignation from the vocal class, this too was suspended. The dancing class continued, often with more members than most scientific classes, but mention of its success was notably absent from annual reports and it was always relegated to the bottom of the reported numbers for class lists, despite its healthy attendance figures.⁷¹ This loss of function for

⁶⁷ MMI Minutes, 9 December 1841. Lord Francis Egerton (1800–57), 1st Earl of Ellesmere, was MP for South Lancashire from 1835 to 1846.

⁶⁸ MMI Minutes 1841–42; *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Directors of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution* (Manchester: Cave and Sever, 1843).

⁶⁹ MMI Annual Report (1842).

⁷⁰ MMI Annual Report (1844). It was later reinstated as 'The Mechanics' Institution Literary and Scientific Society' (Annual Report, 1846).

⁷¹ MMI Annual Report (1857) gives details of class numbers, including: Elementary Classes (199), Mathematics (39), Geography (36), German (25), and, at the bottom, Dancing (50).

music within the MMI was exacerbated in the 1850s by a focus on fundraising for a new building, to which the MMI moved in 1857. Thus, whereas between 1843 and 1848 its committees were happy to defray the costs of concerts, even when they lost money, in the interest of the benefits they brought,⁷² later committees were no longer keen on taking this approach.⁷³

Conversely, it is interesting to compare the periods where each institution promoted music as art most vigorously with the wider activities and networks of their managers. The expansion of concert giving at the MMI, for example, came at a time when a substantial number of its directors supported musical activities and concert-giving elsewhere in the city. There was a particular overlap with the committee of the Hargreaves Choral Society. It is notable that the Hargreaves Society had an educational function written into its founding documents, a musical evangelism which carried over into the work of its members in other spheres.⁷⁴ Significant names on both committees include the printer and music critic Charles Sever, who was Vice-Chair of the MMI in 1843; Michael Conran, Hargreaves committee member and leader of the Hargreaves orchestra, who also taught at the MMI and held a directorship from 1845; and Charles Meredith, who together with Sever formed the MMI Concerts Subcommittee in 1844.

While each institution aimed to make their concert series and music classes as affordable and attractive to their subscribers as possible, it is difficult to ascertain who actually attended these events, partly due to the absence of surviving institutional subscription lists, and partly because tickets for the concerts were made available to the wider population of Manchester. Indeed, these concerts were promoted vigorously via newspaper adverts. While this made it possible in theory for the lower classes to attend cheap concerts, they were not as well represented as the organisers had hoped. In fact, it was readily acknowledged by the Mechanics' Institution that events, musical or otherwise, did not always reach the audience that the management intended.⁷⁵ This

⁷² A substantial loss for the 1848 season gave rise to the comment in the 1849 Annual Report that 'The Directors are, however, of the opinion that the high character of these musical evenings has secured a degree of public favour, and enhanced the appreciation of the many privileges of the Institution'.

⁷³ In 1850, they gave the excuse for reducing the number of concerts, that cheap concerts were now available at the Free Trade Hall and would only reduce MMI concert income further.

⁷⁴ See previous chapter.

⁷⁵ Concerns that too small a proportion of the subscribers were mechanics and artisans is a recurring trope in the Annual Reports from the earliest years of the MMI.

is demonstrated by looking in detail at the membership of the MMI vocal class. In 1834, the class had 84 members. Participation in this class required an additional subscription of five shillings per quarter on top of the institutional subscription, which, in itself, would have excluded a proportion of the MMI membership. Attendance lists are not extant, but there is evidence that its membership significantly overlapped with that of the Mutual Improvement Society (a discussion society run by members): of the 63 members of the Mutual Improvement Society present at their Christmas Party in 1834, 24 were reported to be members of the vocal class. The Annual Report details how they met to discuss 'Christmas and its customs, part 2', followed by 'a substantial supper'. During the evening those present who were also members of the vocal class 'enlivened the evening by singing, in excellent style, under the direction of their teacher, Mr Ward, (who, accompanied by Mr Logier, and Mr Andrews, was present on the occasion,) various glees and catches'.⁷⁶ Howard Wach identified the professions of ten of the sixteen members of the Mutual Improvement Society who gave papers in 1836 as one surgeon, one attorney, and eight who were either clerks or small businessmen.⁷⁷ It is reasonable to conclude that membership of the vocal class would have had a similar profile. When the Athenaeum opened in 1836, shortly thereafter establishing its own vocal class, also under the direction of Andrew Ward, it is consequently not surprising that the number of subscriptions to the MMI vocal class decreased as the membership migrated.⁷⁸

Beginning with the music lecture and concert, the institutions offer an image of the developing opportunities for women in Manchester's public life. None of these institutions appear to have considered the possibility of female membership during their early planning and foundation stages. At the Athenaeum, however, the admission of women to the music lectures, initially financially motivated, ultimately led to their later acceptance into more general membership. The Athenaeum minutes record considerable debate concerning procedures for the presence of women, with 'the propriety of admitting ladies to the Lectures' initially discussed in June 1836. There was

⁷⁶ MMI Annual Report (1835)

⁷⁷ Wach, 'Culture and the Middle Classes', p. 383.

⁷⁸ The Annual Report for 1837 comments on a proportion of the membership being attracted to subscribe to the new neighbouring institution, and records attendance at the MMI vocal class of 36 persons.

controversy over whether they were to be admitted for free, for one-off events, or if they were required to subscribe; and then, if they were to become subscribers, what they should be permitted to attend. The issue was partially resolved later that year with the decision that attendance of ladies at lectures would be decided on a course-by-course basis. This approach continued until November 1839, the minutes of which refer to ladies' subscriptions being offered for the following year. A new rule appeared in the subsequent Annual Report that 'Ladies may subscribe to the Lectures and Library'.⁷⁹

Meanwhile at the MMI, the 1837 Annual Report gave support to the instruction of adult females, but it was not until September 1845 that the opening of a Ladies' Day School was reported. Press reports do, however, confirm the sizeable presence of women at the MMI music lectures from their earliest delivery. The *Manchester Guardian* report of a lecture by Edward Taylor in 1838 described how 'the third lecture was delivered on Monday evening when the auditory was again overflowing, the ladies very much preponderating in numbers'.⁸⁰ A special meeting of members in May 1846 discussed the progress of the Ladies' Day School:

The female classes were going on exceedingly well. The Liverpool Mechanics' Institution had a girls' school; but this Institution aimed at something higher than a mere day school for girls; they sought to give a practical value to education, and though they were compelled to pay some little attention to piano-playing, drawing, making wax flowers, and some of the elegancies of life, yet they did not forget the sterner and really valuable part of education.⁸¹

This 'institutionalisation' of what had been elite female accomplishments, traditionally conducted privately in the upper- and middle-class home, is intriguing, even if the attitude towards musical training for women expressed in this quotation is somewhat dismissive.

⁷⁹ Athenaeum Annual Report (1840).

⁸⁰ 'Mr Edward Taylor's Lectures on English Vocal Harmony', *Manchester Guardian*, 10 January 1838.

⁸¹ Reported by Daniel Stone in the MMI Annual Report (1847), p. 44.

While the institutions were designed to be segregated along class lines, the attraction of musical events and similar activities did, sometimes unintentionally, bring elements of society together who would perhaps not otherwise have had the opportunity to interact. On such occasions, accounts may be found indicating that the flow of influence, while it was intended to filter down from the middle to the working classes, did also act in reverse. It is clear, however, that the industrial elite as a whole underestimated and maintained prejudices about the working classes, as demonstrated by this report of the opening of the RMI Exhibition in 1848 to a wider audience:

The Exhibition of Paintings by Modern Artists, for the year 1848, was opened on the 6th day of July, and closed on the 28th day of October, having been open ninety-nine days. During this period it was opened on the afternoons of twelve Saturdays, from two to six, at the charge of sixpence. In consequence of the anxiety of the working classes to see the Exhibition of 1847, and no damage, either wilful or accidental, having occurred from their admission, the period of the evening Exhibition, at the charge of two-pence, was lengthened, during the last Exhibition, to four weeks. The result has been in every way most highly satisfactory: their conduct was equal to that in the preceding year. These observations, as to the excellent behaviour of the working classes, are not made as expressing an opinion that the same was otherwise than what had been expected, but as adducing further evidence that they value an opportunity of seeing works of Art, and can be trusted.⁸²

Similar attitudes recur in the context of the Art Treasures Exhibition later in this dissertation. Such encounters became vital opportunities for stereotypes to be challenged and boundaries breached.

It is worth noting that an attention to rational recreation and the role of music was not the preserve solely of the paternalistic institutions. The Chartists routinely

⁸² *Report of the Council for the Year 1848–9*, shelfmark M6/1/70/192.

sang at their gatherings, and the Owenite Hall of Science hosted musical events and oratorio performances. While a fuller exploration of such activity and its relationship with the mainstream institutions is outside the scope of this dissertation, it is interesting to observe that the initiatives by the Chartists and Owenites using music to increase participation, build community and provide appropriate recreation parallel the core functions of music at the RMI, Athenaeum and MMI, although within a radically different social grouping.⁸³ Culverwell, in a footnote to *Manchester in 1844*, provides an unusually balanced perspective on Chartist and Owenite gatherings, and of the place of music within them:

As closely connected with the state of religion in Manchester, we may mention ‘Carpenter’s Hall’, and the ‘Hall of Science’. The first is the Sunday resort of the Chartists. They open and close their meetings with the singing of democratic hymns, and their sermons are political discourses on the justice of democracy and necessity for obtaining the charter. The second is an immense building in Camp Field, raised exclusively by the savings of the mechanics and artisans, at a cost of £7,000, and which contains a lecture-hall – the finest and most spacious in the town. It is tenanted by the disciples of Mr Owen. In addition to Sunday lectures upon the doctrines of Socialism, they possess a day and Sunday-school, and increase the number of their adherents by oratorios and festivals – by rural excursions, and by providing cheap and innocent recreation for the working classes. Their speculative doctrines aim at the destruction of all belief in revealed religion, and the establishment of community of property; and they are vigorously opposed by the evangelical portion of the religious public. It is, at the same time admitted, that they have done much to refine the habits of the working classes.⁸⁴

⁸³ Kate Bowan and Paul Pickering, ‘“Songs for the Millions”: Chartist Music and Popular Aural Tradition’, *Labour History Review*, 74 (2009), 44–63. David Kennerley is undertaking postdoctoral research into music and Chartism.

⁸⁴ Faucher, *Manchester in 1844*, footnote 8, p. 23. If, as Culverwell claims, their aim is ‘the destruction of all belief in revealed religion’, their use of oratorios becomes all the more interesting, and raises further questions about which oratorios were performed and to what end.

Conclusion

The histories of the three Manchester institutions investigated in this chapter illuminate the peculiar role of music in negotiating the changing relationships within a newly industrialising society. Frequently overlooked in previous accounts, music was in fact employed as an activity and object of potential transformative power, regarded as important by the organising committees and embraced enthusiastically by the memberships of institutions serving all strata of society. Positioned as a 'neutral' space, the Royal Manchester Institution provided an environment in which the wealthier strata of society could come together as equals, thereby forging closer relationships. In tandem, the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, and the role of music within it, arguably exemplified a space within which the 'established' strata of the public sought to share previously negotiated opinions of appropriate behaviour with the expanding public. This Habermasian interpretation, which will be addressed in more detail in the concluding chapter, goes some way towards explaining the perceived power of music within such schemes. In early Victorian Manchester, in a rapidly growing city, its stability uncertain due to economic inequality, and regularly subject to political unrest, music became one of the means by which the establishment sought to develop a common understanding among the expanding population, providing a means of sharing established desirable behaviours, which could then underpin continuity in the political sphere. Rather than seek to renegotiate consensus with the new societal elements, the solution was to educate them to align with the status quo. Improving morals, enlightening views and refining habits through encouraging musical activity as rational recreation proved an important element in such a programme.

But the influence was not one-way, and the motivations behind institutional music were not so single minded. Music was employed self-consciously to show the rest of the world that 'Manchester Men' were not solely interested in money, whether this was done as a grand statement of artistic intent as at the RMI or as a symbol of the benevolence and philanthropic interests of the industrial entrepreneurs at the MMI. Music's reception, while sometimes used to maintain class boundaries, often served to bring disparate groups together, crossing professional boundaries and societal

hierarchies. Importantly, it was regarded as an acceptable space for the admittance of women and the 'lower orders', and their presence paved the way for an expansion of opportunities in other areas of institutional and city life. Through these institutions, access to music-making and education was opened up to a greater proportion of Manchester's population than ever before, at the same time as the broader structures of industrial life were taking form.

Chapter Five: Networks of Musical Lecturing

Out of the institutional innovations outlined in the previous chapter, the early Victorian public music lecture has emerged as a topic of such significance that it warrants its own chapter, potentially as a first step towards a future detailed investigation of the whole subject. In the earliest stages of my research, while surveying the *Manchester Guardian* to identify musical references, I was struck by the frequency with which music lectures were mentioned. The popularity and the ambition of such lectures quickly became evident, revealing them as important locations for musical scholarship, critical musical engagement, and often substantial performance events in their own right, at a time when such activities have more commonly been regarded as specialist interests enjoyed by an elite few, not by the many. This chapter addresses the practice and practicalities of Manchester's music lecturing scene, before exploring a few of the implications for our understanding of the historiography of what is now considered to be part of the academic discipline of musicology.

The early Victorian music lecture appears to have been largely overlooked as an object of research, rarely mentioned by historians and even less so by musicologists. It has occasionally attracted notice in the context of biography, but although in such studies the lecturing activities of individuals have been discussed as one element of their lives and careers, the wider picture of the lecturing scene and its impact has remained peripheral.¹ Indeed the phenomenon of popular lecturing as a whole appears surprisingly under-researched, with any attention generally coming from historians of science and, even here, it is focused on the handful of household names who engaged in such activities, such as Michael Faraday or Humphry Davy.²

The expansion of lecturing institutions is often traced from the foundation of London's Royal Institution in 1799. Although today the Royal Institution emphasises its

¹ Lecturing activities are described in Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley: The Man and his Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), and in Fiona Palmer, *Vincent Novello (1781–1861): Music for the Masses* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

² Martin Hewitt also makes this point in 'Beyond Scientific Spectacle: Image and Word in Nineteenth-Century Popular Lecturing', in *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840–1910*, ed. Jill A. Sullivan, Joe Kember and John Plunkett (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), p. 80. Gillian Russell makes a similar observation in her chapter 'Spouters or Washerwomen: the Sociability of Romantic Lecturing', in *Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain 1770–1840*, ed. Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 123.

scientific heritage, it frequently included lectures on music and the arts in its schedule: Dr William Crotch and Samuel Wesley were among those to lecture on music at the Royal Institution during its first decade.³ William Crotch, Oxford's Heather Professor of Music, first lectured in London in 1805. He performed excerpts at the piano, organ or harpsichord to illustrate his lectures, an anthology of which was published in 1806. He later published a book based on his lectures.⁴ Both Crotch and Wesley received substantial contemporary press commentary and their lectures had widespread popularity.

While the public lecture in Manchester reached its height of popularity in terms of number, breadth and reach in the 1830s and 40s, it had important antecedents. Manchester's Literary and Philosophical Society, founded in 1781, had long been presenting lectures on various scientific and artistic objects to a subscription audience. While science was better represented in the activities of this society as a whole, one artistic example is provided by William Roscoe's paper 'On the Comparative Excellence of the Sciences and Arts', read in 1787, which situated the relative merits of the study of various branches of art and science, including music, in the context of the moral purpose of individual intellectual improvement.⁵ The research by Howard Wach, which has identified the Manchester 'Lit & Phil' as one of the many Manchester institutions whose leadership and membership was dominated by the Unitarian community, has already been cited, but even a cursory glance at the list of members shows remarkable overlap with the leadership of the Royal Manchester Institution, Manchester Mechanics Institution and Athenaeum. In 1831, George William Wood was a vice-president, John James Tayler was a secretary, Benjamin Heywood was the treasurer, and the list of ordinary members represents a roll call of Manchester's leading manufacturers and civic figures: Hugh Hornby Birley, James and Samuel Darbishire, William Fairbairn, Robert Hyde Greg, Henry Houldsworth, Alexander Kay, the

³ See Jamie Croy Kassler, 'The Royal Institution Music Lectures, 1800–1831: A Preliminary Study', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 19 (1983–1985), 1–30. Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*.

⁴ William Crotch, *Specimens of Various Styles of Music Referred to in a Course of Lectures read at Oxford and London* (London: Robert Birchall, c.1806); William Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831); and for a fuller exploration of Crotch's lecturing see also Howard Irving, *Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

⁵ William Roscoe, 'On the comparative excellence of the Sciences and Arts', *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society*, 3 (1790), 241–60.

McConnells, John Potter, Archibald Prentice, the Reverend J. G. Robberds, Absalom Watkin. John Dalton was at that time the President.⁶ Manchester's leading citizens were fully supportive of, and personally engaged in, intellectual sociability, individual improvement, and the pursuit of knowledge.

By the 1840s, Manchester's calendar was packed with lectures delivered at numerous institutions. The Royal Manchester Institution offered on average nine series of lectures every year, each series consisting of between four and six lectures, with one of these series usually on a musical subject. The Athenaeum averaged eleven lecture series annually, with one or two of these series devoted to music. The Manchester Mechanics' Institution, likewise, included lectures on music in most years.⁷ The three institutions frequently collaborated to attract highly regarded speakers to Manchester, working together with other institutions across a northern circuit from Liverpool to Sheffield in order to reduce the cost to individual sites.⁸ It was not unusual for a speaker to give six lectures in one week in Manchester—two different lectures at each of the three institutions.⁹ Such arrangements were not, however, without controversy. The MMI and Athenaeum sought to establish a scale of terms whereby the RMI paid proportionately more and the MMI proportionately less, in accordance with their respective subscriptions and memberships, but the RMI

⁶ *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, Second Series, Volume 5 (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1831), pp. 566–67.

⁷ Details of lectures were drawn from Annual Reports, Minutes, Lecture Syllabuses and Newspapers. The principal sources for the RMI were M6/1/70 and M6/1/71 'Lecture Syllabuses'; *Manchester Athenaeum Addresses, 1835–85* has a full list of lectures given at the Athenaeum as an Appendix; and details for the MMI are taken from the Annual Reports.

⁸ The RMI Lecture Committee Minutes, Manchester Library and Archives, M6/1/7, constantly refer to negotiations and arrangements with other institutions, principally with the MMI and the Athenaeum, but also with the Liverpool Royal Institution. The minutes of the MMI and Athenaeum provide equivalent details from their perspective. An excellent example of the northern circuit may be seen in the lecturing tour of Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1847–8: November 2–30 he lectured alternately in Manchester and Liverpool, then between December 1–30 he lectured at Preston, Rochdale, Nottingham, Derby, Chesterfield, Birmingham, Huddersfield, Leicester, and Worcester. Between 3–21 January 1848 he lectured at Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Ripon, Sheffield, York, Beverley, Bridlington and Driffield. Merton M. Sealts, ed., *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. 10 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1973), p. xxvi.

⁹ Including music lectures by Edward Taylor, twice weekly at all three institutions, in January 1838. During the first week of January, he lectured at the RMI on Tuesday 2 and Thursday 4 (Lecture syllabus M6/1/70/7); at the MMI on Monday 1 and Friday 5; and at the Athenaeum on Wednesday 3 and Saturday 6 (*Manchester Guardian*, 3 January 1838, 6 January 1838). The course delivered at the MMI was slightly different to the course delivered at the other two institutions.

continued to insist on equal terms.¹⁰ Tensions were exacerbated during the period where the Athenaeum remained under construction and did not yet have its own lecture theatre, thereby obliging it to use facilities elsewhere. Given its proximity to the Royal Manchester Institution, their lecture theatre was the Athenaeum's first and logical choice, but this led to difficulties which came to a head around a music lecture to be given by Thomas Philipps in August 1837. On 27 April 1837 it was recorded in the minutes that, 'the Royal Institution and the Mechanic's were likely to make an engagement with Mr Philipps for a course of Lectures on Music and a resolution was passed authorising the Lecture Committee to cooperate with these Institutions in engaging him'.¹¹ The Athenaeum secured Philipps's services and were to hold their own event in the lecture theatre of the RMI. The propriety of charging for admission to Philipps's lecture series was discussed and minuted on 25 May and referred on to the Lecture Committee for further consideration. The minutes of 10 August take up the story:

Mr Worthington then stated that in compliance with the wish of numerous members of the Athenaeum and with the sanction of many of the Directors, arrangements had been made with Mr Philipps and the Misses Brandon, Mr Ward, Mr Banks and the members of the vocal music class at the Mechanics' Institution for a concert at the Athenaeum to which ladies and members of the Athenaeum were to be admitted at 1/6 each and gentlemen not members at 2/6. That he had communicated with Mr Winstanley [of the RMI] before making the arrangements, and from the shortness of time and Mr Winstanley's pressing engagements, it was impossible to summon a meeting of the Council of the Royal Institution to learn if they would relax the rule as to the admission of Strangers, but Mr Winstanley was of the opinion that under all the circumstances no objection would be raised. Mr Worthington also stated that on Wednesday afternoon, shortly before 5, he had received a note from Mr Wood of which the following is a copy – 'Sirs, I have received a printed notice of a concert to be given this evening at the Royal Institution to

¹⁰ RMI Lecture Committee Minutes (shelfmark M6/1/7), in particular 26 February 1836 and 3 May 1837.

¹¹ Athenaeum Minutes M2/1/1: Board Minutes 1835–1839

the members of the Athenaeum, to which Strangers are invited on payment of a small fee – I presume there is some serious mistake as you are aware of the terms on which the use of the Theatre has been granted to the Directors of the Athenaeum, and I am sorry to be obliged, as chairman of the Council of the Royal Institution to say, that I cannot sanction the admission of any individual for money either on this or on any other occasion. I shall be glad to hear from you on the subject by the bearer, if convenient, as the time is so short'. Mr Worthington accordingly waited upon Mr Wood who declined to withdraw his objection, but Mr Cottam having heard of the circumstances immediately offered the use of the Theatre of the Mechanics' Institution and the concert was accordingly held there.

The use of the lecture theatre at the RMI had in fact been withdrawn just before five o' clock in the afternoon, on the day on which the lecture with all its attendant performers was due to take place. The Athenaeum's displeasure at the stance of the RMI, and their gratitude for the kindness of the MMI, could hardly have been more clearly conveyed. In addition to paying the MMI for the use of their theatre, the Athenaeum also passed resolutions of thanks to the MMI Directors, to the 'Music Class' of the MMI 'for the efficient assistance rendered by them at the concert', free advertising for the MMI within the Athenaeum building, and preferential seating for MMI directors with Athenaeum directors at future Athenaeum lectures hosted by the MMI. These proceedings resulted in a much closer working relationship between the Athenaeum and the Mechanics' Institution and, ultimately, Cottam, secretary of the MMI, transferred institutions and was elected Honorary Secretary of the Athenaeum in 1841.

The discussion about how the Athenaeum could charge for music lecture admission when the RMI did not allow it did not end there. On 27 September 1838 it was resolved in the minutes, with respect to the admission of ladies to Mr Philipps's lectures on music, 'that a number of seats should be reserved' and 'that the price to these reserved seats should be much raised and any member of the Athenaeum purchasing a ticket for himself or a lady to these reserved seats should be presented with a ladies ticket for the course of lectures'. However, these minutes also record that,

while there were many matters still to discuss, many members of the Board had already left owing to the lateness of the hour. Perhaps this partially explains the firmness with which the resolution was overturned at the next meeting on 25 October, when it was recorded that 'the plan proposed at the last meeting was thought to be objectionable in every respect'. Instead, 50 ladies' tickets for the course were to be allotted by ballot.

There are a few threads to tease out of the above protracted saga. The first is the fact that it was frequently a music lecture which became the flash point for tensions between institutions. The second is that the disagreements generally revolved around income. The third is the fact the admittance of women and the opportunity to raise additional money by doing so went hand in hand. Perversely, all these issues were exacerbated by the exceptional popularity of the music lecture within each of the three institutions' lecture programming.

Music lectures were just one element of wide-ranging programmes covering a variety of artistic and scientific topics. A full list of lectures presented at the Athenaeum between 1835 and 1885 survives in print, from which the lectures during 1845 have been excerpted as illustrative of the breadth of their programming:

Athenaeum Lecture List 1845¹²

Music of Ireland (3 lectures)	Mr Horncastle
English Melody (3 lectures)	Mr Horncastle
The Application of Chemistry to Agriculture and Horticulture (6 lectures)	Dr Lyon Playfair
Readings from Shakespeare (6 lectures)	Mr C. Kemble
Germany and its Literature (4 lectures)	Mr W. B. Hodgson
Scottish Musical Entertainments (4 lectures)	Mr J. Wilson
Nature and Value of Imaginative Literature (4 lectures)	Mr Westland Marston
Musical Lectures (4 lectures)	Mr H. J. Lincoln
The Natural History of Plants yielding Food (4 lectures)	Dr Lankester
Digestion and Respiration (6 lectures)	Mr R. D. Grainger
Readings from the British Dramatists (4 lectures)	Mr Samuel Butler
Readings from Shakespeare (2 lectures)	Mr Samuel Butler

¹² 'Appendix: List of Lectures', *Manchester Athenaeum Addresses, 1835–85* (Manchester, 1888).

The Oratory of the Reign of George III (4 lectures)	Mr J. H. Parry
The Chief Poets of the Reigns of Georges III and IV (4 lectures)	Mr C. Cowden Clarke
American Literature (4 lectures)	Mr R. H. Gould
On Artic Discovery and the Esquimaux Race (3 lectures)	Dr R. King
The Subordinate Characters of Shakespeare's Plays (6 lectures)	Mr C. Cowden Clarke
The Lyric Drama of the 17 th and 18 th Centuries (6 lectures)	Mr H. R. Bishop
The Men and Times of the Commonwealth (5 lectures)	Dr S. Smiles

The calibre of speakers across a range of subjects was very high. Lyon Playfair (1818–98), at this stage still quite early in his career, developed into an eminent and highly respected chemist who was later knighted. Charles Kemble (1775–1854), an actor from the famous Kemble family, was well known for his supporting roles in Shakespearian plays. Charles Cowden Clarke (1787–1877), who was very well connected in musical and literary circles, is still highly regarded as a Shakespearian scholar. Henry Bishop needs no further introduction. Samuel Smiles (1812–1904), author and reformer, is best remembered today for his book *Self-Help*, which appeared in 1859. Given his support for Chartism during the 1840s, he seems a daring choice of speaker.

The music lecture provided the most consistent appearance of music within the RMI, the Athenaeum, and the MMI, principally between 1835 and 1850 (Appendix 3.3). The musical speakers engaged comprised a mixture of visiting experts and local musicians prominent in Manchester's musical life. Edward Taylor, then Gresham Professor of Music, and Thomas Philipps, a singer and actor, were frequent visitors and spoke at all three institutions. Other nationally renowned lecturers included the organist and music publisher Vincent Novello,¹³ the flautist and flute maker Richard Carte, and the organist and composer of church music, William Henry Monk. The majority of lectures presented in Manchester focused on vocal music. All the music lectures were illustrated with performances, often impressive productions featuring vocal soloists, instrumentalists, and sometimes even a chorus. Howard Irving has

¹³ Fiona Palmer provides a summary of Novello's lecturing and its context in her book *Vincent Novello (1781–1861): Music for the Masses*, in particular pp. 124–26. Palmer concludes that Novello did not actually lecture in Manchester as his arrangements with the RMI broke down, but it appears that he did lecture at the Athenaeum after all as these were reviewed in detail in the press (see 'Mr Novello's Lectures on the Church Music of Italy', *Manchester Guardian*, 22 July 1840).

suggested, in relation to lectures by R. J. S. Stevens, that ‘the difficulty and expense of hiring a professional ensemble’ limited the content of his lectures as he had to rely on vocal ensembles made up of his church music colleagues.¹⁴ However, it is clear that the chosen topics of all the lecturers appearing in Manchester were firmly rooted in their own specialities and personal interests, which most often concerned vocal music.

According to press reports, music lectures at all three institutions were very well attended. The *Manchester Guardian* review of Edward Taylor’s 1838 MMI lectures reported that the lecture theatre, with a capacity of around 1000 people, was full to the point of overflowing.¹⁵ They also received extensive press coverage, and the *Manchester Guardian* often printed the full texts of the lectures in the issue immediately following their delivery. The fact that identical lectures were repeated at all three institutions suggests the same musical event had the potential to reach a very large and socially diverse audience but, in practice, music lecture attendance at the Athenaeum and MMI reportedly became weighted towards a middle-class female audience. Their popularity made them a useful income stream so, as with concerts, the Athenaeum and the Mechanics’ Institution advertised their lectures prominently and sold tickets to the general public. The Athenaeum, in particular, exploited this opportunity, making special arrangements to admit extra ladies to music lectures, and annual subscription renewals were timed to catch those who wished to subscribe specifically for the visit of Professor Taylor.¹⁶

Clearly, given the presence of women, the sociable dimension of the music lecture was a core element of its appeal. According to Russell: ‘The presence of women at the core activity of these institutions—lecturing—was essential to the legitimization of their claims to politeness and civility as well as to their financial survival. Female involvement was encouraged in ways that emphasized women’s roles as wives and daughters, thereby constructing the lecture theatre as a space of regulated

¹⁴ Irving, *Ancients and Moderns*, p. 15.

¹⁵ ‘Mr Edward Taylor’s Lectures on English Vocal Harmony’, *Manchester Guardian*, 10 January 1838.

¹⁶ Athenaeum Minutes, 28 November 1839: ‘Resolved – that single admissions to Lectures be suspended during the course on Music by Mr Taylor and that ladies tickets only for the course be issued at 5/ each. That ladies and members new subscriptions to the Institution for the ensuing year and half year be received on and after the 20th December instead of the 1st January in order to enable new subscribers to attend Mr Taylor’s course’.

heterosexual sociability (in contrast to the theatre)'.¹⁷ The appeal of the music lecture to a female audience also carried over into the press reporting. As with the articles about the Hargreaves concerts and their programme notes, the extensive coverage of lectures on musical subjects would have reached an even larger, often female, audience within the setting of home and hearth.

However, it would be misleading to consider only the sociability of the lecture, and to dismiss its popularity as mere entertainment, as members of the organising committees sometimes did. The press reporting tended to review the musical performances occurring within a lecture as they would a more conventional concert, but the reporting of the lecture itself was often verbatim. It was, frequently, presented as a reproduction of the lecture script, rather than as a criticism of the content. How this was achieved, and therefore the extent to which it is an accurate reproduction, is unclear. Perhaps the lecturer was happy to provide the reviewer with a copy of his text; Edward Taylor and Charles Sever were good friends, for example.

Edward Taylor (1784–1863) was Professor of Music at Gresham College from 1837 until his death in 1863. We have already encountered Taylor in Chapter 2, in relation to Madrigal Societies, and again in Chapter 3, in relation to his friendship and correspondence with Spohr. Initially a civil engineer, he became a professional musician from 1826, performing as a bass singer and conducting festivals, including those at Norwich in 1827, 1839 and 1842.¹⁸ Lecturing formed a substantial part of his career and he had toured the country in that capacity for several years prior to his appointment to the Gresham professorship.¹⁹ Edward Taylor's lectures are an important example of how the most highly acclaimed music lectures were conceived, delivered and received. According to Husk's entry on Taylor in *Grove's Dictionary*, his lectures 'were admirably adapted to the understanding of a general audience; they were historical and critical, excellently written, eloquently read, and illustrated by well-chosen extracts from the works described, efficiently performed'.²⁰ This is a pertinent

¹⁷ Russell, 'Spouters or Washerwomen', p. 133.

¹⁸ W. Barclay Squire, 'Edward Taylor's Gresham Lectures', *The Musical Times*, 54/847 (September 1913), p. 581.

¹⁹ See W. Barclay Squire, 'Edward Taylor's Gresham Lectures'; Edward Taylor, *Three Inaugural Lectures* (London: Richard and John Edward Taylor, 1838).

²⁰ W. H. Husk, 'Taylor, Edward', in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 4, ed. George Grove (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890).

description, backed up by the published texts of Taylor's inaugural Gresham lectures, as in these he set out clearly his understanding of what the requirements and limitations of a music lecture for a general audience were. He was quick to highlight in the opening paragraphs of his first Gresham lecture just how diverse the pursuit of the subject of music was in the 1830s:

So wide is the field of inquiry, and so diversified the objects of pursuit which Music unfolds – embracing within its range elementary knowledge, as well as its practical application, extensive research, historical information, and critical analysis – it is not likely that any two persons placed in my present situation would pursue the same track, or would endeavour to reach even the same point by a similar road.²¹

When considering what he ought to be speaking about, he observed that the theoretical laws of music 'stretch into the profoundest depths of mathematical science', and that he therefore intended to leave all that to the Professor of Geometry.²² He also felt that the lecture room was not 'the fittest place to impart or to acquire instruction in the science of practical harmony', which was more suited to smaller groups and specialist study, although he did go on to wax lyrical about the rewards to be found in undertaking such study; for example:

at the appointed time the magician comes, and touching the flinty rock, the streams of harmony gush out afresh, to water and fertilize new and unknown regions.²³

Instead, he explained:

The object, as I conceive, at which a musical lecturer should aim, who has to address a mixed audience, is to review the various products of his art, as they

²¹ Edward Taylor, *Three Inaugural Lectures* (London: Richard and John Edward Taylor, 1838), p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

have successively appeared in different nations and ages; to arrange them according to the various classes to which they belong; to trace their origin and progress; to subject each to critical examination; to point out their several excellencies or defects; and, by a constant reference to acknowledged principles and high authorities, to endeavour to form and establish a correct standard of taste.²⁴

In terms of how to convey such information, he asserted that words were inadequate to fully explain musical compositions, and that they must be heard to be understood.²⁵ The fact that Taylor's musical examples related directly to his lecture content is, surprisingly, not as self-evident as one might expect: according to Samuel Wesley's biographer, the musical performances included during Wesley's lectures at the Royal Institution and elsewhere 'were introduced solely as musical interludes, and appear to have had no discernible connection with the subjects of the lectures'.²⁶

The press commentary around Taylor's Manchester lectures illustrates the success he achieved at putting his theories into practice. I have found references to ten courses in Manchester across the three institutions, of five separate series: 'English Vocal Harmony'; 'Early English Opera'; 'Vocal Harmony of Different Italian Schools in the 16th Century'; 'English Opera (third series)'; and 'The German School of Music, Vocal and Instrumental'. Each took a chronological approach, focusing on biographical details of the lives of the composers Taylor regarded as key, their stylistic traits and important compositions. All of these were illustrated by carefully selected and planned musical performances. Taylor's evident enthusiasm for his chosen subjects shines through the press transcripts, while their scholarly content is also highly apparent, and all the more notable compared to the more general topics addressed by Crotch and Wesley, such as Wesley's 'Progress of Music in General among us', delivered at the Bristol Institution in 1830. Taylor commented in his lectures about his travels on the continent to locate original scores and early printed music unavailable in England,

²⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

²⁶ Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, p. 209.

implying the level and extent of personal scholarship he undertook in the course of his work.²⁷

Syllabus of Lectures on the Early English Opera by Edward Taylor, Esq., of London, Gresham Professor of Music²⁸

The Course will commence on Tuesday the 2nd of January, 1838, at a quarter before three o'clock, and will be continued on each succeeding Tuesday and Thursday, at the same hour, until the completion of the Course.

Lecture 1 – Tuesday, January 2

Introduction – Early Dramatic Entertainments – “Mysteries” – “Moralities” – “Pageants” Reign of Henry VIII – “Masques” – State of Music at this time its employment in connection with the Drama. Songs in Shakespeare’s Plays – by whom sung – the London Theatres during the reign of Elizabeth – and James 1 – Ben Jonson’s Masques – their Music – Chamber Music cultivated with success.

Lecture II – Thursday, January 4

Foreign Composers introduced by James 1 – Lanieri – Ferrabosco – Recitative – Decline of the English School – H Lawes – Reign of Charles 1 – Prynne’s “Histriomastix.” “The Triumphs of Peace.” W Lawes. Comus – its origin – its music, by H Lawes. Triumphs of the Prince D’Amour. Independent origin of the English Opera – the Commonwealth – Abolition of the Cathedral Service.

Lecture III – Tuesday January 9

History of the Italian Opera – Early examples of Dramatic Music – Origin of Recitative – History of the English Stage continued – Reign of Charles II – Two Theatres licenced – Macbeth – Who was the author of its Music – Locke’s claim examined – and established – The Witch – State of Music in England.

Lecture IV – Thursday January 11

Henry Purcell – his education – his supposed obligations to the Italian and French Dramatic Composers examined – his first Opera – Dido and Aeneas. Tyrannick Love. Neglect of English Musicians by the Court – Lewis Grabu – his Albino and Albanus. Shadwell’s Timon of Athens – its Music by Purcell.

Lecture V – Tuesday January 16

Reign of James II – and of William and Mary. Purcell’s Dioclesian. State of Instrumental Music – Attempt to introduce the Italian Opera in England – King

²⁷ For example in the *Manchester Guardian* reports on his lectures on the German School of Music, where he describes in very flattering terms the organisation of and friendly welcome to be found in German libraries.

²⁸ ‘Syllabus of Lectures on the Early English Opera by Edward Taylor, Esq., of London, Gresham Professor of Music’, shelfmark M6/1/70/7.

Arthur. History of the Stage continued – Dramatic Music disliked and proscribed by the Managers of that time – The Fairy Queen.

Lecture VI – Thursday January 18

Review of Purcell's Operas continued. A Fool's Preferment. Don Quixote, parts 1 and 2. Bonduca. The Indian Queen. The Tempest. Don Quixote, part 3. Purcell's death – His character reviewed. The claims of the English Opera stated and enforced – Conclusion.

The first of these lectures, which was delivered at the Royal Manchester Institution for RMI subscribers on Tuesday 2 January, and then again at the Royal Manchester Institution for Athenaeum subscribers on Wednesday 3 January, was reviewed at length in the *Manchester Guardian* on 6 January 1838. Taylor began in the tenth century, which was the earliest he had been able to trace the inclusion of music in dramatic performances. Next he described the place of music in the pageant at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Taylor had obtained the original music of one of these pieces from the British Museum, and Richard Andrews performed it on the piano at this point in the lecture. Taylor then turned to Shakespeare, and one of his songs was sung as a duet. Next, the church, with a focus on the church as a place for musical education, and the fact that choristers also sang at the theatre until this was banned by Charles the First. Having briefly introduced the chronology of theatre licencing, he continued to James I's masques and Ben Jonson's anti-masques, of which Richard Andrews performed an example, characterised by Taylor as having 'in its time savoured more of the chanting in our cathedral service, than of what is called in contradistinction profane music'. Summing up this section of his lecture, 'Of the three kinds of music employed in the church, the chamber, and the theatre, the lecturer observed that those of the church and the theatre seemed to have sprung, to some degree, from the same source'. Next, in a moment of rare judgement (rather than transcription) by the reviewer: 'A duet, which was composed and sung on the occasion of a sumptuous entertainment being given by the Earl of Cumberland to King James, was given by the vocalists: it was far from being contemptible as a composition'. Several other vocal and instrumental pieces from the period were then performed, concluding with a madrigal by John Benet, which had been presented to Queen Elizabeth, although the review does not specify which.

This lecture is representative of Taylor's lectures in general: erudite but accessible, unfamiliar material engagingly presented, grounded in his scholarship and research, and bringing to life music found in old libraries and dusty archives. It was a tremendously successful approach, and the audiences at all three Manchester institutions appear to have been enraptured by him. At the end of this particular course of lectures, he took care to thank his performers warmly:

Mr Taylor then observed, that there was one duty remaining for him to fulfil, to the ladies and gentlemen who had assisted him in conveying to the auditory the vocal pieces which had formed the illustrations of these lectures. True he might have rescued some fine old pictures of a former age from the dust and cobwebs by which their beauties had been so long hidden from the public eye; but they (his assistants) had bidden them start from the canvass, and assume life and animation ... He must especially return his thanks to Mr Andrews for the time, care, and pains he had bestowed in preparing the illustrations of Purcell. He only wished that he might be so fortunate as to meet a gentleman of his talent, ability, and assiduity, in any other town in which he might have the honour to lecture.²⁹

The reviewer, however, was fully aware how much of the success of these lectures was due to Taylor himself:

In bringing our notices of these lectures to a close, we feel it due to the worthy and respected Gresham professor to state, that, as it appears to us at least, much of their success is fairly attributable to his great merits as a lecturer. Admitting that the vocal illustrations were highly attractive, still the great charm of both courses of lectures seems to us to have been the careful selection of interesting facts connected with the musical history of England in the several ages through which the auditors were conducted, combined with the elegant diction, the polished style, the elocutionary ability, and the graceful manners of Mr Taylor.

²⁹ 'Lectures on the Early English Opera', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 January 1838.

His zeal and enthusiastic love of his art won for him, not merely the attention, but the interest and sympathy, of those of his auditors to whom, hitherto, music had appeared at best but the mere gratification of the sense of hearing.³⁰

The other frequent and popular visitor to all three Manchester institutions in the early years of their lecture series was Thomas Philipps (1774–1841), an actor and singer.³¹ According to his obituary, he ‘was educated for the law, but he early evinced a strong propensity for music, and at seventeen his partiality for the stage became evident. This met with every discouragement from his friends, who, however, after opposing his inclination for about two years, allowed him to make the attempt, in the hope of his failure’.³² Unfortunately for his friends, his debut met with great success, and a long career on the stage followed. A timely visit to the United States earned him ‘a considerable sum’ and he made ‘an advantageous marriage’,³³ but he continued working throughout his life, latterly retiring from the stage and focusing increasingly on his lecturing. His end, when it came, was untimely and dramatic, illustrative perhaps of the perils of working as a travelling musician in the early days of the age of the railway.³⁴

Philipps was joined for his lectures by his pupils, named in many of the adverts and press reports as ‘the three Misses Brandon’. He focused his lectures on vocal music in general, and on correct and musical enunciation in particular. The relationships between different languages and their vocal techniques, the problems encountered when singing in English, and the need to adapt elements of the English language into a format more conducive to song were recurring tropes in his lectures. In

³⁰ ‘Lectures on the Early English Opera’, *Manchester Guardian*, 24 January 1838.

³¹ A portrait of Thomas Philipps is held by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

³² ‘Obituary – Mr Thomas Philipps’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. 17 (London: William Pickering, 1842), p. 221.

³³ ‘Obituary’, p. 221.

³⁴ ‘He was travelling by the mail on a professional excursion to Ireland. Having got out of the carriage at Hartford, on the signal bell ringing he advanced hurriedly towards the carriage, when, making a sudden spring, his foot slipped, and he had only time to save himself from falling by grasping the middle step of the carriage. The guard would have succeeded in pulling him away, but Mr Philipps kept his hold of the step, and his legs slipping across the rail, one wheel of the carriage went over them. He was then dragged out of further danger; but such was the injury he received, and the shock together, that he never spoke again. There was a deep cut on his left leg, near the calf, apparently made by the step, and the small bones of both his legs were broken; but, in the surgeon’s opinion, death was more the result of the fright and sudden shock given to the system, than the actual injury received’. ‘Obituary’, p. 222.

his first lecture at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute in 1837, he announced 'that the chief object of his lectures was the establishment of an English school of vocal music' before demonstrating the 'defects generally imputed to English singers', Italian vocal principles which might be adapted for English students, and 'the proposed improvement with the elements of the English language'.³⁵ In his sixth lecture at the Athenaeum, focusing on dramatic musical composition and its effects, he declared one great principle was 'totally neglected ... - the due adaptation and delivery of words according to their highest critical authorities'.³⁶

Given his evangelical priorities, he also discussed voice training and vocal exercises at length, appropriately illustrated by his pupils. Sometimes these were to illustrate specific aspects of technique, such as 'the remaining detail of the mechanical exercise of the voice, for obtaining the ornamental embellishments of singing, viz., the mordente, the trill (or shake) and passages of execution'. Occasionally he deployed his singers satirically, such as when he demonstrated 'the mode of vamping up foreign works, by cutting and stretching with Procrustean barbarity, for the iron bed of an English theatre' with 'a *buffa scena* ... displaying the progress of making an *Anglo-Italian Opera*, with the inversion of every true principle, musical and dramatic'.³⁷ Most often, his singers illustrated his core argument:

The lecturer then proceeded to give some illustrations of his system, by performance of his own, and in a song from each of the Misses Brandon. He could not perhaps have conveyed half so much in words, in favour of his system, as was conveyed in these performances. They were sung with great taste, skill and depth of feeling – a feeling which was not lost upon the audience, the fair performers carrying out the principles of the lecturer on distinctness of enunciation with such effect that not a word was lost upon the audience.³⁸

³⁵ 'Lectures on Vocal Music', *The Musical World*, 28 July 1837, p. 107.

³⁶ 'Mr Philipps's Lectures on Vocal Music', *The Musical World*, 11 August 1837, p. 137

³⁷ 'Lectures on Vocal Music', *The Musical World*, 28 July 1837, pp. 107–8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Manchester's own music professionals frequently contributed lectures at all three institutions. Sometimes these addressed general topics of interest and aligned with the interests and needs of the classes the musicians also ran. For example, Andrew Ward delivered 'A historical sketch of the rise and progress of Music' at the MMI in 1834, David Ward Banks lectured 'On the Theory and Practice of Music, illustrative of the Logierian System' at the MMI in 1839 and gave a 'Lecture on Congregation Singing' there in 1848, and Michael Conran lectured 'On the Science of Music' at the MMI in 1841 and gave 'An Introductory Lecture on Vocal Music' there in 1843. These lectures were all one-off events rather than part of a series. On other occasions, these musicians took the opportunity to present more in-depth lectures based on their own interests, particularly Michael Conran, who presented 'On the Music of Ireland' at the MMI in 1841. He later published his work in this field as a book.³⁹ Additionally, as is discussed further below, they sometimes took the opportunity lectures afforded to present more polemical material concerning the value of music to potentially influential audiences.

A further aspect of these lectures, which it is important to highlight, is the connection between entrepreneurial musicians, their lecturing opportunities, and the various musical educational initiatives which swept the country at one time or another. Manchester's institutions, in particular the Mechanics' Institution, were fertile ground for recruiting participants for these mass movements. David Ward Banks' lecture 'illustrative of the Logierian system' has already been referred to. John Hullah appeared himself at the MMI and the Athenaeum in 1841 to lecture 'On Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing', before Henry Burnett took up residence in Manchester and offered classes on Hullah's method to all the institutions. Similarly, Joseph Mainzer, author of *Singing for the Million* (1841), was resident in Manchester from 1848 and presented a number of lectures related to his system.⁴⁰

³⁹ Michael Conran, *The National Music of Ireland* (London: John Johnson, 1850).

⁴⁰ The Logierian system has already been described. See also Francis Hullah ed., *Life of John Hullah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886) and Bernarr Rainbow, 'The rise of popular music education in nineteenth-century England', *Victorian Studies*, 30/1 (1986), 25–49.

The Music Lecture as Public Concert

A collection of lecture syllabuses for the RMI is preserved, and this taken together with press adverts and reviews for the lectures demonstrates the very significant extent to which the majority of lectures functioned as musical performances as well as oratorical occasions. The syllabuses routinely list performers and provide full details of the music included during the course of each lecture. Examples drawn from contrasting lectures by Richard Carte and William Henry Monk are provided below. Note in both cases the prevalence of names of performers familiar from earlier chapters, in particular Seymour, Banks, Mrs Sunderland, Mrs Winterbottom, and Barlow.

Richard Carte, Syllabus of a course of four lectures on Classical and Unclassical Music, RMI, 1851⁴¹

To be delivered at Three o'clock on the Days mentioned.

Flute and Second Violin	Mr Carte
First Violin	Mr Seymour
Pianoforte	Mr D. W. Banks
Viola	Mr Baetens
Violoncello	Mr Thorley
Oboe	Mr Jennings
Clarinet	Mr Sorge
Horn	Mr Edwards
Bassoon	Mr Chisholme

Lecture 1 – Monday, 10th February

On the difference between Classical and Unclassical Music

Music compared with Painting, Sculpture, and Poetry. Cause of the power of Music. The different treatment of Melody, Harmony, and Modulation in Classical and Unclassical Music. How to distinguish the expression peculiar to Classical and Unclassical Music. Different orders of Classical Music. Different orders of Unclassical Music.

Illustrations:

Trio – Flute, Viola, & Pianoforte (in E flat, Op. 14) – Andante and Rondo
Allegretto
Mozart

⁴¹ 'Syllabus of a course of four lectures on Classical and Unclassical Music, by Richard Carte, Esq., with Illustrations', shelfmark M6/1/70/109.

Italian Airs – Flute Serenade, “Com’ e gentil,” and Rondo, “La Morale”
Donizetti

Trio – Flute, Violoncello, and Piano Forte (in G Minor)
Weber

Fantasia – Flute
Nicholson

William Henry Monk, Lectures on the History and Characteristics of Ecclesiastical Music, RMI, 1853⁴²

Monday January Tenth, 1853, at Three o'clock

The illustrations by Mrs Sunderland, Mrs Winterbottom, Mr Perring, Mr Scarisbrick, and an efficient chorus. Mr Barlow will preside at the piano-forte

Syllabus

Lecture 1: The Ecclesiastical Music of Italy

Introduction – The particular style of Music to be treated of, explained; Sketch of its early history; Tenth and following Centuries.- Explanation of certain terms of art. – First Italian school. – Josquin de Près, - Goudimet – Palestrina – The Council of Trent – Missa Papae Marcelli – Nanini, Anerio, Vittoria, Allegri, Gabrielli, Croce – Alessandro Scarlatti, Lotti, Leonardo Leo

Chorus	Graun
Canon (for two voices)	Virgam virtuis tuae emittet Cominus ex Sion
Motet	Palestrina [O be joyful all ye lands]
Motet	Palestrina [I will give thanks to Thee, O Lord]
Movement from Mass	Palestrina [Kyrie]
Full Anthem unto Thee, O Lord]	Dr Henry Aldrich [Out of the deep have I called
Motet	Giovanni Croce
Trio	Carissimi
Quartet and Chorus	Carissimi
Credo	Antonio Lotti
Movement from	Psalm Leo

Carte's distinction between what he terms 'classical' and 'unclassical' is poorly defined, but he firmly classes Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven as 'classical', and regards airs, variations and virtuosic pieces as 'unclassical', and he uses the term 'popular'

⁴² 'Lectures on the History and Characteristics of Ecclesiastical Music, by William Henry Monk, Esq., Director of the Choir in King's College, London', shelfmark M6/1/71/29.

interchangeably in this context. He saw the differences in approach to melody, harmony and modulation as the key differentiators between his two perceived classes, but then elaborated vaguely on this:

It was chiefly by the manner in which harmony was employed that we were able to distinguish classical from unclassical music; or rather, the various and elevated musical expressions which constituted the excellence of classical music could only be obtained through the rich resources of harmony, unclassical music being comparatively bare in this respect. The difference between what was classical and what was unclassical consisted in the greater variety of expression, and consequently more intellectual character of the former; and this involved the necessity for a greater variety of melody, harmony, and modulation. In unclassical music, there might occasionally be found beautiful melodies, harmonies, and modulation, almost as in a classical composition, but the character of the work would be very different; because in the latter they were not varied, sustained, contrasted, and linked, so as to form one sustained picture, or connected whole.⁴³

Overall, Carte's lectures have an appealing title, and gave him the opportunity to play an array of virtuosic music to show off his new patent flute, but the spoken content does not live up to the promise of the syllabus. Unlike Edward Taylor's lectures, Carte's were valued by their audience more as musical performances rather than as scholarly events.

A valuable insight into the public lecturing scene in Manchester, from the perspective of one of the performers, is captured in a fascinating diary kept by Marianne Lincoln, a highly accomplished Royal Academy of Music-trained singer who performed during her brother's lectures.⁴⁴ Marianne Lincoln (1822–85) began studying at the Royal Academy of Music in 1840 under Crivelli, Benedict and G. A. Macfarren.

⁴³ 'Mr Carte's Lectures on Music', *Manchester Guardian*, 12 February 1851.

⁴⁴ F. M. Harper, ed., *Debut at the Gewandhaus and after: A 19th Century Singer's Diary* (New Malden: F. M. H. Harper, 1980). The diary covers the period 1844–5, during which she spent time in Germany as well as performing in London and the north of England.

She left the Academy in 1844 with a First Class Certificate (Associate).⁴⁵ Her brother Henry John Lincoln (1814–1901), was a critic, pianist, organist and a popular lecturer on music, appearing first in London at Crosby Hall in 1843, before visiting cities including Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester and Liverpool.⁴⁶ Marianne's diary describes in detail the circumstances of their lectures in Liverpool and Manchester in April 1845.

The sequence of engagements began with a train journey from London Euston to Manchester on 29 March. Once in the north, the train became a key enabling factor for the lectures as the Lincolns shuttled back and forth between Manchester and Liverpool every day or two, to attend rehearsals and present lectures in each location.⁴⁷ Rehearsals at both the Liverpool Mechanics' Institution and the Manchester Athenaeum took place on 31 March (midday in Liverpool, then in the evening in Manchester), before lectures in Manchester on 1 April, 4 April, 8 April, and 11 April, and lectures in Liverpool on 2 April, 5 April, 9 April and 12 April. Further rehearsals for the third and fourth lectures in each location also took place, one the night before in Manchester but the remainder on the day of each lecture.

Somehow, despite this demanding schedule, time was made to enjoy the musical offerings of both cities, accompanied by a variety of hosts and resident musicians. The intersections with many others who have so far featured in this study are striking. Henry Robberds,⁴⁸ their primary companion while in Manchester, organised a particularly busy evening for them on 3 April, taking both Marianne and Henry to the Hargreaves Society's performance of *Messiah* at the Free Trade Hall, before continuing on with Henry that same evening to a gathering of the Gentlemen's

⁴⁵ Harper, 'Introduction', *Debut at the Gewandhaus*, p. vi.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ 29 March London-Manchester; 31 March Manchester-Liverpool (Liverpool rehearsal at midday) and Liverpool-Manchester (Manchester rehearsal in the evening); 2 April Manchester-Liverpool; 3 April Liverpool-Manchester; 5 April Manchester-Liverpool; 6 April Liverpool-Manchester; 9 April Manchester-Liverpool; 10 April Liverpool-Manchester; 12 April Manchester-Liverpool; 13 April Liverpool-London.

⁴⁸ Henry Turner Robberds (1823–84), son of Reverend John Gooch Robberds (minister of Cross Street Unitarian Chapel). Henry (Harry) Robberds had a lifelong enthusiasm for music. At the time of these diary entries he was only 22, but his interests included individual membership of the Musical Antiquarian Society (see 'Members for the Fourth Year', in *Madrigals for Four Voices composed by John Bennet*, ed. Edward Hopkins (London: Chappell, 1845), p. 7), and he took on organisational roles at the Athenaeum (including – befitting, given his youth – a member of the 'Ball Committee' and a platform steward for the Grand Soiree of 1845. See the *Report of the Proceedings connected with the Grand Soiree of the Manchester Athenaeum, held on Thursday, October 23rd, 1845* (Manchester: Cave & Sever, 1845), p. 35).

Glee Club. Marianne recorded with some surprise that the band and chorus were 'native', exclaiming that the choruses 'were exceedingly well executed', although, like the newspaper reviewers quoted in Chapter 3, she found the orchestra less successful, particularly the trumpet player 'who gave us some very original flourishes in places where they were least expected'. On 11 April, after their lecture, Robberds took Henry to the Liedertafel, while on 10 April they both dined with the Seymours during the day and joined the elder Mr Robberds and his family for dinner in the evening, where Marianne recorded singing several songs and taking part in some glees.⁴⁹

Marianne's diary comments about the lectures themselves mostly concern the musical excerpts, her fellow performers and the success or otherwise of their performances. The Manchester lectures employed different performers to those in Liverpool, with the exception of Seymour, who joined them in Liverpool for the third lecture. After the first rehearsal in Liverpool, she recorded: 'The Bass & Contralto pretty good, but I never heard such a Tenor. He did not appear to know his notes. The Comic Duett from Oberon was quite a Tragic affair'. The vocalists at Manchester included Henry Burnett, J. W. Isherwood, and 'Three Ladies', who, Mr Burnett told them afterwards, had all been factory girls. Marianne observed: 'It is a very good thing these poor creatures have some opening to escape from the terrible work of a mill'.⁵⁰ It is valuable to have further corroboration of the reality behind the fictional Margaret Jennings, although she did not appear in print until 1848. The other female performers were named in the newspaper advert (Figure 23) and review as Mrs Winterbottom, Mrs J. Wood, Miss Kell, and Mrs Thomas; it is not clear which were the 'three ladies' Burnett referred to. In terms of reception, Marianne reported better attendance overall at the Liverpool lectures than in Manchester and noted a number of occasions on which her performances were encored at both venues.

⁴⁹ Harper, *Debut at the Gewandhaus*, p. 62.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

MANCHESTER ATHENÆUM.

On Tuesday evening, April 1st, HENRY JOHN LINCOLN, Esq. of London, will Deliver the FIRST of a COURSE of FOUR LECTURES illustrative of the Genius and Works of Beethoven, Weber, Spohr, and Mendelssohn, and will continue the same on Friday April 4th, Tuesday April 8th, and Friday April 11th.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURE I.—Tuesday, April 1st.
BEETHOVEN.

PART I.
 Beethoven's Early Works. Part of a Sonata. Beethoven's Songs.
 May Song.....Mr. Burnett.
 Change of character in Beethoven's Piano-forte Music.
 Sonata.
 Notice of Beethoven's Quartets and Symphonies.
 Some remarks on Pastoral Symphony.
 Song....."Vita Felice".....Miss Lincoln.
 Third period in Beethoven's Piano-forte Music.
 Part of a Sonata.
 Cantate....."Adelaide".....Miss Lincoln.

PART II.
 Beethoven's Sacred Music.
 Trio.....From the "Mount of Olives"
 Miss Lincoln, Mr. Burnett, and Mr. J. W. Isherwood.
 Song....."Oh, beautiful daughter".....Mr. Burnett.
 Beethoven's Operatic Music.
 Duet.....From "The Ruins of Athens".....Miss Lincoln and
 Mr. J. W. Isherwood.
 Canon.....From "Fidelio".....Miss Lincoln, Mrs.
 Winterbottom, Mr. Burnett, and Mr. J. W. Isherwood.

Admission—Members, and Ladies personally introduced by them, sixpence each; Non-subscribers, two shillings and sixpence.—The doors will be opened at half-past seven o'clock, the lecture commence at eight precisely—By order of the Directors,
PETER BERLYN, Hon. Sec.

Figure 23: Athenaeum Lecture Programme, *Manchester Guardian*, 29 March 1845.

Music as an Art and a Science

The music lectures sometimes provide a valuable opportunity to evaluate attitudes towards music as an art-form in early Victorian Manchester. The minutes of the Lecture Committee at the RMI reveal they were quick to reject any series they did not regard as serious. A proposed course on phrenology was particularly vehemently refused,⁵¹ as was a course on the 'Songs and Ballads of Scotland'.⁵² With respect to the

⁵¹ Bardsley's letter to T. W. Winstanley, RMI Lecture Committee Minute Book M6/1/7, 7 November 1838.

⁵² The Athenaeum had sought a joint engagement together with the RMI of John Wilson for a course on the songs and ballads of Scotland, but the RMI decided to decline this engagement (RMI Lecture Committee Minutes, 11 April 1842).

former, Dr Samuel Bardsley (1764–1851), a respected physician with wide-ranging intellectual interests whose appointments included a vice-presidency of Manchester’s Literary and Philosophical Society, stated ‘it has not yet received the sanction from a sufficient number of distinguished experimental, and philosophical enquirers, as to entitle it to the rank of a science’; furthermore, its principles undermine moral and religious responsibility and ‘degrade man into a mere automaton’. Consequently, the music series which were programmed at the RMI are indicative of an intellectual as well as a popular interest in music among the committees and their subscribers.

However, there remained a reluctance in some quarters to accept music as more than mere entertainment.⁵³ Thus, whereas the RMI described Professor Taylor as an ‘eminent lecturer’, the Athenaeum discussed him in the context of the propriety of engaging a ‘popular lecturer’.⁵⁴ This view persisted, as evidenced by the Athenaeum’s Annual Report of 1844:

The Directors have regretted to see the comparatively scanty attendance at those [Lectures] conveying instruction rather than amusement. They nevertheless hope that their successors, by continuing the system of alternating Lectures on Music, the Drama, and kindred agreeable topics, with others, by men of eminence in their various walks, on Science and Art, will succeed ultimately in creating among the Members a taste which shall lead to the due appreciation and support of both.⁵⁵

The activities of several Manchester-based musicians in the 1840s indicate something of a rebellion against such perceptions. In 1842, the RMI established a ‘Conversazione’ series consisting of papers followed by discussion. Papers on music included one given by Richard Andrews ‘On Music, considered as an Art and a Science’.⁵⁶ Michael Conran

⁵³ This fits into wider debates about the historically low status of musicians and the pursuit of professionalisation as the century progressed. See Rosemary Golding, ed., *The Music Profession in Britain 1780–1920: New Perspectives on Status and Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

⁵⁴ Athenaeum Minutes, 12 January 1837.

⁵⁵ Athenaeum Annual Report (1844), p. 14.

⁵⁶ Richard Andrews (1803–91) featured in Chapter 1.

presented 'On the History and Progress of Musical Science'.⁵⁷ Their intentions in their contributions to these 'Conversazione' were clear to the point of being blunt, as the published version of Andrews' paper demonstrates:

Music is too much regarded as a mere accomplishment, or I might say, amusement, while its higher and ennobling tendencies have been very much overlooked or unacknowledged. It has in consequence never yet occupied its legitimate position with the general public. This, the most refined of the Sciences, has been treated as a toy, designed to wile away a leisure hour, and then neglected and forgotten.⁵⁸

Debates about the worth of music as an Art and a Science are perennial. They recur frequently in early Victorian lecturing, continue through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, and still persist today. This argument is therefore an interesting and important one to pursue. Lawrence Lipking, in his book *Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England*, describes how 'Most authorities on the arts had decided, by the mid-eighteenth century, that painting, music, and poetry might properly be considered "sciences" (fields of knowledge), and that like other sciences they required a history. The study of the arts no longer needed to justify itself; the arts had come into their own'.⁵⁹ Jamie Croy Kassler, meanwhile, has emphasised how:

Studies of the Royal Institution have focused on science, as the term was defined from about the 1840s onwards, and on the institutionalization of science so defined. They exhibit a particular assumption that, until recent years, has dominated the historiography of science and that still is apparent in the latest study of the Royal Institution by Morris Berman (1978) ... Berman consistently employs the term 'science' for natural science, so that he excludes, for example, theories of painting, engraving, antiquities, literature and music. Such a usage is

⁵⁷ *Conversazione*, 28 December 1846 (M6/1/70/71).

⁵⁸ Richard Hoffman Andrews, 'Music considered as an Art and a Science', *Musical Tracts 1819–1883* (BL 786.e.70/3).

⁵⁹ Lawrence Lipking, *Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 10.

distinctly modern, since prior to 1840 the term 'science' denoted doctrine or, more generally, knowledge of a particular field.⁶⁰

It was certainly the case that the value of the 'science' of music, and the appropriateness of music as an object of 'serious' study, and of artistic value, was a frequent theme in Manchester's music lecturing culture. This early Victorian incarnation of what we may now term 'musicology' needs a far fuller investigation and consideration beyond this dissertation, as do the multiple meanings of early nineteenth-century applications of the terms 'art' and 'science' to music.

Conclusion

Russell draws attention to the sociability of Romantic-era lecturing, arguing that 'post-1800 lecturing is largely a response to the crisis in sociable relations that characterizes the 1790s and that it needs to be regarded within the context of, and as a response to, other forms of sociable behaviour in the early nineteenth century'.⁶¹ This is certainly an important consideration when addressing Manchester's lecture scene. The 'crisis in sociable relations' arguably created the institutions within which these lectures took place; the sociable relations between influential citizens helped determine the content of invited lectures and the personalities who presented them; and the question of who should be admitted to these lectures became a key area of debate. All these points were particularly significant in the case of the music lecture.

But the overlooked content of the early Victorian music lecture is the most significant element, as it complicates received ideas about the history of music as a discipline. Much has been made in research into music consumption in early nineteenth-century London of the fashionable elite and their preference for the Italian Opera, and the consequent effects of cultural emulation by the middle classes on their own musical preferences, resulting in a suspicion of musical attainment and a desire not to be seen to be taking it too seriously.⁶² Traditionally, this is seen as having

⁶⁰ Jamie Croy Kassler, 'The Royal Institution Music Lectures, 1800–1831: A Preliminary Study', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 19 (1983–85), p. 1.

⁶¹ Russell, 'Spouters or washerwomen', p. 123.

⁶² For a detailed account of the London elite's opera-going, see Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780–1880* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007). The emulation of elite culture and tastes by an aspirational middle class is a trope frequently repeated,

changed when John Ella and his Musical Union began the task in 1845 of educating their audiences to be quiet and pay attention, supporting a model of progression towards so-called 'serious listening'.⁶³ This focus on London and the elite has led to the rather different directions and intellectual encouragement of music in the new industrial cities being overlooked by both musicologists and social historians. Certainly, debates in Manchester about whether music was an art, a science, or merely an amusement furthered support for an intellectual engagement with music, indicated by the content of the various lecture series, and mirrored in parallel initiatives elsewhere in Manchester, notably the Hargreaves Choral Society.⁶⁴

Parallel to this narrative, we often find the assertion that musicology began in Germany and Austria in the late nineteenth century, often pinpointed to the theories of Guido Adler.⁶⁵ Some recent scholarship recognises musicologists working in Britain earlier in the nineteenth century, for example Bennett Zon's book *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology*,⁶⁶ although his argument remains typical in its approach of defining the musicologists he includes as those who *wrote* about some aspect of music. I would suggest that the significance of music lecturing within the historiography of musicology has been missed, in great part because it is an oral rather than a written history. Music lectures have not been as visible to historians, unlike books published about music during the same time period, and have therefore been missed during the construction of music history's own history. As traces of such lectures have become easier to locate, for example through the digitisation of

often without sufficient interrogation, but a valuable account which aims to rethink some of the assumptions is Linda Young's *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). Concerns around taking music too seriously, particularly among men, intersect with many related concerns, including the status and social standing of professional musicians, set out in the work of Rohr and Ehrlich discussed earlier in this dissertation, the perceived 'effeminacy' of certain musical pursuits, and the associations between the theatre and immorality. A fascinating work drawing on many of these ideas in relation to flute culture is David William Eagle's 'A Constant Passion and a Constant Pursuit: A Social History of Flute-playing in England from 1800–1851', unpub. PhD diss., University of Minnesota (1977).

⁶³ Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London*. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007).

⁶⁴ See Chapter 3.

⁶⁵ G. Adler, *Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft* (1885), translated by E. Muggleston (1981).

⁶⁶ Bennett Zon, *Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

newspaper archives, their content is becoming clearer and their significance more apparent.

Howard Irving has also made this point. He highlights Richard Mackenzie Bacon's critical writing in the inaugural issue of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* about the limited published critical writing on music by professionals. However, Irving notes:

Bacon's assessment of the state of music criticism ... overlooks oral presentations of the kind Crotch had pioneered a dozen years earlier as a legitimate alternative to the printed word. In fact, the opportunity that lecture-recital programmes like Crotch's offered for the illustration of important points through the performance of musical examples made them arguably a superior, though admittedly a more ephemeral, vehicle for criticism.⁶⁷

As this small, focused study of this aspect of Manchester's musical life demonstrates, a broad understanding of the history of popular lecturing has the potential to transform our understanding of the history of the discipline of musicology, to significantly expand our conception of what late eighteenth and early nineteenth century public concerts actually comprised, and to rewrite the story of how music, and music scholarship, fitted into the everyday lives of a large part of the population.

⁶⁷ Irving, *Ancients and Moderns*, p. 14.

Postlude: Music at Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857

As noted in the introductory chapter, Charles Hallé claimed—an assertion that has often and uncritically been repeated subsequently—that there was little music in Manchester before his arrival. In his autobiography he described how, when he was first invited to Manchester, he was assured ‘on behalf of many devoted lovers of music, that Manchester was quite ripe *to be taken in hand*, and that they thought me the fittest man to stir the dormant taste for the art’.¹ He was particularly poetic with regard to Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857, proclaiming that his concerts there ‘were much enjoyed by crowds of visitors, and soon became one of the chief attractions of the exhibition. Thousands and thousands of people from the northern counties there heard a symphony for the first time, and it was interesting to watch how the appreciation of such works grew keener and keener almost with every week’.² This postlude will, necessarily briefly, explore the place music actually took within the Art Treasures Exhibition, interrogating some of Hallé's claims and placing this event back into the historical context of the several preceding decades of enthusiastic music making described above.

Opened on the 5 May 1857 by Prince Albert, and running for 141 days before it closed on 17 October, Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition displayed 16,000 works of art and was visited by more than 1,300,000 people.³ The exhibition has long been overlooked in the history of art and exhibitions, and Elizabeth Pergam's excellent book about this event highlights reasons for this neglect including the simple fact it took place in Manchester. It often gains a footnote in the history of music as the exhibition for which Charles Hallé formed an orchestra, given the fact it still survives today. However, the brief discussion of music at this exhibition in the literature relies largely on the few statements contained within Hallé's autobiography, which lack detail and, as pointed out earlier in the context of his autobiography as a whole, tend to exaggerate his part in proceedings. While Hallé and his orchestra undoubtedly were

¹ C. E. Hallé and Marie Hallé, eds., *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1896), p. 107.

² *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, p. 129.

³ Elizabeth A. Pergam, *Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1–2.

and remain tremendously important to the musical life of the city from his arrival in Manchester until the present, his hyperbole diminishes the excellent work his colleagues and predecessors were also doing in the field of music in Manchester.



Figure 24: Interior of the Art Treasures Palace, Manchester, 1857. Image Credit: Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts.

Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition was inspired by Dr Waagen's book *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, published in 1854. The exhibition was conceived as an educational display of the works described in the book. Its aims are neatly summed up in a 'Resolution', from a meeting which took place on 31 December 1857 in the Mayor's parlour at Manchester Town Hall, read by the Mayor:

That this Council is deeply impressed with the great advantages conferred upon this city and the community at large, by the recent Exhibition of Art-Treasures of the United Kingdom, an exhibition of works of art unrivalled in magnitude and value, the examination and study of which were eminently calculated to improve the knowledge, and elevate the taste of all visitors,

and, by bringing together different classes not accustomed to associate, to promote goodwill and kindly feeling among all sections of the people.⁴

It was run by an executive committee of leading Manchester businessmen, comprising James Watts (Mayor of Manchester, 1855–7), Thomas Ashton, William Entwisle, Thomas Fairbairn, Joseph Heron (the town clerk), Edmund Potter, and Sigismund Stern.

In addition to the nationalist agenda, displaying the vast array of art contained within the collections and private houses of Great Britain, the committee also strenuously emphasised the philanthropic aims of this exhibition, and sought to minimise any connection with commerce.⁵ Manchester's inhabitants clearly remained self-conscious about the stereotype of the Manchester Man as a philistine, a point which will be explored further in the concluding chapter. It is striking, and somewhat disappointing, to note the surprise and disdain directed towards Manchester as the host of such a venture from those less acquainted with its cultural life. Given the Royal Manchester Institution had been established more than thirty years earlier, and had the exhibition of art at the heart of its aims and objectives from the outset, and given that the Manchester Mechanics' Institution had also hosted successful art exhibitions for some decades,⁶ Manchester already had a long history of supporting, purchasing and displaying art. Despite this pedigree, one nobleman, when asked to donate artworks to the exhibition, replied 'What in the world do you want with Art in Manchester? Why can't you stick to your cotton-spinning?'⁷ Less dismissive, but equally condescending, an *Observer* article of March 1857 previewing the exhibition noted: 'It is not the least remarkable feature of the Art Treasures Exhibition, that it should be held in Manchester, the very soul and centre of commerce and industry. Of

⁴ George Scharf, 'On the Manchester Art-Treasures Exhibition, 1857', *Transaction of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Volume 10 (London: J. H. Parker, 1858), p. 329.

⁵ Pergam, *Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857*, pp. 4–5.

⁶ Including one in 1856, which was attended by more than 250,000 people over 169 days and was used as inspiration for the instigation of the Art Treasures Exhibition. *Art Treasures Examiner*, 5 May 1857, p. ii.

⁷ Pergam, *Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857*, p. 4. This question clearly rankled, because while the identity of the person who made this comment is not known, it was repeated as the opening sentence of the book *A Handbook of the Gallery of British Paintings in the Art Treasures Exhibition* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1857).

all the places in the world, one would have least expected Manchester to be the seat of an Exhibition in which commercial considerations had not part or influence'.⁸

The site of the exhibition was located to the west of the city in Old Trafford, largely due to the prevailing wind. It was deliberately located to keep the artwork and visitors away from the path of the smoke from Manchester's countless factories. The exhibition was served by its own railway station, constructed for the occasion, on the line departing from Oxford Road station, or it could be accessed via road. The exhibition venue was auctioned off after the event, but sadly no buyer came forward who was prepared to use it as constructed, so it was sold off as old iron and second-hand materials.⁹

It operated a tiered admission system. For the first ten days, the last week, and every Thursday throughout the run of the exhibition, admission was priced at 2s 6d. From 18 May the daily cost was 1s, with reduced Saturday afternoon admission of 6d from 8 August.¹⁰ The exhibition was well visited by wealthier classes of society, with excursion trains from numerous cities run by companies including Thomas Cook. Notable visitors included Queen Victoria, the King of Belgium, the Queen of the Netherlands, Benjamin Disraeli, William Gladstone, Lord Palmerston, Charles Dickens, Alfred Lord Tennyson and John Ruskin. The extent to which the working classes were actually able to access the exhibition, and mixed perceptions of their behaviour and the value of the exhibition to them, were subjects of heated debate in the regional and national press.¹¹

Along similar lines, I reproduce here, without further comment, an excerpt from a thoroughly unpleasant letter to the *Manchester Courier* regarding the admission of women and young children:

Your correspondent's signature ['Wrong or right'] is well chosen – he is both wrong and right; right in considering that if infants in arms be admitted within

⁸ Pergam, *Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857*, p. 13.

⁹ 'Oct 28th: Cash receipts from all sources were £98,000, but expenditure was £99,500, with further costs still to be incurred, so the building was auctioned off in May 1858 as old iron and second-hand materials, to raise funds to meet the excess'. Scharf, 1858, pp. 327–8.

¹⁰ Pergam, *Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857*, p. 128, fn. 20. For context, the weekly wage of a Lancashire cotton mill worker was around 10s. Ibid., p. 97.

¹¹ Various examples are reproduced in Pergam, *Manchester's Art Treasures Exhibition*, pp. 201–4.

the fine art palace (and I quite coincide in your opinion that they should not) one shilling for their entrance is too large a sum to be levied ... Wrong in having brought his artless little treasure to the Art Treasures Exhibition, where the presence of such 'little strangers' is anything but 'welcome' to every admirer of the fine arts, music especially, for the introduction of a shrill nursery chorus *obligato* during the performance of a symphony by Haydn, however startling and novel, would not be considered by an admirer of the great composer as adding to the harmony of the *moreau*. Now comes the difficulty. How if a wife thinks that although a mother, she has as good a right as her liege lord to visit the exhibition? Must she then bring her 'wee bairn', and on entering, deposit her darling at the door with sticks, umbrellas, &c., and after payment of twopence take a 'last fond look' at her 'blessed baby', sitting in desolation with a printed label round its neck ... Wives should visit the exhibition building for there can be no doubt of the moral benefit which every mother will reap from the contemplation of so many *chefs d'oeuvres* of art.¹²

The author of this letter does redeem himself somewhat at its conclusion by making a sensible suggestion of assigning a room adjoining one of the galleries as a space where young visitors could be left with nurses or attendants, while their mothers perused the galleries in peace.

Music at the Exhibition

In February 1857 it was proudly announced in the press that:

The executive committee have now completed arrangements with Mr Hallé for a series of musical performances of a high order in the exhibition. There will be a daily performance of instrumental music, comprising selections from the works of the great classical composers; and also a series of musical fêtes on a scale of magnitude and excellence, we are assured, such as Manchester has never known before ... Only the holders of season tickets of the higher

¹² 'Infantry Charges At the Exhibition', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 6 June 1857.

class (two guineas) will be admitted on the days when the great musical fêtes are given, and we understand that the opening fête will take place on the inauguration day, early in May. The executive committee contemplate performances which will engage the professional services of between seven and eight hundred persons at each performance, including an orchestra of 100, and a chorus of 500. The best soloists of the day are to be engaged for these occasions. For the daily musical performances, Mr Hallé will select a band of fifty performers from the principal orchestras of Europe, and upon one day each week – which will be a sort of reserve day for season ticket-holders, and those paying a high fee for admission – Mr Hallé will conduct the performances personally.¹³

Hallé was paid the sizeable sum of £4515 to cover all expenses. His first task was to put together an orchestra to give daily afternoon concerts throughout the Exhibition. He recruited leading orchestral musicians from London and Paris, although the core of the orchestra was provided by the local professional musicians of the orchestra for the Gentlemen's Concert Society, which Halle had conducted since 1849.¹⁴ These musicians included Charles Seymour as leader. Sadly, full lists of the orchestra engaged for this Exhibition do not appear to be extant. The excerpt quoted above also reveals that Hallé was only contracted to conduct on special occasions and 'reserved' days, that is the Thursdays, where ticket prices were higher and the audience more exclusive. His presence was in fact used as an attraction to encourage the wealthier classes to attend, to get something extra for their money and to persuade them to part with more money. He recruited an assistant conductor—the French violinist M. Becquié de Peyreville—who conducted on ordinary days. Musical entertainment was not provided solely by the orchestra. An organ built by the Manchester firm Kirtland & Jardine dominated the western end of the Art Treasures Palace. Organ recitals were initially given daily, then later in the exhibition they increased to twice daily. These were generally performed by the Manchester-based organist Henry Walker, who was

¹³ 'The Promenade at the Palace for Art Treasures', *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, 21 February 1857.

¹⁴ Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 88.

appointed Exhibition Organist, but recitals were also given by visiting organists from around the country. Military bands were also a regular feature of the exhibition's musical programming.

Surprisingly few programmes survive; there are just 8 at Manchester Archives.¹⁵ Details of some of the programmes and ensembles appear in newspaper reports, but coverage is patchy, and remarks about the music are usually brief. The most substantial descriptions concern music on the gala days: opening day, closing day, and royal visits.

Music had a significant role on the opening day. The band of the 7th Dragoons was stationed on the approach to the exhibition, a bugler sounded the arrival of Prince Albert, and church bells rang throughout the day. Inside the Art Treasures Palace, Charles Hallé conducted a large orchestra and chorus, with the vocal soloists Clara Novello, Willoughby Weiss and Sims Reeves. The orchestra played the National Anthem as the Prince entered the building. After the key speeches, they performed 'The Heavens are Telling' from Haydn's *The Creation*. This was followed by prayers, then the organ began the 'Old Hundredth' psalm, joined by the orchestra and chorus. After this came a procession, while the orchestra played the march from Mendelssohn's *Athalie*. Once the Prince had returned to the dais, a selection from the *Ode to St Cecilia*, 'As from the power of Sacred Lays', was performed. The Prince declared the exhibition open, then the 'Hallelujah Chorus' was sung. The press reception was enthusiastic:

We must add a few lines respecting the arrangements, and the excellent and successful manner in which they were carried into effect. With regard to the musical performances, they were admirably conducted by Mr Charles Hallé, whose unerring baton kept the executants from falling into any blunder. The first verse of the National Anthem was sung by Madame Clara Novello, in her own unrivalled manner, and seldom has that beautiful voice rung out with such penetrating sweetness. Mrs Brooke, Mr Sims Reeves, and Mr Weiss took the remaining verses, being joined by the chorus. The effect of the third

¹⁵ Shelfmark RF 780.69 Me 515, one of which is for one of the Free Trade Hall concerts (see below).

verse of the Old Hundredth Psalm, with the bass and organ accompaniment, was thrilling in the extreme, and entirely in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion. 'The Heavens are Telling' was sung with majestic and steady vigour, the principals exerting themselves most successfully. In the selection from 'St Cecilia's Day' the fine clear organ of Madame Novello was heard to great advantage. The march from 'Athalie' was played with all the gusto that might have been expected from an orchestra including so much talent, and considerably heightened the effect of the spectacle of the royal procession. The musical portion concluded with the Hallelujah Chorus.¹⁶

The music for the ceremonial element of Queen Victoria's visit on 30 June 1857 was similarly traditional: Handel's 'Coronation Anthem', two items from Haydn's *The Creation*, 'Deeper and deeper still' from Handel's *Jephtha*, the first chorus from Mendelssohn's *Hymn of Praise*, and the 'Hallelujah Chorus' to conclude.

The first Thursday concert (Figure 25), commencing at 2.30, was described as 'a beautiful selection of music – in fact, a really first-class concert ... During the performance of the music most of the visitors assembled in the transept and west galleries, and retained their seats throughout, frequently expressing their satisfaction in emphatic terms'.¹⁷ This programme appears to be typical of the orchestral concerts at this exhibition, so far as can be ascertained from surviving examples: opera overtures, opera selections, individual movements from symphonies (generally the inner movements), and solo instrumental features. Occasionally a full symphony was performed, often by Mendelssohn. There were also two 'Grand Concerts' in the Free-Trade Hall featuring the Art Treasures Orchestra—one on the evening of the opening day, and one the week after the Exhibition closed (Figure 26)—plus musicians from this orchestra augmented the Gentlemen's Concerts orchestra for their concerts, which continued during the period of the exhibition.

¹⁶ All this information is taken from 'Opening of the Art Treasures Exhibition', *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, 9 May 1857.

¹⁷ Ibid.

THURSDAY.

There was an increase in the number of visitors to the palace on Thursday, and a remarkable feature in the arrivals was the immense number from a distance. Throughout the day the large open space and the carriage drive in front of the palace was crowded with carriages and vehicles of every description, amongst which were interspersed the vivid colours of the servants' liveries. This, with the handsome equipages and the plated trappings of the horses, produced a very gay and lively scene. The great influx was between two and three o'clock, at which period of the day, we understand, *Scipione* entered the palace within one hour. We find that the musical arrangements on the half-crown days provide for the playing of the organ, at which Mr. Walker presides, before noon, and performances of the orchestra after noon. On Thursday afternoon, at half-past two o'clock, the carefully selected corps of instrumentalists, including some of the best executants to be found in the country, and valuable levies from nearly every continental country, gave a beautiful selection of music—in fact, a really first-class concert. Mr. Charles Halle presided with his usual ability, and took his clever band through the following programme:—

PART FIRST.		
Overture.....	"Freischütz".....	——
Andante.....	from C Minor Symphony.....	Beethoven.
Minuetto.....	E flat Symphony.....	Mozart.
Scottish Symphony (No. 3).....	Mendelssohn.
PART SECOND.		
Overture.....	from "William Tell".....	Rossini.
Solo—Trombone.....	Mr. Russell.....	——
Selection.....	from "Don Giovanni,".....	with solos for Oboe, Bassoon, Cornet, and Trombone.....
"Fra Diavolo".....	——
March.....	from "Athalia".....	Mendelssohn.

The important part of leader of the orchestra was very efficiently occupied by Mr. C. A. Seymour. During the performance of the music most of the visitors assembled in the transept and west galleries, and retained their seats throughout, frequently expressing their satisfaction in emphatic terms. We notice that stalls have been opened in the palace for the accommodation of the visitors. At one the local journals are to be had, and this advantage was duly appreciated on Thursday, when copies arrived containing the Queen's speech, received early in the afternoon.

Figure 25: First Thursday Concert Programme and Review, 'Opening of the Art Treasures Exhibition', *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, 9 May 1857.

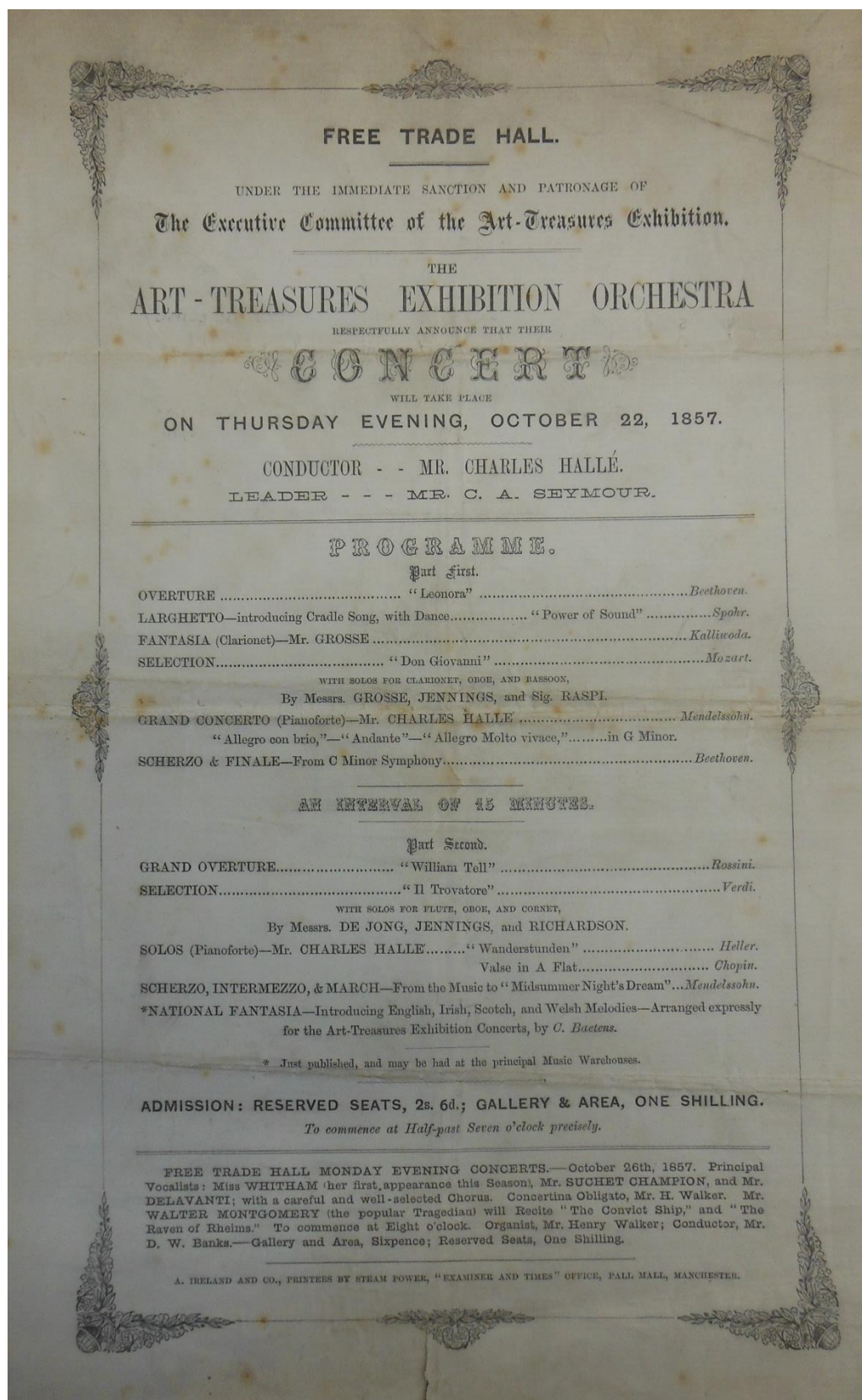


Figure 26: Concert Programme for the Art-Treasures Exhibition Orchestra at the Free Trade Hall, 22 October 1847.

On Saturday 19 September, there was a visit by 2540 operatives from Titus Salt's Saltaire works, accompanied by the works band. The press reported: 'The men were brought in three long trains, and they were accompanied by the band belonging to the works, which was allowed to play while the visitors dined in the second-class tent, in two relays, and afterwards from the clock gallery'.¹⁸ This segregation of the workers' music as well as the workers is striking, although both elements were of great interest and novelty to the reporters. Friday 2 October was designated a 'Grand Military Day'. The *Examiner* reported:

The musical arrangements of the day, which were the great attraction, were as successful as could be desired. The 4th Dragoons and the 36th Regiment played an hour each, between twelve and two o'clock, and were followed by the Art Treasures Exhibition Band, which played from half-past two until four o'clock. At four o'clock the three bands united in the orchestra, and performed in a brilliant style, a Grand Polonaise, 'Faust', Spohr; Grand March, 'Tannhäuser' [sic], Wagner; and the National Anthem, the well-known strains of which reached all through the building.¹⁹

The close of the Exhibition also included massed band performances by the orchestra plus the bands of the 4th Dragoons and the 36th Regiment. Programmes for all the elements are preserved in the press.²⁰ The band programmes were largely opera overtures and selections. The orchestra programme included a couple of overtures, a minuetto from a Mendelssohn symphony and an 'Andante in F' by Beethoven. The whole then concluded with a massed band performance including all three ensembles, opening with Rule Britannia and closing with God Save The Queen, with an overture by Auber, a 'Polacca' by Spohr, and marches by Meyerbeer and Wagner in between.

¹⁸ *Manchester Courier*, 26 September 1857.

¹⁹ 'Art Treasures Exhibition', *Manchester Examiner and Times*, 3 October 1857.

²⁰ 'Close of the Art Treasures Exhibition', *Manchester Guardian*, 19 October 1857. For the combined band programme on closing day see *The Manchester Courier*, 25 October 1857.

The reception of the Art Treasures orchestral performances was mixed. The press reviews were initially enthusiastic, but rapidly decreased in frequency and content, and became increasingly critical. The *Manchester Courier* review of 20 June 1857, for example, described how on the most recent Thursday:

Mr Charles Hallé conducted the band, whose performances were of a more popular nature than usual, the programme containing one piece of classical music. The transept was much crowded during the whole time of the performances, and the visitors appeared to approve of the change. It is evident that the music is a secondary matter at the Exhibition. People go there to study the works of art, and not to hear classical music, which requires sustained and undivided attention to appreciate it. After tiring themselves by walking about the building, stooping to examine some pictures, and straining their necks to see others, the people come to the transept for a rest, and a little music that will refresh their spirits. Instead of saying that it would be a desecration to play other than the highest style of music in a building having so high a purpose as an art temple, we rather think it is paying no compliment to the composers of the classical school to produce it under such circumstances. The band is heard best in light music, and the organ in that of a more sedate character.

Other reviews discussed the fact that the orchestral performances on days apart from Thursdays tended to include lighter and more popular music as a matter of course.

Interestingly, the concerts by the exhibition orchestra in the Free Trade Hall, and the concerts by the augmented Gentlemen's concerts, taking place as they did in dedicated concert venues, received far more extensive coverage in the press and were reviewed far more favourably than the concerts at the exhibition itself. The concert which took place on the opening night of the whole exhibition was reported to have followed a scheme suggested by Prince Albert, who had originally planned to be present, and 'the classical tone of the programme, and the talent engaged, were sufficient in themselves to merit the attention of the musical community'.²¹ The major

²¹ 'Grand Concert in the Free-Trade Hall', *Manchester Examiner and Times*, 9 May 1857.

works presented were Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 and his Piano Concerto No. 5, with Hallé himself at the piano, about which the reviews indulged in extreme hyperbole.

In light of all this, it is valuable to revisit Hallé's claims that 'Thousands and thousands of people from the northern counties there heard a symphony for the first time'. The evidence does not support this assertion, given that symphonies tended to appear only as individual movements at the exhibition, and the audience was often an exclusive one, particularly on Thursdays when Hallé conducted. The musical legacy of this exhibition is generally considered in light of the ongoing existence of Hallé's orchestra, but the actual impact of music during the exhibition appears to have been far more limited, further evidenced by the lack of press engagement with the music and absence of much in the way of surviving musical traces. Both of these observations are rendered particularly striking and unusual as a result of the sheer quantity of press coverage and archival materials for all the other concerts and organisations explored within this dissertation.

Having resolved to retain the Art Treasures orchestra and commence his own new series, Hallé continued the story in his autobiography thus:

the first concert took place before a scanty audience. I was not disheartened ... and judged rightly that the crowds who had thronged the exhibition did not specially come for the music, and that concerts offering nothing but music, and at necessarily higher prices of admission stood upon another footing. I felt that the whole musical education of the public had to be undertaken, and to the dismay of my friends I resolved to give thirty concerts, and either to win over a public or to fail ignominiously. The 'Gentlemen's Concerts' were an exclusive society; none but subscribers were admitted and no tickets sold. Before my advent they had never even published the programmes of their concerts, and the directors had only done so since 1850 at my earnest request, because I objected to conducting concerts of this clandestine sort. To the public at large symphonies and

overtures were therefore *terra incognita*, and it was not to be expected that they would flock to them at once.²²

This does a tremendous disservice to the earlier history of music in Manchester. The Gentlemen's Concerts may have been exclusive, but the evidence presented in this dissertation has already demonstrated that organisation's remarkably long history, and early concert programmes contain a wealth of symphonic material. As we have seen, by the 1830s and 1840s Manchester could boast a flourishing concert life, with multiple orchestral and vocal concert series of varying success, all of which routinely featured overtures if not symphonies. There were cheap concerts at Manchester's Mechanics' Institution and Athenaeum, numerous successful glee and madrigal societies, and even a series of chamber music concerts in the form of Charles Seymour's 'Quartett Concerts', begun in around 1838—more than a decade before Hallé began his own classical chamber concerts in Manchester. The task of 'educating' the population of Manchester to appreciate 'serious' music also had a significant prehistory, notably through the public lectures on music to audiences of thousands at the Royal Manchester Institution, Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institute from the mid-1830s onwards, reported verbatim in the press, and via the impressive and notably early programme notes produced by the Hargreaves Choral Society from 1841. Many of the businessmen who supported and took part in these series and societies were instrumental in running the Art Treasures Exhibition, and many of the entrepreneurial musicians who organised and performed in the musical activities were employed as leading members of Hallé's orchestra. Furthermore, given the importance previously ascribed to Manchester's German community for encouraging the advancement of music in Manchester, the German influence within all the organisations and societies explored during this dissertation appears to have been surprisingly limited. Few German names appear among the membership lists of the glee clubs and madrigal societies, the Hargreaves society subscription list, or in connection with the institutions described in Chapters 4 and 5. Perhaps a wider distribution of credit for Manchester's

²² *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, p. 131.

increasingly intellectual, educational music scene should be given to Manchester's entrepreneurial professional musicians and its enthusiastic industrialists.

The Art Treasures Exhibition emerges as a starting point for Hallé's orchestra, but it is incorrect to regard it as a starting point for music in Manchester. The exhibition provided Hallé with a new orchestra, cemented by an extended period of daily performances, but it did not create the environment within which his new series could flourish. That musical community, with an enthusiasm for scholarship as well as sociability, connoisseurship and musical evangelism and a determined expansion of opportunities for musical participation and concert attendance across the social strata, had already been created by the efforts and initiatives of Manchester's musical population during the early Victorian decades. Hallé wrote his colleagues out of his history, but his success is due in significant measure to the musical society in which he came to live, and the people who created and formed that society deserve to be remembered.

Conclusion: Music in Industrial Society

This project began as an investigation of the musical life of early Victorian Manchester, seeking to determine in the first instance what types of music making were taking place and who was participating in them. From this starting point, several themes emerged, which ultimately proved to be far more interesting and far more significant. The first key discovery was the sheer quantity and variety of music in Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s. The interconnectedness of much of this music was inescapable, resulting in the adoption of ‘networks’ as an organising principle. Tracing the networks has revealed just how embedded music was within industrial Manchester, as numerous leading civic figures engaged enthusiastically in musical activities within their social and private lives. From this foundation emerged the importance and the agency music was afforded within broader structures and issues of industrial life: the power it was deemed to have; the ends to which it was put; and what uses people actually made of music within their everyday lives.

This dissertation is bookended by the Grand Musical Festival of 1836 and the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857. The former has been described as ‘the twilight of an age’, harking back to earlier practices.¹ The latter has been viewed as a starting point for music in Manchester, associated with the establishment of the Hallé Orchestra. These significant events invite us to look for signs of ‘progress’ during the intervening years. Changes in social structure and associated musical activities can certainly be identified. Focusing on more organised, formalised events, a movement may be discerned, leading from a private, exclusive setting for engaging with the arts to a more public, inclusive medium, albeit one frequently based upon paternalistic and didactic foundations. The 1836 Festival, together with the Royal Manchester Institution and the Gentlemen’s Concerts, operated by subscription to a closed membership of the city’s elite. Over the subsequent two decades, debates by civic figures considering the utility of the arts as a rational recreation increased music’s profile and its accessibility. This in turn prompted evangelism from music professionals

¹ Lewis Foreman, ‘The Twilight of an Age: The Manchester Grand Musical Festivals of 1828 and 1836, the Development of the Railway, and the English Choral Festival in the Nineteenth Century’, *Manchester Sounds*, 6 (2005–06), 35–69.

about the nature of music as an art and a science worthy of scholarly attention. It also empowered connoisseurs proudly to share their privately gained expertise, in service of the education and improvement of an expanding audience. By 1857, the Art Treasures Exhibition was able to offer cheap admission to a mass audience, and music sat at the heart of the event.

But such an overarching narrative oversimplifies the pathways between the two points, camouflaging the battles for identity and society which raged during the tempestuous 1830s and 40s. Rather than seeking to determine how musical life changed in Manchester between 1836 and 1857, it is more valuable to conclude by exploring some of the bigger concerns around how industrial society conceived of itself, and the place of music within that.

The search for, and the construction of, identity sits at the heart of every chapter of this dissertation. The professional identities of musicians, the public personas of citizens and the cultural identities of institutions all needed to be reframed and shaped to a rapidly changing industrial society. At stake were how individuals imagined themselves and how they positioned themselves within new networks. Then, as now, social and cultural lives played a central role in self-perception and in the formation of individual and collective identities.² An extended passage from Small's *Musicking* chimes with the major findings of this dissertation, and the multiplicity of identities in construction:

Those taking part in a musical performance are in effect saying – to themselves, to one another, and to anyone else who may be watching or listening – *This is who we are*. If 'who we are' should happen to be those who have control of the means of socialization and communication in a society and if the 'we', as is probable in that case, believe themselves to be inherently superior to the rest of society, not to mention other societies, then they will have the confidence and the power to impose their forms of musicking as the best and to define all others

² For more recent work in this area, in addition to the works of Turino, Small and Finnegan cited earlier in this dissertation, see also Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', *Questions of Cultural Identity* 1/1 (1996), 108–28, and Simon Frith, ed., *Popular Music Volume IV: Music and Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

as inferior or, at best, approximations of their own. But on the other hand, ‘who we are’ is at the same time composed of any number of individual ‘who I am’s’, and as we have already noticed, everyone belongs to a number of social groups simultaneously and has a degree of choice concerning which or whose values they espouse, which relationships they regard as ideal. The ‘who I am’ is not as determinate as one might at first sight expect; in the context of the performance, who an individual is, is to a large extent who he or she chooses to be or imagines him or herself to be. Who we are is how we relate, and the relationships articulated by a musical performance are not so much those that actually exist as they are the relationships that those taking part desire to exist.³

Amongst the elite, the image they sought to project to the wider world, as individuals and as a collective society, was in part a reaction against prejudices that wider world held towards them. The emergence of Manchester as industrial world leader resulted in much heated commentary. Some of the highest levels of vitriol were aimed at the industrial entrepreneur—the ‘Manchester Man’—who found himself characterised as a philistine interested only in material gain. Engels recorded, in 1844:

I have never seen a class so deeply demoralised, so incurably debased by selfishness, so corroded within, so incapable of progress ... For it nothing exists in this world, except for the sake of money ... It knows no bliss save that of rapid gain, no pain save that of losing gold.⁴

The poet and critic Matthew Arnold wrote frequently of the industrialist ‘philistines’, which was his term for the entire industrial middle class.⁵ The charge of philistinism was reinforced in literature, memorably embodied in the characters of Gradgrind and Bounderby in Charles Dickens’s *Hard Times*, first published in 1854.⁶ This popular

³ Small, *Musicking*, p. 134.

⁴ Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 276.

⁵ Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1869). The term ‘Philistine’ first appears on page 34, then is repeated countless times in varying contexts throughout the book. See in particular Chapter 3: ‘Barbarians, Philistines, Populace’.

⁶ Also notable is the frequency with which *Hard Times* is cited as a true account of the industrial condition, while it is generally overlooked that this book was deliberately polemical, and that Dickens

understanding of the character of industrial businessmen became enshrined as fact, perpetuated in numerous nineteenth- and twentieth-century discourses.⁷ Confronted with the actuality of life in early nineteenth-century Manchester, this stereotype becomes impossible to maintain, but self-consciousness about the accusation underpinned the activities that Manchester's elite undertook and the public events they organised as they attempted to rehabilitate this image. The justification for the establishment of the Royal Manchester Institution directly referenced the need to demonstrate that Manchester's citizens were not interested in commerce alone, while the 1828 and 1836 music festivals clearly displayed to the country what could be achieved when Manchester's financial and cultural resources were directed towards a grand musical occasion. Despite their determined efforts, the prejudice persisted for the duration of the period under consideration, as evidenced by the surprised reaction to Manchester holding the 1857 Art Treasures Exhibition. This event similarly contained within its founding documentation and rationale a self-conscious desire to 'perform' artistic and cultural seriousness for the benefit of a national audience. Time and again, music was turned to as an event or part of an event which could assist Manchester Men in refuting the negative slurs directed towards them.

Such considerations also partially drove the desirability of a more serious approach to music, and the growth in respect for music as an art and as an object of study. Choosing to learn more about music, to attend lectures, to read programme notes and to engage with the detailed press coverage, all elevated the art and its audiences from social ornament to valuable rational recreation. Clearly this was not rooted solely in outward presentation, however, as it was deeply grounded in the Victorian desire for education, improvement and morally acceptable forms of leisure. Music held a privileged position, regarded as appropriate for women and children as well as for men, closely connected with church and chapel which further reinforced its

provided the contrasting picture of the philanthropic wealthy merchant in the form of the brothers Cheeryble in *Nicholas Nickleby* (characters believed to have been based on real life Manchester businessmen). This is discussed in various places but see, for example, Keith Hooper, *Charles Dickens: Faith, Angels and the Poor* (Oxford: Lion Books, 2017), p. 129.

⁷ As recently as 2006, as cited previously, the sociologist Peter J. Martin portrayed Manchester's Victorian middle-class elite as attending musical events purely for social advancement.

respectability, and rendered particularly attractive by its accessibility and sociability on many levels.

Among the 'lower orders', outward projections of identity were generally less concerned with a national audience and directed more towards their own communities and networks, but music was similarly central. Sometimes it was deployed to display and reinforce distinct identities such as Chartists and groups of reformists, where surviving evidence records occasions when music was used to reinforce boundaries and strengthen group bonds. Sometimes, as with the middle classes, a display of music formed part of an attempt to project respectability, reacting against prejudices, although on such occasions it was often a response to prejudices about Manchester's working classes held by those further up the local hierarchy.⁸

Related to, but not completely overlapping with, the construction of identity was the construction of community. We can see this at the level of the individual most clearly in the activities of the participatory societies. The strength of community and sociability within the Amateur Glee and Catch Club, the Gentlemen's Glee Club and the Manchester Madrigal Society is still tangible today, even when mediated through dusty archives. We can also see the work done to try and construct community on a larger scale through the histories of the civic institutions. The RMI, MMI and Athenaeum were all very deliberate attempts to increase social cohesion and to foster shared values across all strata of society. While some less savoury elements of social control were part of the masterplan, there was also a lot of genuine bridge-building and good intent. Again, music was a key element in attempts to build community within and between such institutions.

The relations between the merchants and manufacturers, and the 'lower orders', and how these were mediated by music intersect with the theory put forward by Jürgen Habermas in his work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.⁹ Habermas set out his theory of the public sphere in Britain as a development from a literary form, acquiring political functions during the eighteenth century, before

⁸ Treatment of this aspect of Manchester's musical life is necessarily brief within this dissertation, but see in particular the writings of Samuel Bamford and the work on Chartism cited in Chapter 4, plus the novels of Elizabeth Gaskell and Elizabeth Banks together with related research on their historical contexts.

⁹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

transforming again into what Habermas felt to be a degenerative form during the nineteenth-century.¹⁰ Habermas is careful to define the public sphere as a historical category

typical of an epoch. It cannot be abstracted from the unique developmental history of that 'civil society' originating in the European High Middle Ages; nor can it be transferred, idealtypically generalised, to any number of historical situations that represent formally similar constellations.¹¹

Manchester, the archetypal new industrial city with a politically engaged population and a highly mature associational culture, is the type of society, historically and geographically, upon which Habermas constructed his theory. Early Victorian Manchester sits at a crossroads, displaying the political public sphere as close to its ideal as Habermas felt it ever reached, destabilised by an expansion of the strata of public able to enter the public sphere.

The historical specificity and political thrust of Habermas's argument has led to significant misunderstandings and misrepresentations in existing work on music and the public sphere. There seems to be a tendency to take as a starting point the definition that 'The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public'.¹² The resulting work, including Harold Love's 2004 essay on 'How music created a public', has given rise to some interesting and important findings on topics such as audiences for music and networks of distribution.¹³ However, such work, despite referencing Habermas frequently, seems to define a musical public and a public sphere a long way removed from that envisaged by Habermas. Many writers, not just in music, treat this formulation only at a surface level and conceive the public sphere as being a place where people come together, a

¹⁰ Howard Wach has undertaken interesting work in this area, investigating aspects of the theory which meet the actuality of life in Manchester in the early nineteenth century, and identifying aspects of it that only existed sporadically, if at all. Howard Wach, 'Civil Society, Moral Identity and the Liberal Public Sphere: Manchester and Boston, 1810–40', *Social History*, 21/3 (1996), 281–303.

¹¹ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. xvii–xviii.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹³ Harold Love, 'How Music Created a Public', *Criticism*, 46/2 (2004), 257–71.

place in which music can happen.¹⁴ In fact, particularly where such work explicitly positions itself as grounded on the Habermasian public sphere, such an understanding rather misses the point. Habermas's briefest definition is not the simple statement it may at first appear: it must be read in light of the fuller formulation of his theory, where the concept of coming together as a public goes far deeper than the surface understanding of public as people in one place. When Habermas speaks of a public his use of the word is supported by his exposition on the various prerequisites for its formation, as a unified and ultimately politicised body, able to hold and present a legitimate public opinion.¹⁵ Given that Habermas's definition of the public sphere is inseparable from his conception of the process of formation of a public, the public sphere is as much process as space. Harold Mah has provided a carefully argued critique of the tendency to spatialise the public sphere and the pitfalls to such a reading. He highlights the centrality to the theory of the transformation from persons into a unitary, collective subject; explains how these fundamentals of abstract individualism and common humanity undermine talk of multiple publics, and cautions the public sphere is not a space that one can enter, occupy and leave.¹⁶ Seeking to apply Habermas to music, looking at how his theory might explain the formation of publics for music, as many other writers have done, fundamentally misunderstands his theory and is why it often cannot be made to fit. When considering music within the Habermasian public sphere one cannot abstract music from the bigger picture of public and politics.

The particular relevance of Habermas to this dissertation is that music in Manchester clearly played an important role in the pursuit, realised or otherwise, of a unified public. According to Habermas, the bourgeois public sphere, in its idealised politicised form, had in principle to be inclusive, but in practice inhabited by educated, property-owning individuals. These preconditions in theory allowed individuals within

¹⁴ For a very recent example, this occurs in Christian Thoroau and Hansjakob Ziemer, 'The Art of Listening and Its Histories: An Introduction', in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 12.

¹⁵ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, section II 'Social Structures of the Public Sphere', pp. 27–56, and parts of section III 'Political Functions of the Public Sphere', pp. 57–88.

¹⁶ Harold Mah, 'Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians', *The Journal of Modern History*, 72/1 (2000), 153–82.

the sphere to meet as equals, while also maintaining the illusion of universal access necessary for there to be a unified public.¹⁷ He conflated this with his theory that commodification of culture turned works of art into something that is, in principle, generally accessible and open to debate, positing the separation of art from function as a vital step in its establishment as an object of rational-critical debate.¹⁸ As we have seen, musical life in early Victorian Manchester was highly organised, and the structural forms it took were driven by educated, property-owning individuals. In 1856 the doors to the Gentlemen's Concert Hall opened two hours before the start of the performance. Here, then, the musical event became a place where it could be possible to discuss many matters, perhaps including music, as equals. The suitability of music itself as an object for rational-critical debate was furthered by the music lectures, programme notes and detailed press coverage. Gillian Russell highlights the place of lecturing more precisely:

Because of its independence from institutions such as parliament, the law and the church, lecturing, like debating, was one of the crucial sites of the Enlightenment public sphere in a Habermasian sense. It was a 'rational entertainment' whose more earnest political or scientific dimensions were bound up with its status as a sociable event.¹⁹

Musical events therefore provided an opportunity for the educated, property-owning strata of Manchester's society to come together as equals in an environment where opportunities for rational-critical debate could be found, upon both musical and non-musical matters.

Such rational-critical debate about music became part of the character of the emerging 'public' and helped shape its political interests and direction. Many writers on music engaging with Habermas's ideas explain music criticism as part of the literary public sphere preceding the development of the political bourgeois public sphere.

¹⁷ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 85–86.

¹⁸ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 36–39.

¹⁹ Gillian Russell, 'Spouters or Washerwomen: the Sociability of Romantic Lecturing', in *Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain 1770–1840*, ed. Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 124.

However, here it is worth highlighting Habermas's statement that 'The humanity of the literary public sphere served to increase the effectiveness of the public sphere in the political realm'. He also emphasised how the political and literary spheres were perceived as one by their inhabitants. Here he introduced the important idea that entrants into the public sphere conceived of themselves as 'bourgeois' and 'homme'; as property-owner and human being.²⁰ Habermas has theorised how engagement with music in the public sphere is one means by which society finds its common humanity and individuals can develop their self-understanding,²¹ defining culture as 'that sphere in which property-owning private people would meet as "human beings" and only as such'. Habermas's theory therefore reinforces our understanding of music as one means by which people constructed their sense of humanity, both through engagement with music as private individuals and through the musical experience as debated culture. The literary public sphere, and music within it, was playing a role in shaping the moral framework which Manchester's middle-class elite brought to their political activities.²²

Such conceptions around the power inherent in music have a long history, and how music comes to have social meaning has been a topic of debate for centuries. Often the evidence relating to how music functions within society tells us far more about those ascribing function to it than the function it achieves in practice. Christopher Small asks in *Musicking*:

What is this thing called music, that human beings the world over should find in it such satisfaction, should invest in it so much of their lives and resources? The question has been asked many times over the centuries, and since at least the time of the ancient Greeks, scholars and musicians have tried to explain the nature and meaning of music and find the reason for its extraordinary power in the lives of human beings. Many of these attempts have been complex and

²⁰ Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 55–56.

²¹ See for example Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p. 56.

²² Howard Wach arrived at a similar conclusion by a different route in his convincing paper of 1996, previously cited, exploring through case studies of Manchester and Boston how the theory of a public sphere is useful in specifying the zones of historical experience which generated bourgeois moral identity.

ingenious ... But none has succeeded in giving a satisfactory answer to the question – or rather, pair of questions – *What is the meaning of music?* and *What is the function of music in human life?*²³

Martin Stokes also attempts to summarise the big picture:

Many if not most societies believe that good music produces good citizens. In the Western tradition, we have been familiar with the idea since the time of Plato. The idea is an enduring one, certainly very much alive today. Many societies, over history, and across the world, have also believed that good music needs to be in the hands of the right people, because the dangers of bad music are obvious to them. Music can lead people astray; it can upset the natural order of things.²⁴

Theories relating to musical meaning have been developed by many scholars from varied disciplinary backgrounds using an array of approaches. To Habermas, the ‘humanity’ inherent in musical activity is fundamental. Within sociology, Peter Martin claims music derives its meaning from the pattern of social activities in which it is embedded, while Tia DeNora argues music’s ‘effects’ come from the ways that individuals place it within their personal semiotic web of musical and extra-musical associations.²⁵ To further explain the humanity of music, Celia Applegate turns to the field of ‘deep history’, specifically the work of William McNeill. Writing in the specific context of nineteenth-century choral singing, Applegate highlights McNeill’s formulation ‘keeping together in time’ as a unique human trait. McNeill argues that communal rhythmic activity does not derive from social bonds, it creates them, ‘thus making possible the very experience of society itself’.²⁶ Applegate also highlights the

²³ Christopher Small, *Musicking*, p. 2.

²⁴ Martin Stokes, ‘The Musical Citizen’, *Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi*, 1/2 (2018), 95–109.

²⁵ Peter J. Martin, *Music and the Sociological Gaze: Art Worlds and Cultural Production* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Tia DeNora, *Music In Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 61.

²⁶ Celia Applegate, ‘The Building of Community through Choral Singing’, in *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, ed. Donna M. Di Grazia (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 4–5; paraphrasing William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

evolutionary psychologist Robert Dunbar's work on the release of endorphins when music-making in groups, making participants happy to be together, and the neurobiologist Walter Freeman's comparable work on the production of the hormone oxytocin while singing.²⁷ This biological and evolutionary evidence causes Applegate to conclude that making music in groups 'does not just express but enables our capacity for cooperative existence and action'.²⁸ Oliver Sachs, Professor of Neurology and Psychiatry, also takes the long view, describing in *Musicophilia* that Man is a musical animal: 'we humans are a musical species no less than a linguistic one'.²⁹

When looking at the (musical) lives of individuals and small groups in early Victorian Manchester, it is their humanness which resonates most strongly: Richard Andrews' industrious and approachable musical family; William Shore's and the Bellhouse brothers' sociable musical enthusiasm; Edward Taylor's and Charles Sever's gentle musical evangelism. For these individuals, music was a core part of their own identity, their own community, their own sense of self, just as we find described in different contexts today, such as in Ruth Finnegan's *Hidden Musicians* or Christopher Small's *Musicking*. It is therefore only natural, given the value found in music in their own lives, that individuals in positions of power and responsibility recognised the potential value of music as a means of building identity and community on a societal level.

In his exploration of the formation of the idea of the 'nation', Benedict Anderson describes how nations are imagined as communities 'because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'.³⁰ This idea appears to hold true for Manchester, perhaps as much now as in the early nineteenth century. The judgements Manchester was subjected to from those who did not know it or its people, criticizing the Manchester Men and the working classes alike, arguably stimulated the strength of

University Press, 2006), p. 206. Applegate also references Daniel Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008).

²⁷ Applegate, 'Building of Community', p. 5. Her references to Dunbar and Freeman are drawn from Steven Mithen, *The Singing Neanderthals: The Origins of Music, Language, Mind, and Body* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 214–17.

²⁸ Applegate, 'Building of Community', p. 5.

²⁹ Oliver Sachs, *Musicophilia* (London: Picador, 2008), p. xi.

³⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2006), p. 7.

its resultant imagined community. Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s already displayed enormous civic pride, and desires were voiced in all quarters for community cohesion, even if there were disagreements as to what that might look like in practice.

Manchester undoubtedly contained divisions, factions and conflicts throughout the nineteenth century. This project has to draw its limits somewhere, therefore much work remains to be done in investigating the musical lives of the working classes, the Chartists and other dissident groups, and various different religious and ethnic communities. Michael Warner has written of 'counterpublics', while others have suggested alternative, parallel and multiple public spheres, so new sources may further complicate understanding of the type of (musical) community and society made apparent in the sources already analysed for this research.³¹ After all, this study is largely based on surviving records of the dominant classes. However, the picture my sources paint is compelling. Manchester remained a small enough place in these decades that its network of leadership was tightly linked socially as well as professionally, their vision for Manchester and its population was strong, and the way they set out to develop and strengthen their growing population was coherent and firmly grounded in their own politics and morality. It was often paternalistic, and various sub-groups frequently railed against it, but ultimately, while it took on new shapes in response to contact with the population, it prevailed. It is not just their surviving history which has come down to us today, but their way of doing things. Several of the institutions still survive and many of the patterns of life established in the 1830s and 1840s continue in the present. In terms of music, models which emerged in Manchester and elsewhere in Britain during this period—the nature of the public concert, the structure of concert programming, the value of music and in particular communal singing within educational and social initiatives—remain at the heart of how we conceive of and do music today.

Questions remain as to how unique Manchester actually was, and how its musical life compared to that of other early Victorian cities. This question is difficult to answer because, in most cases, similar kinds of detailed work across a spectrum of

³¹ Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2005); Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 25/26 (1990), 56–80.

institutional archives remains to be done. There are many similarities already apparent between Manchester's musical life at this time and that of Birmingham and Liverpool.³² It is likely that the majority of industrial towns with significant non-conformist influences would have approached the construction of their societies, and the place of music within them, in similar ways by dint of the network of literature and personal connections supporting and reinforcing such approaches. It would be interesting to explore such connections in more detail. It would also be interesting to look again at London in the light of what was taking place in Manchester. The history of London's musical life has frequently been dominated by a focus on the elite, but London had Mechanics' Institutes and other such initiatives too, many of which made use of music.

Manchester's musical life was certainly markedly different from that of London's elite. While the gentry took a step back from Manchester's industrial environment, the industrial entrepreneurs, faced with big questions about what to do with the rapidly growing, politically unstable population, were prioritising an approach to culture based on social order, individual improvement and philanthropic responsibility. While in London upper-class circles the perceived effeminacy of musical accomplishment was regarded with deep suspicion, it is notable that in Manchester at the same time it was seen as perfectly acceptable for the preeminent industrialists and civic leaders to display a marked interest in music.³³ The musical life of early nineteenth-century London has been presented as a narrative of expensive public concerts and exclusive private soirées. In Manchester we find a story of music education, the public music lecture, vocal classes and other participatory groups and, arising out of these, notably early cheap concerts, first within the Mechanics' Institution and later in the Free Trade Hall. It is clear that the newness of Manchester's society resulted in a new type of musical life, although future research may well show these traits were common across industrial cities in the early Victorian period.

³² Charles McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Antje Pieper, *Music and the Making of Middle-Class Culture: A Comparative History of Nineteenth-Century Leipzig and Birmingham* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

³³ For a very brief summary of the history of the characterisation as 'effeminate' and pointers towards related literature, see Ruth A. Solie, 'No "Land Without Music" After All', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 32/1 (2004), p. 262.

Nevertheless, there are also many ways in which Manchester was genuinely exceptional. Central among these is the fact that it was seen by others as unique at the time. As detailed in the introductory chapter, Manchester was widely regarded as the world's first industrial city. It was perceived as having a new, if rather concerning type of society, and therefore how that society formed and functioned had more significance, both to its contemporaries and in the present, than might otherwise have been the case. Peterloo was another unparalleled event and formative symbol of the city's identity. To those of us more familiar with the idea of Manchester as the home of radical reform, the strength of Tory control prior to 1819 may come as a surprise. Michael Turner has noted that, prior to Peterloo, a 'select Tory-Anglican circle' had kept a firm hold on local affairs for several decades.³⁴ In the immediate aftermath of the massacre this elite sought to maintain control. There were strenuous efforts to suppress reporting and to whitewash the whole affair, while the Tory-supporting *Manchester Mercury* made little attempt to report on deaths and injuries, instead concentrating on discrediting Henry Hunt.³⁵ Over the next few months and years, however, the liberal response came to dominate. A sizable proportion of Manchester's middle class, and of the country as a whole, were deeply shocked by the events which had taken place. As John Benjamin Smith described:

The bloody proceedings at Peterloo startled the whole nation ... These proceedings produced a deep impression on the minds of thoughtful men, who began to think we were on the brink of despotism, and that the time had arrived when the country should be no longer ruled by Landowners and Boroughmongers, but by representatives chosen by the people.³⁶

³⁴ Michael Turner, *Reform and Respectability: The Making of a Middle-Class Liberalism in Early Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1995), p. 3.

³⁵ For example, 'Fatal Results of the Radical Reform Meeting', *Manchester Mercury*, 17 August 1819, p. 4, opens thus: 'The events of yesterday will bring down upon the name of Hunt, and his accomplices, the deep and lasting execrations of many a sorrowing family, and of the well-affected members of society at large'.

³⁶ F. A. Bruton, ed., *Three Accounts of Peterloo by Eyewitnesses Bishop Stanley, Lord Hylton and John Benjamin Smith* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1921), pp. 71–74.

The influential reformer and journalist Archibald Prentice made similar observations about the growth of middle-class support for reform, and the effect Peterloo had at accelerating the cause:

The amount of subscription [to the relief fund] proved that a deep sympathy for the oppressed and injured reformers prevailed amongst the middle classes ... sympathy with reformers gave the promise of co-operation in the work of reform; and from this period may be dated a marked and favourable change in the current of public opinion.³⁷

As these statements imply, the events of Peterloo catalysed a sea-change in the political landscape of Manchester, affording the emergent liberal middle class the opportunity to capitalise on the groundswell of public opinion and, over the next decade, to gain powers previously held by the Tory elite. The establishment of the *Manchester Guardian* amplified the voices of the respectable reformers and increased the circulation and legitimacy of their views. Calls for building bridges across society, the provision of opportunities for social and moral improvement for all classes, and efforts to promote social cohesion, were manifested in the establishment of the Royal Manchester Institution, Manchester Mechanics' Institution, Manchester Statistical Society and other such initiatives. The place that music quickly established within Manchester's liberal movement, with a particular focus on the utility of music to underpin community and social harmony, comes into sharper focus when viewed through the lens of the aftershocks of Peterloo.

This dissertation suggests that the humanity attached to music in discourse and practice renders it an agent of particular power in the negotiation and transformation of the concerns inherent within industrialising society. In the turbulent environment of newly industrial Manchester, the nature of community and humanity were of

³⁷ Archibald Prentice, *Historical Recollections of Manchester Intended to Illustrate the Progress of Public Opinion from 1792 to 1832* (3rd edition., London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970; originally published 1851), p. 170. Prentice (1792–1857) was an influential reformer and journalist. He visited St Peter's Fields as the crowds arrived, and although he did not witness the cavalry charge, he did witness the aftermath. He was instrumental in raising awareness of the atrocity (he and John Edward Taylor wrote the two accounts published in London papers the day after it happened, while the *Times* journalist remained in detention) and he was part of the relief fund committee.

fundamental importance to the future of the city, hence the centrality of music within the city's moral discourse and civic life. It would be wise, however, to conclude with a caution that extrapolating these illustrations into statements about the character of 'Manchester Men' is dangerous for the important reason that it continues to group them as a collective, which risks losing the individuality upon which this history is based. The minute details of the music making of specific people, combined with the familiarity some of their practices and the experiences they describe retain to the present day, briefly provide us with a connection to the everyday lives of some of Manchester's forgotten citizens. As Thomas Turino puts it, 'it is in living, breathing individuals that "culture" and musical meaning ultimately reside'.³⁸ Following the work of Tia DeNora, Thomas Turino and Christopher Small, it is important that a political or sociological reading of musical life in the early Victorian city does not neglect to highlight the sheer love of, and enthusiasm for, music that is so abundantly evident in the activities of our nineteenth-century forebears.

³⁸ Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life*, p. 95.

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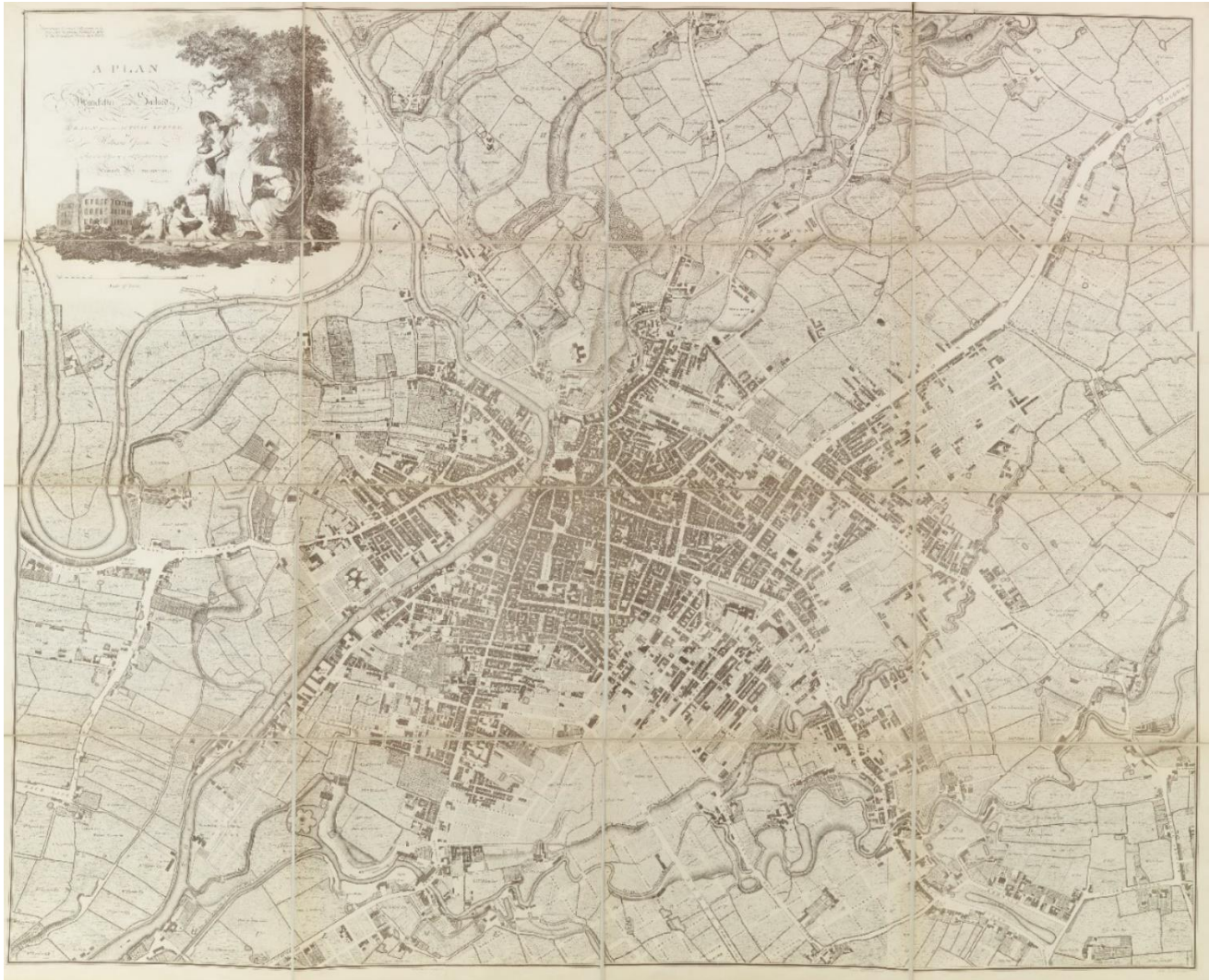
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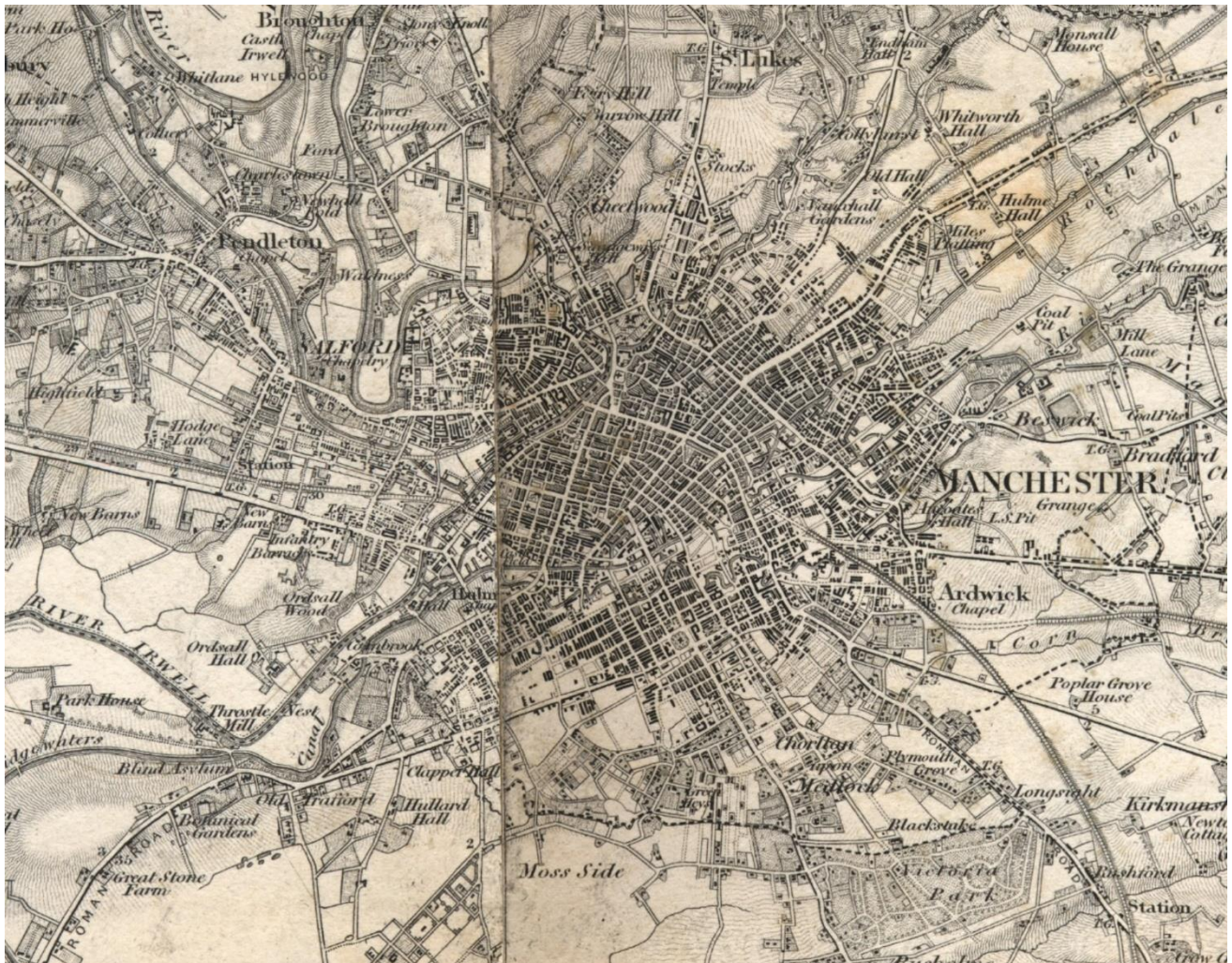
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Appendix 1.2: Map of Manchester, Ordnance Survey Old Series (1843)



**Appendix 1.3: Excerpt from *A Plan of Manchester and Salford with Vicinities*
(Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1850)**

GB127.Local Studies Street Map Collection/1850 Slater coloured



Appendix 2.1: Manchester Music Festival 1836 Concert Programmes

Tuesday Morning, 13 September 1836, Collegiate Church

Part I

Coronation Anthem	'O Lord! grant the King a long life'	Attwood
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The Whole of Haydn's Oratorio 'The Creation'

Part II

A Selection from Mozart's Requiem
Chorus 'Sanctus! Dominus Deus Sabaoth'
Quartet 'Benedictus'
Chorus 'Osanna in excelsis'

Air, Madame Malibran	'Holy! holy! Lord God Almighty' (Redemption)	Handel
----------------------	--	--------

Air, Mrs A. Shaw	'Make haste, O God'	Neukomm
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Air, Signor Lablache	'Pro peccatis' (Stabat Mater)	Haydn
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Recit. ed Aria, Madame Malibran	'Deh pariate' (Il Sacrificio d'Abramo)	Cimarosa
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A Cantata 'The Seventh Day' H. R. Bishop

Wednesday Morning, 14 September 1836, Collegiate Church

Part I

Overture and Dead March	(Saul)	Handel
-------------------------	--------	--------

Recit. and Air, Mrs H. R. Bishop	'From mighty Kings' (Judas Maccabeus)	Handel
----------------------------------	---------------------------------------	--------

From Handel's Oratorio 'Jephtha'

Recit, Mr Braham	'Deeper and deeper still', and Air 'Waft her angels'	
------------------	--	--

Recit and Air, Cardori Allan	'Farewell, ye limpid streams	
------------------------------	------------------------------	--

Quartet	'Tu di grazia'	
---------	----------------	--

Air, Madame Malibran	'O Lord! have mercy upon me'	Pergolesi
----------------------	------------------------------	-----------

Recit. and Air, Mr Bennett	'Gentle Airs' (Athalia)	Handel
----------------------------	-------------------------	--------

A Selection from Handel's Oratorio 'Solomon'

Part II

Air, Caradori Allan	'Let the bright Seraphim' (Samson)	Handel
---------------------	------------------------------------	--------

Aria, Signor Ivanoff	'A Te, fra tanti affanni' (Davide Penitente)	Mozart
----------------------	--	--------

A Cantata	'The Christian's Prayer'	Spohr
-----------	--------------------------	-------

Part III

Chorus	'O clap your hands'	Neukomm
--------	---------------------	---------

Duet, Malibran & C. Novello	'Qual anelante'	Marcello
-----------------------------	-----------------	----------

Air, Mr H. Phillips	'Oft from the steep'	Neukomm
---------------------	----------------------	---------

A Selection from Handel's Oratorio 'Israel in Egypt'

Thursday Morning, 15 September 1836, Collegiate Church

Handel's Sacred Oratorio

The Messiah

With

Additional Accompaniments by Mozart

Friday Morning, 16 September 1836, Collegiate Church

Part I

Beethoven's Oratorio 'The Mount of Olives'

Part II

Martin Luther's Hymn	'Great God! What do I see and hear'	
Recit. and Air, Mr Machin	'He layeth the beams' (Redemption)	Handel
Cantata (MS.), Caradori Allan	'The Departure from Paradise'	H. R. Bishop
Solo, Lablache, and Chorus	'Qui tollis'	Haydn
Aria	'Gratius agimus'	Guglielmi

A Selection from Cudmore's Oratorio 'The Martyr of Antioch'

Part III

Spohr's Oratorio 'The Last Judgment'

Translated from the original German, and adapted to English Words, by Mr E. Taylor

Tuesday Evening, 13 September 1836, Theatre Royal

Sinfonia	(No. 8)	Haydn
Recit. E Romanza	'Cara suono lusinghier' (Teobaldo ed Isolina) Mademoiselle Assandri; Harp & Flute Obligati Nicholson & Challoner	Morlacchi
Dueeto [sic]	'Non fuggir' (Guillaume Tell) Signori Ivanoff e Lablache	Rossini
Air, Mrs W. Knyvett	'Give that wreath to me'	Sir J. Stevenson
Dialogo Brillante, for Flute and Clarionet		Bochsa
Scena, Mr Braham	'Laws are mine' (Zampa)	Herold
Trio	'Night's lingering shades' (Azor and Zemira) Mrs H. R. Bishop, Miss C. Novello, and Mrs A. Shaw	Spohr
Recit. Ed Aria	'Non piu di fiori' (La Clemenza di Tito) Madame Malibran De Beriot; Corno di Basetto Obligato Mr Willman	Mozart
Duetto	'Deh con te' (Norma) Madame Caradori Allan and Mademoiselle Assandri	Bellini

Sestetto	'Sola, sola' (Il Don Giovanni) Malibran, Assandra, Miss C. Novello, Ivanoff, H. Phillips, Lablache	Mozart
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Part Second

Overture to Fidelio		Beethoven
Recit. ed Aria, Caradori Allan	'Io L'udia' (Torquato Tasso)	Donizetti
Recit. and Air, Mr H. Phillips	'The light of other days' Harp and Cornet à Piston Obligati, Messrs. Challoner and Harper	Balfe
Duetto	'Oh! guardate che figura' (La Prova d'un Opera Seria) Madame Malibran De Beriot and Signor Lablache	Guglielmi
Concerto Violin	Monsieur De Beriot	De Beriot
Air, Mrs H. R. Bishop	'Come, summer come'	H. R. Bishop
Barcarola, Signor Ivanoff	'Or che in cielo' (Marino Faliero)	Donizetti
Terzetto	'Temate! empi tremate' Miss C. Novello, Mr Bennett, and Signor Lablache	Beethoven
Air, Mrs A. Shaw	'A lonely Arab maid' (Oberon)	Weber
Aria, Signor Lablache	'Largo al factotum' (Il Barbiere di Seviglia)	Rossini
Overture to Oberon		Weber

Wednesday Evening, 14 September 1836, Theatre Royal

Part First

Sinfonia	(in D)	Mozart
Air, Mr Machin	'She wore a wreath'	Knight
Duetto, Assandri & Ivanoff	'La ci darem la mano' (Il Don Giovanni)	Mozart
Air, Miss C. Novello	'Idole de ma vie'	Meyerbeer
Concerto Violoncello	Mr Lindley	Lindley
Canzonet, Mrs A. Shaw	'She never told her love'	Haydn
Canon	'What joy doth fill my breast' (Fidelio) Madame Malibran, Miss C. Novello, Mr Bennett, Mr H. Phillips	Beethoven
Air, Mrs H. R. Bishop	'Rose softly blooming' (Azor and Zemira)	Spohr
Duetto, Caradori Allan & Malibran	'Vanne se alberghi in petto' (Andronico)	Mercadante
Cantata, Mr Braham	'Mad Tom'	Purcell
Quintetto	'Oh guardate che accidente' (Il Turco in Italia) Caradori Allan, Assandri, Ivanoff, H. Phillips, Lablache	Rossini

Part Second

Overture to Guillaume Tell		Rossini
Air, Mrs W. Knyvett	‘Lo! Here the gentle Lark’ (Flute Obligato Nicholson)	H. R. Bishop
Aria, Signor Lablache	‘Non piu andrai’ (Figaro)	Mozart
Quintetto	‘Sento, Oh Dio!’ (Casi fan tutte) Malibran, Assandri, Ivanoff, H. Phillips, Lablache	Mozart
Aria, Caradori Allan	‘Come per me sereno’ (Lo Sonnambula)	Bellini
Septetto for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Horn, Trumpet and Contro-Basso	Nicholson, G. Cooke, Willman, Baumann, Platt, Harper, Dragonetti	Neukomm
Air, Mr Bennett	The Exile’s Farewell	Bennett
Duetto, Lablache & Phillips	‘Se fiato in corpo avete’ (Il Matrimonio segreto)	Cimarosa
Air, Madame Malibran	‘Le Songe de Tartini’ ou ‘La Cadence du Diable’, accompanied on the Piano-Forte by Madame Malibran De Beriot, and Violino Obligato, Monsieur De Beriot	De Beriot and Penserion
Overture to Euryanthe		Weber

Thursday Evening, 15 September 1836, Theatre Royal

Part First

Sinfonia	(Pastorale)	Beethoven
Air (M.S.) Mr H. Phillips	‘The Auld Wife’	J. H. Griesbach
Air, Miss C. Novello	‘The Swiss Boy’ (Flute Obligato Nicholson)	
Duetto, Carador Allan & Ivanoff	‘Ah! mio Arturo’ (I Puritani)	Bellini
Concerto Violin	Monsieur De Beriot	De Beriot
Recit. and Air, Mrs W. Knyvett	‘Auld Robin Gray’	Rev. W. Leeves
Quartetto	‘Mi manca la voce’ (Mosè in Egitto) Malibran, Assandri, Braham, Ivanoff, Harp Obligato Challoner	Rossini
Aria, Signor Lablache	‘Udite tutti udite’ (Il Matrimonio segreto)	Cimarosa
Duet (MS.) Braham & Phillips	‘Old Acquittance’	
Finale to Fidelio, the principal vocal parts by Madame Malibran De Beriot, Mrs H. R. Bishop, Mr Braham, Mr Machin, and Mr H. Phillips, and CHORUS		
		Beethoven

Part Second

Overture	‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream’	Mendelssohn
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Recit. and Air, Mrs H. R. Bishop	'Sweet Bird' (Il Pensieroso)	Handel
Quartet	'Over the dark blue waters' (Oberon) Miss C. Novello, Mrs A. Shaw, Mr Braham, Mr Machin	Weber
Aria and Rondo, Madame Malibran	'Oh! dolce incanto' (L'Elixir d'amore)	De Beriot and Benedict
Trio, two Violoncelli and Contra-Basso, Messrs Lindley, Crouch, and Signor Dragonetti		Corelli
Air, Madame Caradori Allan	'Should he upbraid' (By desire)	H. R. Bishop
Aria, Signor Ivanoff	'Vivi tu' (Anna Bolena)	Donizetti
Aria, Mademoiselle Assandri	'Se Romeo' (I Capuleti ed I Montecchi)	Bellini
Duetto, Malibran & Lablache	'Con pazienza sopportiamo' (Il Fanatico per la Musica)	Mayer
Overture	Die Zauberflöte	Mozart

Appendix 2.2: Hargreaves Choral Society Concert Programmes

The lists below are set out, as closely as possible, as they appear in the printed programmes.

25 November 1841 Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Dead March	(Saul)	Handel
Funeral Anthem		Handel
Selections from the Requiem		Mozart
The Transient and Eternal	An Ode	Romberg

Interval

The First Part of the Creation		Haydn
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29 December 1841 Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

The Messiah		Handel
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27 January 1842 Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street Miscellaneous

Symphony	(No. 1)	Haydn
Glee and Chorus	"Hail, golden Lyre"	Horsley
Glee	"Thy voice, O Harmony"	Webbe
Trio – Violin, Violoncello, and Double Bass		Corelli
Song	"Midst silent shades"	Bach
Madrigal	"Sweet, honey-sucking bees" (A.D. 1609)	Wilbye
Song	"The Last Man"	W. H. Callcott
Duett	"Meet again"	H. R. Bishop
Dramatic Chorus	"Now by day's retiring lamp" (from the Opera of "Don John")	H. R. Bishop

Interval

Overture	(Zauberflöte)	Mozart
Solo and Chorus	"Turn, holy father"	Dr John Clarke
Song	"Far over land"	H. R. Bishop
Concerto – Violoncello	Mr W. Lindley	W. Lindley
Madrigal	"When all alone" (A.D. 1580)	G. Converso
Glee	"The Squirrel"	Sir George
Smart		
Recit. And Air	"Oh, welcome now" (from "The Seasons")	Haydn
Glee	"With sighs, sweet rose"	Dr Callcott
Dramatic Chorus	"Now tramp" (from the Opera of "The Knight of Snoudoun")	H. R. Bishop
Overture	(Der Freischütz)	Weber

10 March 1842 Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Israel in Egypt [with one interval]		Handel
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12 May 1842

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Overture	(Esther)	Handel
Recitative, Solo and Chorus	"As from the power"	Handel
Quartett	"Blessed are they"	Mozart
Solo	"Oh, magnify the Lord"	Handel
Motett	"O God, when thou appearest"	Mozart
"The Transient and the Eternal"	An Ode	A. Romberg
Chorus	"The arm of the Lord"	Haydn

Interval

Double Chorus	"Immortal Lord"	Handel
Recitative and Air	"Gentle Airs" (Violoncello Obligato)	Handel
Graduale	"Quod quod in orbe"	Hummel
Duett	"Qual' anelante cervo"	Marcello
Recitative and Air	"O Lord, have mercy"	Pergolesi
Offertorium	"Alma Virgo"	Hummel
Air	"O Salutaris"	Cherubini
Grand Chorus	"Hallelujah" [Mount of Olives]	Beethoven

16 June 1842

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Overture	(Oberon)	Weber
Glee	"When winds breathe soft"	Webbe
Madrigal	"Flora gave me" (A. D. 1609)	Wilbye
Duett	"Time has not thinned"	Jackson
Song	"Peace inviting"	Bishop
Solo and Chorus	"Full fathom five"	Purcell
Solo – Violoncello		Mr W. Lindley
Chorus	"The sun's gay beam"	Weber
Glee	"Come, Clara"	Spofforth
Chorus	"Bright orb"	Bishop

Interval

Overture	(Guillaume Tell)	Rossini
Scena	"Before my eyes"	Weber
Madrigal	"Down in a flowery vale" (A. D. 1541)	Festa
Solo and Chorus	"Haste thee, nymph"	Handel
Duett – Clarinet and Bassoon	"Onde riedi"	Donizetti
The Music from Macbeth		Locke
Chorus	"Oh, the pleasure of the plains"	Handel

20 October 1842

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

The Stabat Mater		Rossini
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Interval

Mass	(No. 12)	Mozart
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8 December 1842

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

The "Mount of Olives"

Beethoven

Interval

Introduction (Instrumental) and Chorus "Ye sons of Israel"	(Joshua)	Handel
"Faith and Adoration"	(a Sacred Cantata)	G. B. Bierey
Air	"Pious orgies"	(Judas Maccabaeus) Handel
Chorus	"Arise, arise, O Judah"	(Gardiner's Judah) Haydn
Air	"Lord, remember David"	(Redemption) Handel
Duet	"Oh, lovely Peace"	(Judas Maccabaeus) Handel
Chorus	"Oh, sing unto Jehovah"	(Gardiner's Judah) Haydn

26 January 1843

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Selections from the Opera of "Der Freischutz"

Weber

Instrumental Air, with Variations "The Harmonious Blacksmith"

Handel

Madrigal "I follow, lo, the footing" (A.D. 1597)

T. Morley

Sestet and Chorus "Stay, pr'ythee stay" (from "The Miller and his Men") Sir H. R. Bishop

Interval

Overture	"Semiramide"	Rossini
Duet	"Dark day of horror" (from "Semiramide")	Rossini
Aria	"Batti, batti" (from "Don Giovanni")	Mozart
Madrigal	"Sigh not, fond shepherd" (A. D. 1580)	G. Ferretti
Quartet	"Over the dark blue waters" (from "Oberon")	Weber
Trio	"La mia Dorabella" (from "Cosi fan tutte")	Mozart
Selections from the Finale to the First Act of Semiramide		Rossini

16 March 1843

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Israel in Egypt

Handel

[In two parts, with one twenty minute interval]

13 April 1843

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

The Messiah (with additional accompaniments by Mozart)

Handel

[In three parts, with one 20 minute and one 5 minute interval]

1 June 1843

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Overture	(Anacreon)	Cherubini
Glee	"When winds breathe soft"	Webbe
Duet	"E' dunque vero"	Rossini
Madrigal	"Sweet honey-sucking bees" (A.D. 1609)	Wilbye
Song	"The rose and the lily"	Storace
Fantasia (Violin), introducing Swiss Airs – Mr C. A. Seymour		B. Molique
Song	"Il braccio mio"	Nicolini
Sestet	"Questo è un nodo"	Rossini
Song	"Mad Tom"	Purcell

Solo and Chorus	"Welcome, lady fair"	Bishop
Interval		
Overture	(L'Italiana in Algieri)	Rossini
Glee	"Oh, snatch me swift"	Callcott
Ballad	"I resign thee every token"	G. Linley
Quartet	"Dal tuo sellato soglio"	Rossini
Concerto (Violoncello)	Mr W. Lindley	
Madrigal	"Down in a flowery vale" (A. D. 1541)	Festa
Scotch Ballad	"The auld wife"	J. H. Griesbach
Duet	"Che bella vita"	Generali
Chorus	"The many rend the skies"	Handel
Overture	(Jubilee)	Weber

26 October 1843 Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

"Hymn of Praise" ("Lobgesang") a Symphonia-Cantata Mendelssohn

Interval

Air	"Pro peccatis"	(Stabat Mater)	Rossini
Mass	(No. 6)		Haydn

14 December 1843 Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

"The Creation" Haydn

11 January 1844 Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Overture	"Fidelio"	Beethoven
"Prisoners' Chorus"	"Oh, what delight"	Beethoven
Duetto	"Per piacere"	Rossini
Trio	"This magic-wave scarf"	Barnett
Song	"Farewell to the mountain" (first time)	Barnett
Air Varie' (No. 7) Violin	Mr C. A. Seymour	De Beriot
Duet	"Oh, lovely Peace"	Handel
Finale to Fidelio	"Hail happy day"	Beethoven

Interval

Overture	"Midsummer Night's Dream"	Mendelssohn
Madrigal	"All creatures now"	John Benet
Aria	"Ecco il pegno"	Rossini
Song	"Fausto sempre"	Donizetti
Trio	"O nume benefico"	Rossini
Aria	"La Danza"	Rossini
Quartet	"Lo, the early beam of morning"	Balfe
Chorus	"Lutzow's Wild Hunt"	Weber
Overture	"Fra Diavolo"	Auber

29 February 1844

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Judas Maccabaeus

Handel

2 April 1844

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

The "Stabat Mater"

Rossini

Interval

Double Chorus

"Gloria Patri"

Leo

Solo

"Gratias agimus"

Guglielmi

Motet

"Ne, pulvis"

Mozart

Recit. and Air

"Tears such as tender fathers shed" (Deborah)

Handel

Full Anthem

"Hosannah!"

Orlando Gibbons

Solo

"O Lord, have mercy"

Pergolesi

Quartet

"Ave, verum corpus"

Mozart

Chorus

"Pignus futurae gloriae"

Mozart

16 May 1844

Wellington Concert Room, Peter Street

Miscellaneous

Overture

(Euryanthe)

C. M. von Weber

Quartet and Chorus

"Alziam gli evviva" (Euryanthe)

C. M. von Weber

Grand Scena

"Fra poco a me ricovero" (Lucia di Lammermoor)

Donizetti

Trio

"Night's lingering shades" (Azor and Zemira)

Spohr

Concerto – Clarinet

Mr J. Williams

Crusell

Madrigal

"Die not, fond man" (Six voices) (A. D. 1608)

John Ward

Romance Francais

"Idole de ma vie" (Robert le Diable)

Meyerbeer

Finale to the First Act of Don Giovanni

Mozart

Interval

Overture

"La Gazza Ladra"

Rossini

Finale to First Act of Oberon

"Haste, gallant knight"

C. M. von Weber

Duet

"Sulla tomba che rinserra" (Lucia di Lammermoor)

Donizetti

Fantasia – Clarinet

Mr J. Williams

Williams

Irish Ballad

"Coushla ma chree"

A. D. Roche

Glee and Chorus

"Hail, golde lyre"

Horsley

Scotch Ballad

"There lives a young lassie"

J. De Pinna

Selections from the Finale to the First Act of Semiramide

Rossini

17 October 1844

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

St Paul

Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy

28 November 1844

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

“Dettingen Te Deum”

Handel

An interval of twenty minutes

The “Mount of Olives”

Beethoven

9 January 1845

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Miscellaneous

Overture	(Egmont)		Beethoven
March and Chorus	“Crown ye the altars”	(Ruins of Athens)	Beethoven
Glee	“With sighs, sweet rose”		Callcott
Cavatina	“On the cold shores”		Bellini
Solo – Flute: Air, with Variations	Mr Richardson		Drouett
Song	“Revenge”	(Pascal Bruno)	J. L. Hatton
Quartet	“A te, o cara”	(I Puritani)	Bellini
Air	“Ere infancy’s bud”	(Joseph and his Brethren)	Méhûl
Soli and Chorus	“Oh, bold Robin Hood”	(Maid Marian)	Sir H. R. Bishop

Interval

Overture	(Der Freischütz)		Weber
Chorus	“Fill high the generous measure”	(Robert le Diable)	Meyerbeer
Recit and Air	“Oh ruddier than the cherry	(Acis and Galatea)	Handel
Glee	“Blow, gentle gales”	(The Slave)	Sir H. R. Bishop
Solo – Flute: Air, with Variations	Mr Richardson		Richardson
Ballad	“We may be happy yet”	(Daughter of St Mark)	Balfe
Madrigal	“Lose not your chance, fair ladies”		Giovannelle
Song	“Tom Starboard”		Mazzinghi
Solo and Chorus	“Haste thee, nymph”	(L’Allegro)	Handel

20 February 1845

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Miscellaneous

Overture	(Saul)		Handel
Chorus	“See, the proud chief”	(Deborah)	Handel
Air	“O God, have mercy”	(St Paul)	Mendelssohn
Chorus	“Gloria in excelsis”		
Solo and Chorus	“Qui tollis”	Mass No. 2	Haydn
Chorus	“Quoniam tu solus”	“	
Song	“Holy, holy”		Handel
Chorus	“The Storm”		Haydn
Chorus	“Sanctus”	(Requiem)	Mozart
Quartet	“Benedictus”	“	
Chorus	“Hosanna”	“	
Air	“He was eyes unto the blind”		Handel
Chorus	“Hark! The angel voice”	(The Judgement)	Himmel

Interval

Chorus	"The arm of the Lord"	Haydn
Song	"Lord, to Thee, each night and day" (Theodora)	Handel
Air	"The snares of death"	Sir J. Stevenson
Chorus	"Quod quod in orbe"	Hummel
Song	"What though I trace" (Solomon)	Handel
Recitative	"Tis well" (Joshua)	Handel
Solo and Chorus	"Glory to God"	"
Solo and Chorus	"Thou art our Father"	Hummel
Air	"Lord, remember David" (Redemption)	Handel
Double Chorus	"Gloria Patri"	Leo

3 April 1845 The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

The Messiah (with Additional Accompaniments by Mozart)	Handel
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30 May 1845 The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	"Oberon"	Weber
Chorus	"The tiger couches"	Sir H. R. Bishop
Recit	"At last the bounteous sun" (The Seasons)	Haydn
Air	"With joy the impatient husbandman" "	"
Trio	"The flocks shall leave the mountain" (Acis and Galatea)	Handel
Solo	"O Isis und Osiris" (Zauberflöte)	Mozart
Chorus	"Stärkt mit geduld" "	"
Song	"Der Wanderer"	Schubert
Duet	"Good night"	Barnett
Recit	"Now from the east" (The Seasons)	Haydn
Air	"In this, O vain, misguided man" "	"
Double Chorus	"But who shall dare" "	"

Interval

Overture	"Il Barbiere di Seviglia"	Rossini
Soli and Chorus	"The Calm"	Beethoven
Scena	"Haste, nor lose the favouring hour" (Der Freischutz)	Weber
Duet – Violin and Violoncello	Messrs C. A. Seymour and W. Lindley	
Recit	"Ere yet the orient sun" (The Seasons)	Haydn
Chorus	"Hark, the mountains resound" "	"
Recit	"I rage – I melt – I burn" (Acis and Galatea)	Handel
Air	"Oh, ruddier than the cherry" "	"
Chorus	"Fill high the generous measure" (Robert le Diable)	Meyerbeer
Overture	"Jubilee"	Weber

30 October 1845 The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	"Euryanthe"	Weber
Fairy Chorus	"Who would stay" (Oberon)	Weber
Duet	"Now for him I loved so truly" (Jessonda)	Spohr
Aria	"Vivi tu" (Anna Bolena)	Donizetti
Solo – Bassoon	M. Baumann	
Song	"In the greenwood free"	H. B. Richards

Aria	"Lascia amor"	(Orlando)	Handel
Trio	"Si dira che siete"	(Agnese)	Paër
Chorus	"Come with torches brightly flashing" (Walpurgis Night)		Mendelssohn

Interval

Overture	"Semiramide"		Rossini
Chorus	"Glory to the caliph"	(Oberon)	Weber
Terzettino	"Ti prego, O Madre pia"		Curschman
Cantata	"Adelaïde"		Beethoven
Song	"Come when the morn is breaking"		G. Linley
Solo – Bassoon	M. Baumann		
Terzetto	"Guai se ti sfugge"	(Lucrezia Borgia)	Donizetti
Duet	"Senza tanti complimenti"	(Il Borgomastro)	Donizetti
Chorus	"The many rend the skies"		Handel

27 November 1845

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	"Anacreon"		Cherubini
Quartet and Chorus	"Alziam gli evviva"	(Euryanthe)	Weber
Duet	"Fairies"		Hatton
Scena	"Before my eyes beheld him"	(Der Freischutz)	Weber
Song	"The Pilgrim of Love"	(The Noble Outlaw)	Sir H. R. Bishop
Fantasia – Piano Forte	Madame Dulcken		Thalberg
Duet	"Bella immago"	(Semiramide)	Rossini
Song	"Ah, I dare not sing"	(The Siren)	Auber
Aria	"Largo al factotum"	(Il Barbiere di Seviglia)	Rossini
Grand Finale	"Hail, happy day!"	(Fidelio)	Beethoven

Interval

Overture	"Guillaume Tell"		Rossini
Madrigal	"Merrily wake music's measure"	(Fair Rosamond)	J. Barnett
Song	"In the valley"		Knight
Concerto – Piano Forte	Madame Dulcken		Beethoven
Terzetto	"Gia fan ritorno"	(Il Flauto Magico)	Mozart
Aria	"Ecco il pegno"	(Gemma di Vergy)	Donizetti
Duet	"The Woodbirds"		Sterne
German Ballads	"Hark! The lark!" and "Huttelein"		
Chorus and Trio	"Bright orb"	(Virgin of the Sun)	Sir H. R. Bishop

30 December 1845

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

The Fall of Babylon	A Sacred Oratorio	Dr Louis Spohr
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26 February 1846

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Judas Maccabaeus	Handel
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9 April 1846

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Mass	(In C)		Beethoven
Interval			
Chorus	"When his loud voice"	(Jeptha)	Handel
Recitative	"Oh, worse than death"	(Theodora)	Handel
Air	"Angels ever bright and fair"	"	
Air	"Lord, remember David"	(Redemption)	Handel
Chorus	"Sanctus"	(Requiem)	Mozart
Quartet	"Benedictus"	"	
Chorus	"Hosanna"	"	
Recitative	"He was cut off"	(Messiah)	Handel
Air	"But thou didst not leave his soul in hell"	"	
Recitative	"He measured the waters"		Handel
Air	"He layeth the beams"		"
Motet	"Oh God, when thou appearest"		Mozart
Duet	"Qual' anelante"		Marcello
Recitative	"And Miriam the prophetess"	(Israel in Egypt)	Handel
Solo and Double Chorus	"The horse and his rider"	"	

28 May 1846

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Miscellaneous

Overture	Fidelio		Beethoven
Chorus	"Now, to the forest"	(Miller and his Men)	Sir H. R. Bishop
Duet	"Di conforto"	(La Vestale)	Mercadante
Concerto – Pianoforte	(D minor, 1 st Movement)		Mozart
Song	"Perchè non ho"	(Lucia di Lammermoor)	Donizetti
Fantasia – Harp	On Themes from "Montecchi" and "Semiramide"		Parish Alvars
Song	"Lord, to thee, each night and day"	(Theodora)	Handel
Song	"Then you'll remember me"	(Bohemian Girl)	Balfe
Trio	"Soave conforto"	(Zelmira)	Rossini
Chorus	"Vengeance we swear"	(Virgin of the Sun)	Sir H. R. Bishop

Interval

Overture	Otello		Rossini
Grand Chorus	"La Tempesta"		Haydn
Song	"Thou art not he"	(Mountain Sylph)	Barnett
Duet	"Dunque io son"	(Il Barbiere di Siviglia)	Rossini
Song	"Water parted from the sea"	(Artaxerxes)	Arne
Fantasia – Harp	"Le Danse des Fées" and "Serenade"		Parish Alvars
Ballad	"The Gift of Flowers"		F. Romer
German Songs	"The Poet's Grave" and "The Mountain Shepherd Boy"		P. B. Czapek
Solo and Choral Trio	"Charity"		Rossini
Ballad	"The Last Adieu"		E. Perry
Chorus	"All hail our Queen, Victoria" (Adapted from La Clemenza di Tito)		Mozart

29 October 1846

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

“The Creation”

Haydn

10 December 1846

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	“Euryanthe”		Weber
Chorus	“Vintagers’ Chorus”	(Night Dancers)	Loder
Duet	“Serbami ogor”	(Semiramide)	Rossini
Song	“Thou soft and balmy evening breeze”		Kücken
Fantasia – Violoncello	Herr Kellermann	On favourite Themes by Meyerbeer	Kellermann
Chorus Glee	“Strike the lyre”		T. Cooke
Trio	“Fear not, my son”	(Fidelio)	Beethoven
Solo	“Io ti lascio”		Mozart
Choral Fantasia (Piano Forte Obligato Mr J. L. Hatton)			Beethoven

Interval

Overture	“Massaniello”		Auber
Chorus	“Pace, pace around her bed”	(Night Dancers)	Loder
German Song	“Der Eilbote”	(“The Messenger”)	J. L. Hatton
Song	“Casta diva”	(Norma)	Bellini
Solos	Herr Kellermann “Adagio Grazioso”	(Concerto)	B. Romberg
	Romance upon an Ancient Norman Melody		
Chorus	“Lützow’s Wild Hunt”		Weber
Song	“John Anderson”		Scotch Melody
Duet	“We come to thee, Savoy”		Flover
Instrumental Air, with Variations	“The Harmonious Blacksmith”		Handel
	(arranged for full band by Mr Greatorex)		
Chorus	“Loud let the Moorish tambour sound”		Sir H. R. Bishop

14 January 1847

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	“St Paul”		Mendelssohn
Chorus	“Lord, thou alone art God”	(St Paul)	Mendelssohn
Recitative	“Deeper and deeper still”	(Jephtha)	Handel
Air	“Waft her, angels”	“	
Air	“Return, O God of Hosts”	(Samson)	Handel
Chorus	“To dust his glory”	“	
Song	“Ave Maria”		Cherubini
Motet (Full Choir)	“Sanctus”		Palestrina
Christmas Hymn	“Adeste Fideles”		arranged by Novello
Duet	“Forsake me not”	(The Last Judgement)	Spohr
Song	“Honour and arms”	(Samson)	Handel
Chorus	“With thunder armed”	“	

Interval

Motet	“Praise Jehovah”		Mozart
Recitative	“Oh, worse than death”	(Theodora)	Handel
Air	“Angels ever bright and fair”	“	
Chorale	“Alla Trinita beata”	(A. D. 1545)	Palestrina
Air	“Total eclipse”	(Samson)	Handal
Chorus	“Oh, first-created beam”	“	

Air	"Lord God Almighty"	Neukomm
Chorus	"Then round about the starry throne" (Samson)	Handel

Five minute interval

Chorale	"Luther's Hymn"	Harmonized by S. Bach
Solo	"Alma Virgo"	Hummel

25 February 1847
Glee and Choral

The Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	"Oberon"	Weber
Chorus Glee (with Orchestral accompaniments)	"Give me the harp"	Sir J. Stevenson
Chorus (Soprani)	"Charity"	Rossini
Chorus Glee (with Orchestral Accompaniments)	"Shades of the heroes"	T. Cooke
Nocturne – Violin Mr C. A. Seymour		Panofka
Chorus	"Bright sword of liberty"	Weber
Round	"Yes, 'tis the Indian drum" (Fernando Cortez)	Sir H. R. Bishop
German Glee	"The two roses"	Werner
Chorus	"Tremble, tremble" (Don Giovanni)	Mozart

Interval

Overture	"Zampa"	Herold
Chorus	"The storm scene" (Virgin of the Sun)	Sir H. R. Bishop
Chorus (Soprani)	"Come away with willing feet" (Martyr of Antioch)	Cudmore
Chorus Glee	"Strike the lyre"	T. Cooke
Chorus	"The tiger couches" (The Maniac)	Sir H. R. Bishop
Madrigal	"Lady, when I behold" A. D. 1598	Wilbye
Glee	"Foresters, sound the cheerful horn"	Sir H. R. Bishop
March and Chorus	"Crown ye the altars" (Ruins of Athens)	Beethoven

Five minute interval

Chorus	"Fill high the generous measure" (Robert le Diable)	Meyerbeer
Chorus	"The Chough and Crow" (Guy Mannering)	Sir H. R. Bishop

20 April 1847 Free Trade Hall

Elijah (conducted by the Composer)	Mendelssohn
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16 September 1847
Miscellaneous

Free Trade Hall

Overture	"Midsummer Night's Dream"	Mendelssohn
Chorus	"Come with torches" (Walpurgis Night)	Mendelssohn
Recitative	"I rage – I melt – I burn" (Acis and Galatea)	
Air	"Oh, ruddier than the cherry!" (Acis and Galatea)	Handel
Glee	"Discord, dire sister"	Webbe
Song	"Der Wanderer"	Schubert

Chorus	"The stars that in clusters"	(Preciosa)	Weber
Song	"Bid me discourse"		Sir H. R. Bishop
Song	"Father, I call on thee"		Himmel
	(The Battle Prayer, from Körner's "Lyre and Sword")		
Chorus	"Who would dwell"	(Pascal Bruno)	J. L. Hatton

Interval

Overture	"Semiramide"		Rossini
Chorus	"Deeply still, without a motion"		Beethoven
Recitative	"Straight opening"	(Creation)	Haydn
Air	"Now heaven in fullest glory"	"	
Introduction and Air	"Le Desir" (arranged with variations for different instruments)		Beethoven
Glee	"Sigh no more, ladies"		Stevens
Aria	"Non piu andrai"	(Le Nozze di Figaro)	Mozart
Solo and Chorus	"Now with grief no longer bending"	(Cenerentola)	Rossini

Five minute interval

Glee	"Under the greenwood tree"		Sir H. R. Bishop
Solo and Chorus	"Shades of the heroes"		T. Cooke

28 October 1847 Free Trade Hall

Elijah (conducted by Mr Waddington)

**25 November 1847 Free Trade Hall
Miscellaneous**

Overture	"Zauberflöte"		Mozart
Chorus	"Give me the harp"	Harp Obligato Mrs P. A. Johnson	Sir J. Stevenson
Duet	"Crudel! perchè finora"	(Le Nozze di Figaro)	Mozart
Song	"Oh, 'tis pleasant"	(Oberon)	Weber
Grand Scena ed Aria and Chorus	"Sperate, O figli"	(Nabuco)	Verdi
Scena e Finale	"Assisa a piè d'un salice"	(Otello)	Rossini
	Harp Obligato Mrs P. A. Johnson		
Duet	"Sull' aria"	(Le Nozze di Figaro)	Mozart
Chorus	"The Gipsies' Tent"		T. Cooke

Interval

Overture	"La Gazza Ladra"		Rossini
Solo and Chorus	"Smooth are the dark blue waters"	(Idomenè)	Mozart
Duet	"Ah! Se potessi piangere"	(Belisario)	Donizetti
Song	"The Captive's Song"		Hobbs
Chorus	"When winds breathe soft"		Webbe
Canzone	"La Spagnola"		Madame Solari
Aria Buffa	"Il Postiglione"	Horn Obligato, Mr Edwards	Balfe
Glee	"See the chariot at hand"		Horsley

Five minute interval

Duet and Chorus	"Giovinetti"	(Don Giovanni)	Mozart
Chorus	"Market Chorus"	(Masaniello)	Auber

13 January 1848
Miscellaneous

Free Trade Hall

Symphony	"Last Judgment"		Spohr
Chorus	"Praise His awful name"	(Last Judgment)	Spohr
Recitative	"Comfort ye my people"	(Messiah)	Handel
Air	"Every valley"	"	"
Recitative	"Ye sacred priests"	(Jephtha)	Handel
Air	"Farewell, ye limpid streams"	"	"
Chorus	"Gloria"	(Mass No. 2)	Haydn
Solo and Chorus	"Qui tollis"	"	"
Chorus	"Quoniam"	"	"
Duet	"Quis est homo"	(Stabat Mater)	Rossini
Recitative	"And they called"	(St Paul)	Mendelssohn
Chorus	"O be gracious"	"	"
Air	"O Lord God of my salvation"		Neukomm
Air	"Praise the Redeemer's mercy"	(Mount of Olives)	Beethoven
Chorus	"Oh hail, ye sons of mortals"	"	"

Interval

Chorus	"The arm of the Lord"		Haydn
Quartet	"Quando corpus"	(Stabat Mater)	Rossini
Recitative	"He measured the waters"	(Redemption)	Handel
Air	"He layeth the beams"	"	"
Chorus	"Sanctus"	(Mass in C)	Beethoven
Quartet	"Benedictus"	"	"
Chorus	"Hosanna"	"	"
Duet	"Oh, lovely Peace"	(Judas Maccabaeus)	Handel
Double Chorus	"He gave them hailstones for rain"	(Israel in Egypt)	Handel
Recitative	"And God said"	(Creation)	Haydn
Recitative (accompanied)	"In splendour bright"	"	"
Grand Chorus	"The heavens are telling"	"	"

Five minute interval

Quartet	"Lo my Shepherd"		Haydn
Grand Chorus	"Hallelujah"	(Mount of Olives)	Beethoven

24 February 1848
Miscellaneous

Free Trade Hall

Overture	"Fidelio"		Beethoven
Chorus	"Belus we celebrate"	(Semiramide)	Rossini
Aria	"Qui la voce"	(I Puritani)	Bellini
Duet	"O'er shepherd pipe"	(Joan of Arc)	Balfe
Glee	"Twas in the dark and dismal hour"		Clifton
Aria	"Ah! Rendimi quell core"	(Mitrane)	Rossi, 1686
Aria	"Sorgete, Sorgete"	(Maometto Secondo)	Rossini
Duet and Chorus	"Ye spotted snakes"	(Midsummer Night's Dream)	Mendelssohn
Chorus	"Through this house"	"	"
March	"Wedding March"	"	"

Interval

Overture	"Der Freischütz"		Weber
Chorus	"Fair Semele's high-born son"	(Antigone)	Mendelssohn
Air	"Ah, canst thou but prove me"	(Athalia)	Handel
Air	"One gentle heart"		Wallace
German Glee (full choir)	"May Day"		Müller
Song	"The first violet"		Mendelssohn
Duet	"Oh, wert thou"		Mendelssohn
Madrigal (double choir)	"To Love I wake the silver string"		Webbe

Five minute interval

Trio	"Vadasi via di quà"		Martini
Chorus and Cavatina	"Hark, it is the queen"	(Maid of Honour)	Balfe

6 April 1848 Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Handel – Judas Maccabaeus

18 May 1848 Free Trade Hall Miscellaneous

Overture	"Cenerentola"		Rossini
Chorus	"Youth and beauty"	(St Cecilia's Day)	J. B. Van Bree
Duet	"Quando di sangue tinto"	(Belisario)	Donizetti
Scena	"Before my eyes beheld him"	(Der Freischütz)	Weber
German Glee	"O hills, O vales of pleasure"		Mendelssohn
Duet	"Ah, then, you love me"	(La Figlia del Reggimento)	Donizetti
Scena	"Vi ravviso"	(La Sonnambula)	Bellini
Chorus	"Shady groves for love and beauty"	(St Cecilia's Day)	J. B. Van Bree
Recitative	"Yon silver moon"	"	"
Chorale	"Incense odours"	"	"
Solo	"With gratitude"	"	"
Chorus	"Come forward with pleasure"	"	"
Chorus	"Holy Music, may'st thou ever"	"	"

Interval

Overture	"Masniello"		Auber
Chorus of Dervises	"When thou didst frown"	(Ruins of Athens)	Beethoven
Trio	"Ti parli l'amore"	(Otello)	Rossini
Cavatina	"Cherish life"	("Vivi tu," from "Anna Bolena")	Donizetti
Choral Trio (Soprani)	"Merry meet again"		G. A. Macfarren
Cavatina	"I'm a merry Zingara"		M. W. Balfe
Ballad	"I was won by her beauty"	(Haydée)	Auber
Chorus Glee	"Here in cool grot"		Earl of Mornington

Five minute interval

National Hymn	"Queen Victoria, God protect!"		W. V. Wallace
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13 October 1848
Miscellaneous

Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Grand Mass in G			C. M. Von
Weber			
Recitative	"Oh, let eternal honours"	(Judas Maccabaeus)	Handel
Air	"From mighty kings"	"	"
Recitative	"Rejoice, my countrymen"	(Belshazzar)	Handel
Chorus	"Sing, Oh, ye heavens"	"	"
Duet	"I waited for the Lord"	(Hymn of Praise)	Mendelssohn
Recitative	"And God created man"	(Creation)	Haydn
Air	"In native worth"	"	"
Solo and Chorus	"Alma Virgo"		Hummel

Interval

Selection from Grand Mass in D	"Kyrie" and "Gloria"		Beethoven
Recitative	"Ye sacred Priests"	(Jephtha)	Handel
Air	"Farewell, ye limpid springs"	"	"
Trio	"O Jesu, pastor bonus"		Winter
Recitative	"Straight opening"	(Creation)	Haydn
Air	"Now heaven in fullest glory shone"	"	"
Quartet	"Quoniam tu solus"	(Mass No. 12)	Mozart
Chorus	"Cum Sancto Spiritu"	"	"

Five minute interval

Duet	"Qual' anelante"		Marcello
Coronation Anthem			Handel

30 November 1848
Miscellaneous

Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	"Euryanthe"		Weber
Chorus	"Now by day's retiring lamp"		Sir H. R. Bishop
Duet	"Io l'udia"	(Torquato Tasso)	Donizetti
Choral Fantasia	(Piano-Forte Obligato Mr Charles Hallé)		Beethoven
Ballad	"Fair summer eve"		W. Maynard
German Glee	"Spring is come"		Mendelssohn
Scena	"Ocean, thou mighty monster"	(Oberon)	Weber
Chorus	"Sweet peace descending"	(Idomeneo)	Mozart

Interval

Overture	"Il Barbiere di Siviglia"		Rossini
Glee	"Strike the lyre"		T. Cooke
Aria	"Ah! Rendimi quel core"	(Mitrane)	Rossi, 1686
Solo – Piano-Forte	Selection from "Songs without Words"	Hallé	Mendelssohn
German Glee (Instrumental Accompaniment)	"The Hunter's Farewell"		Mendelssohn
Ballad	"The Shepherd of the Mountain"		Panzeron
Madrigal	"Maidens fair, of Padua's city"		Gastoldi

Five minute interval

Duet	"The Swiss Maidens"		Holmes
Grand Chorus	"Hail, mighty master"	(Ruins of Athens)	Beethoven

11 January 1849 Free Trade Hall, Peter Street
Miscellaneous

Selection from "The Creation"	Haydn
Selection from "Israel in Egypt"	Handel

Interval

Chorus	"Kyrie"	(Mass No. 3)	Haydn
Song	"O Lord, have mercy"		Pergolesi
Song	"O rest in the Lord"	(Elijah)	Mendelssohn
Chorus	"Sanctus"	(Requiem)	Mozart
Quartet	"Benedictus"	"	"
Chorus	"Hosanna"	"	"
Recitative	"Ye people, rend your hearts"	(Elijah)	Mendelssohn
Air	"If with all your hearts"	"	"
Trio	"Lift thine eyes"	"	"
Motet	"Ne, pulvis et cinis"		Mozart

Five minute interval

Air	"Let the bright seraphim" (Trumpet obligato Mr Ellwood) (Samson)	Handel
Chorus	"Let their celestial concerts" (Samson)	"

22 February 1849 Free Trade Hall

Overture	"Oberon"		Weber
Chorus	"Loud let the Moorish tambour sound"		Sir H. R. Bishop
Cavatina	"Se m'abbandoni"	(Nitocri)	Mercadante
Duo	"Se fiato in corpo avete"	(Il Matrimonio Segreto)	Cimarosa
Grand Fantasia – Pianoforte	On Airs from "Lucrezia Borgia"	M. Thalberg	Thalberg
Duetto	"Per piacere"	(Il Turco in Italia)	Rossini
Aria Buffo	"Non più andrai"	(Le Nozze di Figaro)	Mozart
Cavatina	"Che farò senza Euridice"	(Orfeo)	Gluck
Quintet and Chorus	"Dal tuo stellato soglio"	(Mosè in Egitto)	Rossini

Interval

Overture	"Stradella"		Flotow
Chorus	"The Tempest"		Haydn
Duo	"Un segreto"	(Cenerentola)	Rossini
Ballad	"Oh, never heed, my mother dear"		J. P. Knight
Tarantella	"La Danza" (Pianoforte Obligato M. Thalberg)		Rossini
Song	"In the silence of night"		Maynard
Grand Fantasia – Pianoforte	On favourite Airs from "La Figlia del Reggimento"		Thalberg
Duetto	"Sarbami ognor"	(Semiramide)	Rossini

Five minute interval

Quartetto	"Cantiamo, ridiamo"		Rossini
March and Chorus	"Crown ye the altars"	(Ruins of Athens)	Beethoven

29 March 1849 Free Trade Hall

Overture	(Occasional)		Handel
Grand Chorus	"Trust thou in God"	(The 42 nd Psalm)	Mendelssohn
Cantata	"Praise Jehovah"		Mendelssohn

Interval

"Kyrie"	(Mass No. 12)		Mozart
"Gloria"	(Mass No. 1)		Haydn
"Credo"	(Mass No. 3)		Haydn
"Sanctus"	(Mass in C)		Beethoven
"Agnus Dei"	(Mass No. 12)		Mozart

Five minute interval

Grand Chorus	"Hallelujah"	(Mount of Olives)	Beethoven
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24 May 1849 Free Trade Hall, Peter Street

Overture	"William Tell"		Rossini
Round	"Yes, 'tis the Indian drum" (Fernando Cortez)		Sir H. R. Bishop
Duet	"Crudel! perchè finora"	(Le Nozze di Figaro)	Mozart
Song	"The Milk-Maid"		MS.
Glee (Full Choir)	"Discord, dire sister"		Webbe
Grand Scena	"Ocean, thou mighty monster"	(Oberon)	Weber
Duet (Choral)	"Why listen to the carols"		Mendelssohn
Glee	"Shades of the Heroes"		T. Cooke

Interval

Grand March	"Athalie"		Mendelssohn
Chorus	"Allegiance we swear"	(The Slave)	Sir H. R. Bishop
Song	"The Sailor's Journal"		Dibdin
Chorus, Soprani	"Charity"		Rossini
Glee, Full Choir	"'Twas in the dark and dismal hour"		S. Glover
Chorus	"Rise and break"	(St Cecilia's Day)	Van Bree

Five minute interval

Recitative	"Ye verdant plains"	(Acis and Galatea)	Handel
Air	"Hush, ye pretty warbling choir"	"	"
Solo and Chorus	"Haste thee, nymph"	(L'Allegro)	Handel

Messiah, 29 December 1941 (2 pages)

Messiah, 29 December 1941 (2 pages)



same remarks will apply to "Surely he hath borne our griefs." Mozart has judiciously left "And with his stripes," untouched. The accompaniments to "All we like sheep," least attractive of the whole, nor are they by any means overcharged. The way in which this is accomplished is by giving a stronger accentuation through the variation of equal notes in the opening bars, and augmenting by repetition in the instrumental parts greater portion is left in its original state, but the close are enriched. By far the conceived fugue, "He trusted in God," is again left to its own giant strength. The accompaniments to "Lift up your heads," are judiciously arranged in perfect accordance with the comparatively subdued character of the semi-chorus, by the division of the instruments, in a manner to agree with that of the voices, and by their splendid combination in the full chorus, though it is a question whether the doubling the instruments rendered more interesting by the addition of the semi-chorus. "(Great was the company," of chorists for harps, originally inserted in the score) in "The substitution out," is entirely a matter of opinion. In the "Hallelujah" chorus, Mozart has apparently considered that too much power could not have been given, and accordingly he has not only doubled his wind instruments, but added drums to those already introduced by Handel. The principle seems to be just, and the peculiar concentration of the voices in this chorus prevents their being overpowered by the instruments. To the solemn pieces of choral harmony in the beginning of the third part the harps and horns are alone added.

It has been remarked that Mozart's accompaniments are generally displeasing to the singers; and certainly in some instances their province is so usurped, or at least, so a little overloaded, to the prejudice of the singer. "Every valley," as an air the combination of bassoon passages with those of the flute, which happens frequently, nor of the substitution of cadences for the flute and bassoon for that of the singer at the close. Nor can we quite admire those to "But who may abide," as they stand. The passage to which we should positively object would be the union of the flutes with that instrument and the voice employed. In the prestissimo "For he is like," the short answers of the flutes to the violins are admirable.

In "The people that walked," the wind instruments are introduced with great effect, at the words "have seen a great light," the harmony is enriched, and the mysteriousness of the whole increased. Yet we would omit some passages, especially one for the flute on the word "shadow." The wailing tone of the instrument, the chromatic construction of subsequent passages is peculiarly suited to its character. The pastoral sympathy is from association, as well as other circumstances, well adapted to wind instruments, and how infinitely has Mozart added to its beauty, without injuring its purity! "Rejoice greatly," has evidently been looked upon by Mozart as a song of exalted feeling and declamatory species, rather than of joyful expression, for he has enriched the score only by the addition of a viola part. "He was despised" has an accompaniment of the clarinet and bassoon, which certainly heightens the beauty of the whole. Its original chasteness is unaltered, and the feeling augmented by the instrument selected. In the same manner the flute and bassoon add infinitely to the effect of "But thou didst not leave." The delightful contrast between this air and its fore-runner, "Thy rebuke," its exquisite simplicity, and exhibition of confidence in the Divine mercy, was evidently appreciated by Mozart. No accompaniment is appended to cheerfulness and confidence is assisted and rendered certain by sounds analogous to those feelings. To "How beautiful are the feet" the same instruments are added, with similarly happy results, for the air is even more expressive of soothing calmness. The additions to the splendidly descriptive song of "Why do the nations," only increase the well-concerted tumult of the orchestra, if we may be allowed the expression, and are not inserted where they can drown the voice.

"I know that my Redeemer liveth," the sublime song, and upon the sublime subject, that ever was written, should have been left untouched. It cannot be improved, it cannot speak more forcibly to the feelings than it does by its simple majesty, and is only loaded by trappings that can neither increase nor lessen its intrinsic power. The alterations and additions to "The trumpet shall sound" have never, we believe, yet been performed in England. It was a noble theme for Mozart's genius, but it must be evident that in such a song there can be no sufficient reason for adding instruments; it is a direct infringement of the rule which adapts sound to sense. The trumpet alone should be heard. For his alteration of the trumpet part a manifest cause existed in the

increased perfection of the instrument since the time of Handel; he has, however, done too much; the effect is lost by a too frequent recurrence of that which in the original song presents throughout a feeling of awe from its very simplicity. The accompaniment for two tenors to "Oh death where is thy sting" is perfectly in character.

The overture in E minor consists of two movements,—the first grave, solemn, and pathetic; the second, with accelerated motion, is in the *fugue* style, forming an effective introduction to the expressive recitative in E major—"Comfort ye." The superior effect of Mozart's accompaniments is, perhaps, in no part of the great work more beautifully marked than in the bass solo—"The people that walked," where Handel's vigorous and expressive melodic figure is well relieved by the light and exquisitely graceful chromatic harmonies given by the principal wind instruments. The varied resources of the fugue style are exemplified in that fine specimen in G minor, to the sentence—"And he shall purify." The forcible expression of intense feeling, by musical sounds, is particularly observable at the words—"He was despised." The short melodic phrases uttered by the voice, are more expressively repeated by the violin; and at the words "acquainted with grief" the harmony progresses to the semi-tone above the bass, the latter descending by successive semi-tonic modulations to the tonic cadence. The strongly accented passage applied to the words—"Surely he hath borne our griefs," is a well-conceived musical idea, finely developed,—and the words—"He was bruised," are powerfully enforced by the abrupt cadence to the semi-tone above the dominant, while the intermediate parts move in thirds.

The *motivo* or subject of the fugue, to which the words—"And with his stripes" are applied, is found in S. Bach's works. The time, which in musical language is called *alla breve*, seems to depict the motion of the scourges. In the chorus—"All we like sheep," the added accompaniments of the bass instruments are effectively heard; and the concluding grave movement is truly sublime,—the accumulated masses of harmony descending slowly from the tonic to the sub-dominant, on which ultimately is formed the appellative discord of the second, resolving to the chord of the sixth. It is powerfully expressive of the sentence—"The Lord laid on Him the iniquities of us all."

In the chorus—"Let all the angels," the same *motivo* is, by an ingenious fugal contrivance, made to perform the double capacity of subject and counter-subject, the latter accompanying the first in time twice the velocity (by diminution.) The powerful effects of the "Hallelujah" chorus are familiar to all.

The devotional and sublime air—"I know that my Redeemer liveth," begins the third part. The air—"The trumpet shall sound," has a very difficult *obbligato* part for that instrument. The grand choral fugue—"Worthy is the Lamb," increases the interest, and leads to the concluding transcendent "Amen" chorus, which is a fugue on two subjects of the most sublime character. The ponderous harmonies are rendered more powerful and effective by the occasional light and more acute imitations of the violins, which relieve the senses and give additional force to the returning torrent of harmony, ending with the great author's usual cadence, on the appellative discord of the second, and after the silent pause, returning in full majesty to the tonic cadence.

[COPY OF THE WORDS.]

Part First.

AIR.

But who may abide the day of his coming?
And who shall stand when he appeareth? For he
is like a refiner's fire.—(Malachi iii. 2.)

CHORUS.

And he shall purify the sons of Levi, that they
may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness.—(Malachi iii. 3.)

RECIT.

Behold! a virgin shall conceive and bear a son,
and shall call his name EMMANUEL, God with us.—
(Isaiah vii. 14; and Matthew i. 23.)

AIR and CHORUS.

O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion, get thee
up into the high mountain; O thou that tellest
good tidings to Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with
strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the
cities of Judah, Behold your God!—(Isaiah xl. 9.)
Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory
of the Lord is risen upon thee.—(Isaiah lx. 1.)

RECIT. (Accompanied.)

For, behold! darkness shall cover the earth, and
gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise
upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee,
and the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings
to the brightness of thy rising.—(Isaiah lx. 2, 3.)

OVERTURE.

RECIT. (Accompanied.)

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your
God; speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem; and cry
unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her
iniquity is pardoned.

The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness,
Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make straight in
the desert a highway for our God.—(Isaiah xl. 1—3.)

AIR.

Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain
and hill made low; the crooked straight, and the
rough places plain.—(Isaiah xl. 4.)

CHORUS.

And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and
all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the
Lord hath spoken it.—(Isaiah xl. 5.)

RECIT. (Accompanied.)

Thus saith the Lord of Hosts:—Yet once a little
while and I will shake the heavens and the earth,
the sea and the dry land; and I will shake all
nations, and the desire of all nations shall come;
the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to
his temple: even the messenger of the covenant,
whom ye delight in: behold! he shall come, saith
the Lord of Hosts.—(Haggai ii. 6, 7; and Malachi
iii. 1.)

AIR.

The people that walked in darkness have seen a
great light; and they that dwell in the land of the
shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.
—(Isaiah xl. 2.)

CHORUS.

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is
given, and the government shall be upon his
shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful,
Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father,
the Prince of Peace.—(Isaiah ix. 6.)

PASTORAL SYMPHONY.

RECIT.

There were shepherds abiding in the field, keep-
ing watch over their flocks by night.—(Luke ii. 8.)

RECIT. (Accompanied.)

And lo! the Angel of the Lord came upon them,
and the glory of the Lord shone round about them,
and they were sore afraid.—(Luke ii. 9.)

RECIT.

And the Angel said unto them, Fear not, for
behold! I bring you good tidings of great joy,
which shall be to all people; for unto you is born,
this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is
Christ the Lord.—(Luke ii. 10, 11.)

RECIT. (Accompanied.)

And suddenly there was with the Angel a multi-
tude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying,
—(Luke ii. 13.)

HARGREAVES CHORAL SOCIETY,

THURSDAY, 27TH JANUARY, 1842.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Symphony—the Overture.—Dr. Busby's definition of a *Symphony* is, that in ancient music the term signified "that union of sounds which forms a concert. At present the term is applied to overtures and other instrumental compositions consisting of a variety of movements, and designed for a full band. The introductory, intermediary, and concluding instrumental passages too general to afford any precise notion of a "symphony," in modern musical composition. A *symphony* may perhaps be defined as an association of musical ideas, not suggested by, or in any way adapted to, poetical or dramatic science, and calculated to develop the powers and characteristics of the different instruments of the orchestra, both singly and in combination. Haydn is justly called the father or founder of the orchestral *symphony*; and the present highly improved state of orchestral music may be fairly attributed to him. Previously to his time, the varied and fine effects of the brass instruments were little understood, the compositions being principally for the fundamental or stringed portion of the orchestra. His orchestral writings, on the contrary, are replete with effective combinations produced by the judicious introduction of the different wind instruments.

The Overture is, as its name implies, the opening or introduction to an opera, the musical phrases of which are suggested by, and expressive of, the ideas contained in the language or "libretto" of the latter. The overture should properly be to the opera what the "argument" is to a poem,—an analysis or epitome of the work itself; and should therefore furnish the leading musical features of the more elaborate performance to follow. That these important conditions are always complied with in the composition of the overture, is by no means the case. Many overtures have no more relation to the works to which they are prefixed than if they were composed with a totally different object; while in other instances, so entirely is the musical character of the opera transferred to the overture, that the latter becomes a complete musical syllabus of the former. The two overtures selected for the present Concert are excellent specimens of the overture proper; the leading features of the operas being combined in each respectively with admirable skill; so that the auditor is reminded throughout, in the more elaborate expositions of the operas, of passages but slightly touched upon in the overtures.

The Madrigal—the Glee—the Chorus.—The *Madrigal* is an elaborate, unaccompanied, vocal composition, generally written in four or five parts. It very closely resembles the ecclesiastical compositions of the sixteenth century, affording, indeed, the earliest specimens of a departure from the strict counterpoint observed in all Italian church music of that period. It may not be uninteresting to remark here that Dean Aldrich adapted Scripture words to several madrigals, especially—"We have heard with our ears," "Oh, give thanks," and "Out of the deep," all by Palestrina, and to be found in Dr. Boyce's Cathedral Music, vol. 2. The derivation of the word "*madrigal*" has given rise to much fanciful speculation among the philologists and musical antiquarians, the most plausible of which, perhaps, is that of Doni, in which Dr. Burney concurs, that it is derived from "*Alla Madre*," the first words of certain short hymns addressed to the Virgin. The composition of the madrigal was extensively cultivated in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century, and in England towards the end of that and the beginning of the next century. The madrigal is, in its texture, elaborately wrought throughout. The madrigal is, distinct, imitating each other. A subject is given out by one part, and if the listener be attentive, he will hear the other parts successively take up the theme, as though mocking each other. This is called *imitation*. *Fugue* also the case with the compositions of the early and best writers for the church. The distinctive difference between the madrigal and those compositions, however, is, that the subjects of the latter are generally more solemn and sublime,—those of the former more fanciful and elegant. The madrigal, like the full anthem, requires a number of voices to each part, to give the proper effect.

The *Glee* (which by some authors has been strangely confounded with the

madrigal) appears to be almost peculiar to this country, and is decidedly of English growth. It is not so elaborate or scientific in its construction as the madrigal. It occasionally has points of imitation, but it more generally consists of smooth, elegant, musical phraseology and consonant harmonies, and seldom admits of more than one voice to each part, consistently with its original construction. The *glee*, agreeably with its name, is usually of a sprightly character; but some of the most beautiful compositions of this class are introduced under the amusing misnomer of "*serious glees*."

The *Chorus*, in the musical sense, is a composition in two or three, but generally in four parts, sung by many voices, accompanied by the whole band when performed in an orchestra or on the stage, but by an organ alone when performed in the choir. The chorus of the oratorio and opera has full instrumental accompaniments; but that of our cathedral services and anthems is written with only an organ accompaniment. A Double Chorus is in eight vocal parts, and is sung by two choirs. The Dramatic Chorus strictly consists of dialogue, or is expressive of action or strong passion; thus the solo and chorus, "Turn, holy father," in the second part of this Concert, is dramatic, consisting of dialogue, while the concealed body of nuns, "chanting their prayer," and simultaneously accompanied by the friar, impart the character of what is termed dramatic action. The two choruses by Bishop, given here, are also dramatic.

Haydn's Symphony.—The *Symphony* included in the programme of this Concert is the first of twelve Grand Symphonies composed by Haydn for Salomon's Concerts, on the occasion of his visiting London in 1790, and the performance of which was conducted by the composer himself. A few slow and expressive phrases lead to the spirited quick movement in triple time. Then follows one of those charming andante movements for which the author is so much distinguished. A graceful minuet and trio lead to the finale, which is at once animated and playful.

Overture to Zauberflote.—Cherubini, one of the most learned and accomplished musicians of the present day, says that the spirit of the fugue (which is the connecting link between the *strict* counterpoint and the *free* style) is found in every well-conceived and regularly-constructed composition. The *Overture to Zauberflote* is one of the most beautiful specimens of this species of composition, exhibiting all the most graceful and varied imitations and responses by the more acute wind instruments, while the grave portion of the orchestra moves with all that solemn grandeur so peculiar to the *strict* style. The introductory slow phrases, furnishing some touches for all the instruments, form a charming contrast to the graceful and spirited *subject*, fifth of the scale. A third response of the subject is then heard, while a swelling harmony. Some of the graceful *motivi* heard from the "magic flute" lead to the close of the first part, on the dominant or fifth of the key-part of the opera where the Egyptian priests present themselves (referring to that effective introduction to the second part, which begins in the minor, the responses being, as it were, crowded into each other, and thus forming what is termed the *stretto* of the fugue. The beautiful touches for the flute are again heard with ever-varying harmonic modulation, after which the subject returns to the tonic full close.—The opera was written in 1791.

Overture to Der Freischütz.—The overture commences with a few soft touches, after which a pleasing melody is heard in rich harmonies by the four horns, giving an idea of the resounding echoes of the hunters' horns. The full and very beautiful period given by these instruments is followed, in striking contrast, by some of those wild and equivocal combinations which accompany the scene in the wolf's glen. To this succeeds the quick and impassioned movements in which are heard occasional melodious phrases of the beautiful song of Agnes, "Softly sighs the breath of evening," contrasted with the low and mournful tones of the trombone. To the clarinet are also given some expressive passages sung by Agnes in the opera; and her song of—"Hence, then, every thought of sorrow," forms the beautiful finale movement in the major.—The opera of *Der Freischütz* was produced at Berlin in 1822.

HARGREAVES CHORAL SOCIETY,
THURSDAY, 12TH MAY, 1842.

PROGRAMME.

Part First.

OVERTURE..... (Esther)..... Handel.

[The oratorio of "Esther," from which this overture is taken, was the first ever composed by Handel, and was produced in 1718, while the composer was director of the choir in the chapel of the Duke of Chandos. The overture consists of three movements. The first is bold and majestic, and possesses the solemn gravity so characteristic of ecclesiastical counterpoint. The second or slow movement is in the minor key, formed of short expressive phrases in thirds, on an expressive bass, which is occasionally heard unaccompanied, or *tasto solo*. The last movement is figured, and is admirably developed, the severity of the fugal replies being occasionally relieved by episodes from the oboe solo, followed by the dignified motive or subject, introduced with increased effect.]

RECIT., SOLO, and CHORUS..... Handel.

[These three pieces form the conclusion of a beautiful cantata adapted by Handel to Dryden's "Song for St. Cecilia's Day,"* a well-known and admirable poem expressive of the power of music over the passions. The character and effect of various kinds of instrumental music are first described; but they yield in power to that more expressive kind of music which, poured forth by "bright Cecilia," raised so high "the wonder," "when to her organ vocal breath was given." The subject being introduced by the recitative, the soprano recites the first lines of the solo, which are then introduced, admirably illustrative of the solemn idea excited by the closing lines of the solo.—The soprano, beginning on the lower tonic, ascends by the harmonic intervals to the twelfth, which is sustained whilst the trumpet, with its stirring accents, follows the harmonic gradations, and reaches the twelfth, which it also sustains, while the full orchestra makes a cadence on the dominant, serving as a preparation for the succeeding choral fugue. The first member of the subject of the latter is formed on two intervals of the scale; the second becomes more flowing at the words—"And music." These simple musical elements are admirably worked, subject, while, by a series of beautiful modulations giving new charms to the more familiar note, the great cadence is formed on the dominant pedal or holding cadence, which was composed in the year 1736.]

* An error has sometimes been committed by musical biographers and publishers, in confounding the above with "Alexander's Feast." The truth is, that Dryden wrote two poems on the same subject—"Alexander's Feast," or the Power of Music; an Ode in honour of St. Cecilia's Day; and "A Song for St. Cecilia's Day," both of which were set to music by Handel.

RECITATIVE.

But bright Cecilia raised the wonder high,
When to her organ vocal breath was given;
An angel heard,
And straight appeared,
Mistaking earth for heaven.

SOLO AND CHORUS.

As from the power of sacred lays,
The spheres began to move,
And sung the great Creator's praise
To all the blessed above;
So, when the last and dreadful hour
This crumpling pageant shall devour,
The trumpet shall be heard on high—

CHORUS.

The dead shall live, the living die,
And music shall untune the sky.

QUARTETT..... Mozart.

[This quartett is taken from Gardiner's oratorio of "Judah," which is chiefly a selection and adaptation of pieces from the sacred compositions of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. It is a simple and even strain of melody, admirably suited to the tranquil sentiment of the words.]

Blessed are they that wait for Him,
For they shall find delight in Him.

SOLO..... Handel.

[This solo is part of the anthem, "Oh, come let us sing," composed by Handel for the choir of the Duke of Chandos. The melody is severely simple—a true feature of the pure church style.]

Oh, magnify the Lord, and worship him upon his holy hill;
for the Lord our God is holy.

MOTETT..... Mozart.

[The motett was originally a superior kind of anthem, elaborate in its construction, and accompanied only by the organ. It is now generally written with the accompaniment of the organ, and florid orchestral accompaniments. The one in question is a beautiful specimen of this style of composition, to which English words have been adapted.]

CHORUS.

O God, when thou appearest, dark shades disperse:
Hear the full voice of thy devoted tribe:
Lord of resistless power! accept our prayers;
Hope rests the conquest on Jehovah's name!

VERSE.

Dire hosts, infernal sprites, infest our heart,
While weak we stand, unless sustained by thee.

CHORUS.

Lord of resistless power! accept our prayers;
Hope rests the conquest on Jehovah's name!

VERSE.

Grant to our youth, with lovely virtue clad,
To flourish, as in spring, with verdant leaves.

"The TRANSIENT and the ETERNAL"..... A. Romberg.
(AN ODE.)

[This beautiful composition, set for four voices and chorus, was performed at the first concert of the Society, and was received with so much favour as to induce the Committee to repeat it. The piece abounds with flowing melodies, and the accompaniments are highly expressive. The two states of existence indicated in the title are marked by a very striking contrast of subjects, the former being light and fanciful, and the latter partaking of a grave and decided character. The strain changes at the trio—"Though the harp mourn," and the music throughout is admirably illustrative of the sense of the words.]

CHORUS.

The sand of the hour-glass runs,—the years rush by on wings,—
each moment breaks some seal of futurity. As hailstones driven
by wind,—as torrents dash along, so rolls the stream of time.
Heaven checks not, but ordains its swiftness, nor permits one
moment to return. The joys and hopes of man, and his thousand
sorrows, hourly disappear in the voracious whirlpool of time. Has
pleasure winged thy moments? Has sorrow made them hours?
Thy joy and thy grief alike end in the silent grave.

DUETT.

The rose blossoms in the morning,—its perfumes spread around,
—the air is sweetened with its odour: in the evening it dies.

DUETT AND QUARTETT.

Amidst the beauties of flowering May, the sweet nightingale is
heard in the grove: May disappears, and suddenly the songstress
is mute.

DUETT.

The bard, whose song enraptured,—who made his harp a lan-
guage that could melt the heart of youth, and exalt to virtuous
deeds, now sleeps forgotten and unknown. The wanderer comes
in spring-time, to strew his grave with flowers, but in vain!—in
vain! for the resting-place of the bard is nowhere known!

SOLO.

How pants the heart of youth, to climb the height of fame,—to
rush to deeds of glory, and crown its joys with love! The gentle
wind, which has awakened the morn, and refreshed in noon-day
heat the ardent youth, comes, ere night, with storm and thunder,
and the youth and his dwelling are laid low!

Appendix 3.1: Amateur Glee and Catch Club, Table of Glees Sung,

Chetham's Library D.4-5

'A Statement of the number of Glees belonging to the Club, distinguishing the number by each composer, how many of each have been sung, how often on the whole, and on the average, and showing how many have not been tried at all'					
No. of Glees	No. not sung	No. sung	Composer	How often sung	Sung on average
2	2		Alcock Dr		
1	1		Aldrich Dr		
11	8	3	Arne Dr	12	4
6	6		Atterbury L		
2		2	Attwood Thomas	11	5 1/2
2	2		Auber		
2	2		Aylward Dr		
1		1	J. B.	9	9
3	1	2	Baildon	19	8 1/2
5	3	2	Battishill	7	3 1/2
1	1		Bates W		
2	2		Bayley J		
2	2		Bennett J		
1		1	Berg	5	5
2	2		Bird		
38	18	20	Bishop H R	189	9 1/2
2		2	Blewitt J	6	3
1		1	Boieldieu (sp.?)	2	2
1	1		Buononeini		
2	2		Bourke J		
2	2		Brewer T		
59	35	24	Calcott Dr	120	5
		1	Chard Dr	2	2
2		2	Cherubini	12	6
3	1	2	Clarke Dr (Whitfield)	17	8 1/2
3	1	2	Clifton J. C.	2	1
1	1		Converso G		
3	2	1	Cooke Thomas	9	9
9	7	2	Cooke Dr	7	3 1/2
1	1		Corri		
1		1	Crotch Dr	2	2
8	3	5	Danby	55	11
1	1		Dowland Dr		
1		1	Dyne J	9	9
1		1	Eccles J	2	2
1		1	Este M	6	6
1		1	Evans C J	28	28
1		1	Ferrari G G	4	4
4	3	1	Ford T	1	1

1		1	Gail Madame	11	11
2	1	1	Giardini F	4	4
1	1		Gibbons Orlando		
1		1	Goodban T	1	1
1	1		Goodwin		
2	2		Goss John		
3	3		Green Dr		
1	1		Greville Revd W		
1		1	Guglielmi	5	5
3		3	Hargreaves G	12	4
6	6		Harrington Dr		
2	1	1	Harrison	2	2
1	1		Hayden G		
8	7	1	Hayes Dr	2	2
5	5		Hilton		
2		2	Horn C E	12	6
39	24	15	Horsley W	107	7
1	1		Hutchinson F MD		
2	2		Jackson W		
2	1	1	Ireland	2	2
1	1		Ives S		
1	1		King C		
8	4	4	King M V	11	3
2	1	1	Knyvett W	4	4
4	4		Linley T		
1		1	Locke Matthew	3	3
1	1		Long S		
2	2		Marinzio L		
1		1	Morley	3	3
4	2	2	Mornington Lord	8	4
1		1	Mosca	5	5
3	1	2	Mozart	20	10
4	2	2	Nares Dr	3	1 1/2
1	1		Naumann Signor		
1	1		Nelham E		
1		1	Parrin J	17	17
7	1	6	Paxton S	39	6 1/2
1		1	Philips T	11	11
1	1		Pring J C		
1		1	Pucitta	7	7
7	7		Purcell H		
1	1		Ravenscroft J		
1		1	Rogers Dr	1	1
2	1	1	Rossini G	9	9
1	1		Sacchini		
1	1		Sale		
1		1	Saville J	1	1
1		1	Shield W	7	7
5		5	Shore W	30	6
11	4	7	Smith J S	26	4
4	1	3	Spofforth R	37	12

8	3	6	Stevens R J S	53	10 1/2
9	3	6	Stevenson Sir John	29	4 3/4
1	1		Tinney		
5	5		Travers		
1		1	Wainwright R	10	10
40	24	16	Webbe Samuel Sen.	76	4 3/4
22	16	6	Webbe Samuel Jun.	9	1 1/2
2		2	Weber C M Von	11	5 1/2
2	2		Weelkes T		
3	2	1	Welch T	25	25
1	1		Wesley S		
1	1		Whitaker J		
3	3		Wilbye J		
1		1	Willis J	8	8
1	1		Wise M		
1		1	Wilson Dr	8	8
1	1		Wilton C		
2	2		Valentine T		
1		1	Anonymous	1	1
460	272	189	109 Composers	1166	6 1/2

Appendix 3.2: Gentlemen's Glee Club, Music Sung 1830–31

Music sung during the first year (8 September 1830, York Hotel; 6 October 1830, York Hotel; 3 Nov 1830, Hayward's Hotel; 1 December 1830, Hayward's Hotel; 5 January 1831, Hayward's Hotel; 2 February 1831, Hayward's Hotel; 2 March 1831, Hayward's Hotel; 30 March 1831 (for April), Hayward's Hotel; 28 April 1831, Public Night, Salford Town Hall)

List derived from the handwritten programmes for September 1830 – April 1840, comprising Volume 1 of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club Programmes, Henry Watson Music Library, R780.69 Me69.

Strike, strike the Lyre	Andrews	3 times
Hark the curfew	Attwood	
Make haste to meet	Dr Arne	
Poculum Elevatum	Dr Arne	3 times
Conversation Trio	J. B.	
Mr Speaker (catch)	Baildon	
When gay Bacchus	[Baildon]	
And has she then fail'd in her	Bishop	
Blow gentle gales	Bishop	2 times
Come thou monarch	Bishop	
Hart and hind are in their lair	Bishop	
List, list, list	Bishop	2 times
Oh! Bold Robin Hood	Bishop	5 times
Mynheer Vandunck	Bishop	3 times
Sportive little trifler	Bishop	
Stay, prithee stay	Bishop	
The Chough and Crow	Bishop	
The huge huge globe	Bishop	2 times
The Tramp Chorus	Bishop	2 times
The Winds whistle cold	Bishop	2 times
Under the greenwood tree	Bishop	2 times
When the wind blows	Bishop	
Yes! Tis the Indian Drum	Bishop	
Dull repining sons of care	Callcott	3 times
Father of Heroes	Callcott	2 times
Though from thy bank	Callcott	
Go idle boy	Callcott	3 times
Queen of the Valley	Callcott	2 times
With sighs sweet rose	Callcott	
The Greenland hunters	Dr Chard	2 times
Perfido Clori	Cherubini	
Is it the war	Dr J. Clarke	
A Knight then came	T Cooke	
The Seasons	T Cooke	
Grand Polonaise Brillante – Grand pianoforte	Czerny	(public night)
Awake Aeolian lyre	Danby	
The fairest flowers	Danby	2 times

When Sappho tuned	Danby	3 times
Fill the bowl	Dyme	
Bacchus great Bacchus	C. L. Evans	
Since first I saw your face	T. Ford	
The Glove	?Geller	
Guiro alla terra	Guglielmi	2 times
I know a bank	Hargreaves	
Mild is the air	Hargreaves	
Life has gleams of brilliant	Hime	
The horn of the chase	C. E. Horn	
Arise my fair	Horsley	
Awake my lyre	Horsley	3 times
By Celia's harbour	Horsley	4 times
Cold is Cadwallo's tongue	Horsley	2 times
Shepherd's Joys	Horsley	
Jolly Bacchus	Ireland	2 times
The Witches Glee	M. P. King	2 times
My Nannie, O!	Knyvett	
The Bells of St Michael's	Knyvett	2 times
Vadasi via di qua	Martini	4 times
Hip, hip, hurrah	T. Moore	
Now is the month of maying	T. Morley	
Here in cool grot	Lord Mornington	
Se che v'e fra mici vivali	Mosca	
La mia Dorabella	Mozart	3 times
Fear no more the heat	Dr Nares	
What shall we sing	Parrin	
Blest Power	Paxton	
Great Father Bacchus	Paxton	
How sweet, how fresh	Paxton	2 times
Dolce tranquillita	Pucitta	
Fairest Isle	Purcell	
Il Gruppo	Rossini	2 times
Gitti, gitti, piano, piano	Rossini	
Pappataci	Rossini	
The Loadstars	Shield	
Farewell to the Nymph	Shore	
Of a' the airts	Shore	4 times
O Willie brew'd	Shore	6 times
As on a summer's day	J. S. Smith	
Fill high the grapes	R. Spofforth	
Hail smiling morn	Spofforth	6 times
Whilst I gaze	Spofforth	
Crabbed age and youth	Stevens	
Give me harp	Stevens	
See what horrid tempests	R. J. S. Stevens	
Some of my heroes are low	R. J. S. Stevens	2 times
Life's a bumper	Wainwright	4 times

Come live with me	Webbe	
Discord! Dire sister	Webbe	3 times
If love and all the world	Webbe	
Non fidi al mar	Webbe	
Remember in your ways (catch)	Webbe	
The mighty Conqueror	Webbe	3 times
When winds breathe soft	Webbe	4 times
Would you know my Celia's charms	Webbe	2 times
Behold the blush of early day	Weber	2 times
Lutzow's Wild Hunt	Weber	5 times
The Huntsman's Chorus	Weber	
The death and renovation of Bacchus	T Welsh	2 times
The Bark before the gale	Willis	
God save the King		
May we ne'er want a friend		
Harry Bluff		4 times
Jam Ram		
Pat Flanigan		
Little Pigs		
Our Country is our ship d' ye see		
Little wot ye wha's a comin'		
How great is the pleasure (round)	[Harington]	
Come drink out of this cup		
The Calais Packet		
The Lincolnshire Poacher		
Charlie is my darling		
Marian's my lily and Flora's my rose		
Savoy jail		
Let's have a peal. Round 9 voices		
Lodgings to let		
The Traveller		
A Street Ballad		
Parody on the Wolf Song		
The Posy of love		
Will Watch		
Adieu! Adieu! My native shore	Miss Fowler (performed on the public night)	
Song – The Volunteers		2 times
Song – Nunc tempus est Bibendum/Now we're freed from College rules		3 times
Song (unnamed)		10 instances

Appendix 3.3: List of Music Lectures in Manchester 1834–58

Music Lectures in Manchester 1834–58				
Year	Location	Lecturer	Title	No. of lectures
			<i>Where titles are not included, it has not yet been possible to locate details of lecture title / content e.g. the 1835 lecture by Andrew Ward is mentioned in the MMI Annual Report but no date or title is given and triangulation of details with other sources has so far been unsuccessful.</i>	
1834	MMI	Andrew Ward	A historical sketch of the rise and progress of music	1
1835	MMI	Andrew Ward		
1835–6	RMI	Edward Taylor		3
?1836	MMI	Andrew Ward	Vocal Music	1
1837	MMI	Andrew Ward		
1837	MMI	Thomas Philipps	Vocal Harmony	6
1837	RMI	Thomas Philipps	Musical Evenings	6
1837	Athenaeum	Thomas Philipps	English Vocal Music	6
1837	MMI	Edward Taylor	English Vocal Harmony	4
1837 (8?)	Athenaeum	Edward Taylor	The Early English Opera	6
1838	RMI	Edward Taylor	The Early English Opera	
1838	MMI	Thomas Philipps		4
1838	RMI	Thomas Philipps		4
1838	Athenaeum	Thomas Philipps	Dramatic Effects in Music	4
1839	MMI	David W Banks	On the Theory & Practice of Music, illustrative of the Logierian System	3
1839	Athenaeum	C H Purdy	Music	3
1840	RMI	Edward Taylor		6
1840	Athenaeum	Edward Taylor	Vocal Harmony of different Italian Schools in the 16 th Century	6
1840	Athenaeum	Vincent Novello	Church Music of Italy	4
1841	RMI	Edward Taylor	English Opera (third series)	6
1841	Athenaeum	Edward Taylor	English Opera	6
1841	MMI	Michael Conran	On the Music of Ireland	2
1841	MMI	John Hullah	On Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing	1
1841	Athenaeum	John Hullah		
1842	RMI	H J Gauntlett	Music	4

1842	MMI	Michael Conran	On the Science of Music	4
1842–3	RMI	Edward Taylor	The German School of Music, Vocal and Instrumental (1 st series)	6
1842–3	Athenaeum	Edward Taylor	German School of Music	6
1843	MMI	M Fraser	Musical Evenings	3
1843	MMI	Conran	Introductory Lecture on Vocal Music	1
1843	Free-trade Hall	John Hullah	2 lectures on congregational psalmody	2
1844	RMI	James Bennett	On his method of teaching Sight and Part Singing	2
1844	Athenaeum	James Bennett		
1844	Wellington Rooms	Templeton	2 “entertainments” (lectures) on Scottish Music	2
1844	MMI	Crowe	Congregational Music	
1844	Athenaeum	Horncastle	Irish Music	3
1844	Athenaeum	Horncastle	English Melody	3
1844	Ancoats Lyceum	H T Robberds	4 lectures on music	
1845	Athenaeum	J Wilson	Scottish Musical Entertainments	4
1845	Athenaeum	H J Lincoln	Music Lectures	4
1845	Athenaeum	Sir H R Bishop	The Origin & Progress of the Lyric Drama of the 17 th & 18 th Centuries	6
1845	RMI	Gauntlett		
1846	Athenaeum	C E Horn	History and character of the music of 8 different nations	4
1847	MMI	J L Hatton	Classical Music of Germany	2
1847	MMI	Buckland	“Entertainment” An Illustrated Musical Lecture	1
1848	MMI	David W Banks	Lecture on Congregation Singing	1
1848	RMI	J Q Wetherbee	On the Italian and German Schools of Vocal Melody, with illustrations	6
1848	Athenaeum	J Q Wetherbee	Music	4
1848	Athenaeum	G Buckland	Music	6
1848	Athenaeum	J Q Wetherbee	Musical Expression	4
1848	Chorlton High Sch	Mainzer	Early Popular Music	1
1849	RMI	J Q Wetherbee	Six Lectures on Melodic Expression	6
1849	MMI	Mainzer	On the cultivation of Music	1
1849	Athenaeum	Richard Andrews	Lectures on Music	3
1849	MMI	Conran	British Ballads	2
1850	RMI	Richard Carte	On Musical Instruments, and Instrumental Music	4
1850	MMI	Conran	Dibdin and his Songs	

1850	MMI	Henry Smith	One Musical Entertainment	1
1851	RMI	Richard Carte	Instrumental Music, Classical and Unclassical	
1851	Town Hall	Henry Bishop		2
1852	RMI	Richard Carte	On National Airs	4
1853	RMI	W H Monk	On the History and Characteristics of Ecclesiastical Music	4
1853	Athenaeum	Bexfield		
1857	Free-trade Hall	Rev. T Helmore	Church Music	1
1858	Free-trade Hall	Rev. T Helmore	Church Music	1
1858	RMI	W H Monk	On the History and Characteristics of Ecclesiastical Music	

Appendix 4.1: Manchester Music Festival Orchestra and Chorus, 1836

Instrumental Performers (Printed in the Concert Programmes)

Leader of the Band	Mr F. Cramer
Principal Second Violin	Mr Wagstaff
Organist	Mr W. Wilkinson

For the Evening Concerts

Solo Violin	Monsieur De Beiro [sic]
Leader of the Band	Mr Mori

Violins

Mr. Anderson, London
 Mr. Banks, Manchester
 Mr. Barnes, Oldham
 Mr. Barton, Dublin
 Mr. Blagrove, London
 Mr. Brand, Liverpool
 Mr. Bywater, Leeds
 Mr. Clough, Manchester
 Mr. Cramer, W., London
 Mr. Cudmore, Manchester
 Mr. Ella, Manchester
 Mr. Eyton, Liverpool
 Mr. Fallows, Dublin
 Mr. Frobisher, Halifax
 Mr. Gregory, Manchester
 Mr. Hacking, Bury
 Mr. Hampson, Manchester
 Mr. Herman, Liverpool
 Mr. Jackson, Oldham
 Mr. Johnson, Stockport
 Mr. Kearns, London
 Mr. Levey, Dublin
 Mr. Litolfe, London
 Mr. Mori, N., London
 Mr. Patey, London
 Mr. Piggott, London
 Mr. Reeve, London
 Mr. Rudersdorff, Hull
 Mr. Seal, Sheffield
 Mr. Seymour, London
 Mr. Thomas, Liverpool
 Mr. Tolbeque, London
 Mr. Ward, Manchester
 Mr. Wilde, Ashton

Tenors

Principals: Mr. Moralt, London,
 & Mr. Sherrington, London
 Mr. Scruton, Liverpool
 Mr. Abbott, London
 Mr. Andrews, Manchester
 Mr. Calkin, London
 Mr. Challoner, London

Mr. Cummings, Leeds

Mr. Dando, London
 Mr. Daniels, London
 Mr. Hime, Liverpool
 Mr. Mountain, London
 Mr. Napier, Edinburgh
 Mr. Smith, Manchester
 Mr. Sudlow, E., Manchester
 Mr. Taylor, Oldham
 Mr. Waddington, junior,
 Manchester

Violoncellos

Principals: Mr Lindley, London;
 Mr Crouch, London
 Mr. Hatton, London
 Mr. Jackson, Liverpool
 Mr. Lindley, W., Worcester
 Mr. Lucas, London
 Mr. Piggott, Dublin
 Mr. Scruton, Liverpool
 Mr. Stewartson, York
 Mr. Sudlow, Manchester

Double Basses

Principals: Signor Dragonetti,
 London; Mr. Howell, London
 Mr. Beeley, Stockport
 Mr. Flower, London
 Mr. Hardman, York
 Mr. Hill, London
 Mr. Hill, I., Manchester
 Mr. Smart, C., London
 Mr. Tayleure, Liverpool
 Mr. Taylor, London

Flutes

Principals: Mr. Nicholson,
 London; Mr Card, London
 Mr. Brown Liverpool

Piccolo Flute Mr. Card, London

Oboi

Principals: Mr. G. Cooke,
 London; Mr. Keating, London
 Mr. Hughes, Manchester

Clarionets

Principals: Mr Willman, London
 & Mr. Powell, London
 Mr. Blomiley, Manchester
 Mr. Glover, Manchester

Bassoons

Principals: Mr. Baumann,
 London; Mr. Tully, London
 Mr. Boardman, Middleton
 Mr. Molineux, Manchester

Horns

Principals: Mr. Platt 1st London,
 Mr. Rae 2nd London, Mr Arnul
 3rd Hull, Mr Gagg 4th
 Manchester
 Mr Bean, York
 Mr. Thompson, Liverpool

Trumpets

Principals: Mr. Harper, London;
 Mr Irwin, London
 Mr Clegg, C., junr., Sheffield

Tromboni

Mr Smithies, jun., (alto) London
 Mr Bean (tenor) London
 Mr Robinson (bass) Manchester
 Mr Smithies (bass) London

Ophicleide

Mr. Ponder, London

Drums

Mr. Chipp, London

Harp

Mr. Challoner, London

Chorus List (Printed in the Programmes)

THE CHORUS

Under the Superintendence of Mr W. Wilkinson,
Assisted by Mr G. Holden (of Liverpool)

CANTOS

Acton Miss, Manchester	Heywood Miss, Heywood	Ripley Master, Collegiate Church
Amphlett Miss, ditto	Hiles Mrs., Liverpool	Rudd Mrs., Stockport
Andrews Mrs Henry, ditto	Hughes Miss, ditto	Schofield Miss, Rochdale
Barry Miss, Liverpool	Hulme Mrs., Manchester	Sewells Miss, Oldham
Bickerdyke Miss, Duckinfield	Hulton Mrs., Failsworth	Shepley Mrs., Newton Heath
Birch Mrs, Manchester	Isherwood Mrs. T., Manchester	Sutcliffe Miss, Disley
Brand Mrs, Liverpool	Jackson Mrs., Oldham	Swain Miss, Liverpool
Carrington Mrs, Stockport	Jackson Miss, Liverpool	Taylor Miss, Oldham
Chadwick Miss, Oldham	Jones Miss, Pendlebury	Thorley Miss M. A., Manchester
Clough Miss, ditto	Kay Miss, Bury	Thorley Miss Z., Eccles
Cordwell Miss, Pendlebury	Kelly Miss, Liverpool	Travis Miss S., Shaw
Davies Miss, Liverpool	Leach Miss, ditto	Turner Mrs., Manchester
Duckworth Miss E., Whitefield	Leeming Mrs., Bury	Walton Miss H., Bury
Durckworth Miss R., ditto	Linacre Mrs., Liverpool	Walton Miss S., ditto
Dutton Mrs., Liverpool	Lord Miss, Rochdale	Wild Mrs., Shaw
Eckersley Miss, Chowebent	Maddocks Mrs., Liverpool	Winterbottom Mrs., Oldham
Edwards Miss, Liverpool	Marsden Miss, Manchester	Wright Miss, Manchester
Entwisle Miss, ditto	Morrow Mrs., Liverpool	Wrigley Miss, Shaw
Greener Miss, Manchester	Openshaw Miss, Bury	
Hallwood Miss, Liverpool	Peace Mrs., Huddersfield	
Henshaw Mrs, Manchester	Pemberton Mrs., Liverpool	

ALTOS

Arnold H., Manchester	Fletcher W., Prestwich	Platt S., Ashton
Ashworth G., Bury	Gaskell S., Didsbury	Richards S., Manchester
Ball H., Liverpool	Gleave J., Liverpool	Stott J., Liverpool
Barlow W., Swinton	Gledhill J., Manchester	Swift N., Sheffield
Barlow J., Bury	Hampson James, ditto	Turner W., Manchester
Barratt S., Stockport	Hartley J., Liverpool	Waddington J., ditto
Boothby T., Liverpool	Henshaw W., Manchester	Walker J. S., Bury
Bradbury B., Ashton	Hilton J., Oldham	Walsh D. T., ditto
Buck T., Manchester	Jones D., Pendlebury	Walton E., ditto
Butterworth A., Shaw	Jones H., Liverpool	Weston R., Manchester
Clegg James, Rochdale	Malone P., Manchester	Weston R., Stockport
Collins J., Blackley	Malone T., ditto	Wilkinson J., Chester
Cordwell D., Pendlebury	Marsden J., Liverpool	Willis T., Manchester
Cordwell J., ditto	Mills E., Rochdale	Winterbottom S., Oldham
Cordwell J., Manchester	Odgden J., Stockport	Woodward C., Liverpool
Dutton W., Liverpool	Oliver J., Duckinfield	Wright W. C., Manchester
Fletcher J., Unsworth	Peace J., Huddersfield	Wroe T., Bury
Fletcher R., Manchester	Penny J., Manchester	

TENORS

Allen J., Manchester
 Baron J., Rochdale
 Boothby W., Ashton
 Brierley J., Duckinfield
 Bullough J., Whitefield
 Butterworth J., Ashton
 Cartledge J., Manchester
 Clough C., Bury
 Clough T., ditto
 Cocker J., Shaw
 Coope T., Prestwich
 Cooper J., Manchester
 Cooper S., ditto
 Cordwell A., Eccles
 Cordwell J., ditto
 Cordwell J., Pendlebury
 Culley R., Manchester
 Dale J., Liverpool

Dawson S., Manchester
 Dodd H., Liverpool
 Dunn J., ditto
 Evans R., ditto
 Fouldes L., ditto
 France J., ditto
 George W., ditto
 Graham W. H., ditto
 Halliwell W., Oldham
 Hampson J., Manchester
 Hewitt T., Handforth
 Higginbottom J., Manchester
 Holden T., Liverpool
 Holland W., Chelford
 Jackson W., Stockport
 Lawton M., Duckinfield
 Lawton R., ditto
 Lord E., Whitefield

Lord L., Rochdale
 Maddock T., Liverpool
 Openshaw —, Bury
 Platt J., Duckinfield
 Prestwich J., Bolton
 Prestwich R., Bury
 Ridings W., Manchester
 Stott E., Liverpool
 Sykes J., Manchester
 Taylor J., Eccles
 Taylor T., ditto
 Turner J., Manchester
 Turner J., Stockport
 Wilkinson J., Liverpool
 Willcock J., Manchester
 Willcock J., Flixton
 White J., Manchester

BASSES

Abbott C., Manchester
 Allen S., Bury
 Asbery D., Liverpool
 Ashton I., ditto
 Ashworth J., Manchester
 Bamford J., Middleton
 Bayley J., Stand
 Bayley J., Eccles
 Bealey J., ditto
 Bealey J., Bury
 Bowker J., Fairfield
 Brookes S., Manchester
 Cawston W., ditto
 Chapman P., Pendlebury
 Cocks J., Duckinfield
 Cordwell P., Eccles
 Coupe O., Prestwich
 Davies R., Liverpool
 Duke R., ditto

Fitton E., Middleton
 Fletcher J., Prestwich
 Fletcher T., Unsworth
 Greenwood S., Manchester
 Grimshaw T., Ashton
 Grindrod J., Rochdale
 Hadley A. D., Liverpool
 Harrison R., Manchester
 Hart W., ditto
 Harrop T., Middleton
 Holden W., Liverpool
 Hornby J., ditto
 Hughes E., Manchester
 Kay P., Eccles
 Leach J., Bury
 Mellor S., Oldham
 Mouldsdales J., Liverpool
 Newton J., Worsley
 Noblet J., Manchester

Novello J. A., London
 Ogden James, Duckinfield
 Ogden John, ditto
 Ogden W., Bury
 Pemberton C., Liverpool
 Potts J., ditto
 Povah S., Manchester
 Preston E. W., Liverpool
 Shaw J., Rochdale
 Sheldrick J., Prestwich
 Slater R., Pendlebury
 Stonehewer P., Manchester
 Taylor T., Oldham
 Travis E., Manchester
 Turner P., ditto
 Turner W., ditto
 Waring W., Liverpool
 Williams W., ditto
 Williamson J., Manchester

Appendix 4.2: Gentlemen's Concerts Orchestra (Professional Members), 1843

Performers in Orchestra		Concert 25 Dec 1861	
Mr. Lindley	Violoncello 73 10	Mr. Boyce	Obbl. Bass 10
James Hall	Violoncello 36 15	J. Holford	Drums 10
Mr. Woodrow	Bassoon 36 15	John Waddington	Viola 10
Mr. Johnson	Obbl. 36 15	J. Gregory	Violin 10
Mr. Johnson	Clarinet 36 15	W. Barker	Trumpet 10
Mr. Hyde	Horn 30	W. Banks	Trumpet 10
Mr. Gagg	Horn 30	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Banks	Trumpet 30	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Sudlow	Viola 25	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Horrocks	Flute 20	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Jackson	Viola 25	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Smith	Obbl. 15	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Edwards	Horn 36 15	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Andrews	Violin 15	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Wilkinson	Obbl. Bass 15	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Connelley	Clarinet 15	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Conran	Violin 15	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Boardman	Bassoon 12 12	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Johnson	Violin 10	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Robinson	Horn 10	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Thompson	Violin 10	W. Taylor	Trumpet 10
Mr. Davidson		W. Taylor	Trumpet 10

Appendix 4.3: Hargreaves Society Orchestra and Chorus, 1841–2

R780.68 Me76 Hargreaves Minutes 1841–9, pp. 142–8: Orchestra Fees for Season 1841–42, paid June 10th 1842 [* = doubt about spelling].						
Instrument	Name	Concerts	Fees	Fines	Amount	Remarks
Conductor	Waddington	6	21		6 6 0	
Violins – Leader	Conran	6	21		6 6 0	
(Violins)	Barnes	6	15		4 10 0	
	Jackson	6	15		4 16 0	
	Gregory	5	21	4	5 1 0	
	Banks, D W	6	10		3 0 0	
	Hordern	5	10	3	2 7 0	
	Warriner	6	10	1	2 16 8	
	Wilde	3	10		1 10 0	
	Foster					Honorary
	Harrison	6	7		2 2 0	
	Hyde, junior	6	7		2 2 0	
	Hughes, J					Honorary
	Watkis					Honorary
	Bonnor					Honorary
Violas	Sudlow, E.	6	21	1	6 5 0	
	Yarndley	5	10		2 10 0	
	Graham	5 ½				Honorary
	Taylor, R	5	10		2 10 0	
Violoncellos	Lindley, W	6	21		6 6 0	
	Thorley	5	21	1	5 4 0	
	Twiss	6				Honorary
	Burton	6				Honorary
Double Basses	Hill, J	6	21	3	6 3 0	
	Gledhill	5	21		5 19 0	
	Ainsworth					Honorary
	Bayer	6	7		2 2 0	
Flutes	Horrocks	6	21		6 6 0	
	Hyde	5	21	3	5 2 0	
	Hornby	1			0 10 0	First concert only
Clarinets	Carmody	6	21	3	6 3 0	
	Connolly	5	10		2 10 0	
Oboes	Johnson	5 ½	21	2/6	5 16 6	
	Gregory	6	10		3 0 0	
Bassoons	Molineux	6	21	1	6 5 0	
	Boardman	6	10		3 0 0	

Horns	Gaggs	5	21	2	5 3 0	
	Hughes	4	10	1	1 19 0	
Trumpets	Banks	4	21	3	4 1 0	
	Parker	6	10	1	2 19 0	
Trombones	Robinson	5	10		2 7 8	Tickets 2/4
	Hayes	1	10		0 10 0	
Sopranos	Leach, Miss	6	30		9 0 0	
	Graham, Miss	5	25	2	6 3 0	
	Winterbottom, Mrs	6	25		7 10 0	
	Birch, Mrs	6	20		6 0 0	
	Schofield, Miss (Rochdale)	6	20		6 0 0	
	Waddington, Mrs	6	12		3 12 0	
	Isherwood, J., Mrs	6	12		3 12 0	
	Cooper, J., Mrs	5	12	3	2 17 0	
	Yarndley *, Mrs	6	12		3 12 0	
	Schofield, Mrs	3	12		1 16 0	
	Parry, Miss	6	12		3 12 0	
	Amphitt, Miss	6	12	3/6	3 8 6	
	Hadfield, Miss	6	12	2/6	3 9 6	
	Ashbrooke, Miss	6	10	3	2 17 0	
	Halliwell, Miss	6	10		3 0 0	
	Kenny, Miss	5	10	2	2 8 0	
	Snape, Miss	2	7		0 14 0	
	Taylor, Miss (Prestwich)	6	12	5	0 14 0	
	Hyde, Miss	6	10		3 0 0	
	Brandon, Miss	1	7		0 7 0	
	Taylor, Miss (Royton)	6	12		3 12 0	
	Shepley, Mrs	6	10	3	2 17 0	
	Eastham, Miss	5 ½	12		3 6 0	
Altos	Standage	5 ½	15		4 2 6	
	Heelis	5 ½	15	3	3 19 6	
	Kenyon	5	10	1	2 9 0	
	Henshaw	5 ½	10		2 15 0	
	Hampton	6	10		3 0 0	
	Holt, James *	6	10	1	2 19 0	
	Adamson	5				Honorary
	Penny *	6	7	3	1 19 0	
	Richards	6	7		2 2 0	
	Dawson, E	6	3/6	2	0 19 0	
	Allen, R	6	7		2 2 0	
	Platt	4	10		2 0 0	
	Davenport	4	3/6	/6	0 15 0	
	Stott	1	15		0 15 0	

Tenors	Walton	6	30	4	8 16 0	
	Cooper, J.	5	15	2/6	3 12 6	
	Clough	6	15		4 10 0	
	Malone	5	10	2	2 8 0	
	Collins	6	7	1	2 1 0	
	Hampson	6	10	5	2 15 0	
	Harescough	5	7	1	1 14 0	
	Crowther	1	7		0 4 0	Ticket 2/4
	Willshaw, W	6	7		2 2 0	
	Booth, W	6	3/6	/6	1 0 6	
	Phillips J	2				
	Anderson, W.	6	3/6		1 1 0	
	Holt, James	6	7	/6	2 1 6	
	Hilton	5	3/6	2	0 15 6	
	Livesey, Joseph	6	7		2 2 0	
	Cooper, G S	6	3/6		1 1 0	
	Burnett, Henry?	1	30		1 10 0	
	Cooper, J.	5	10	1	2 9 0	
	Allen, J	6	10		3 0 0	
	Harrey*	5	7	/6	1 14 6	
	Roberts	6	7		2 2 0	
	Large	6	7		2 2 0	
	Coulthart	1	3/6		0 0 0	
	Kilgour	5	3/6		0 17 6	
	Leigh	5	3/6		0 17 6	
	Higginbottom	3	10		1 10 0	
Basses	Isherwood J. W.	5	25	1	6 4 0	
	Sheldrick	6	20	1	5 19 0	
	Grimshaw	5	15		3 15 0	
	Mellor	6	15		4 10 0	
	Bayley	6	12		3 12 0	
	Coupe	5	10	3	2 7 0	
	Abbott	6	10	3	2 17 0	
	Hughes	6	10	2	2 18 0	
	Hart	5	10	1	2 9 0	
	Povah, W	6	10	3	2 17 0	
	Povah, S	6	10		3 0 0	
	Williamson, S	6	10		3 0 0	
	Ogden	6	10	1	2 19 0	
	Robinson	6	7	2/6	1 19 6	
	Thorley, H	6	7	2/6	1 19 6	
	Williamson, R	1	3/6			
	Banning, Josiah	6	3/6		1 1 0	
	Butterworth	6				Honorary
	Iddam	6	7	1	2 1 0	
	Allen, T	5	7		1 15 0	

	Heathcote	6	3/6	1	1 0 0	
	Willshaw, E	6	3/6		1 1 0	
	Patrick	6	3/6		1 1 0	
	Ripley	6	3/6		1 1 0	
					363 16 6	

Appendix 5.1: Patrons, 1828 and 1836 festivals

Transcribed from 1828 Programme and 1836 Festival Poster, BL 1501/23 (1–2)

Patrons: Manchester Musical Festival, 1828

The King
High Sheriff of the County of Lancaster
Earl of Denby, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Lancaster
The Duke of Hamilton and Brandon
The Marquess of Stafford, K.G.
The Earl of Stamford and Warrington
The Earl of Aberdeen
The Earl of Wilton
Earl Gower
Lord Stanley M.P.
Lord Bishop of London
Lord Bishop of Chester
Lord Ducie
Lord Suffield
Lord Kenyon
Lord Skelmersdale
Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley M.P.
George Vernon
Robert Peel M.P.
Charles Arbuthnot, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church, Manchester
The Boroughreeve of Manchester
Sir Henry Philip Hoghton, Baronet
Sir John Gerard, Baronet
Rev. Sir Philip Grey Egerton, Baronet
Sir Thomas Stanley Massey Stanley, Baronet
Sir Richard Brooks, Baronet
Sir Robert Gore Booth, Baronet
Sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, Baronet
Sir Oswald Mosley, Baronet
Sir Robert Peel, Baronet
Sir Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, Baronet

Patrons: Manchester Musical Festival, 1836

The King (Duke of Lancaster)
The Queen (Duchess of Lancaster)
Their Royal Highnesses the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria
Charles Standish, Esq., High Sheriff
The Earl of Derby, Lord Lieutenant
The Duke of Hamilton and Brandon
The Duke of Sutherland
The Marquess of Westminster
The Earl of Stamford and Warrington
The Earl of Wilton
Lord Francis Egerton, M.P.
Lord Stanley, M.P.
Viscount Molyneux
Viscount Sandon, M.P.
Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P.
Lord Ducie
Lord Lilford
Lord Delamere
Lord De Tabley
Lord Skelmersdale
R. B. Wilbraham, M.P.
Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P.
C.P. Thompson, M.P.
Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church
The Boroughreeve of Manchester
The Mayor of Liverpool
Sir Henry Bold Hoghton, Bart.
Sir John Gerard, Bart.
Sir Thomas Stanley Masey Stanley, Bart.
Sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, Bart.
Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart, M.P.
Sir George Philips, Bart.
Sir Thomas B. Birch, Bart
Peter Ainsworth, Esq, M.P.

(1828 continued)

Sir Robert Holt Leigh, Baronet
Sir George Philips Baronet, M.P.
Thomas Alcock, Esq, M.P.
John Blackburne, Esq, M.P.
John Fenton Cawthorne, Esq, M.P.
Wilbraham Egerton Esq, M.P.
John Entwistle, Esq
Thomas Greene, Esq, M.P.
James Alexander Hobson, Esq, M.P.
Thomas Houldsworth Esq, M.P.
Robert Gregge Hopwood, Esq
William Hulton, Esq
George John Legh, Esq
George Lloyd, Esq
George Richard Phillips Esq, M.P.
Frank Hall Standish, Esq
Thomas Joseph Trafford, Esq
John Wood, Esq, M.P.

(1836 continued)

J. Ireland Blackburne Esq, M.P.
William Bolling Esq, M.P.
John Brocklehurst Esq, M.P.
Joseph Brotherton Esq, M.P.
John Entwistle Esq, M.P.
William Ewart Esq, M.P.
William Tatton Egerton Esq, M.P.
William Feilden Esq, M.P.
William Hesketh Fleetwood Esq, M.P.
John Fort Esq, M.P.
Thomas Greene Esq, M.P.
Charles Hindley Esq, M.P.
Thomas Houldsworth Esq, M.P.
John Hodson Kearsley Esq, M.P.
John P, Lees, Esq, M.P.
J. Wilson Patten Esq, M.P.
G. R. Philips Esq, M.P.
Mark Philips, Esq, M.P.
Richard Potter, Esq, M.P.
John Ryle, Esq, M.P.
William Turner, Esq, M.P.
Richard Walker, Esq, M.P.
G Wilbraham, Esq
Rev. John Clowes
Wilbraham Egerton, Esq
William Bulton, Esq
George Lloyd, Esq
Thomas Joseph Trafford, Esq

Appendix 5.2: Hargreaves Society Membership Register 1841–2

Henry Watson Music Library 780.68 Me76 Membership Register 1841–46

Aspell, John		Cannon Street
Allen, James		33 Cook Street, Chorlton upon Medlock
Aldred, James		9 Derby Street, Cheetham
Ainsworth, G. M.	Merchant	York Street
Ainsworth, David	Merchant	York Street
Ashworth, William		Tib Street
Ashton, William	Accountant	88 Fountain Street
Ashworth, James		Church Street
Ashworth, Thomas		Brown Street
Braid, James	Surgeon	Piccadilly
Banks, D. W.		148 Chapel Street, Salford
Bate, Edward	Carrier?	Castle Field
Brandt, Robert?	Barrister	Norfolk Street
Bake, James	Publican	Barnes Street
Barnes, George		Cannon Street
Blair, Harrison	Solicitor	Brazenose Street
Blake, George	Classical Master	Grammar School
Bailey, G. J.		Burlington Street, Chorlton upon Medlock
Bennett, R. W.	Solicitor	Princess Street
Bedford, George	Architect	Cross Street
Bell, John	Publican	Strangeways
Bell, Alexander?	Solicitor	99 Fountain Street
Berry, Thomas	Collector	Stock Street, Cheetham
Bennett, R. B. Junior	Solicitor	Hilton Street, Soldham Street
Berry, J. W.		St Marys Gate
Bindloss, B.		York Street
Birtles, Daniel		Nortons Court, Greengate
Birch		St John Street
Brignall, John	Dyer	Mount Street
Brown, Thomas		Greenheyes
Boond, E. E.		38 Falkner Street
Brown, John	Hosier	Market Street
Boyer	Surgeon	Pin Mill Brow
Brown, E.	Silversmith	Market Street
Boardman, William	Painter	Ridgefield
Brown, George	Dyer	Water Street
Brown, George		Cleveland Buildings, Market Street
Brook Hiram	Draper	Merchant Square, Market Street
Booth, William		Back George Street
Bodiano?, A		22 Bond Street
Booth, John		12 Cooper Street
Boult, W. H.		Stanley Street, Salford
Burdekin, Edw.	Managing Director	Bank of Manchester
Buckley, R. H.	Solicitor	Mr Hitchcock, Brown Street
Bulteel, S. W.	Clerk, W Lees Railway Office	Hunts Bank

Burton, G. A.	Piano Forte Tuner	Brazenose Street
Chadwick, John		Broadfield, Rochdale
Chapman, William		Green Street, Ardwick
Carruthers, William junior		Carruthers Street
Chapman, John		17 David Street
Charles, Henry		Police Street
Cave, Henry		New Market Street
Chatterton, William	Pawnbroker	Charles Town, Pendleton
Capes, H. W.	Auctioneer	Princess Street
Carr, Henry	Silk Manufacturer	7 Piccadilly
Craig, Robert	Publican	Thatched House Tavern, Market Street
Carr, William	Coach Builder	L. ? King Street
Cardwell, Edward	Share Broker	Marsden Street
Clegg, Joseph	Stand	
Chesshyre, E.	Farmer, Chesshyre & Co., Drapers	St Ann' Square
Chesshyre, Samuel	S & J? Chesshyre	Little Bridgewater Street
Crippin, William		Shudehill
Crispe, John		54 York Street
Conran, Michael		Portland Buildings
Coston, John		J. Clarke & Co's, Church Street
Copestick, Thomas		Bank View, Red Bank
Cobbett, R. B. B.	Solicitor	Marsden Street
Collins, Edward		Camp Street, Broughton
Cooke, John		13 New Market Buildings
Coulburn, Thomas	Tailor & Draper	St Ann's Square
Cormack, H. D.	Seedsman	Deansgate
Collier, John	(Collier & Rothwell)	Tippings Court
Coston, Thomas	Merchant	York Street
Cottam, S. E.	Accountant	Brazenose Street
Coston, Edmund	Todd & Coston	Fountain Street
Corden, Henry	(Broadhurst & Sons)	6 Mosley Street
Crossley, David	Gentleman	Carter Street, Chorlton upon Medlock
Cooke, George	Broadhurst & Sons	Mosley Street
Cutts, John	Brassfounder	Great Ancoats Street
Curtis, John jun.		38 York Street, Cheetham
Crummock, W. N.	Smith & Hill's	Old Mill Gate
Cunningham, W. A.	Cashier	Manchester & Salford District Bank
Day, Henry	Chemist	Lees Street
Davies, James		48 Stock Street, Cheetham
Dallow, William		Mrs Bower's, David Street
Derbyshire, Thomas	Confectioner	Market Street
Diggles, Thomas		York Street, Cheetham
Doveston, George		106 King Street
Dorrington, John	Mr Leech's	Brook's Buildings, Mosley Street
Duxbury, Giles		Prestwich
Ellenthorpe, Thomas		King Street
Eglin, John		Phoenix Street
Eubank, William	Peel & Co's	Bow Street
Eubank, Henry	Peel & Co's	Bow Street
Farmen, W. H.		Higher Temple Street

Frank, M.		Lloyd Street
Fisher, T. M.	Auctioneer	Princess Street
Fildes, Thomas	Brazier	Market Street
Frost, James	Auctioneer	Oldham Street
Furniss, Thomas		Erskine Street, Hulme
Gartside, Samuel	[illegible]	10 Essex Street
Gallemore, John		Pin Mill Brow
Gaskell, T.		a Messrs J Price House, Milk Street
Grave, Joseph		Cannon Street
Glasgow, William	Ironfounder	Great Bridgewater Street
Garner, James		57 Upper Brook Street
Greene, John J? T.	Barrister	Cross Street
Grey, Thomas		c/o Wolfenden & Co., Lower Mosley Street
Gregory, W. P.	Manufacturer	Cleveland Buildings, Market Street
Gill, Richard		Lodge Mill, Middleton
Gill, Thomas jun.		a9 New Market Buildings
Goode, Thomas J.	Manufacturer	Market Street
Glover, F. H.		35 Brown Street
Giustiniani, Francis	Merchant	Kennedy Street
Hammond, Peter W.		George Street
Hacking, Richard		Bury
Hankes, Robert	Flour &c dealer	Deansgate
Harley, James		Cannon Street
Hatton, George		Pool Fold
Hacking, Edward		Swan Street
Hardman, Henry	Heywood's Bank	St Ann's Street
Hardman, John		Water Street
Hall, J. R.	Gould and Hall	Johnsons Buildings, Cannon Street
Hamer, William	Auctioneer	Water Street
Hatton, John	Surgeon	Oxford Street
Hewitt, Peter		Byron? Street
Hewitt, J.		Wellington Square
Heath, Edward	Solicitor	Swan Street
Henshaw, William	Manufacturer	Back Mosley Street
Helms, Benjamin	Druggist	50 George Street, Hulme
Halliwell, Sidney	Dyer	Spring Field Lane, Salford
Hewitt, John	Adelphi Hotel	Piccadilly
Higginbotham, John		Aldred Street, Salford
Higgin, George		King Street, Salford
Hill, John	Draper	Old Mill Gate
Hilton, Henry	Watts & Co's	New Brown Street
Hickson, Henry		Market Street
Hill, William	Teacher	Victoria Place, Greenheys
Hodson, Edward		George Street
Hobson, R. P.	Accountant	St James's Square
Hounsfield, James		Back Mosley Street
Hobson, J. A.		New Market Buildings
Houghton, Philip		York Street
Holgate, John jun.	Grocer	Victoria Market
Holt, Thomas	Holt & White	Tib Street
Howarth, J.	Infirmity Baths	Piccadilly

Hodson, Edwin	Ironmonger	King Street
Hollingworth, Edward		Port Street
Holt, John	Engraver	Back Mosley Street
Hutchinson, Richard		Mosley Street & York Street
James, Thomas		61 Spring Gardens
Jackson, John		53 Cannon Street
Iddell, William	William Bryan's	George Street
Johnson, Thomas	Holt, Bush? & Co,	Back Mosley Street
Joule, Benjamin jun.		New Bailey Street
Jones, Richard	Roylance & Jones	Hanging Ditch
Jones, J. P.		New Brown Street
Jones, John	Messrs Openshaw's	New Cannon Street
Julott, Charles James		3 Cooper Street
Kaye, Thomas	Smith, Hill and Co.	Old Millgate
Krauss, William		11 Bank Street
Kenyon, Enoch	Wilson and Co's calico printers	Strangeways
Ker, Henry Whitworth	Surgeon	Store Street
Law, David	Solicitor	Brown Street
Lawler, John Fletcher		34 Brown Street
Law, David sen.		Gartside Street
Latham, John jun.	Accountant	Princess Street
Langton, William	Heywood and Co's	St Ann's Street
Lambe, John	Mercer	13 St Ann's Square
Lees, W. J.		6 New Brown Street
Lee, J. F.	Calico Printer	York Street
Leigh, John	Ironmonger	Market Street
Leicester, Henry		Tickle Street
Livesey, Samuel	Publican	Dickinson Street
Livingston, Thomas	Plumber &c	Chapel Street, Salford
Lloyd, J. B.		40 Mosley Street
Long, David	Long, Lloyd & Co.	King Street
Lomax, Robert		Greengate, Salford
Lowe, John		Great Jackson Street, or Manchester & Birmingham Railway
Longsdon, Frederick		Stretford New Road
Locke, J. B.	Share Broker	Pall Mall
Lycette, Lycelle? James	..? Dealer	York Street
Luke, George		1 Erskine Street, New Stretford Road
Lyon, Thomas	Messrs Goldsborough & Co.	Market Street
Maxwell, James	Tailor	King Street
MacStephens, D.	Tailor	King Street
Mather, Joseph	Clarke & Co's	Church Street
MacIntyre, George		Shaw's Brow, Salford
MacClure, William		1 Rook Street
Macguire, J.	Chemist	Spring Field Lane, Salford
Mann, George	Bindloss & Preston's	Chapel Walks
Massey, William	Gentleman	Gartside Street
Meredith, Charles	Land? Stationer	King Street
Middleton, John, jun.	Corn Dealer	Shudehill

Morrison, Hugh		51 Dale Street
Moore, James	Iron Merchant	Bridge Street
Morris, G. L?		64 Dale Street
Nadin, Thomas	Solicitor	Oxford Road
Nesbit, Jacob		Sidney Street, Chorlton upon Medlock
Nettleship, T.		15 Chatham Street
Nield, Thomas	Solicitor	Marsden Street
Nicholls, Benjamin	Spinner	Ancoats Crescent
Nicholson, William	Engineer	Princess Street
Nourse, Miles	Tailor	4 Princess Street
Ogden, James		St Stephens Street
Owen, John	Solicitor	Princess Street
Owen, Thomas	Dyer	Medlock Street, Hulme
Paul, John	Paper Hanger	Church Street
Pacey, Jephtha		Clifford Street, Chorlton upon Medlock
Parr, J.	Bank of Manchester	
Pauling, G. C.	Contractor	London Road
Parry, Thomas Junior	Yarn Manufacturer	Park Place, Cross Lane, Salford
Preston, John		Green Bank Terrace, Salford
Petty, James	Solicitor	Charlotte Street
Pendlebury, John		140 Chapel Street, Salford
Petty, Isaac	Bradshaw & Co.	Brown Street
Phillips, R. A.		St James's Square
Priestly, Peter jun.		New Market Lane
Price, Richard		St John's Place
Phillips, William	Gentleman	Hyde Road, Ardwick
Powell, William	Phillips' & co.	Church Street
Pownall, William		25 Fountain Street
Potter, Thomas B.		1 George Street
Potter, John		1 George Street
Powell, Robert jun.	Armitage & co's	7 Bank Buildings
Potter, Henry	T Hollins's	18a George Street
Powell, T. B.		7 Lower Woodlands, Broughton
Plunkett, James	Alesson & co's	High Street
Ranson, Richard		High Street
Raworth, Thomas	Banck & Co	Exchange Street
Ralli, Demetrius	Giustiniani & co	Kennedy Street
Radcliff, Miles	Manufacturer	Bread Street
Renn, Samuel		Dickinson Street
Redford, James	Accountant	Princess Street
Rolfe, William		King Street
Rothwell, James		Tippings Court
Rothwell, Thomas		
Rhodes, Charles George		39 King Street
Rhodes, Peter		Bradford
Royle, Joseph		Fountain Street
Robertson, George		21 Great Ancoats Street
Rouchette, J. B.		Market Street
Robberds, Henry	Andrew Hall's	Brown Street
Ryder		51 Higher Temple Street
Saunders, James	Solicitor	Norfolk Street

Slater, Nathan	Publican	Booth Street
Samuels, John		82 Fountain Street
Saul, E. F.	J C Harter & Co's	Chapel Walks
Statham, Jonathan?	Tenant, Clow & Co's	Cannon Street
Shaw, J. W.	Auctioneer	Princess Street
Salkeld, John		Marsden Square
Standing John		Fountain Street
Stansfield, James		Lower Mosley Street
Slagg, Thomas		3 Phoenix Street
Sharp, Robert	Mr Bryan's	2 George Street
Sever, Charles		Pool Fold
Sheldon, Hugh	Fletcher & co.	Parker Street
Seed, W. G.	Manufacturer	Spring Gardens
Spear, John		62 Upper Brook Street
Stelfox, Joseph	Star Inn	Deansgate
Simpson, J. M.		33 Back King Street
Simpson, Samuel		33 Back King Street
Smith, Thomas		Clayton Street, Moss Lane
Schmidt, F.		6 Albion Buildings, Tib Street
Silburn? J. M.		59 Maskill? Street
Smith, Thomas		65 Byrom Street
Smith, Horatio	J? Smith and Sons	Bank Street
Sidebotham, E. E.		South Parade
Smith, Joseph		13 New Brown Street
Smith, Horatio	Gentleman	Greenheys
Simpson, William	Engraver	Ducie Place
Sowler, Thomas	Bookseller &c.	St Ann's Square
Shore, William		Red Lion Street
Shorrock, Christopher		Mosley Street
Stott, Edwin	Tobacconist	Withy Grove
Stott, W. B.	Surgeon	Peter Street
Stones	Bookbinder	Market Place
Scott, Walter	Adshad & Co.	St Ann's Square
Sowden? William	Dyer – Sowden? & Co.	Ordsall
Schofield, Joshua	Stiffner?	Knott Mill
Schonekopff, Charles		17 Bond Street
Sudlow, John	Solicitor	Essex Street
Sumner, Thomas	Post Office	
Sutcliffe, J. A.		25 Cooper Street
Taylor, Matthew		Boundary Street, Chorlton upon Medlock
Taylor, Charles		81 Grosvenor Street
Taylor, Henry		Charlotte Street
Tait, Mortimer		33 Mosley Street
Tebbutt, William	Grocer	Deansgate
Twiss, John		Booth Street, Piccadilly
Tilley, Edward		Brunswick
Tidswell, R. K.	Solicitor	King Stret
Temperley, Joseph	Publican	St Georges [...?]
Thomas, Charles	Schwalbe & Co.	St Peters Field
Todd, Thomas		Mosley Street
Thompson, G D		4 Burlington Street

Townley, William Jun.		Brook's Buildings, Mosley Street
Thompson, James	Town? Mills	Longmillgate
Turner, Wright		Pendleton
Turner, William		5 Great Bridge Street
Turner, James	Turner & Co.	High Street
Underwood, Thomas		46 Bury Street, Salford
Waddington, John Senior		Clarendon Street
Waterhouse, John		Mosley Street
Waddington, John Jun.		Grosvenor Place
Watts, Samuel		New Brown Street
Wadsworth, Henry	Collector	Churchwardens Office
Walker, James	Peel & Co's	St James's Square
Wareing?, R		St Ann's Square
Wardley, Thomas		8 Marsden Square
Walmsley, Thomas	Merchant	Greenwood Street Cannon Street
Wheeler, Thomas	Solicitor	Bond Street
Wilson, Henry		8 Mardsden Court
White, Francis	Holt & White	Tib Street
Wilson, J. H.		Cheetwood Lane
Williamson, J. G.		St John's Place
Whittenbury, Richard		Timperly, Cheshire
Whittaker, John	Peel & Holmes	Mosley Street
Winder, B	Surgeon	Shudehill
Whittenbury, Martha		Coupland Street, Greenheys
Winterbottom, Archibald?	Bannerman & Co	York Street
Withers, Joseph	Dyer	Ordsall Lane
Wood, John	Wood & Wright	George Street
Wood, Peter	Timber Merchant	Oxford Road
Woollam, John		
Woolfall, John		Russell Street
Woollam, Esther?		1 Mosley Street
Wood, John	Bank of Manchester	
Wood, John	Hatter	Parsonage
Woodcock, William		Bolton Court
Whyborough, John		York Street, Chorlton upon Medlock

Appendix 6: Publications

Appendix 6.1: Rachel Johnson, 'Reading Between the Lines', *British Library Journal* (2018).

Reading Between the Lines: Sir George Smart's Annotated Programmes for Manchester's 1836 Musical Festival

Rachel Johnson

The concert programme collections held by the British Library include two sets relating to Manchester's Grand Musical Festival of 1836. One is an anonymous bound collection of prospectuses, programmes and wordbooks from the Manchester festivals of 1828 and 1836.¹ The other, also a full set of programmes from 1836, is distinguished by belonging to Sir George Thomas Smart, the conductor of that festival.² In common with many of the programmes surviving from his long career, these are covered in his detailed handwritten annotations. As Christina Bashford has pointed out, when working with concert programmes it is generally necessary to take into account a number of limitations: the concert programme is a record of what was intended to happen, not necessarily what did; the repertoire details given were often vague and can be insufficient to fully identify the pieces today; and programmes were frequently changed at the last minute. Furthermore, if a researcher hopes to cross-reference programme information with reviews or other press commentary, they confront the issue that reviews of concerts were regularly written on the basis of advance publicity by people who did not actually attend the event.³ Smart's annotations – loosely divisible into changes to programme and personnel, timings, and encores – often directly address such areas and therefore, when his annotated programmes are triangulated with other sources, they provide a wealth of information about what actually happened at an early nineteenth-century music festival, both on the stage and behind the scenes.

Sir George Smart (1776-1867), as John Edmund Cox described in his *Recollections* of 1872, 'was so mixed up with all the prominent musical proceedings of the period [...] that it is impossible to refer to one without continually mentioning the other'.⁴ He sang at the first Handel commemoration in Westminster Abbey in 1784 and conducted the last there in 1834. He played violin in Salomon's concerts, was given tips on playing the timpani by Haydn, and later, as organist for the Chapel Royal, he conducted the music for the funerals of two kings, two coronations, and the marriage of Queen Victoria. He was a founder member of the Philharmonic Society, for whom he also conducted forty-nine concerts including the first British performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. He championed the music of Beethoven, Weber, Spohr and Mendelssohn, befriending the composers, and his journal account of his travels to Vienna to learn from Beethoven about what tempi he should conduct the composer's music has received scholarly interest. Smart himself has received less attention, despite the frequency with which his papers have been consulted by researchers into nineteenth-century British music history. Ian Taylor has previously observed the possibilities inherent in Smart's annotations to

¹ [Programmes, books of words, and regulations of the Manchester Musical Festival for 1828 and 1836]. BL, 1501/24.(1.)

² [Programmes, Books of words, etc., of the Manchester Musical Festival of 1836. With M.S. notes by Sir G. T. Smart]. BL, C.61.g.13.

³ Christina Bashford, 'Writing (British) Concert History: The Blessing and Curse of Ephemera', *Notes*, lxiv (2008), p. 467.

⁴ John Edmund Cox, *Musical Recollections of the Last Half-Century* (London, 1872), pp. 90-1.

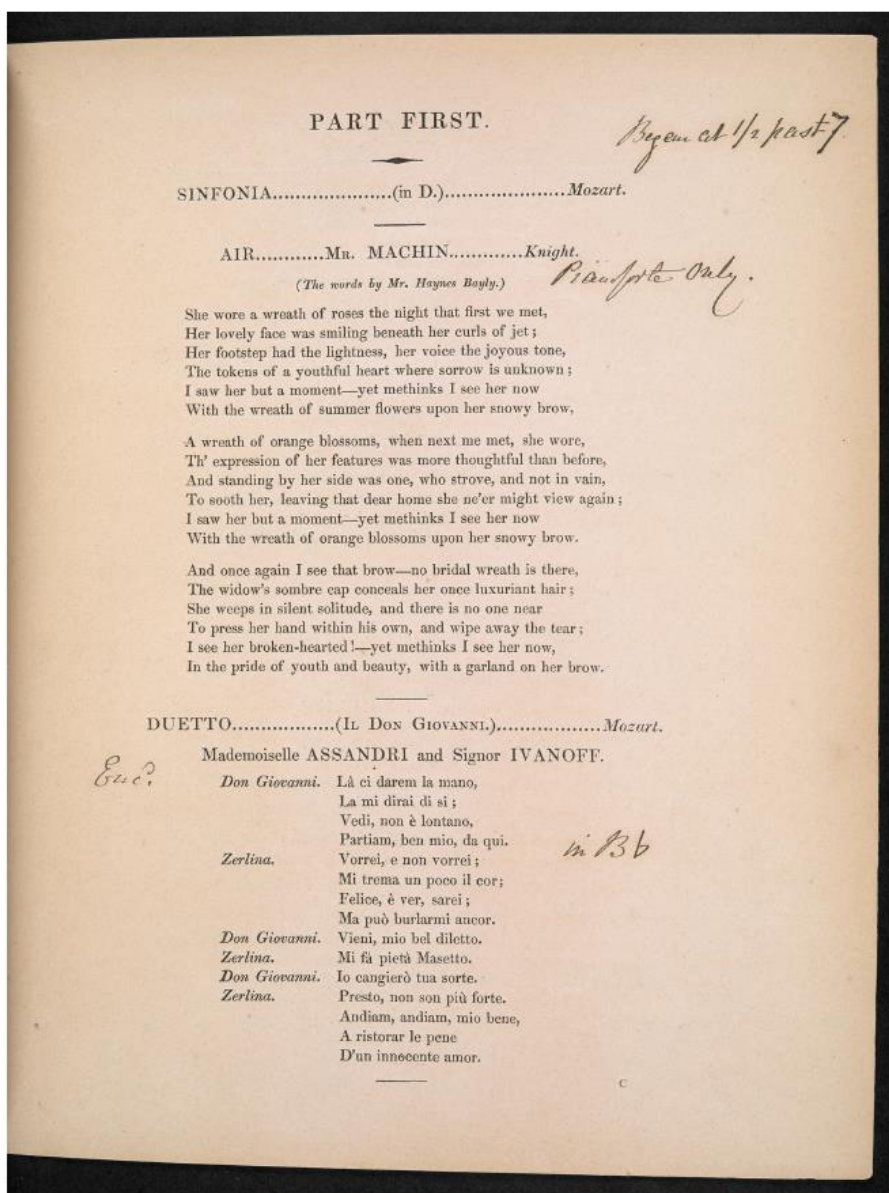


Fig. 1. Smart's programmes for Manchester 1836. Wednesday Evening programme, part 1st, with annotations about timings, encores, accompaniment and key. BL, C.61.g.13.

allow exploration beyond the limitations of the unadorned programme, yet Taylor's call for his preliminary survey of Smart's annotations to be followed up with more detailed scholarly investigation has so far not been heeded.⁵ John Carnelly's recent monograph gives Smart the recognition his life and career have long deserved, yet Smart's programmes remain a source of tremendous untapped potential.⁶

During the 1820s and 1830s Smart was in constant demand as the leading conductor on the circuit of provincial festivals, including those at Liverpool, Bath, Newcastle, Norwich, Edinburgh and Manchester.⁷ Pippa Drummond has detailed how such festivals brought international artists to the provinces and allowed new industrialized cities to demonstrate their wealth and improve their cultural standing, while also raising substantial amounts of money for charitable purposes.⁸ The model was a festival of several days' duration, centred on increasingly large-scale morning performances of religious repertoire in churches or cathedrals, with a similar number of concerts of miscellaneous vocal and instrumental repertoire in a theatre or hall in the evening, concluding with a fancy dress ball. In addition to directing the music, the role of conductor also generally encompassed related duties such as planning programmes, and engaging soloists and orchestral players.⁹ In 1836, Smart also directed the Festivals at Liverpool and Norwich and there is significant overlap in personnel and programming across the three. Smart was dismissed by Nicholas Temperley as 'not a "conductor"' as the term is now understood',¹⁰ a perspective perpetuated rather disparagingly by Fiona Palmer in her discussion of Liverpool's festivals and 'George Smart's involvement as so-called "conductor"'.¹¹ However, Carnelly argues convincingly that Smart should be regarded as 'the first British musician to make conducting his career', presenting evidence that he used a baton as early as 1823, as well as presiding from the pianoforte or organ.¹²

⁵ Ian Taylor, 'How to Read a Concert Programme: Programmes from the Papers of Sir George Smart', *Brio*, xliii (2006), pp. 7-22. I must thank the reviewer of my submission for drawing my attention to this article, of which I was unaware. It was striking to note the similarities between the points we made and the conclusions we reached, via independent investigations and considerations.

⁶ The British Library's George Smart collection comprises his programmes, journals, account books and scores: Add. MS. 41771-9 and 42225, Sir George Smart's papers; C.61.h.2 and K.6.d.3, annotated programmes. The collection has been invaluable to much research into music in nineteenth-century Britain, but apart from an article by Alec Hyatt King and a book by Percy Young, which although about Smart disguises itself as a book about Beethoven, George Smart has been surprisingly neglected as an important figure in his own right. John Carnelly's book is a development of his Ph.D. thesis of 2008. See Alec Hyatt King, 'The Importance of Sir George Smart', *The Musical Times*, xci (1950), pp. 461-2; Percy M. Young, *Beethoven, A Victorian Tribute: Based on the Papers of Sir George Smart* (London, 1976); John Carnelly, *George Smart and Nineteenth-Century London Concert Life* (Woodbridge, 2015); John Carnelly, 'Sir George Smart and the Evolution of British Musical Culture 1800-1840' (Ph.D. diss., London, 2008).

⁷ Smart conducted festivals at Liverpool in 1823, 1827, 1830, 1833 and 1836; Norwich, 1824, 1827, 1830 and 1833; Bath, 1824; Newcastle upon Tyne, 1824 and 1842; Edinburgh, 1824; Bury St Edmunds, 1828; Dublin, 1831; Derby, 1831; Cambridge, 1833 and 1835; London (Handel Festival, Westminster Abbey), 1834; Hull, 1834 and 1840; and Manchester, 1836. W. H. Husk and Nicholas Temperley, 'Smart, (1) Sir George (Thomas) Smart', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25981pg1>> [accessed 23 August 2017].

⁸ Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Farnham, 2001).

⁹ Drummond, *Provincial Music Festival*, p. 168.

¹⁰ W. H. Husk and Nicholas Temperley, 'Smart, (1) Sir George (Thomas) Smart', *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25981pg1>> [accessed 23 August 2017].

¹¹ Fiona M. Palmer, 'A Home for the 'Phil': Liverpool's First Philharmonic Hall (1849)', in Paul Rodmell (ed.), *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Farnham, 2012), p. 81.

¹² Carnelly, *George Smart*, in particular pp. 52-9.

Smart very nearly missed out on the Manchester engagement. This was to be Manchester's Second Grand Musical Festival, the first having taken place in 1828. Smart was approached by the organizing committee to conduct in Manchester but it emerged that the dates chosen clashed with Liverpool's festival, a well-established triennial event that had been conducted by Smart since 1823. The absurd situation arose whereby Liverpool had secured the principal instrumental talent and Manchester the leading vocal performers. During much heated discussion on the matter between deputations from Manchester and Liverpool, when the Manchester representatives reportedly highlighted how both festivals would be musically poorer if this situation was not resolved, the Liverpool committee are quoted as saying they 'trusted more to their Fancy Ball than to musical performances for their success!'¹³ Manchester eventually gave way and altered its dates to take place before Liverpool. Henry Bishop, who had in the meantime been engaged as conductor for Manchester, was informed he was no longer required and Smart took on the position.¹⁴

Manchester's 1836 Festival was, as billed, a grand occasion, comprising some twenty-seven hours of concert over four days and concluding with the obligatory fancy dress ball. Many of the leading performers of the time were engaged to take part, playing to packed houses at the Theatre Royal and the Collegiate Church (now Manchester Cathedral). The latter of these was crammed with audiences of nearly 3000 people in addition to 400 musicians.¹⁵ There were seven concerts: four performances of sacred music in the mornings at the Collegiate Church, three Grand Miscellaneous Concerts in the evenings at the Theatre Royal. All the published programmes contain full lists of patrons, soloists, members of the orchestra, members of the chorus, and reasonably detailed information about the repertoire. Tickets were expensive, ranging for each concert from five shillings for the cheapest seats to twenty-one shillings in the patrons' gallery. They were also not easy to obtain, requiring attendance at the Grammar School during working hours to purchase tickets and enter into the ballot for seats.¹⁷ In consequence, as might be anticipated, newspaper reports of concert attenders indicate an exclusive assemblage.¹⁸ Only the most illustrious figures were actually named in the press, but a full list of attenders at the ball was published together with details of the costumes they were wearing.¹⁹

Maria Malibran de Beriot (1808-1836), then at the height of her fame, headlined a list of vocal soloists that also featured Mrs H. R. Bishop (Anna Bishop (1810-84), the young second wife of Henry Bishop), Mrs W. Knyvett (Deborah Travis (1795-1876), wife of the singer William Knyvett), the contralto Mrs A. Shaw (Mary Shaw (1814-76)), the famed bass Luigi Lablache (1794-1858), the soprano Maria Caradori Allan (1800-65), and the now elderly John Braham (c. 1774-1856), who had been the pre-eminent tenor of his generation. All were household names and festival regulars. A young Clara Novello (1818-1908) also appeared. The orchestra was engaged specifically for the festival and included leading players from London, musicians on the provincial festival circuit, and Manchester-based instrumentalists. Notable names include the celebrated partnership of the 'cellist Robert Lindley (1776-1855) and the double-bass virtuoso

¹³ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester, 1836: Some account of its origin and arrangements, a criticism of the musical performances, a description of the Fancy Dress Ball with a corrected and complete list of the company* (Manchester, 1836), p. 3.

¹⁴ 'Manchester Music Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 1.

¹⁵ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester*, p. 6.

¹⁶ For a fuller account of organization, repertoire and personnel see Lewis Foreman, 'The Twilight of an Age: The Manchester Grand Musical Festivals of 1828 and 1836, the Development of the Railway, and the English Choral Festival in the Nineteenth Century', *Manchester Sounds*, vi (2005-6), pp. 35-69.

¹⁷ Manchester Grand Musical Festival advertisement, *Manchester Guardian*, 10 September 1836, p. 1.

¹⁸ See for example 'Manchester Music Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 1, for a selection of names of those present at the concerts.

¹⁹ *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester, 1836: Some account of its origin and arrangements, a criticism of the musical performances, a description of the Fancy Dress Ball with a corrected and complete list of the company* (Manchester, 1836).

Domenico Dragonetti (1763-1846), the renowned flautist Charles Nicholson (1795-1837), and the clarinetist Thomas Willman (1784-1840), the leading exponent of his instrument at the time.

The morning performances were constructed around complete oratorios by Haydn, Handel, Bishop and Spohr, supplemented by selections and miscellaneous items. The Tuesday concert began with Haydn's *The Creation* in full, followed by a selection from Mozart's *Requiem*, before concluding with Henry Bishop's cantata *The Seventh Day*. It was more common at the time to omit the third part of *The Creation*, and indeed Drummond has stated that this is how it was performed in Manchester.²⁰ It was in fact performed in full without a break as Part One of this three-part concert.²¹ Henry Bishop directed his own oratorio from the piano, which perhaps provided some consolation for his having been removed as conductor of the festival. Wednesday morning's concert took the form of 'A Grand Performance of Sacred Music', principally Handel, plus the first performance in England of *The Christian's Prayer* by Spohr. Thursday morning was occupied by the customary performance of *The Messiah*. The Friday concert began with Beethoven's *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, the first English performance of which had been conducted by Smart in 1814, continued with selections from *Matyr of Antioch* – an oratorio by the Manchester-based violinist and composer Richard Cudmore – and concluded with Spohr's *Last Judgement*. Novelties of the sacred concerts included a song for Mrs Shaw composed for her by Sigismund Neukomm with Willman playing obbligato 'on his newly invented *basso clarionet*', mentioned in the review to say 'the instrument, which is in fact a clarinet of so large dimension as to be of the same pitch as the bassoon, is yet capable of improvement'.²² The miscellaneous concerts given in the evenings at the Theatre Royal presented a mixture of orchestral pieces, instrumental and vocal solos, the last of these a combination of operatic arias and popular songs.

George Smart spent the week before the festival in Manchester, overseeing the final arrangements. On the Monday at the beginning of festival week there was a rehearsal under his direction for the daytime concerts from nine in the morning until five in the afternoon, followed by an evening rehearsal for the Theatre concerts which did not finish until eleven at night. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that Smart 'was early at his post. His professional brethren, well aware of his punctuality on such occasions, were no loiterers [...] Every composition that was new to the professional persons engaged, or that seemed to present any difficulty from its intricacy, or in which the same parties, including the leading London professors, had not been engaged together, was gone through'.²³ A glimpse of the personality behind Smart's popularity as a conductor on such occasions may be seen in his compliments to his assembled performers on this occasion, where his warmth and his people skills are equally evident:

The rehearsal did not terminate till nearly five o'clock, and at its conclusion the conductor addressed the band, chorus, and solo singers, in a complimentary strain. He thanked them all for their attention, and the good feeling by which they were actuated. It was, he said, the most satisfactory rehearsal it had ever been his good fortune, in a long course of professional experience, to witness. All were at their posts, all had applied themselves to the business before them with zeal and assiduity, and the new pieces had been executed with an effect that almost astonished him.²⁴

The press allusion to Smart's punctuality is a key feature of his professional practice and an important element of his annotations. He meticulously recorded timings on his programmes – starts

²⁰ Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 80.

²¹ See n. 26 for the negative response of the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer to this programming decision.

²² 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 2.

²³ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 1. This quotation implies an interesting point of practice, as the subtext is of course the quantity of music not rehearsed immediately prior to the festival, even though the writer is keen to emphasize its familiarity through prior engagements.

²⁴ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 1.

and finishes of parts of concerts, and durations of oratorios and symphonies in particular.²⁵ The length of the concerts at the Manchester festival seems incredible now, though typical for such events in the early nineteenth century, each one averaging four hours. The Tuesday evening concert commenced at 7.30 p.m. and concluded at 11.29 p.m. The Wednesday morning concert ran from 11.04 a.m. to 3.16 p.m. Any anticipation that the length may have been due in part to extended intervals can be ruled out: Wednesday morning, for example, had a '5 minute stop' from 12.58 until 1.03, then a twenty-four minute break between 1.48 and 2.12. While concerts of this length were standard, other sources generally contain some uncertainty over precise durations of pieces, cuts and breaks. Smart records all such details. He liked his concerts to commence on time, therefore the delay of four minutes to the start of Wednesday morning's displeased him greatly. He notes at the top of the programme that this was 'at the suggestion of Mr Willert [a festival steward] who said that the performance should be delayed Ten minutes as, in consequence of a Fire the streets were blocked up therefore the Patrons &c could not pass – but in a conversation with Earl of Wilton he recommended the delay of 2 or 3 minutes only'. The Earl of Wilton's name appears regularly in the press and in Smart's papers about the festival, suggesting that as well as evidently being enthusiastic musically he also made good use of his influence as an aristocratic patron.²⁶

In contemporary commentary, the length of the concerts occasioned less comment than the duration of certain pieces within them. Thursday's evening concert began with Beethoven's 'Pastoral' symphony, which caused the *Manchester Guardian* reviewer to suggest that the managers of the festival had committed a great mistake 'in introducing a composition which occupied *three quarters of an hour* in its performance. It was, however, exquisitely played, and no doubt afforded extreme pleasure to those who were gifted with patience'.²⁷ The full performance of *The Creation* also proved unpopular with this paper:

It will be observed from the above bill of fare, that the whole of 'The Creation' was performed. This has been unusual of late years, and we cannot but think it was an error in judgment on the part of the committee. The public have latterly been satisfied with a portion of this work, magnificent as it is; the second and third parts contain some lengthy, not to say heavy compositions, and by their omission room would have been afforded for more novelty and variety.²⁸

George Smart noted encores on every programme but these are less exact, as they appear to comprise a mixture of actual and anticipated encores, and it is not completely clear as to which were given on the day. When compared with press reviews, however, they are illuminating. The sacred concerts record just one encore in each programme. Press commentary reveals the etiquette of not applauding in church, with praise awarded for 'chaste' and 'correct' performances, particularly by the female singers.²⁹ Encores were requested politely from the patrons' gallery, including on the Tuesday, when the 'Benedictus' from Mozart's *Requiem* was reported to have been particularly desired by the Earl of Wilton. On Wednesday morning, a repeat of the duet *Qual Anelante* by Marcello was requested via a paper note passed to Smart, causing it to be encored some time after its first appearance in between two numbers from *Israel in Egypt*.³⁰

²⁵ This is one area in which his papers have received prior attention, including an article by Nicholas Temperley comparing the timings indicated by Smart with those in modern recordings, in an exploration of tempo and observance of repeats in the early nineteenth century. See Temperley, 'Tempos and Repeats in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Music and Letters*, xlv (1966), pp. 323-36.

²⁶ Thomas Egerton, 2nd Earl of Wilton (1799-1882).

²⁷ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 17 September 1836, p. 2.

²⁸ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 1.

²⁹ The *Manchester Guardian* reviewer appears to have been particularly reserved in this regard, while the reviews in *The Second Grand Musical Festival in Manchester, 1836: Some account of its origin and arrangements* seem sympathetic to the more dramatic performances.

³⁰ The scrap of paper is preserved in the programme: 'The public is anxious to have *Qual anelante* again – Malibran will sing it before her song 'Sing Ye to the Lord' if you approve of it'. It was indeed repeated, but during *Israel in Egypt*, in between the Duet 'The Lord is a man of war' and the Chorus 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever'.

I. Prologue

PART FIRST.

Begin at 4.15. Part II. The delay in Beging was at the suggestion of Mr. Willett who said the Standards that the Performer should be delayed 10 minutes as in consequence of a Fire the Stands were blocked up. Therefore the Patrons etc. could not help but in a conversation with Basil Willett he recommended the delay of 2 or 3 minutes only.

OVERTURE AND DEAD MARCH...(SAUL)...Handel.

RECIT. AND AIR.....(JUDAS MACCABEUS).....Handel.

Mrs. H. R. BISHOP.

RECIT.

O let eternal honours crown his name,
Judas! first worthy in the rolls of fame.
Say "he put on the breast-plate as a giant,
" And girt his warlike harness about him ;
" In his acts he was like a lion,
" And like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey."

AIR.

From mighty kings he took the spoil,
And with his acts made Judah smile :
Judah rejoiceth in his name,
And triumphs in her hero's fame. *Da Capo.*

Fig. 2. Wednesday Evening Programme, p. 12: consequences of a fire. BL, C.61.g.13.

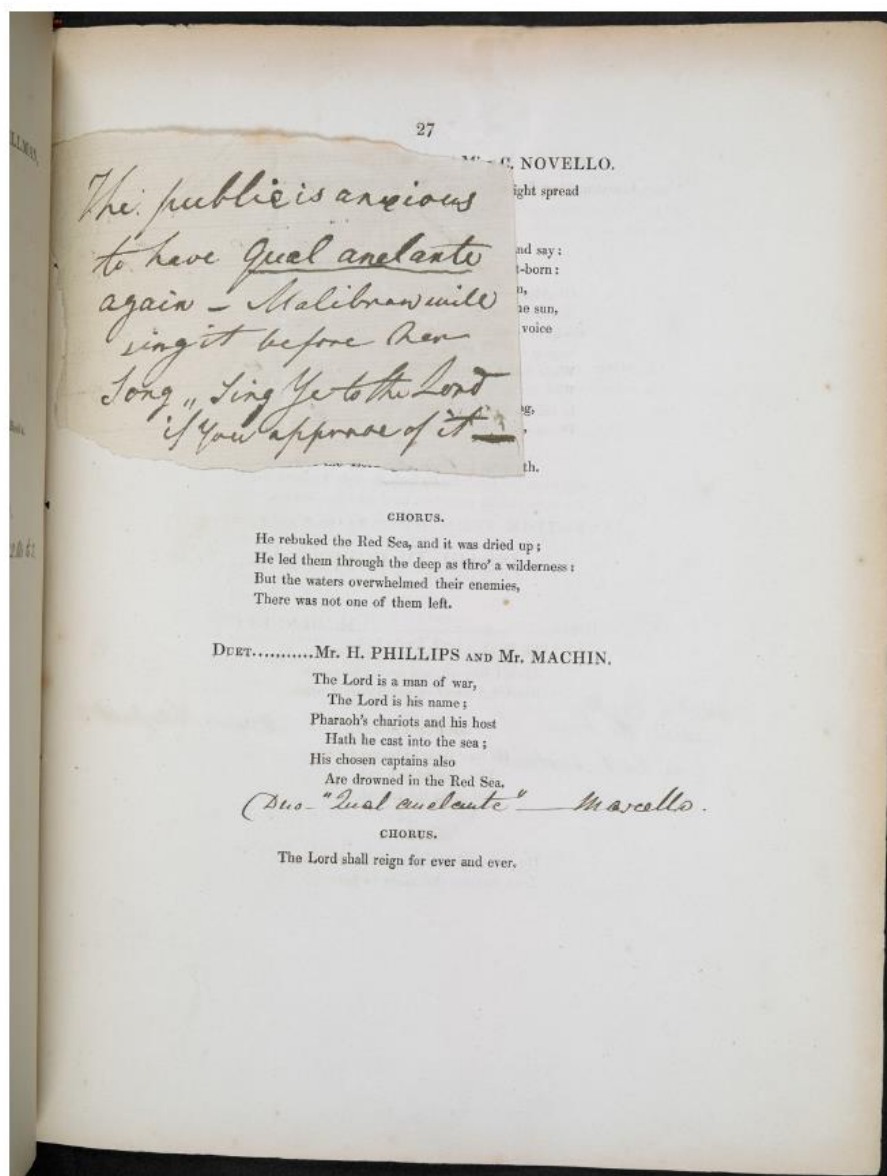


Fig. 3. Wednesday Morning Programme, inserted note: 'The public is anxious to have Qual anelante again'.
BL, C.61.g.13.

Encores in the miscellaneous concerts were a different matter. Up to five pieces were repeated every evening, with a reviewer noting, 'There was apparently no disposition on the part of this numerous auditory to be fastidious or hypercritical. They came there to satiate themselves with music, and scarcely a piece was sung or performed, without an attempt from some part of the house to procure an encore'.³¹ All the items against which Smart put a question mark in his programmes were called for, according to the press accounts, and several additional encores were also requested, the majority of these being vocal items divided equally between arias and popular songs. Conduct was not always polite: a duet by Mozart was repeated 'after a sharpish contention between those who wished to hear it again, and those who did not'.³²

The importance of appropriate conduct at oratorio concerts indicated here is inseparable from contemporary discussions around the appropriateness of putting on a music festival in a religious venue at all. The sermons given at the Collegiate Church around the time of the festival, and subsequently published, took great care to justify the festival from a religious perspective, whether responding to, or pre-empting criticism. The Reverend J. H. Marsden spoke on the Sunday immediately prior to the festival, providing many reasons why the music festival was appropriate, before cautioning his congregation:

When these sublime and awful mysteries, the sum of what we believe and the substance of what we hope for, are sounded in your ears, – when the words of inspiration are conveyed to your understanding, through the medium of an art, which has always an influence that elevates the soul; – beware, my brethren, of the gross and earthly mind, which finds in all this, nothing more than a gratification of the love of harmony, and the merely sensual pleasure, which that love produces: – for this would amount to little less, than a profanation of all that we hold sacred [...] Let us not venture to make our religion, a mere handmaid to our pleasures [...] If you can trace his presence, in all the works of his wonderful creation around you, [...] forget him not, my brethren, when his praises are sung in the house where he loveth to dwell, and in the words which He Himself hath taught us.³³

His critics remained vociferous, however, as demonstrated by published correspondence responding to this sermon from the Reverend R. Frost, Curate of St Stephen's Church Salford, who, in the course of fourteen pages of angry prose, attempted to refute any possible religious justification for the music festival, attacking not just the performances but the preparations, the character of the performers and the 'ungodly exhibition' of the fancy dress ball. He was particularly incensed by the modifications made to the Collegiate Church:

If we add the consideration of the previous preparation, the tearing down of pews, and the entire removal, for the time, of the pulpit and the desk, the conclusion, I think, cannot be resisted, that on occasion of the Musical Festival, the Collegiate Church has been subjected to an act of solemn desecration.³⁴

Smart made some reference to missing musicians, crossing the odd name out of the chorus list and noting late arrivals. His records here are not comprehensive. For example, he did not mention the ophicleide player, who had been injured in a stagecoach accident. The press could not resist the pun, lamenting the absence of Mr Ponder and his ponderous instrument.³⁵ More

³¹ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 2.

³² 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1836, p. 2.

³³ *A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of Manchester on the 11th of September 1836, being the Sunday preceding the music festival, by the Rev. J. H. Marsden, B.D., clerk in orders of the collegiate church and fellow of St John's College, Cambridge* (Manchester, 1836), pp. 14-15.

³⁴ *A Letter to the Very Reverend The Warden of Manchester on the subject of the late Musical Festival, with especial reference to two sermons recently preached in the Collegiate Church and since published. By the Rev. R. Frost, M.A., Curate of St. Stephen's Church, Salford* (London & Manchester, 1836), p. 11.

³⁵ *Musical World*, iii (1836), p. 12.

often Smart noted next to their intended arias singers who arrived late to concerts or who were indisposed, necessitating the piece being given by another singer. During the Tuesday morning concert, he recorded that 'Mrs A. Shaw did not come into the orchestra until past 2'. Given this second part of the concert had begun at '21m to 2', and she was due to sing in the vocal quartet which comprised the second piece, this no doubt caused a few moments of upset. Similarly, on Wednesday morning during the five-minute stop mentioned previously 'The Performers did not leave the orchestra except Madame C. Allan who ought to have remained. The other principal singers going was not so material'.

Central here too were the events concerning Maria Malibran de Beriot, the story of her appearance at this Festival having occasioned much popular commentary at the time and scholarly attention since. Smart's notes and comments, placed as they are on the programme as the situation developed, give a fascinating insight into the impact on the performances of the goings on and the steps taken to mitigate the situation. In July, two months prior to the festival, Malibran had suffered a riding accident. She never recovered, but nevertheless continued to fulfil all engagements up to the Manchester Festival regardless of her deteriorating health. Smart's programme from Tuesday morning notes, next to her first appearance, that 'Madame De Beriot was very unwell but sang well tho she commenced feebly'. Reviews of her performances over the next three concerts were each more positive than the last, the highest praise given to the duet to Mercadante that she sang with Caradori Allan on the Wednesday evening. They were each determined to outdo the other, the press noting:

Malibran, being second, took it upon herself to oversing the principal in the graces and shakes of Caradori's own choosing. This may have been a joke. It looked very like earnest. Malibran's eyes, let us hope, do not always shoot those fires to her friends.³⁶

The piece was enthusiastically encored, at the end of which Malibran collapsed. Smart records that she was unable to sing again and was carried to her inn. His programme from this evening contains notes next to the last song she sang summarizing subsequent events. It also contains a paper note given to the audience during the course of the performance informing them of Malibran's indisposition, and announcing consequent changes to the programme. On Thursday morning, Smart notes, Malibran came to the church but was too weak to come into the orchestra. Smart seems to have been on stage while the situation developed, as he was kept informed by notes from the committee on scraps of rough paper. The first: 'Mrs Knyvett is not yet come'. The second, referring to Malibran, 'She is in hysterics & fits – quere if she comes?' It seems that while attempting to conduct the early stages of the concert, Smart was faced with the indisposition of one soloist and the late arrival of a second. In the same concert, he had to send someone in search of the singer Phillips, as he was not in the orchestra and had a solo fast approaching. He has written on the programme 'Mdme Malibran came to church but was too ill to remain. Had Mrs. W. Knyvett arrived in time she would have been requested to have sung the song', the song in question being 'Rejoice greatly' from *The Messiah*, which was instead taken by Caradori Allan. Malibran was not to sing again. She was reported to have declined sharply and died in Manchester the week after the festival.

Smart recalled in his journal:

Malibran's death may have been accelerated by her extraordinary exertions while singing in a duet with Madame Caradori Allen; they settled the manner at rehearsal as to how it was to be sung, but when the time came Madame Caradori Allen made some deviation; this prompted Malibran to do the same, in which she displayed the most wonderful execution. During the well-deserved encore she turned to me and said, 'If I sing it again it will kill me'. 'Then do not,' I replied, 'let me address the audience.' 'No,' said she, 'I will sing it again and annihilate her.'³⁷

³⁶ *An Historical Account of the Grand Musical Festival held in Manchester the Second Week in September 1836: Taken from the Manchester and Salford Advertiser of September 17* (Manchester, 1836), p. 18.

³⁷ H. Bertram Cox & C. L. E. Cox, *Leaves from the Journals of Sir George Smart* (London, 1907), p. 283.

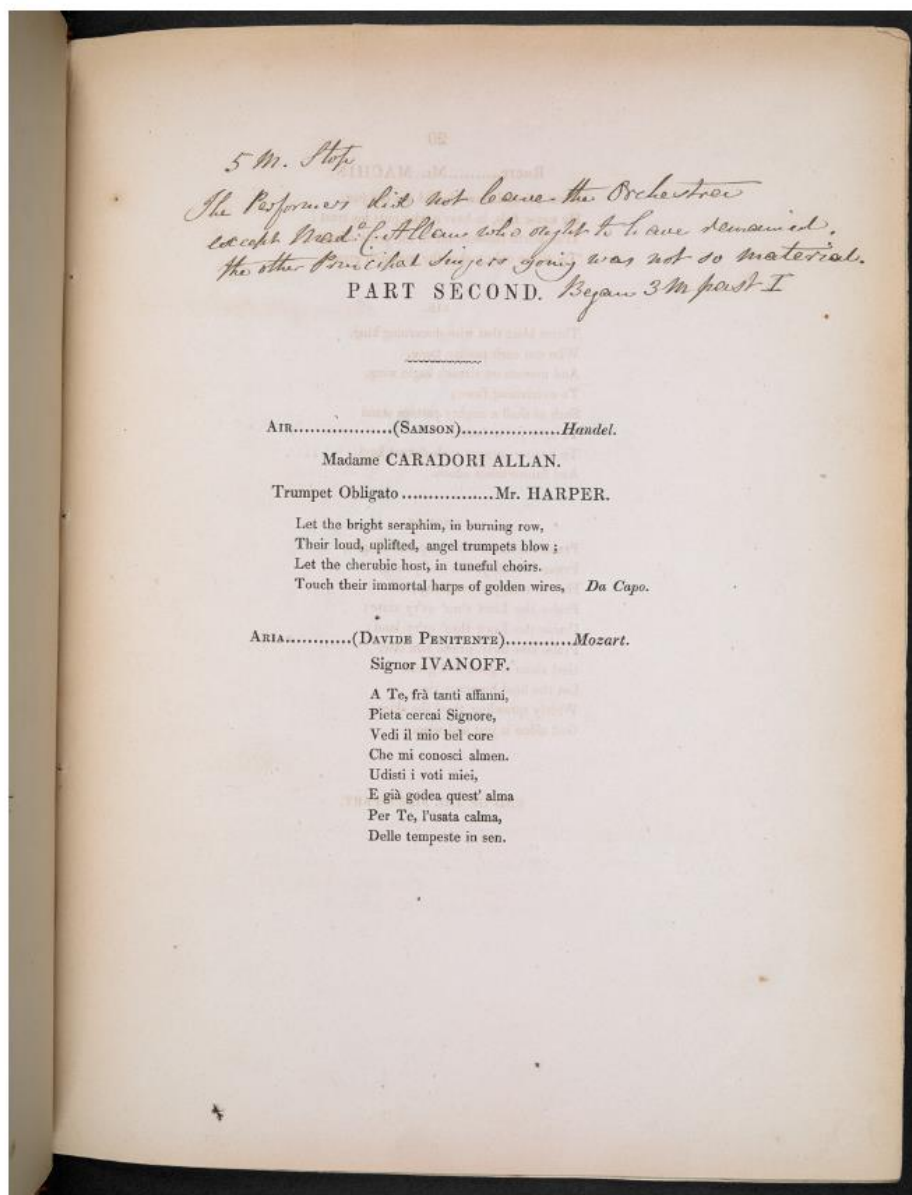


Fig. 4. Wednesday Morning Programme, beginning of Part 2: 'The Performers did not leave the orchestra ...'. BL, C.61.g.13.

DUETTO.

Irene. Vanne! se alberghi in petto,
Alma sublime e forte,
Affronta della sorte,
L'ingiusta crudeltà.

Andr. Vado, del rio destino,
Trionfa un cor che adora!
Dimmi che m'ami ancora,
Abbi di me pietà.

a Duc. O voce soave d'un tenero affetto,
Che mormori in petto, che tocchi il mio core,
Sei voce d'amore,
Che colpa, non hà.

Irene. Ma se il Padre?

Andr. Ah! fogga il figlio...

Irene. Che! tu fremi?

Andr. Al tuo periglio!

Irene. Mi odi!

Irene. Vanne! Oh Ciel! mi lascia!

Andr. Solo un detto,

Irene. Io...tu...ohimè!...che ambascia!

Andr. Farò i vili ancor tremar!

Euc? from here Irene. Ah! non resta più à sperar!
Quanto è barbaro il mio fato!
Ah restar più non degg'io!
Da lui grazia imploro oh Dio!
Và felice a trionfar.

Andr. Quanto è barbaro il mio fato!
Ah lascarti ohime! degg'io,
La tua man potessi oh Dio!
Và felice a trionfar.

*The last Piece in which
poor Malibran ever sung, Andr.*

*He died 20 m before 12 at night Friday, September 23^d
at the Mosley House, Hotel, Manchester*

*Buried at the Collegiate Church Manchester
Saturday Morning October 1st*

*Despatches Dec. 11, 1836 and probably taken
to Brussels —*

Fig. 5. Wednesday evening programme, p. 12: 'The last piece in which poor Malibran ever sung'. BL, C.61.g.13.

Despite this unfortunate occurrence, the festival was deemed a great success musically, socially and financially, making a profit of around £5000 to be distributed for charitable purposes.³⁸ Smart was praised by the Manchester press and festival committee alike for his efforts. As the *Manchester Guardian* put it:

The musical proceedings have been of a first-rate character, and have been attended with eminent success. We have no hesitation in saying that this is partially attributable to the zeal in the cause that has animated all parties, and to the talent that has been engaged for the occasion, and above all to the perseverance, industry, and extraordinary tact and skill in professional matters, of the worthy and talented gentleman who was fortunately selected by the committee to superintend the musical arrangements. Our readers will be at no loss to understand that we allude to the conductor, Sir George Smart; for we have no hesitation in saying that the success referred to has been mainly owing to his exertions.³⁹

George Smart's role as a festival conductor would benefit from further research. Carnelly's biography is excellent as far as it goes, but retains a London focus, and a detailed account of this aspect of Smart's career remains to be written. Moreover, given that the findings in this paper arise from just one set of programmes for one festival, the potential of an analysis of all his festival programme annotations is enormous. While Taylor addressed Smart's broader programme collection, he emphasizes the fact his article was intended to identify topics worthy of further investigation.⁴⁰ Such investigation remains to be pursued. A more detailed or systematic study of Smart's annotations would certainly deepen our understanding of a wide range of topics, including the practicalities, the hidden stories and the sheer vitality underpinning British concert life in the nineteenth century.

³⁸ Foreman, 'Twilight of an Age', p. 58

³⁹ 'Manchester Musical Festival', *Manchester Guardian*, 17 September 1836, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Taylor, 'How to Read a Concert Programme', p. 10.