

The supporters and benefactors of the
Royal Manchester College of Music
(RMCM): musical patronage and
philanthropy in Manchester, 1891–1920

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The supporters and benefactors of the Royal
Manchester College of Music (RMCM):
musical patronage and philanthropy
in Manchester, 1891–1920

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Dedicated to the memory of my parents

Connie M. Smart (1925–1977)
Stanley W. Smart (1920–1988)

and my husband

Colin Wright (1958–2016)

Abstract

'Hallé also founded the Royal Manchester College of Music...'.¹ This phrase is an oft-repeated summary of the establishment of the RMCM in the 1890s, but it is only a partial representation of what occurred. In the Preface to his history of the College, Michael Kennedy refers to the 'ghosts of the past', naming particularly Charles Hallé and Gustav Behrens.² In this thesis I argue that it was less eminent ghosts - the supporters and benefactors whose contribution has not been recognised hitherto - who were as important as Hallé in founding the RMCM, and enabling its continuation.

I place this argument in the context of the philanthropic support of other educational institutions in the city in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, and the increasing demand, during the 1880s, for a conservatoire of music in Manchester. I examine the events leading to the establishment of the RMCM, focussing not only on those who were directly involved but also on the membership of wider networks whose support was sought financially, and in order to give the project credibility. I analyse these networks in relation to the initial project and in the years after 1893 up to 1920, demonstrating that involvement with the city's musical institutions and membership of its leading business organisations were particularly significant factors. By examining these relationships in depth I provide evidence that validates the assertions about networks made previously by commentators on social and cultural life in nineteenth-century Manchester. I end by highlighting connections between key individuals, their position in civic life and involvement in the other musical institutions, and noting those who were celebrated for their philanthropy. In the light of recent research, I also draw attention to the donors whose wealth came from the proceeds of the slave trade and businesses which involved enslavement.

This research throws light on a previously unexplored aspect of the history of the RMCM and the people who were so crucial to its creation.

¹ Michael Kennedy, "Manchester," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Sep 26, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17587>.

² ———, *The history of the Royal Manchester College of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), vii.

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Abbreviations

BNA	British Newspaper Archive
BSM	Birmingham School of Music
FRMCM	Fellow of the Royal Manchester College of Music
GC	Gentlemen's Concerts
GSM	Guildhall School of Music
HCS	Hallé Concerts Society
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
MHSG	Manchester High School for Girls
MLA	Manchester Libraries and Archives
MRI	Manchester Royal Infirmary
MSA	Manchester School of Art
MSSB	Manchester and Salford Savings Bank
NTSM	National Training School for Music
PSBA	Penny Savings Bank Association
RAM	Royal Academy of Music
RCM	Royal College of Music
RMCM	Royal Manchester College of Music
RMI	Royal Manchester Institution
RNCM	Royal Northern College of Music
TCM	Trinity College of Music
WGS	Withington Girls' School

Notes on editorial usage

The full title of the *Manchester Courier* newspaper is *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, but the shorter title has been used throughout.

The use of [...] in a quotation from an original document indicates that the handwriting is illegible.

Currency

Pre-decimal	Decimal equivalent³	Pre-decimal	Decimal equivalent
6d.	2.5p	15s.	75p
1s.	5p	One guinea (£1 1s.)	£1.05
2s.	10p	Five guineas (£5 5s.)	£5.25
5s.	25p	Ten guineas (£10 10s.)	£10.50
10s.	50p	Twenty guineas	£21
10s. 6d.	52.5p		

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³ The United Kingdom moved to decimal currency on 15 February 1971.

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My retirement was precipitated partly by the death in November 2016 of my husband Colin, after which I struggled with having enough energy to do the job to the level I wanted. I was happy to step down but after thirty-eight years, and with many good friends amongst the library staff and other colleagues, I knew I could not just walk away from the RNCM, and that I would need something to keep me occupied. I am particularly grateful, therefore, to Professor Barbara L. Kelly who, as Director of Research at the RNCM, had been my line manager since 2015 and encouraged me to consider the possibility of undertaking this PhD. I have always counted it a privilege, and am very proud, to have worked at the RNCM, and I want to express my gratitude to the College for supporting me in my studies, although I was no longer on the staff.

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All images from the RMCM archives are reproduced by permission of the RNCM.

Introduction

'The Royal Manchester College of Music was founded by Sir Charles Hallé in 1893' is a useful shorthand phrase employed by speakers and writers, including the author, to introduce the history of the institution, not only in its own right but also as a predecessor to the current Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM). However, the statement as it stands is not entirely accurate. What is correct is that Hallé was the founding Principal of the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM), the initiator of the project to establish a music college in Manchester, the person whose name was invoked to add authority to the enterprise and who provided 'a degree of driving force and messianic zeal'.¹ Notwithstanding Hallé's important role, the College would not have come into existence at all had it not been, firstly, for a dedicated group of men who undertook the practicalities of setting it up and, secondly, the generosity of the donors who supplied the necessary finances. Furthermore, it would not have survived as an institution without the ongoing services of many of the people who were involved with its foundation, as well as continuing financial support through subscriptions and generous one-off donations. The generosity of some of those who gave of their time and money has been acknowledged in previous writings, but there has not been a comprehensive study of these individuals either in relation to the College itself or within the wider context of Manchester's musical and cultural institutions at the end of the nineteenth century.² Of particular importance, alongside the RMCM, are the Gentlemen's Concerts and the Hallé Orchestra which were the major musical organisations in the city at the time, and the ones with which Sir Charles Hallé was most closely involved.

I argue that the various networks to which the major players belonged are key to understanding the way in which it was possible to draw many of them into supporting the RMCM. The purpose of this project, therefore, is firstly to identify the people concerned and, secondly, to examine the networks of which they were a part, thereby contributing to the narrative of the history of classical music

¹ Charles Rigby, *Sir Charles Hallé: a portrait for today* (Manchester: The Dolphin Press, 1952), 51.

² Charles Hallé, "The Royal Manchester College of Music," *The Strand Musical Magazine* 1 (1895); Stanley Withers, *The Royal Manchester College of Music* (Manchester: Policy-Holder Journal Co. Ltd, 1918); Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*.

in Manchester at the close of the long nineteenth century. Similar analyses for Manchester societies and institutions have been undertaken by Simon Gunn on the city's middle class, Peter Shapely in relation to charitable involvement and Nicola Higgins on lawyer subscribers to the Portico Library, but this thesis is the first detailed study to examine one of the musical institutions.³

Research questions

The main research question is: who were the supporters and benefactors of the RMCM and why were they involved? In order to answer that question I address the following: how significant were personal contacts in garnering support for the foundation, and subsequent continuation, of the College; of which networks, if any, were the people a part, and was that significant in their involvement with the RMCM; was the way in which the RMCM was founded and supported a peculiarly Manchester occurrence, with local pride and identity playing a part in recruiting supporters; did these individuals demonstrate particular loyalty to the RMCM and/or other musical organisations in the city?

To answer these questions, I examine the history of the RMCM during the period 1891–1920, with an emphasis on philanthropic and other support. Although the main part of the study commences in 1891, the year in which steps were finally taken to establish a college of music, discussions had been taking place informally for several years and these are included to provide the context. The end date of 1920 has been chosen for several reasons. It was the year in which two significant Manchester music 'institutions' came to an end. The Gentlemen's Concerts had been declining for several years – it was one of the reasons given by Hallé for his original suggestions relating to the building of a new concert hall in Manchester, the future of his concerts and the establishment of a college of music⁴ - and the organisation was wound up in

³ Simon Gunn, "The Manchester middle class, 1850–80" (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 1992); Peter Shapely, *Charity and power in Victorian Manchester*, ed. P. H. W. Booth and J. K. Walton, Remains historical and literary connected with the Palatine counties of Lancaster and Chester (Manchester: Chetham Society, 2000); Nicola Anne Higgins, "The Portico Library and its lawyer subscribers 1806–1850" (M.A., Manchester Metropolitan University, 2022).

⁴ The *Manchester Guardian* report of the initial meeting held at Manchester Town Hall on 3 December 1891 stated that in his speech Hallé, referring to the Gentlemen's Concerts, said 'he was sorry to hear that that society was moribund and would soon have to close its doors.' This statement was refuted by E.J. Broadfield speaking as a Director of the Concert Hall, i.e. the

1920, thus removing one of the bodies with which supporters of the RMCM might be associated. The other was the demise of the chamber music concerts given by the Brodsky Quartet which had begun in 1896 and ended on 18 March 1920 having contributed a substantial amount of money to the RMCM Students' Sustentation Fund during those years (discussed in detail in Chapter Four).⁵

By 1920 the pattern of individual donations to the RMCM had also changed, with individual subscription pledges declining significantly in both number and amount.⁶ This was indicative of an alteration in patterns of philanthropic giving which had taken place more widely, particularly after the First World War, although Kennedy, reflecting on the decline in relation to the RMCM, comments that the age of the generous private patron was already in its death throes prior to 1914.⁷ David Owen suggests that, from 1919, the adverse economic situation in Britain affected philanthropy and, consequently, voluntary charitable organisations were starting to rely more heavily on exceptional sources of revenue, such as legacies, rather than annual subscriptions and donations.⁸ Kennedy does not substantiate his statement but there is a large number of writings on the subject of philanthropy which have an end-date of 1914, indicating that this is considered as a significant watershed by many commentators. Owen's point about the post-war situation also has validity and thus both of these may be accepted as factors for the ever-dwindling number of people both willing and able to subscribe generously to the College's costs.⁹ Furthermore, not only had the number of donors diminished but several of the most significant, both in terms of money and their physical involvement, had died. Finally, in choosing 1920 as the end date for this investigation the number

Gentlemen's Concerts. "Proposed musical college for Manchester. Important statement by Sir Charles Halle," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 4, 1891, 7.

⁵ 1920 was also the year which saw the establishment of a new institution, the Northern School of Music, although there are no obvious references to its existence in the RMCM records of the time.

⁶ In 1898, the final year of the initial pledges, the total raised by subscription was £1,916-1s-6d (students' fees that year brought in £3,976-13s-0d). The subscriptions dropped to £970-13s-6d in 1899 despite a plea to existing and new subscribers. In 1914, just as the war started, the amount raised was £526-6s; by 1920 the subscription income totalled £240-12s. RMCM, *Private ledger*, 1893–1915, RNCM. RMCM/F/1/1; *Private ledger*, 1915–1927. RMCM/F/1/2.

⁷ Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*, 39.

⁸ David Owen, *English philanthropy, 1600–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Beltrapp Press of Harvard University, 1964), 527–528.

⁹ Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*, 38. Philanthropic giving was not the only sector to be affected; associations and societies were also experiencing a drop in numbers. See Chapter Four, p.172.

of years covered equates to what is thought of as a generation and this provides a suitable framework which accords with the other reasons underlying this chronology.¹⁰

The study includes not only the individuals and organisations who acted as guarantors, made pledges and/or paid subscriptions to the RMCM, but also those who were closely involved as members of the Council, its officials, other advisers, and benefactors who provided support in kind. In addition, I consider the methods by which the funds were raised and supporters recruited, thereby demonstrating the significance of the link between the process and the people.

Methodology

In exploring the material two approaches are employed – archival research and prosopography. Laura Millar offers a tri-partite definition of the term ‘archives’.¹¹ It can be used to refer, firstly, to ‘documentary materials created, received, used and kept by a person, family, organization...in the conduct of their daily work and life and preserved because they contain enduring value as evidence of and information about activities and events’; secondly, to the institution responsible for acquiring, preserving and making the materials available for use; and, thirdly, to the building housing the archival collections. My research is based, mainly, on the archives created by organisations, although it also makes use of some which belonged to individuals.

The institutional archives of the RMCM are held by the RNCM and encompass not just the formal administrative records relating to the organisation, but also correspondence, concert programmes, photographs and ephemera. It is the documents in the first category which have provided the material for my research. My interest in the topic of this thesis began while I was in post as College Librarian of the RNCM and had management responsibility for the Archives and Special Collections. At times when the archivist was absent I answered enquiries about material in the archive collections, and I made

¹⁰ ‘The average time it takes for children to grow up, become adults, and have children of their own, generally considered to be about thirty years, and used as a rough measure of historical time.’ “generation, n.,” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Sep 2022, accessed Nov 2, 2022, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/77521>.

¹¹ Laura A. Millar, *Archives principles and practices*, ed. Geoffrey Yeo, Principles and practice in records management and archives (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), 4.

personal use of the RMCM archives in preparing publications – a catalogue of the College's Collection of Historic Musical Instruments and journal articles.¹² The framing of my research questions was based on the knowledge I had gained of the archives and what information could be obtained from them. The papers in the RMCM archives date back to 1889 and they are a fruitful source of information about the events prior to the Town Hall meeting of December 1891 with which previous histories of the College have begun. It is likely that it was Gustav Behrens who was responsible for the retention of these records and other papers, particularly letters, which did not form part of the 'official' record.

'The process of doing archival research is largely organic. Though we may apply a critical lens or favor a particular theoretical approach, the basic methodology of archival research remains the same: read absolutely everything and try to make sense of what happened.'¹³ David Gold's comment quoted here is pertinent to my research. When I began work on the project, the first task was to read through all of the documents relating to the RMCM which were relevant to the period covered by my research. In his practical guide to historical research in the archives, Samuel J. Redman prompts the researcher to think about how the documents in particular collections are organised. 'Does the organization of materials appear to be true to its original format (called "original order"), or was it rearranged by the archive where it is now housed?'¹⁴ Lucille Schultz informs the reader who may not be familiar with archival management that 'the sanctity of the original order, which requires faithfulness to the creator's sequence is one of the key principles to which archivists are committed'.¹⁵

¹² Anna Wright and William Waterhouse, eds., *Collection of historic musical instruments. Catalogue of the collection; compiled by William Waterhouse* (Manchester: Royal Northern College of Music, 2010); Anna Wright, "The Royal Northern College of Music Library," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 109 (2013), 55–61; ———, "The Royal Northern College of Music special collections: Archives," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 109 (2013): 62–69.

¹³ David Gold, "The accidental archivist: embracing chance and confusion in historical scholarship," in *Beyond the archives: research as a lived process*, ed. Gesa E. Kirsch and Liz Rohan (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 18.

¹⁴ Samuel J. Redman, *Historical research in the archives. A practical guide* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 2013), 9.

¹⁵ Lucille Schultz, "Foreword," in Kirsch and Rohan, *Beyond the archives*, viii.

The current arrangement of the documents comprising the RMCM archives is almost certainly not the original order (if there ever was something which might be recognised as ‘an order’). The structure, detailed in Appendix A, is the one which was ‘imposed’ by an archivist in order to manage and describe the collection.¹⁶ This ‘ordering’ means that the chronology and the context of the earlier documents in particular - those listed in, and split between, RMCM/A/1 and RMCM/A/2 - has been lost. In working through the individual documents, particularly the letters, I transcribed them in full and then used an Excel document to sort them by date so as to be able to establish the chronological order of correspondence and events.

The ‘problem’ with the letters, particularly those dating from between December 1891 and October 1892, is that they represent only one side of the correspondence. They comprise, mostly, letters written to Gustav Behrens and not by him, although there are carbon copies of a few that he sent. This results in an incomplete picture, but by studying the documents as a whole one is able to gain a reasonably full idea of what was taking place and, together with other items, they provide vital information about the events surrounding the establishment of the RMCM. The ‘factual’ documents are generally more straightforward – minutes of meetings in chronological order, audited accounts, pledge forms, lists of subscribers - but even with the minutes there has to be a caveat. They are not a verbatim record of proceedings, an accepted practice in minute-taking, and this, too, might be a partial representation of what took place.¹⁷

Other than the RNCM, the primary archival repositories for the main musical organisations discussed in this thesis are the Hallé Concerts Society and Manchester Libraries and Archives,¹⁸ the latter holding the records of the Gentlemen’s Concerts. Kathryn Roulston and Kathleen deMarrais warn the researcher that ‘because materials and records associated with events and particular people are located in multiple sites and are subject to sale, archival

¹⁶ “RNCM Archives,” *Connecting Manchester’s Musical Heritage*, [n.d.], accessed Sep 9, 2024, https://www.mdmarchive.co.uk/cmml_archive/rncm.

¹⁷ See, for example, Cabinet Office, *Guide to minute taking*, June 2001, accessed Sep 9, 2024, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a74f62ce5274a59fa716517/Guide_20to_20Minute_20Taking.pdf.

¹⁸ Hereafter Manchester Libraries.

materials relating to an organization, topic, or person, may be found dispersed across multiple repositories'.¹⁹ Not only are the records of the musical institutions housed in the three Manchester repositories, but in some instances they are split between them in much the same way as described in this quotation. Some of Hallé's personal papers are in the RNCM; letters which relate directly to the events surrounding the establishment of the RMCM are themselves split across two collections – the papers which were retained as part of its archival record (ref. RMCM) and a separate collection (ref. CH) bought at sale. The latter also includes other miscellaneous correspondence which does not pertain to the RMCM.²⁰ Another set of documents which belonged to Hallé, including lists of the members of, and subscribers to, his concerts in the 1850s; a diary and account book of his pupils; and an appointment book and day book, is part of the collections in Manchester Libraries.²¹ Whilst most of the Hallé Concerts Society archives are held by the Society, several volumes containing information about it and which belonged formerly to Gustav Behrens are in Manchester Libraries. This is an issue I describe in an article published in *Brio* which is reproduced as an adjunct to this thesis.²²

Source material for other Manchester institutions and organisations discussed in this thesis is found locally in Manchester Libraries, the University of Manchester Library, Manchester Metropolitan University Library, Manchester High School for Girls' Archives, Withington Girls' School Archives, and the Portico Library. Material was also obtained from the Royal College of Music archives and the Bundes-Archiv, Dresden.²³

Other sources, including contemporary newspapers, were consulted for reports of meetings, subscription lists and biographical information. The details in these

¹⁹ Kathryn Roulston and Kathleen deMarrais, *Exploring the archives: a beginner's guide for qualitative researchers* (Gorham, ME: Myers Education Press, 2021), 18.

²⁰ *Charles Hallé letters*, RNCM. CH. Engagement of Mme Novello for a private function, 1856 (in French; ff.2-3); letters to John Ella on programmes and on a personal dispute (one in French; ff.4-9); arrangements for recitals and concerts both given and organised by Hallé (ff.10-13).

²¹ See the Bibliography for full details of the list of archival sources.

²² Anna Wright, "The music libraries and archives in Manchester, England: a researcher's perspective," *Brio* 60 (2023): 21–46.

²³ There are some papers belonging to the Lees family in Oldham Archives; unfortunately, it has not been possible to view these owing initially to the pandemic and, subsequently, because the collections have been unavailable owing to closure prior to the move to a new building.

sources also provide information on the strategies for fundraising, with attention being focussed on the methods by which potential supporters were both approached for their money and encouraged to become more involved. The extent to which the strategies employed in founding the RMCM mirrored the *modus operandi* of other contemporary organisations, and the heavy reliance on networks and personal contacts in this undertaking, will be demonstrated. Census returns, electoral and parish registers, trade directories, newspapers, biographical dictionaries, naturalisation certificates, membership records of societies and organisations, institutional histories, the National Probate Calendar and wills were drawn on for biographical and other related information.

The principles of prosopography are employed to investigate the networks to which people belonged. This approach, which is described in more detail below, may be summarised as using biographical information about individuals to inform a study of their common lives. It makes use of information extracted from the archival records: that is, names, addresses, records of donations and details of involvement in the foundation and governance of the RMCM. The archives of the Gentlemen's Concerts and Hallé Concerts Society have also been examined to extract names and other information for those people who were identified as being involved with the RMCM. The (sometimes) sparse information gleaned from the archival records was supplemented by use of other sources listed in the previous paragraph. The key areas through which networks may be identified are family relationships; address, i.e. geographical proximity of home or workplace to someone else who is involved; religion; political affiliation; occupation/trade; nationality; membership of institutions, societies or organisations; and evidence of other social connections.

The use of prosopography as a method

The primary subjects of this thesis are the people who were the supporters and benefactors of the RMCM, both at its foundation and during its continuing life. In answering the questions 'who were these people, and why were they involved?' it is necessary to draw on biographical information about the individuals and use that to draw conclusions concerning a group of people. Prosopography provides an appropriate method for dealing with the aspect relating specifically to

potential networks. Historians and others who have written on the topic offer varying opinions on the definition of this term. Lawrence Stone, a seminal figure in the field, writes 'Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives',²⁴ whilst Keats-Rohan quotes Dion Smythe who describes it thus: 'Prosopography ... is not the study of life histories in groups (nor indeed the biography of groups) but rather the study of biographical detail about individuals in aggregate.'²⁵ In assembling information about individuals, what needs to be considered? Writing about earlier studies of political elites, Stone proposes that 'the individual is moved by a convergence of constantly shifting forces, a cluster of influences such as kinship, friendship, economic interest, class prejudice, political principle, religious conviction and so on, which all play their varying parts...'.²⁶ Although this refers to other historical periods and, arguably, a different type of group, there are useful pointers here as to what may need to be considered in investigating the actions of individuals within a network.

Verboven, Carlier and Dumolyn provide examples of the usefulness of prosopography as a method for studying the social milieu and the contacts of people. They also make an observation which is particularly apposite in the context of this study, namely that 'social networks are often very heterogeneous, comprising individuals from very different backgrounds and occupations'.²⁷ They offer social history and the history of mentalities as a category for exploration with 'the study of relationships, connections and structures of a specific group; patronage and clientelism, the structuring of social networks; social identity and social mobility; especially of the elites but more and more also of the lower social classes'.²⁸ In a section in the same chapter, on the evaluation of prosopography as a research method, they suggest that it provides an understanding of the formal and informal relations between historical actors. 'It helps us to understand how and which relations are

²⁴ Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100 (1971): 46.

²⁵ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, "Biography, identity and names: understanding the pursuit of the individual in prosopography," in *Prosopography approaches and applications: a handbook*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, Prosopographica et Genealogica, (Oxford: P & G, 2007), 140.

²⁶ Stone, "Prosopography," 65.

²⁷ Koenraad Verboven, Myriam Carlier, and Jan Dumolyn, "A short manual to the art of prosopography," in Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography approaches and applications*, 46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

typically formed in a particular milieu. Prosopography ... shows the dynamics of a particular society at work'.²⁹ Using this method has enabled me to map and analyse the different networks in operation and provided an overview of the complex web of connections.

Furthermore, when considering the fields of historical research amenable to prosopography, Verboven *et al.* highlight political or institutional history as a possibility, stating that:

On the basis of a prosopography we can study the evolution of an institution more thoroughly: what was the background of those who gave shape to this institution, which ideas succeeded when there were changes in the structures? Which interests were aimed at: those of the institutions or those of the persons (and their relations) working in them.³⁰

Stone makes a similar point when, referring to the development of prosopography as a method in which historians were beginning to consider 'who rather than what', he suggests 'the unstated premise is that an understanding of who the actors were will go far toward explaining the workings of the institution to which they belonged...'.³¹ In employing prosopography as a method for understanding the potential networks, I have worked with a definition of collecting individual biographical data which can be organised and interrogated for the purpose of comprehending the ways in which those individuals were part of different society structures, the connections between them and the effect that these had on the development of the RMCM as an institution.³²

Prosopography relies on the assembling of biographical dossiers and, in order to build the dossiers for this study, I examined the RMCM records for the years 1891–1920 and extracted the names of c.700 individuals who had some involvement with it.³³ The names vary from those who had a significant involvement over a period of time to those who appear only once, for instance, on the list of people to be approached for support or because they made a single donation. Many of the records contain an address, thus aiding and

²⁹ Ibid., 60.

³⁰ Ibid., 49.

³¹ Stone, "Prosopography," 53.

³² Keats-Rohan, "Biography, identity," 51.

³³ Ibid., 140.

confirming identification. However, that information alone would not enable a study and/or analysis of the relationships, structures, networks or social context. Therefore, having collected the initial details I supplemented them by using other sources including, but not limited to, census returns, trade directories, parish records, membership lists, newspaper reports and wills. I also consulted the records, both manuscript and printed, of a number of local organisations and institutions which were operating in the second half of the nineteenth century in order to understand how the Manchester society of the time functioned. As noted earlier, the key areas I identified for interrogation through which networks might be determined are family relationships; address (demonstrating geographical proximity of home or workplace to someone else on the list); religion; political affiliation; occupation/trade; foreign nationality, i.e. not English, Irish, Welsh or Scottish; and membership of an institution, society or organisation. As much detail as possible under each of these headings has been located in order to analyse the potential links.

Having determined that prosopography is a suitable approach, what is the best method for dealing with the information? In his contribution to the volume *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, Ralph W. Mathisen writes about the use of databases to manage the information in a prosopographical study:

For decades now, ever since the beginning of the computer revolution in the late 1960s, the possibility of having masses of prosopographical material available in searchable computer databases has been a gleam in the eye of anyone working on the people and populations of the classical and medieval world. To cite just one from many examples, a 1989 article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* suggests that 'computerized databases open up a new range of questions that can be asked that would hitherto have been unthinkable "without 500 monks at hand"'. This statement is particularly applicable to prosopography, for prosopographical information is exceptionally well suited to computer analysis. ³⁴

Here he is referring to the example of ancient and medieval worlds where there are particular complications for the researcher, owing to the potential lack of unique identifying information; however, what he says holds true for any period in history – the use of a computerised database transforms the process of data

³⁴ Ralph W. Mathisen, "Where are all the PDBs?: the creation of prosopographical databases for the ancient and medieval worlds," in Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography approaches and applications*, 95.

analysis. At the beginning of my research, I considered how to arrange the information I would be collecting. I began with a spreadsheet using MS Excel but realised that I needed to have more control over some of the entry elements, such as a mechanism for managing names by means of an authority list. I would also need the ability to query the information I was gathering in order to analyse the potential networks and so set up a database using MS Access. In this database not only did I use fields for the specific areas I had identified but as I had collected any biographical information which might assist with understanding the context of the subject's life and networks, I also included that.

Undertaking analysis using the prosopographical method requires there to be enough reliable information about the subjects to provide a meaningful dataset and the following are the issues faced in ensuring that this was the case. As outlined above, more details than a person's name are required in order to be certain that they have been identified correctly, and the primary means of doing this in the first instance is by establishing an address or addresses. The RMCM records from which I gathered information were correspondence, lists of potential supporters, minutes of meetings, pledge forms, the subscription book, and annual reports, each of which contain differing amounts of detail about the person concerned. The majority of the pledge forms were completed by the subscribers themselves and include some form of address; others, however, were filled in by an officer, usually Gustav Behrens or Stanley Withers, and not all are complete.³⁵ The subscription income book is an administrative record maintained by the Registrar and its entries generally consist of name, address and the amount(s) given.³⁶ Correspondence, as one would expect, does usually include an address, but some documents contain names only with no other detail.³⁷ In many instances it is possible to identify the people by corroboration with other documents but this is not the case with all. The minutes of meetings may mention the name only; however, when the minute relates to a specific donation by a person or persons not generally associated with the College, it

³⁵ RMCM, *Subscribers' pledges*, 1892–1914. RMCM/A/4.

³⁶ RMCM, *Subscription income book*, 1914–1950. RMCM/F/3.

³⁷ RMCM, College of Music general correspondence. RMCM/A/1; Records of the Registrar. General correspondence, 1893–1973. RMCM/E/4; Correspondence and papers for Committee Meeting May 4th 1892. RMCM/A/2/2.

frequently re-states the contents of any accompanying letter and the letter itself is to be found in the appendices to the minutes.³⁸ Annual reports include lists of names only, but the majority of them duplicate other records; however, there are a few names in the lists of subscribers or donors in these reports which do not appear in the other sources.³⁹

A further point which needs to be made is that there are a few instances where the handwriting, either of the subscriber or the officer, is practically illegible thus affecting the ability to read the name, the address, or both elements. Where there is a name only with no other identifying information, the person has been omitted from any analysis unless identification is possible because of the context in which the name appears, e.g. the list of potential subscribers includes dignitaries such as MPs, clergymen and local mayors. As a general rule, those persons who are omitted made small donations and had no other involvement in the life of the College.

The next category is those people for whom there is a name and address, but it has been impossible to obtain any additional information, either from other archival records or the external sources mentioned previously. In these cases it has been possible to analyse for potential geographical proximity, but none of the other categories. Finally, it has to be accepted that further information leading to the plotting of potential networks may be undiscoverable. For instance, census returns, naturalisation certificates and trade directories can provide information about nationality and occupation, but if one is unable to trace the person in other records or sources then it may not be possible to track other connections, e.g. those based on religious identity. However, having stated these potential problems, in this study there is only a small number of names for whom either there is no address, and their identity cannot be ascertained from other sources or, with both name and address to hand, no further information has been found.

³⁸ RMCM. *Council minute books*, nos.1 and 2, 1 Mar 1893–18 Mar 1930. RMCM/C/1/1-2; *Appendices to minute books*, 1893–1937. RMCM/C/2.

³⁹ RMCM. *Annual Reports of the Council* [to the General Committee]. RMCM/B/3.

The other issue to be addressed is the accuracy of the sources. Firstly, the difficulty of deciphering handwriting in the archival records has been noted above, occurring not just in the pledge forms but also in correspondence and minutes. Where another person completes the form, the information may be wrong, and there are several examples of inconsistencies in the rendering of names between forms, correspondence, minutes and the printed annual reports. In other sources, both manuscript and printed, likewise there is the possibility of inaccuracies resulting from human error or omission owing to the nature of a publication. For instance, with reference to the censuses taken in the years up to and including 1901 the enumerator was responsible for compiling the census enumeration books by copying the information provided in a schedule by the head of a household.⁴⁰ Consequently there are at least three opportunities for the information to be wrong. In the first instance the head of the household may have made mistakes in completing the schedule; secondly, the enumerator may have misread and/or wrongly transcribed what was written on the schedule (these schedules, unlike those of the 1911 census, were not retained); and finally, the enumerator's writing may be difficult to read or the page itself damaged. Other manuscript sources, such as parish records, are also susceptible to being mis-read owing to illegible handwriting and errors in spelling.

Printed materials need to be appraised for their accuracy. Newspaper reports may contain factual errors such as misspelling, mis-transcription and misreporting which can be repeated across different titles when an item is 'syndicated' to several local papers. One might also need to be aware of any potential bias on the part of the reporter, editor or owner which may affect the way in which an event is reported or a person described. Trade and local directories should not be assumed to be complete listings as the methods by which the publishers collected the data varied considerably; for instance some required a small payment to be made by the householder in order to be included in a listing.⁴¹ Notwithstanding these potential issues, most of the

⁴⁰ National Archives, *How to look for records of ... Census records*, [n.d.], accessed Nov 2, 2022, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/census-records/>.

⁴¹ University of Leicester Special Collections Online, "Background," *Historical Directories of England & Wales*, 2019, accessed Nov 2, 2022, <https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/custom/background>.

information collected can be corroborated from alternative sources and therefore it has been possible to compile a comprehensive database on which to undertake the analysis.

Literature review

1. *RMCM*

The history of the RMCM is documented in three main sources: an article by Sir Charles Halle published in 1895, fifteen months after the opening of the College;⁴² a history written by the Registrar, Stanley Withers, at the request of the College Council to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1918;⁴³ and, a history of the RMCM by Michael Kennedy published in 1972 just prior to the amalgamation of the RMCM with the Northern School of Music to form the RNCM.⁴⁴

Hallé rehearses in detail the chronology of the events leading to the founding of the College, beginning with his approach to some of the directors of the Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts, exemplifying the importance of his network of contacts. Hallé acknowledges the significant role played by those who were involved in establishing the RMCM but mentions only four individuals by name: Sir William Houldsworth, Bart., M.P. (Chairman of the first Committee and later President of the College); Dr [Adolphus W.] Ward (Chairman of the Executive Committee and later of the Council); the late Mr Charles Lees of Oldham, and Mr Gustav Behrens. Mr. Lees receives a further mention later in the text when Hallé records that a very generous donation from the former had paid for the building in which the College was now settled.

The matter of funding for the new institution receives little attention in the initial narrative. Having referred to the Town Hall meeting held in December 1891, Hallé records the adoption of a report at a subsequent meeting at which a new Committee was appointed to draw up a constitution and raise subscriptions. He notes that by February 1893 sufficient promises 'amounting in the aggregate to over £11,000' had been received, thus enabling work on the final stages of

⁴² Hallé, "RMCM."

⁴³ Withers, *RMCM*.

⁴⁴ Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*.

planning to take place.⁴⁵ Hallé returns to the matter of finance towards the end of the article where he laments the lack of public scholarships and the possible barriers to promising students. It is here that his awareness of the importance of the support of donors is most clearly demonstrated.

Stanley Withers' account covers a longer period of time and contains more information than Hallé's about the business and administrative life of the College. Withers includes details from the 1892 report about the finance which would be required and how it was to be obtained by means of seeking subscription guarantees. He also acknowledges the recognition from the outset that although the College was to be located in Manchester it would serve a much wider geographical area, meaning that the appeal for subscriptions should cover the north of England. He includes information about public meetings held in different towns in order to publicise the scheme more widely and raise funds, listing the names of those who spoke at such gatherings in Oldham, Bolton and Kendal.

In this chronological account, Withers makes use of correspondence, minutes and the Annual Reports. Throughout the text he continues to name those who had given generously in making donations and providing scholarships and, in most cases, he states the amount given. Those who gave of their time are also acknowledged; for instance, the members of the first Executive Committee are listed, together with others who had offered their services as honorary architect, solicitor and accountant. His purpose is to provide a factual history of the institution and, although he provides the names of supporters, he does not offer any comment on their involvement.

By the time Michael Kennedy wrote *The History of the Royal Manchester College of Music*, he had to cover almost eighty years of the history of the RMCM. In the Preface he notes that this is not the first history of the College and acknowledges the access he has had to the College's historical documents, alongside individual personal reminiscences. Writing of the foundation of the College in chapter one he quotes the views of Hallé which are taken from the

⁴⁵ Hallé, "RMCM," 324.

1895 article. In light of his acknowledgement of the two existing sources, as well as his use of the historical records, it is unsurprising that there is considerable overlap in the text between his description of the period leading up to the opening of the College and those of Hallé and Withers.

Kennedy, like Hallé, recognises the very important role played by Gustav Behrens in establishing the College but goes further in listing the names of influential people to whom Behrens had sent written invitations to join the General Committee.⁴⁶ One fact, stated only by Kennedy, is that at the final meeting of the Council held before the opening, the treasurer reported a deficiency in the budget which would necessitate calling on the first year's subscriptions. Kennedy and Withers both record the 1898 appeal, the initial five-year guarantees having come to an end, with the former noting that some sixty of those responding this time were new subscribers. It is at this point in his text that Kennedy draws attention to the vital importance of the guarantors and subscribers to the foundation of the RMCM and lists the names of the most significant ones, who have 'played so large and beneficent a part in the history of Manchester's civic, commercial and cultural life'.⁴⁷ Thus he draws attention to their wider roles in the life of the city but assumes that the reader is familiar with the history and the names. In this thesis I will be exploring some of those names in more detail.⁴⁸

Writing about the College's tenth anniversary Kennedy comments on the unsatisfactory financial position at the time. He notes not only that running costs still needed to be met by voluntary subscription but also that there was a decline in the amount raised from subscriptions, partly due to the deaths of some of the original benefactors. He also mentions the several occasions on which the College attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain funding from the government and local education authorities. Referring to the plans made to mark the twenty-first anniversary in 1914, he again draws attention to the significant drop in the amount raised by individual subscriptions, owing in part to the dwindling numbers of people who were willing and/or able to subscribe. There were

⁴⁶ Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*, 2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁸ See also Chapter Six, p.263, of this thesis for the full list of names cited by Kennedy,

supporters who continued their generosity, most notably Mrs Lees, and — as Kennedy reports — the anniversary fund-raising for the endowment fund was a success.

Hallé, Withers and Kennedy all, to a greater or lesser extent, describe the way in which the RMCM was established and how its finances were to be arranged; likewise, they all include the names of most of the major supporters and benefactors. However, what they do not provide is a full picture of the way in which monetary and other support was garnered, nor do they give comprehensive information about who the supporters were. There is more material contained within the RMCM archival documents than either Withers or Kennedy reveal.

Geoff Thomason has provided two additional sources: his history published in 1993 to mark the centenary of the RMCM, and an article from 2011.⁴⁹ The centenary history deals briefly with the events leading to the foundation and opening of the RMCM, citing Hallé's circular letter of invitation to attend the Town Hall meeting in December 1891, and the establishment of the Committee to draw up a constitution and collect subscriptions to meet the costs of establishing the institution. Thomason comments that money was not a major problem owing to Hallé's wealthy circle of friends from the business community. Whilst in some ways this is true, he does not refer either to the amount of effort required to obtain the support, or the individual generosity of some of those friends other than recognising Charles Lees. Additionally, the later financial problems of the RMCM mentioned by Kennedy are not referred to here.⁵⁰

Thomason's 2011 article is the text of a lecture given previously to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.⁵¹ Having set out details of the archival and published sources it covers the history of the College from Hallé's open invitation to the meeting in 1891 up to his death in October 1895. Thus, the period is similar to that of Hallé's own article. Here Thomason refers to the

⁴⁹ Geoff Thomason, *The Royal Manchester College of Music: 1893–1973: a celebration of the centenary of the founding of the RMCM* (Manchester: Royal Northern College of Music, 1993); ———, "Hallé's other project," *Manchester Memoirs* 149 (2012): 104–123.

⁵⁰ Thomason was commissioned to write a brief history which did not allow for this level of detail. Personal communication to the author, Oct 14, 2024.

⁵¹ Hereafter the Lit & Phil.

text of the circular letter dated 28 November 1891, included in Gustav Behrens' notes, as being the first inkling of Hallé's intentions. In fact, there are documents in the RMCM archives dating from a few weeks earlier which provide more detail about Hallé's ideas and how the plans were made for the meeting.⁵²

Thomason quotes from the minute establishing the Committee and includes the names of those who were to serve on it. Whilst not going into details he does refer to one of the overriding themes as being Hallé's strenuous efforts to secure financial support, although I suggest the archival sources show that it was not just Hallé who was working hard. This description of the effort required to raise the necessary financial support reflects more accurately than the 1993 text what had taken place to establish the RMCM, as do the references to Withers' description of the region-wide fundraising meetings.

In summary, Hallé and Withers provide interesting contemporary reports and insights, whilst Kennedy and Thomason give an historical perspective to the foundation of the RMCM. However, they all lack an in-depth examination of the role played by the supporters and benefactors and it is this gap that will be addressed in this thesis.

Accounts of Hallé's life and career provide some information about the foundation of the RMCM but little about the other people involved, or the events by which it came into being. In his autobiography, *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé*, Hallé's own reminiscences only cover his life up to 1860 and, as Beale has noted, Hallé himself may not always be relied on to provide entirely accurate testimony.⁵³ The remaining thirty-five years from 1860 until his death in 1895 were added by his son C. E. Hallé and, as the style is somewhat anecdotal in nature, offer little in the way of factual detail.⁵⁴ In the part written by Hallé himself there is no mention of his ideas for a college of music in Manchester, but in a postscript C.E. Hallé writes that the RMCM had 'been the dream of his [Hallé's] life ever since 1852 when he elaborated his scheme in a

⁵² RMCM/A/1/1–8. See Bibliography for the detailed list.

⁵³ Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: a musical life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), xvi.

⁵⁴ Charles Hallé, *Life and letters of Sir Charles Hallé: being an autobiography (1819-1860) with correspondence and diaries; edited by his son, C.E. Hallé and his daughter, Marie Hallé*, ed. Charles Edward Hallé and Marie Hallé (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1896). Although the title of the volume indicates that 1860 is the last year about which Hallé himself wrote, the heading of Chapter III is 'Life and Labours in Manchester and London: 1848–1866'.

correspondence, now unfortunately lost, with Mr Adolf Meyer'.⁵⁵ In *Sir Charles Hallé: a portrait for today*, the music critic Charles Rigby quotes extensively from Hallé's article in *The Strand Musical Magazine* but does not provide any new material.⁵⁶ Robert Beale, likewise, does not offer any new insights into the foundation of the RMCM but he does refer to the fact that it took place at a time when 'others were doing similar things', including the Royal College of Music in 1883.⁵⁷ In Chapter One I will explore the events during the 1880s which led up to the proposal to open a school of music in Manchester.

Ann Kersting's 1986 biography, *Carl Halle – Sir Charles Halle: ein europäischer Musiker*, contains a chapter about the RMCM in which she draws heavily on Hallé's autobiography, the article in *The Strand Musical Magazine*, Kennedy and the College's archival records.⁵⁸ It is longer and includes more detail about the events from 1891 onwards than either Rigby or Beale. As Hallé is the subject of the book she focuses on the negotiations concerning his role, the employment of the teaching staff and the development of the curriculum. Kersting does recognise the importance of those who surrounded Hallé when she states that 'through his connections to influential citizens he could exploit the necessary legal and financial opportunities...'.⁵⁹ However I will demonstrate that it was the influential citizens who exploited the opportunities, rather than Hallé alone.

2. **Conservatoires**

The Royal Academy of Music (founded 1822) and the Royal College of Music (founded 1883) were the primary British models for the establishment of the RMCM – Hallé had experience of being an examiner at the RCM and, in

⁵⁵ ———, *The autobiography of Charles Hallé, with correspondence and diaries. Edited with an introduction by Michael Kennedy* (London: Elek, 1972), 170.

Adolf Meyer was Honorary Secretary of the Manchester Choral Society.

⁵⁶ Rigby, *Hallé*, 147–151.

⁵⁷ Beale, *Charles Hallé*, 191–194.

⁵⁸ Ann Kersting, *Carl Halle – Sir Charles Halle: ein europäischer Musiker* (Hagen: Kommissionsverlag v.d. Linnepe, 1986), 204–228.

⁵⁹ 'Durch seine Verbindungen zu einflußreichen Bürgern der Stadt konnte er zum einen die notwendigen rechtlichen und finanziellen Möglichkeiten ausschöpfen.'

correspondence with Gustav Behrens in November 1891, referred to the necessity of obtaining information from both institutions.⁶⁰

William W. Cazalet's history of the RAM, which was commissioned in 1838 but only published in 1854, was 'compiled from authentic sources'.⁶¹ In it the author includes the text of the plan submitted to the second meeting of the Promoters of the Institution in July 1822: 'this school is to be supported by contributions and annual subscriptions...'.⁶² The subsequent Rules and Regulations provide the details of the various classes of subscribers and the privileges to which they would be entitled.⁶³ The Report of the Committee to the Directors, dated 2 June 1823, which is reprinted in the volume, refers to the liberality of the subscribers and also the necessity of procuring more support from the wider public.⁶⁴ Other than the names of the first directors and the lady subscribers who were willing to act as visitors, there are no other details in this book about the subscribers.⁶⁵ In a brief history published in 1895, Alexander Mackenzie, the then Principal, mentions the original intention to 'rely entirely upon subscriptions for support' but there is no information about the donors.⁶⁶

The heading of Chapter Four in Frederick Corder's centenary history of the RAM is 'Lack of Funds' which, he says, 'would serve for the next forty years of our history, which is a tale of perpetual struggle against bankruptcy'.⁶⁷ He is referring to the period from the late 1820s when it was found necessary to appeal to subscribers for further support. Several directors responded but only one is named by Corder, although he does report that the King gave an annual subscription of £100, and Albert, Prince Consort, became a subscriber shortly

⁶⁰Giles William Edward Brightwell, "'One Equal Music': the Royal College of Music, its inception and the legacy of Sir George Grove 1883-1895" (PhD dissertation, Durham University, 2007), 172.

See Chapter Two. Charles Hallé, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Nov 29, 1891, RNCM.

RMCM/A/1/2/25; Charles Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 14, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/47; -----, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 19, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/54.

⁶¹ William Wahab Cazalet, *The history of the Royal Academy of Music compiled from authentic sources* (London: T. Bosworth; Rudall, Rose, & Carte, 1854), 17–18.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 329–330.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 332, 340.

⁶⁶ A. C. [Alexander Campbell] Mackenzie, "The Royal Academy of Music," *Strand Musical Magazine* 1 (1895), 4–10.

⁶⁷ Frederick Corder, *A history of the Royal Academy of Music from 1822 to 1922* (London: F. Corder, 1922), 27.

after his marriage to Queen Victoria.⁶⁸ As Kathryn Adamson points out, the books by Cazalet and Corder are the only two monographs written about the history of the RAM and, despite the shortcomings which she identifies, Adamson concurs with Rosemary Golding's observation that Corder's *History* remains the most thorough overview of the institution.⁶⁹ Like Cazalet, Corder provides few details about subscribers, although such information did exist in the institution's records and is included, in summary but not detail, in Adamson's thesis.⁷⁰

The history of the RCM has received more attention in print than the RAM. In Henry Colles' Jubilee record, which celebrates the first fifty years of its existence, he gives a brief outline of the way in which subscriptions were procured, drawing attention to the local meetings held in different parts of the country, many of them addressed by George Grove.⁷¹ More recently, David Wright has made several contributions to the history of the RCM. His chapter in a book about Grove focusses on the latter's role in the founding of the RCM, of which fundraising was an important element and one to which Wright devotes a section.⁷² It contains little information about the minutiae of fundraising but there is a summary of the tenor of Grove's arguments to encourage subscribers. Wright's 2005 article situates the founding of the RCM against the background of the National Training School for Music. He makes hardly any reference to the way in which the new College was to be funded although he notes that Grove's fundraising secured 'only some £110,000 in public subscriptions'.⁷³ Wright's history of the RCM, published in 2020, includes few particulars of the mechanics of the establishment of the RCM, although he does mention the Manchester meeting (see Chapter One of this thesis) and forty-four fundraising

⁶⁸ Ibid., 38, 40, 56.

⁶⁹ Kathryn Adamson, "The minute books of the Royal Academy of Music Committee of Management 1822–1882: an annotated searchable transcription with commentary" (PhD dissertation, Royal Academy of Music, 2023), 11; Rosemary Golding, *Music and academia in Victorian Britain*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in nineteenth-century Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 10, fn.29.

⁷⁰ op.cit.

⁷¹ Henry Cope Colles, *The Royal College of Music: a jubilee record, 1883–1933* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1933).

⁷² David C. H. Wright, "Grove's role in the founding of the RCM," in *George Grove, music and Victorian culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2003), 219–244.

⁷³ "The South Kensington music schools and the development of the British conservatoire in the late nineteenth century," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005). As I point out in "Funding conservatoires..." there is a significant difference in the amounts raised, and deemed necessary, for the establishment of the RCM and RCMCM.

speeches made by Grove, but there is no indication of the identity of any of the subscribers.⁷⁴

Hughes and Stradling also rehearse the history of the foundation of the RCM with a particular focus on Grove, to whom they draw attention as the author of the speeches given at the various meetings and whose fundraising campaign they describe as 'a barnstorming performance on a national scale'.⁷⁵ Their purpose is to situate Grove, and the foundation of the RCM, as part of the renaissance of English music, not to examine the finer points of how the latter was achieved.

The same details as those mentioned in the sources above are rehearsed by Giles Brightwell in a chapter entitled "In search of a nation's music" in which he explores the role of both the RAM and the Society of Arts in the establishment of the RCM.⁷⁶ Again there is little reference to the mechanics of the fundraising although he does make the point that the subscriptions were being raised for a capital [endowment] fund rather than the pattern of those for the NTSM which were handled as [revenue] income.⁷⁷ Brightwell's thesis, however, affords him the space for a more detailed examination of the history of the establishment of the RCM.⁷⁸ In this he outlines the establishment of a list of subscribers, reinforces the narrative of the importance of having the support of high-profile supporters, and provides the names of those in the primary list of donors.⁷⁹ Like Wright, and Hughes and Stradling, Brightwell identifies Grove as the main fundraiser, suggesting that 'the success in raising such a substantial sum for the Capital Fund had been largely brought about by personal connections and the industry of Grove'.⁸⁰ But, despite that success, Brightwell notes that 'Grove was never able to raise the additional £10,000 to add to the existing endowment, nor

⁷⁴ *The Royal College of Music and its contexts: an artistic and social history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

⁷⁵ Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling, *The English musical renaissance 1840–1940: constructing a national music*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 31.

⁷⁶ Giles William Edward Brightwell, "In search of a nation's music: the role of the Society of Arts and the Royal Academy of Music in the establishment of the Royal College of Music in 1883," in *Nineteenth-century British music studies*, ed. Peter Horton and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 252–272.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁷⁸ Brightwell, "One Equal Music."

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 90–92.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

indeed his original £300,000 objective', even though some of the wealthiest and most influential men in England were members of the various RCM boards.⁸¹

Another issue discussed by Brightwell is that of the RCM's opposition to the award of a Royal charter to the RMCM together with its chosen name. This was, he suggests, engendered by a concern that the new institution posed a threat to the RCM and the RAM.⁸² One example he gives is that the RMCM's 'provincial remit all but guaranteed grants from regional bodies in a way that had hitherto been denied Grove and the national RCM', and cites the example of the Lancashire and Cheshire County Council scholarships.⁸³ Furthermore, Brightwell highlights the significance of the relationship between Manchester and the neighbouring towns:

The area surrounding Manchester... represented fertile ground to raise funds for the RCM's provincial scholarships. It was this very constituency, with its census of over six million people, that the campaign for RMCM scholarships was intended to target; consequently, Halle's foundation threatened to remove a valuable income stream and destabilise the RCM at a stroke.⁸⁴

Brightwell's study also covers non-monetary philanthropic activity with a section on the RCM Collections, although these donations were on an altogether larger scale from those made to the RMCM.⁸⁵

There are similarities in the type of subject matter between Brightwell's work and my project, but his approach is different from mine. He explores the history of the RCM, but with a particular focus on George Grove, and therefore the particulars with which I am concerned are not of such significance to him. In a book chapter on the funding of conservatoires in late nineteenth-century England, I discuss the history of these institutions, drawing particular attention to the funding models and making comparisons with the processes used by the founders of the RMCM.⁸⁶ Facets of particular importance are the discrepancies between the RCM and RMCM in the level of donations made, the sums required to establish the institutions, the position in contemporary society of

⁸¹ Ibid., 144, 149.

⁸² Ibid., 250ff.

⁸³ Ibid., 253.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 256–257.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 291–295; see Chapter Four,

⁸⁶ Anna Wright, "The funding of conservatoires in late nineteenth-century England," in *Financing music in Europe*, ed. Étienne Jardin, *Speculum Musicae* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 129–150.

those who were involved on the committees and the history of the acquisition of suitable buildings.

Although the main focus here is on the comparisons with the RAM and RCM there were other colleges of music operating in London: Trinity College of Music (founded 1872) and the Guildhall School of Music (founded 1880). TCM came into being in June 1872, originally as the Church Choral Society and College of Church Music, London, with a particular emphasis initially on church music and the training of choirmasters.⁸⁷ Harold Rutland's history provides no information as to how it was funded in the early years, other than stating that teachers and examiners accepted lower fees than they could have obtained elsewhere, expenses were heavy, and 'deficits were from time to time made good by the more affluent members of the Council.'⁸⁸

The GSM, which is described as the first municipal music college in Great Britain, was founded by the Corporation of London and had no need, therefore, of public financial support. It was to require 'moderate subvention only', with the pupils' fees covering the payment of the teachers; the Corporation would only have to pay the Principal and Secretary, and other incidental expenses.⁸⁹ It opened with sixty-two students and tuition was offered on a part-time basis until 1920.⁹⁰ The GSM, TCM and RMCM all receive brief mentions from Robert Hughes and Meirion Stradling but this adds little to the information provided in other sources.⁹¹

The focus of Rosemary Golding's book *Music and Academia in Victorian Britain* is to trace music's academic identity in British universities during the nineteenth century. She does this through the medium of case studies of universities which were active in the development of music as an academic study at this time, of

⁸⁷ "Trinity College of Music," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed May 16, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28375>.

⁸⁸ Harold Rutland, *Trinity College of Music: the first hundred years*. (London: Trinity College of Music, 1972), 13.

⁸⁹ Hugh Barty-King, *GSMD: a hundred years' performance*. (London: Stainer and Bell, Ltd., 1980), 19.

⁹⁰ "Our history," *Guildhall School of Music & Drama*, 2025, accessed May 13, 2025, <https://www.gsmd.ac.uk/about-guildhall/our-history>.

⁹¹ Hughes and Stradling, *The English musical renaissance*, 47–49.

which the fourth is “Universities and Conservatoires: London”.⁹² In this study Golding explores the complex history surrounding the establishment of a music degree at the University of London, drawing attention to the disagreements over the nature of the curriculum and whether it, and the examinations, should be aimed at professional, practising musicians, or towards those seeking to enhance academic skills. It is in this context that Golding refers to the four London conservatoires and their respective positions *vis-à-vis* the University, as well as their relationships with each other but it is not a detailed examination of the means whereby they were funded, nor of their establishment.

The Birmingham School of Music was founded in 1886 under the auspices of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, formalising under one umbrella a large number of different musical classes.⁹³ However, at that stage in its history it was not an institution of the same type as the RAM, RCM or the planned Manchester college and does not offer any comparisons or templates for fundraising.

3. Manchester

Culture

During the last forty years several books discussing various aspects of the history of Manchester have been published. In *Manchester in the Victorian age* Gary S. Messinger sets out his aim in the introduction, stating that ‘this work is a historical survey of Manchester during the years when it was the most important industrial city in the world’.⁹⁴ He deliberately concentrates on the period 1837–1901 and includes topics such as the rise of the cotton industry, social reform and the free trade movement. He writes about Manchester in literature and education, pointing out the significance of the developing professions and the involvement of Nonconformists in particular, subjects to which I will refer in my discussion of networks. In the chapter entitled “Cultural respectability” Messinger focuses on the patronage of fine art and music.⁹⁵ The section on art is devoted almost entirely to the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 with no

⁹² Golding, *Music and academia*, 169–201.

⁹³ Christopher Morley, *Royal Birmingham Conservatoire: inspiring musicians since 1886* (London: Elliott and Thompson Limited, 2017), 36.

⁹⁴ Gary S. Messinger, *Manchester in the Victorian age: the halfknown city* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 1.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 121–130.

reference to later projects such as Horsfall's Art Museum or the School of Art. The Gentlemen's Concerts are mentioned briefly and he rehearses the story of Hallé's arrival in Manchester, the establishment of an orchestra for the 1857 exhibition and its subsequent development. Messinger acknowledges the RMCM as being Hallé's final legacy and singles out Gustav Behrens, Henry Simon and James Forsyth as 'the concerned citizens to whom the task of ensuring the continuation of Hallé's orchestra fell'.⁹⁶ However, the limited space does not allow him to explore either of these points in greater depth.

City, class and culture is a collection of essays on the themes listed in the title.⁹⁷ In his introduction Alan Kidd suggests that, at the time of writing in the mid-1980s, not only has the formation as well as the social and cultural history of the middle class been largely ignored in comparison with the working class but also Manchester, one of the most important Victorian industrial cities, has been neglected likewise.⁹⁸ This book, he states, is therefore an attempt to rectify those omissions. Kidd's introductory essay is helpful in providing an overview of the class context, but not all of the chapters are directly relevant to the subject of this study, particularly those discussing the police, poetry, the periodical press and representations of the working class in fiction. Another, on voluntary charity and poor relief is of tangential interest only, in that it refers to the institutions and organisations which were established to provide assistance and to which many members of the middle class subscribed or were actively involved.

Michael Rose paints a picture of the plethora of societies which were established in the city during the nineteenth century, the important role they played in the civic and cultural life of the city, and the overlap in membership between them.⁹⁹ He comments that there is ample scope for more intensive study of the membership, aims and organisation of these societies. In "The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance" Bill Williams, who has written extensively about the Jewish community in Manchester, focusses particularly on the period 1870–1900 and the relationship between middle-class Manchester and the Jews, a

⁹⁶ Ibid., 129–130.

⁹⁷ Alan J. Kidd and Kenneth W. Roberts, eds., *City, class and culture: studies of social policy and cultural production in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).

⁹⁸ Alan J. Kidd, "Introduction: the middle class in nineteenth century Manchester," in Kidd and Roberts, *City, class and culture*, 1–24.

⁹⁹ Michael E. Rose, "Culture, philanthropy and the Manchester middle classes," in Kidd and Roberts, *City, class and culture*, 112–113.

theme which will be explored later in this thesis as part of the examination of the role of networks.¹⁰⁰ Michael Harrison's chapter 'Art and Philanthropy: T.C. Horsfall and the Art Museum' is interesting for some of the parallels with the establishment of the RMCM.¹⁰¹ Opened in its permanent home, Ancoats Hall, in 1886, it too was dependent on a group of subscribers, members of Manchester's leading philanthropic élite. Furthermore, Horsfall was a long-standing and generous supporter of the RMCM.

Overall, this volume provides some important information about the social and cultural context in Manchester at the time of the foundation of the RMCM, but there is very little written about music. Rose acknowledges that he has not mentioned the more obvious aspects of middle-class culture in Victorian Manchester, namely 'Hallé's orchestra, John Owen's [sic] College, John Ryland's [sic] Library and Miss Horniman's theatre'.¹⁰² He could also have included the RMCM and the Gentlemen's Concerts. It is not just this chapter in which music does not appear; other than references to the occasional musical events at the Art Museum and a section in the concluding bibliography, music is missing from the whole book. My study will expand on Rose's point about there being more scope for study of the organisations, insofar as they relate to the personnel who were involved with the RMCM and provide an insight into one facet of the life of the city at the end of this period.

Culture in Manchester: institutions and urban change since 1850 also comprises a collection of essays – studies of cultural institutions in Manchester from 1850 to the present day – but, as with *City, class and culture*, there is very little mention of music, the editors admitting in the introduction that it can only be a selective account.¹⁰³ In her chapter "Calico connections" Janet Wolff emphasises the significant role played by the cotton merchants and manufacturers, as well as other professionals, such as bankers, in the

¹⁰⁰ Bill Williams, "The anti-semitism of tolerance: Middle-class Manchester and the Jews 1870–1900," in Kidd and Roberts, *City, class and culture*, 74–102.

¹⁰¹ Michael Harrison, "Art and philanthropy: T.C. Horsfall and the Art Museum," in Kidd and Roberts, *City, class and culture*, 120–147.

¹⁰² Rose, "Culture," 113.

¹⁰³ Janet Wolff and Mike Savage, eds. *Culture in Manchester: institutions and urban change since 1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

establishment of many of the city's cultural institutions.¹⁰⁴ She refers to their great support of the musical life of the city, including the involvement of calico printer Hermann Leo in bringing Hallé to Manchester in 1848 and the fact that Henry Simon was one of the guarantors of the Concerts Society after Hallé's death. She states that 'many other examples could be cited of the influential – and historically crucial – role of the new class in Manchester's cultural life' but neither she nor any of the other contributors make mention of the RMCM and the significance of this group in its foundation.

In the volume *Manchester: making the modern city* the contributors examine the history through the medium of various themes, not just culture and class.¹⁰⁵ Unsurprisingly there is some overlap in content between the chapters, particularly in the sections relating to the nineteenth century. The rise of the middle class, the establishment of societies and organisations connected with education, science and culture, the role of philanthropy, the influence of the immigrant 'professional' population and the key part played by some religious groups are all rehearsed. Both separately and together the authors provide powerful insights into life and society in nineteenth-century Manchester.

James Sumner examines the significance of societies, such as the Lit and Phil, the Royal Manchester Institution and the Manchester Statistical Society in developing an interest in scientific subjects, eventually leading to the pre-eminence of the University of Manchester in several fields of enquiry, as well as enabling the members to establish themselves as part of the educated and cultural élite.¹⁰⁶ He refers to several significant scientists, a number of whom had a connection with the RMCM, such as Julius Dreschfeld (pioneering pathologist and Honorary Physician to the RMCM), Professor W. H. Perkin and Professor Arthur Lapworth, the latter two serving as university representatives on the Council of the RMCM. Michael Rose draws attention to the support given by Unitarians to many organisations, while the importance of immigrant

¹⁰⁴ Janet Wolff, "Calico connections: science, manufacture and culture in nineteenth-century Manchester," in Wolff and Savage, *Culture in Manchester*, 11–32.

¹⁰⁵ Alan J. Kidd and Terry Wyke, eds. *Manchester: making the modern city* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016).

¹⁰⁶ James Sumner, "Science, technology and medicine," in Kidd and Wyke, *Manchester: making the modern city*, 119–169.

communities is explored by Mervyn Busteed.¹⁰⁷ He emphasises the notable German contribution to the cultural life of the city, citing particularly the enduring heritage of the orchestra founded by Hallé and the latter's subsequent establishment of the RMCM.

Hallé's orchestra and the RMCM are also referred to in the chapter by Dave Russell where he too draws attention to 'the impact of successive generations of energetic immigrant groups on the city', and I will focus on groups such as these in my analysis of the networks.¹⁰⁸ He writes about individual acts of patronage and philanthropy by the very wealthy whilst also noting that middle- and upper-middle-class spending power, which was higher in a city like Manchester because of its large commercial sector, helped to sustain a substantial cultural infrastructure. As I will show, it is certainly the case that the majority of the supporters of the RMCM were not the very wealthy, unlike the RCM when it opened in 1883, but would be considered to fall into the category of the middle-classes with money acquired through their business or profession. The nature of *Manchester: making the modern city*, however, does not allow for a detailed examination of the many institutions and individuals to which a statement such as Russell's could refer and I will address this in my thesis.

In *The public culture of the Victorian middle class*, Gunn examines and compares aspects of culture and community in Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester.¹⁰⁹ Whilst there is some mention of the Gentlemen's Concerts, he focuses mostly on the Hallé orchestra when discussing music's significance to the culture of city. There is no mention of the RMCM, the role played in its foundation by many of the same people who were involved with the orchestra, or its contribution to the musical life of the city. The book is useful, however, in providing information about the background and context in which the supporters were situated. In a subsequent essay, "How Manchester is amused", Gunn comments specifically on the significance of networks in the cultural life of

¹⁰⁷ Michael E. Rose, "Voices of the people," in Kidd and Wyke, *Manchester: making the modern city*, 171–211; Mervyn Busteed, "A cosmopolitan city," *ibid.*, 213–257.

¹⁰⁸ Dave Russell, "Culture, media and sport," *ibid.*, 259–297.

¹⁰⁹ Simon Gunn, *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: ritual and authority and the English industrial city 1840–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 259–297.

Manchester.¹¹⁰ 'More research remains to be done, but the examples cited here suggest that while the individual artist-impresario or entrepreneur remained an important frontman for cultural ventures, he (and it was largely "he"....) was invariably implicated in wider local networks of financial, social and political support.'¹¹¹ This provides an excellent summary of the purpose of my project – Hallé was the 'frontman' but his idea could not have come to fruition without the wider support which his project received.

Politics

Political affiliation is one of the categories I investigate to ascertain the connections between the supporters of the RMCM. According to V. A. C. Gatrell, in the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century Manchester possessed two elites which acted as focal points of authority. They were high church and tory on one hand, unitarian (or quaker) and whig-radical on the other.¹¹² There was certainly evidence of allegiance to a particular party based on religious beliefs, as exemplified by the Hopkinson family for whom, as 'north-country Nonconformists', it was impossible to be Conservatives.¹¹³

Commentators on later decades offer differing views on the political positions taken at the time. Kidd suggests that the picture of 'Manchester Man' who talked of free trade and voted Liberal is one of the myths about the city; 'as a description of the allegiances of Manchester's late-Victorian and Edwardian middle class it is only half true....It is quite wrong to equate the Manchester middle class exclusively with Liberalism.'¹¹⁴ The business class was, he says, losing faith in the Liberal Party and switching to Conservatism;¹¹⁵ a point which Jeffrey Hill had made when he observes that by the 1890s the city had become increasingly noted for its Toryism both among the bourgeoisie and the

¹¹⁰ ———, "'How Manchester is amused": the cultural economy of the industrial city, 1860–1920," in *Creative urban milieus: historical perspectives on culture, economy and the city*, ed. Martina Hessler and Clemens Zimmerman (Frankfurt: New York: Campus Verlag, 2008), 101–118.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 112.

¹¹² Valentine Arthur Charles Gatrell, "The commercial middle class in Manchester, c. 1820–1857" (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1972), 152.

¹¹³ Katherine Campbell Chorley, *Manchester made them* (London: Faber & Faber, 1950), 234.

¹¹⁴ Alan J. Kidd, *Manchester. A history*, 4th ed. (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2006), 157.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 158. Even university academic Alfred Hopkinson who had stated so vehemently that it was impossible to be Conservative, later stood for that party. Chorley, *Manchester made them*, 236.

workers.¹¹⁶ Moore, however, argues that Liberalism continued to be a powerful political force in Manchester's southern suburbs well into the twentieth century,¹¹⁷ 'supported by a progressive and Nonconformist culture'.¹¹⁸ He asserts that this is due to South Manchester being 'the chosen residence of a large number of Manchester's most influential Liberals' and names several who were connected with the RMCM.¹¹⁹

Religion

The general religious landscape in the nineteenth century is set out in *Understanding the Victorians* by Susie L. Steinbach, who provides a useful summary of the various religious denominations and groups in the periods from 1820 to 1870, and 1870 to 1914.¹²⁰ Frances Knight describes the Church of England in the nineteenth century as one which moved from being a denomination which had a uniquely privileged relationship with the State, to one among several in a society in which 'it appeared that half of those who professed any sort of religious allegiance expressed a preference for the non-Anglican variety'.¹²¹ The patterns of religious affiliation in Manchester, which bear out this statement, are discussed by Simon Gunn in several sources, of which the comprehensive analysis in his thesis, covering the period just prior to that of my study, is particularly helpful.¹²² Elsewhere, Gunn reports that Nonconformity was espoused by the majority of wealthy families, with Unitarianism and Congregationalism standing out;¹²³ whilst the history of the Unitarians and their substantial influence in Manchester, especially in the second quarter of the century, is recounted by John Seed.¹²⁴ Moore brings

¹¹⁶ Jeffrey Hill, "Manchester and Salford politics and the early development of the Independent Labour Party," *International Review of Social History* 26 (1981): 172.

¹¹⁷ James R. Moore, "Liberalism and the politics of suburbia: electoral dynamics in late nineteenth-century South Manchester," *Urban History* 30 (2003): 249.

¹¹⁸ ———, *The transformation of urban liberalism: party politics and urban governance in late nineteenth-century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 215.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: politics, culture and society in nineteenth-century Britain*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 260–278.

¹²¹ Frances Knight, *The nineteenth-century church and English society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.

¹²² Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 256–300; "The ministry, the middle class and the 'civilizing mission' in Manchester, 1850–80," *Social History* 21 (1996); *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: ritual and authority and the English industrial city 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹²³ ———, "The ministry," 24.

¹²⁴ John Seed, "Unitarianism, political economy and the antinomies of liberal culture in Manchester, 1830–50," *ibid.* 7 (1982).

politics and religion together stating that ‘the [South Manchester] suburbs had deep Liberal and Nonconformist traditions’ with no part of the city being provided with more Nonconformist places of worship.¹²⁵ He highlights the scale of Nonconformist church building as suggesting that it continued to remain a significant influence and warns that, even where a decline in church attendance has been observed, it should not necessarily be taken as evidence for a decline in the political importance of religious and denominational issues.¹²⁶ The balance between Anglicans and Nonconformists changed during the thirty years covered by this study but overall, as I will show, it was approximately 62% Anglican / 38% Nonconformist.

Nationalities

The contribution to all aspects of Manchester society by a population which included representatives of many nationalities is recounted by W. M. Crawford, N. J. Frangopulo and Mervyn Busted.¹²⁷ In addition to incomers from other parts of the United Kingdom, they all mention Germans, Jews (who could be from several countries but were predominantly German in the first half of the century), Italians and Greeks. But there were also French, Russians, Dutch, Spaniards, Armenians, Danes, Swiss, Turks, Portuguese and Arabs, identified by John Scholes in his *List of Foreign Merchants, 1781–1870*.¹²⁸ Overall, according to the 1851 census returns, 0.8% of the population of Manchester was born overseas.¹²⁹

There is a significant amount of material written specifically about the national groups in Manchester, a selective list of which is included in the footnote below.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Moore, *The transformation of urban liberalism*, 216.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 325.

¹²⁷ Busted, “A cosmopolitan city.”; W. M. Crawford, “A cosmopolitan city,” in *Rich inheritance: a guide to the history of Manchester*, ed. N. J. Frangopulo ([Manchester]: Manchester Education Committee, 1963), 109–122; N. J. Frangopulo, “Foreign communities in Victorian Manchester,” *Manchester Review* 10, no. Spring–Summer (1965): 189–206.

¹²⁸ Crawford, “A cosmopolitan city,” 113; John Scholes, *Manchester foreign merchants, 1781–1870*, unpubd MS, MLA. MS ff 382 S35.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/55918222@N02/albums/72157632729403035/>.

¹²⁹ Busted, *ibid.*

¹³⁰ Su Coates, “Manchester’s German gentlemen: immigrant institutions in a provincial city 1840–1920,” *Manchester Region History Review* 5 (1991/92): 21–30; Monty Dobkin, *More tales of Manchester Jewry* (Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1994); *Tales of Manchester Jewry and Manchester in the Thirties* (Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1986); P. S. [Percy Selvin] Goldberg, *The Manchester Congregation of British Jews, 1857–1957: a short history to mark the occasion*

4. **Networks**¹³¹

Gunn undertook a similar exercise to this one for his study of the Manchester middle class, 1850–1880, referred to above.¹³² He drew up a collective biography of some 400 individuals and their families, with evidence of occupation, business interests, politics, denomination, marriage and other details.¹³³ Making use of that information he writes about the topography of class; marriage, kinship and clan; religion, and politics. All of these are areas which I examine to establish the connections between the subjects of my study.

The significance of networks to this study was referred to in the previous section where it was noted that many commentators make mention of networks as needing further investigation. In her thesis “Musical networks in early Victorian Manchester” Rachel Johnson considers musical activity in the city from 1836 to 1857.¹³⁴ She uses the concept of networks as her organising framework and, although the focus of her work is an earlier period than that covered by the present study, the points she makes about networks are still pertinent. For instance, she concludes that ‘Manchester remained a small enough place in these decades that its network of leadership was tightly linked socially as well as professionally’.¹³⁵ I will argue that this situation still obtained for several decades through to the early years of the twentieth century.

Throughout his book *High culture and tall chimneys* James Moore makes mention of the importance of networks to the establishment of art institutions in

of the Congregation Centenary (Manchester: Manchester Congregation of British Jews, [1957]); Rainer Liedtke, *Jewish welfare in Hamburg and Manchester c.1850–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); John Scott, *Historical sketch of the Manchester Foreign Library 1830–1903*, Portico monograph (Manchester: Portico Library, 1999); Bill Williams, “The anti-semitism of tolerance: middle-class Manchester and the Jews 1870–1900,” in *City, class and culture: studies of social policy and cultural production in Victorian Manchester*, ed. Alan J. Kidd and Kenneth W. Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985); *The making of Manchester Jewry 1740–1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976, 1985); Jonathan Westaway, “The German community in Manchester, middle-class culture and the development of mountaineering in Britain, c. 1850–1914,” *English Historical Review* 124, no. 508 (2009): 571–604.

¹³¹ Defined in the OED as ‘an interconnected group of people’. “network, n. and adj.,” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2023, accessed Jun 22, 2023, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/126342>.

¹³² Gunn, “The Manchester middle class.”

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 33ff.

¹³⁴ Rachel M. Johnson, “Musical networks in early Victorian Manchester” (PhD dissertation, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2020).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 259.

Lancashire during the long nineteenth century.¹³⁶ His observations are equally applicable to other cultural organisations of the same period. For example, he writes that the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition ‘was organised by a largely middle-class network of patrons...’. He refers to an article by J. Langton about regional cultures,¹³⁷ pointing out that the regional approach shows ‘how [sub-national] cultural communities are formed and helps us to understand how those communities are sustained, whether that be through personal friendships, commercial inter-urban networks, civic projects or new cultural institutions...’.¹³⁸

Peter Shapely offers a different perspective of networks, arguing that charities provided a large network of influence and contacts in the local environment.¹³⁹ He links this with the status value offered by charitable involvement, discussed further in Section Four below, stating that it relied partly on the ability of voluntary charities to ‘provide a network of influence that pulled together a range of predominantly middle-class social, economic and political groups’.¹⁴⁰ He also points out that non-charitable associations may have provided a similar opportunity, citing institutions such as the Manchester Statistical Society and the Lit and Phil.¹⁴¹ I argue that networks in Manchester offered both functions – they provided the basis of how the society operated and also the connections by which others could be drawn into supporting a particular project.

The use of social network analysis (SNA) by historians has developed over the last two decades with manifestations including the establishment of the Historical Network Research (HNR) Community.¹⁴² HNR provides a comprehensive bibliography on its website covering general literature, historical periods and specific sub-disciplines. Introductory texts include that by Marten Düring and Martin Stark, who provide an overview of historical network analysis in the *Encyclopedia of Social Networks*,¹⁴³ Claire Lemerrier on formal network

¹³⁶ James R. Moore, *High culture and tall chimneys: art institutions and urban society in Lancashire, 1780–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

¹³⁷ J. Langton, "The industrial revolution and the regional geography of England," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 9 (1984): 145–167.

¹³⁸ Moore, *High culture*, 4.

¹³⁹ Shapely, *Charity and power*, 19.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁴² *The Historical Network Research Community*, [n.d.], accessed Sep 25, 2024, <https://historicalnetworkresearch.org/>.

¹⁴³ George A. Barnett, ed., *Encyclopedia of Social Networks* (Thousand Oaks, CA.: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2011), s.v. "Historical network analysis."

methods in history;¹⁴⁴ and Ruth Ahnert *et al.* who address the use of the method in the humanities.¹⁴⁵

Although I do not use SNA in a formal sense, I draw on some of the terminology and concepts, such as graphic visualisation, to investigate the networks. Christina Prell, for instance, offers an overview of this approach to studying social relations and their structuring.¹⁴⁶ She provides examples of terminology and definitions of different types of relationships which are particularly helpful in the context of this study. Prell is referring to the use of the method for analysing contemporary society but the concepts of which she speaks are equally applicable to historical communities. She posits that, formally, 'a social network can be defined as a set of relations that apply to a set of actors, as well as any additional information on those actors and relations.'¹⁴⁷ She draws a distinction between 'state relations', which have a degree of permanency or durability, and 'event relations' which are more temporary. Examples of the former are kinship and affiliations, such as belonging to the same club or church, whilst for the latter she cites attending the same meeting or conference, something which is usually an individual occurrence and which may or may not indicate a more permanent state.¹⁴⁸ Both types of relations, as described by Prell, are evident in the Manchester networks examined in this study.

A related approach is offered by Marc Granovetter who suggests that different levels of connection between two people may be in operation, an alternative way of presenting Prell's distinction between permanent and temporary relationships.¹⁴⁹ He argues that the strength of an interpersonal tie is 'a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie', and that the tie may therefore be labelled as strong, weak or absent (where

¹⁴⁴ Claire Lemerrier, "Formal network methods in history: why and how?," in *Social networks, political institutions, and rural societies*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 281–310.

¹⁴⁵ Ruth Ahnert *et al.*, *The network turn: changing perspectives in the humanities*, ed. Samantha Rayner and Leah Tether, Elements in publishing and book culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

¹⁴⁶ Christina Prell, *Social network analysis: history, theory and methodology* (London: Sage, 2012).

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 8–9.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁴⁹ Mark S. Granovetter, "The strength of weak ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1973): 1360–1380.

absent is defined as the lack of any relationship or a tie without substantial significance).¹⁵⁰ Both of these approaches have merit in providing concepts against which the Manchester networks might be measured and will be explored in Chapter Five.

5. *Philanthropy and Patronage*

Philanthropy

In his introduction to *Philanthropy, patronage, and civil society*, Thomas Adam writes that there is a confusion of terms and misunderstandings between scholars over its usage.¹⁵¹ He is not alone in expressing this thought, as a number of commentators have remarked on the difficulties of defining philanthropy. The definitions in the *Oxford English Dictionary* include 'love of humankind; the disposition or active effort to promote the happiness and well-being of others; practical benevolence, now esp. as expressed by the generous donation of money to good causes'.¹⁵² Hugh Cunningham, in the conclusion to *The reputation of philanthropy since 1750*, points out that the last phrase of the definition was added in the most recent edition of the dictionary (revised 2002), suggesting that 'only in the twenty-first century did it become necessary to link philanthropy with money'.¹⁵³ This assertion is not borne out as earlier scholars did refer to the significance of money above other contributions, and were criticised for so doing. For instance, in his book *English philanthropy, 1600–1900*, published in 1964, David Owen admits that he takes a limited view of the topic which could be viewed by some as 'wayward and even wrongheaded'.¹⁵⁴ In whichever way philanthropy is defined, he says, for inclusion in his study the primary test is pecuniary and has little to do with practical acts 'save as these were accompanied by substantial contributions of money from individuals and groups'. It is a view challenged by Brian Harrison in his critique of the book, where he adopts what he describes as a broader notion than that of Owen – 'it will include any organisation devoting money, time, thought, or energy to

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 1361.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Adam, "Introduction," in *Philanthropy, patronage, and civil society: experiences from Germany, Great Britain, and North America*, ed. Thomas Adam (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 4.

¹⁵² "philanthropy, n.," *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, September 2022, [accessed 22 November 2022](https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/142408), <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/142408>.

¹⁵³ Hugh Cunningham, *The reputation of philanthropy since 1750: Britain and beyond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 196.

¹⁵⁴ Owen, *English philanthropy*, 1.

relieving the miseries of the poor, the neglected or the oppressed'.¹⁵⁵ In Harrison's view it is not just the pecuniary element but also the devotion of self to the cause, by giving of time and effort, which constitute his understanding of philanthropy.

Owen's position is also questioned by Cunningham, who thereby contradicts himself. He, like Harrison, suggests Owen's approach means that individuals and activities normally regarded as falling within the compass of philanthropy were excluded from the latter's study.¹⁵⁶ Cunningham asserts that within the literature there are two typical definitions: the first is 'the voluntary giving and receiving of time and money aimed (however imperfectly) towards the needs of charity and the interests of all in a better quality of life'; the second, 'a social relation governed by a moral obligation that matches a supply of private resources to a demand of unfulfilled needs and desires that are communicated by entreaty'.¹⁵⁷

In his contribution to *City, class and culture* Michael Rose discusses philanthropic activity in relation to the alleviation of poverty and poor living conditions. 'More importantly, there remained a concern with the city's [Manchester's] problems, with disease, poverty, illiteracy and bad housing... Such concern was expressed through activity in the closely associated spheres of philanthropy and culture.'¹⁵⁸ Culture and philanthropy are the subjects of the chapter, but Rose does not consider the importance of philanthropic support for cultural activity, in common with many other commentators. Similarly, Harrison's notion of an organisation which 'relieves the miseries of the poor, the neglected or the oppressed' being the subject of philanthropy has its limitations.¹⁵⁹

Writing about the topic in an earlier period of history, W. K. Jordan identifies five distinctive categories of charitable causes which attracted philanthropy: the poor; social rehabilitation, municipal betterments – 'benefactions designed to make a community a more comfortable and efficient place in which to work', such as municipal buildings, public parks, and public works; education (schools,

¹⁵⁵ Brian Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians," *Victorian Studies* 9 (1966): 356.

¹⁵⁶ Cunningham, *The reputation of philanthropy*, 1.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁵⁸ Rose, "Culture," 104.

¹⁵⁹ Harrison, "Philanthropy," 356.

colleges and universities, libraries); and religion.¹⁶⁰ Mordechai Feingold too notes the importance of philanthropy (private benefactions) to educational and cultural facilities, as well as those of welfare,¹⁶¹ whilst Adam's proposition is that its goal 'is to advance society by providing the necessary social, cultural, and educational services which are not provided by the state or the market...'.¹⁶² It is the application of philanthropy to municipal betterments, education and culture which are relevant to this thesis.

To that end the decision has been taken to use a definition of *philanthropy* as 'the donation of time, money, experience, and skills in support of a cause or organisation which has significance for the donor and/or is of benefit to the local community and wider society'. The term *philanthropy* rather than *charity* is used because of the nature of the organisation under discussion, although in the literature they are often employed interchangeably.¹⁶³ However, as the word *charity* is now generally applied to acts of benevolence to the poor, the term *philanthropy* is considered to be more appropriate.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore in this context, i.e. support for a musical institution, albeit one which is also educational, the phrase 'cultural philanthropy' offered by Margaret Eleanor Menninger is also helpful.¹⁶⁵ Writing about support for music in Leipzig from 1781 to 1933, and the directors of the Gewandhaus in particular, she bases her argument on the premise that philanthropy 'connotes duty and responsibility to a greater cause'. She has in mind 'actions associated with the funding of fine

¹⁶⁰ W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480–1660: a study of the changing pattern of English social aspirations* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959), 40–53.

¹⁶¹ Mordechai Feingold, "Philanthropy, pomp, and patronage: historical reflections upon the endowment of culture," *Daedalus* 116 (1987): 155.

¹⁶² Adam, "Introduction," 4.

¹⁶³ e.g. as cited in Jordan, above; and, 'the universities founded during the nineteenth century, Manchester amongst them, were built on charity'. David R. Jones, *The origins of the civic universities: Manchester, Leeds & Liverpool* (London: Routledge, 1988), 34.

¹⁶⁴ 'benevolence to one's neighbours, especially to the poor; the practical beneficences in which this manifests itself' and 'as manifested in action: *spec.* alms-giving. Applied also to the public provision for the relief of the poor, which has largely taken the place of the almsgiving of individuals.' "charity," *OED Online*, Sep 2022, accessed Feb 2, 2023, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/30731>.

Checkland offers a helpful distinction, although her emphasis on bettering human conditions needs to be interpreted more widely as belonging to Jordan's categories of 'municipal betterment' and education. 'The terms charity and philanthropy embrace at least two different concepts. Charity is an essential element of many religious faiths involving care and concern for others... Philanthropy, on the other hand, is a broader concept, based on humanitarian considerations, for it is concerned to better human conditions.' Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: social welfare and the voluntary principle* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1980), 2.

¹⁶⁵ Margaret Eleanor Menninger, "The serious matter of true joy: music and cultural philanthropy in Leipzig, 1781–1933," in Adam, *Philanthropy, patronage, and civil society*, 120–121.

and performing arts' which were also 'a collective acknowledgement of the importance of high culture to civil and civilized society'.

Motivation

Altruism is an allied concept, based on the assumption that the philanthropist expects neither reward nor return for his/her generosity. However, several commentators argue that giving to, and/or involvement with, philanthropic and charitable causes was considered to be a means whereby the donor could enhance their social status and power. This act was, therefore, exploited for that purpose by some of those making financial donations. Olive Checkland provides a vivid picture of the way in which status and power were signalled. Her description of how this 'system' operated, although referring to Scotland, was obviously one that was familiar more widely and could have applied to Manchester.¹⁶⁶ In *Charity and power in Victorian Manchester*, Shapely draws on the people and organisations in the city for his evidence, affirming Checkland's suggestion that the acquisition of social status was an important motivating factor. Shapely describes the use of philanthropy to enhance social status thus: 'Power within the wider public sphere relied on the acquisition of status and this depended on recognition and acceptance from the community rather than direct domination. Association with voluntary charity was a vital means of making an impression on the public sphere.'¹⁶⁷ He promotes the view that these people were the public leaders, possessing a notable degree of personal capital. This premise is also propounded by Frank Prochaska in *The voluntary impulse*, where he writes that participation in philanthropic causes was a sign of social status and social ambition.¹⁶⁸ Geoffrey Finlayson puts forward the idea that philanthropic activity could be a form of social snobbery, enabling a donor to a charitable cause to mix with those of a superior station on a charity committee or at a charity ball.¹⁶⁹ A further possible motive is suggested by Simone Lässig (summarised by Adam) who argues that philanthropy was part of the exchange of economic capital into cultural capital. By spending money on cultural institutions, philanthropists converted newer money into social and cultural

¹⁶⁶ Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, 5.

¹⁶⁷ Shapely, *Charity and power*, 18.

¹⁶⁸ Frank K. Prochaska, *The voluntary impulse: philanthropy in modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), 29–30.

¹⁶⁹ Geoffrey B. A. M. Finlayson, *Citizen, state, and social welfare in Britain 1830–1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 50.

power, and this offered to wealthy citizens a means of obtaining status.¹⁷⁰

Although this argument deals with the position in Germany in the late nineteenth-century, there are many similarities to points made by commentators writing about Britain at the same time, and I contend that it is valid to include it here.

In contradiction to the ideas presented above, the premise of reward/return is challenged by Sarah Flew in an article on the anonymous philanthropist. Here she avers that giving cannot be attributed solely to the desire for recognition or prestige. 'The use of anonymity is counter to the idea that philanthropists deployed their wealth to gain public power and prestige.'¹⁷¹ Anonymous donors did feature in the lists of some Manchester organisations but there were very few in the records of donations to the RMCM.¹⁷²

Religion was considered to be a motivating factor for many. Thomas Adam, for example, states that philanthropy has been defined as a religious duty in nearly every major religion.¹⁷³ Particularly in evangelical Christianity in the nineteenth century it was considered to be the primary impetus in the spheres of welfare and the poor.¹⁷⁴ However, it should not be assumed that this was practised only by one branch of the Christian faith. As Gerald Parsons has noted, members of the Anglo-Catholic churches believed in the importance of philanthropy. He writes of a development in Victorian Catholic social concern which moved towards concepts of voluntary social action and communally-focused philanthropy.¹⁷⁵ In a Jewish context, Rainer Liedtke points out the importance of associational life and welfare activities in understanding Jewish identity.¹⁷⁶ He

¹⁷⁰ Adam, "Introduction," 9.

¹⁷¹ Sarah Flew, "Unveiling the anonymous philanthropist: charity in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 20 (2015): 33.

¹⁷² Usually listed as 'anon.', 'a friend' or with initials.

¹⁷³ Adam, "Introduction," 4.

¹⁷⁴ See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in modern Britain: a history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 120–123; Finlayson, *Citizen*, 47; Cunningham, *The reputation of philanthropy*, 2–3; Frank K. Prochaska, "Philanthropy," in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950*, ed. F. M. L. Thompson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 378; Katherine Bradley and Helen Sweet, eds., *Women in the professions, politics and philanthropy 1840-1940* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2009), 8.

¹⁷⁵ Gerald Parsons, "Social control to social gospel: Victorian Christian social attitudes," in *Religion in Victorian Britain. Vol.2. Controversies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, in association with the Open University, 1988), 53.

¹⁷⁶ Rainer Liedtke, *Jewish welfare in Hamburg and Manchester c.1850–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 10.

refers particularly to associations whose general goals might be in the sphere of culture, politics, or philanthropy, and his study has particular relevance as it focusses on Manchester. Finally, under the heading of motivation, philanthropy might also be considered to be a responsibility of citizenship, a point made by Cunningham,¹⁷⁷ and there are writers who refer particularly to the link between women, philanthropy and citizenship, which is explored further below.

Philanthropy in higher education

In *The origins of the civic universities* David R. Jones writes that pride, alongside a bid for public honours and the opportunity to advertise material success, is also a motive.¹⁷⁸ The pride might be that of an individual, a group of people in a professional capacity testifying to their success, or regional pride. Jones lists class pride as another type, particularly in the northern cities as it would be 'closely allied with civic pride since civic status was usually the result of middle class efforts'.¹⁷⁹ Trainor mentions civic pride as one of the motives of the Victorian elite to serve the local community.¹⁸⁰ Civic pride in the city of Manchester, and more widely in Lancashire and the north of England, was certainly one of the arguments used to promote the establishment of the RMCM.¹⁸¹

Jones' book compares the foundation of the universities of Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool, referring to the important role played by philanthropic support, and makes several general points about philanthropy within the sector, which may also be seen as applicable to the RMCM. For instance, he echoes Checkland's point on the importance of subscription lists being used both for the purpose of publicity for the institution and as a method of soliciting funds,¹⁸² a methodology likewise referred to by Prochaska.¹⁸³ Jones also remarks on the tradition of requisitioning the mayor to call a public meeting to gain support for

¹⁷⁷ Cunningham, *The reputation of philanthropy*, 43.

¹⁷⁸ Jones, *Origins*, 101.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 97, fn.129.

¹⁸⁰ Richard Trainor, "Urban elites in Victorian Britain," *Urban History* 12 (1985): 3.

¹⁸¹ 'That the suggestion [of a Conservatoire of Music] has been found practicable will delight all Manchester – those who are musical for obvious reasons, and those who are not for the sake of local patriotism.' [no title], *Manchester Evening News*, May 5, 1892, 2.

¹⁸² Jones, *Origins*, 105.

¹⁸³ 'Often included in the reports were long lists of subscribers... They were an economical version of those church plaques which celebrate benevolent parishioners and had the same ulterior purpose, to encourage further patronage.' Prochaska, *The voluntary impulse*, 36.

important civic projects. This was employed both at the beginning and during the course of the campaign to establish the RMCM.¹⁸⁴

Jones devotes a section in his chapter on founders and benefactors to the 'Civic Milieu', beginning with the assertion that 'a wide variety of associations linked the elite of a Victorian city', and that active supporters of an institution might easily influence others.¹⁸⁵ In the former statement he echoes and prefigures the points made by several of the writers whose work was discussed in the section above on the literature relating to 'Culture in Manchester'. He highlights membership of societies, family ties, professional (including occupational) connections, religious affiliations, and similar cultural interests as major examples of these links. Having proposed various motives, Jones then concludes that it is impossible to identify the most common one because 'each benefactor must have been moved by a unique amalgam of many influences'.¹⁸⁶

The subject of philanthropy and universities is developed further by Ben E. Hancock, Jr. in his thesis in which he draws on the work of earlier writers on the subject of philanthropy, including Owen, Checkland, and Jones.¹⁸⁷ Hancock states that 'sources of information documenting philanthropic activity are available on a limited basis', and then proceeds to quote Curti on the difficult subject of philanthropic motivation.¹⁸⁸ The latter proposes that this has to be approached through 'biographies, personal memoirs, and manuscript collections of those who have given to higher education'.¹⁸⁹ This presupposes that such documentation exists. Many donors, particularly in the context of a city such as Manchester, may have been well-known locally but not necessarily of the status to leave personal material containing that level of detail, and to that

¹⁸⁴ '[It was] resolved that a public meeting, convened by the Mayor on receiving an influentially-signed requisition, should be held in the Manchester Town Hall on Tuesday Oct. 4th at 12 noon...' "Meeting of the Executive Committee, Aug 30, [1892]," *Minute book, 1892-93*, 26. RMCM/A/3/2; "City of Manchester. College of Music," *Manchester Courier*, Oct 1, 1892, 1.

¹⁸⁵ Jones, *Origins*, 108.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁸⁷ Ben E. Hancock Jr., "The role of philanthropy in the development of British universities during the Victorian period (1851-1919)" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 2004).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁸⁹ Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in shaping higher education* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965), 321. Quoted in Hancock Jr., "The role of philanthropy," 61-62.

extent Hancock is correct.¹⁹⁰ There are, however, general sources such as the aforementioned published reports, subscription lists, the archival records of institutions and societies, obituaries, wills and newspaper reports thereof, which provide a great deal of evidence of philanthropic activity, if not the motivation of the philanthropist. Furthermore, in the two decades since Hancock wrote his thesis many of the sources have become much more widely available, thanks to digitisation and online archive catalogues, which makes tracing the material much easier than was previously the case.

The individual and the group

When thinking about philanthropy, the names of beneficent individuals are often at the forefront but, as Justin Davis Smith points out, voluntary associations played an important role. He cites Owen who describes this as ‘associated philanthropy’ and refers to charities which were not funded by single individuals whose names would be ‘forever linked with the charity, but by a group of wealthy philanthropists who combined together to support a charitable cause’.¹⁹¹ This pattern had developed in the eighteenth century and was common in many charitable societies in the nineteenth; they may well have had figurehead patrons but the charity or organisation was not the result of one person’s philanthropy. Smith also highlights the significance of such organisations in towns and the contribution of middle-class philanthropy to civic life, including museums and libraries. This was often motivated, as mentioned earlier, by civic pride (and, he suggests, civic rivalry). There were many such organisations in Manchester and with which the founders of the RMCM were heavily involved. This was their template for organising themselves to raise money and obtain support.

Women and philanthropy

The literature on the topic mostly focusses on men as the primary purveyors of philanthropy although there is a body of writing on the philanthropic activities of

¹⁹⁰ An exception to this is Enriqueta Rylands whose “Philanthropic Account Book” provides a record of her giving. A detailed examination of her philanthropy and motives may be found in Elizabeth Gow, “‘Not slothful in business’: Enriqueta Rylands and the John Rylands Library,” in *Protestant Dissent and Philanthropy in Britain, 1660–1914*, ed. Clyde Binfield (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 205–222.

¹⁹¹ Justin Davis Smith, “The voluntary tradition,” in *An introduction to the voluntary sector*, ed. Justin Davis Smith, Colin Rochester, and Rodney Hedley (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 12.

women, both addressing the subject specifically and as part of wider explorations of the role of women in society during the nineteenth century.¹⁹² In *The political worlds of women* Sarah Richardson suggests that, for women in the middle of the century, philanthropy was 'an expression of their wider concern with social and civic affairs' and 'inextricably bound up with the public sphere'.¹⁹³ The latter term is defined by Dorice Williams Elliott as 'an aggregate of diverse activities and interests, encompassing government, education, business, manufacturing, science, the arts, and so on'.¹⁹⁴ Much of what is written about women and philanthropy relates to the first, second and fifth of Jordan's categories, i.e. the poor, social rehabilitation and religion, and with actions (welfare work, visiting schools, hospitals, prisons, workhouses and the homes of the poor), rather than monetary support, being the standard means of involvement. Elliott's inclusion of subscription lists and her comment that a primary focus on women's financial contributions to philanthropic organisations 'tends to obscure the kind of charitable contribution that consisted of time and personal energy rather than money', is interesting as one of the rare references to female pecuniary philanthropy in the literature.¹⁹⁵ Prochaska also concentrates on the categories highlighted above, with some mention of education, but mostly in the context of ragged schools and similar institutions, not universities and colleges.¹⁹⁶ There is no reference to the philanthropy associated with cultural organisations such as museums and galleries or educational institutions.

The suggestion that, for women, citizenship and philanthropy were closely linked is referenced in several sources and addressed specifically by Andrea Geddes Poole in her book *Philanthropy and the construction of Victorian*

¹⁹² Selected examples are: Frank K. Prochaska, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Kathryn Gleadle, *British women in the nineteenth century* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Dorice Williams Elliott, *The angel out of the house: philanthropy and gender in nineteenth century England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002); Bradley and Sweet, *Women in the professions*; Anne Summers, "A home from home: women's philanthropic work in the nineteenth century," in *Fit work for women*, ed. Sandra Burman (London: Routledge, 2013), 33–63.

¹⁹³ Sarah Richardson, *The political worlds of women: gender and politics in nineteenth century Britain* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 65.

¹⁹⁴ Elliott, *The angel*, 113.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹⁶ Prochaska, *Women and philanthropy*.

women's citizenship.¹⁹⁷ In a chapter on the subject of "Philanthropy and Citizenship" she cites Julia Parker who proposed that some progressive Victorian thinkers saw citizenship as intrinsically connected to an individual's public service, and that this view was increasingly embraced by women. For some women this demonstration of citizenship was allied to the suffrage campaign. The majority of examples of philanthropic work given in this book are those relating to social conditions and welfare. As with other sources there is no mention of women's support of cultural organisations.

In the course of my research, I have found that in the years between 1892 and 1920 there were approximately 120 women and 260 men who were regular donors to the RCM and its various funds. Some of the women, such as Mrs C. E. [later Dame Sarah] Lees contributed significant amounts.¹⁹⁸ The first discussions around the establishment of a school of music in Manchester appear to have involved men only but women contributed to the funds from the beginning, with a regular subscription allowing them to become life members of the General Committee. Later some were appointed as Council members, thus becoming directly involved in the management of the College.¹⁹⁹

Patronage

An alternative, or interchangeable, term for philanthropy is patronage – 'the action of a patron in using money or influence to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.'²⁰⁰ The use of the word might be seen as archaic, denoting the bestowing of favour by the 'haves' on the 'have-nots', but the concept of a patron using money or influence to advance the interests of (cultural) causes is relevant to this research.²⁰¹ The use of the two terms,

¹⁹⁷ Andrea Geddes Poole, *Philanthropy and the construction of Victorian women's citizenship: Lady Frederick Cavendish and Miss Emma Cons* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 199–219.

¹⁹⁸ See Chapters Four and Six for details of Sarah Lees' generosity and biographical information.

¹⁹⁹ 1895 saw the appointment of the first woman, Mrs C. E. Lees, to the Council of the College; she was joined in 1899 by Miss Margaret E. ("Meta") Gaskell. The numbers of women on the Council remained small during the period under investigation – Mrs Edward (later Lady) Donner was added in 1906. After Miss Gaskell's death in 1913 there were only two, until 1917 when the numbers increased to three. Subsequently, there were four in 1918 and six in 1919.

²⁰⁰ "patronage, n.," *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, Mar 2023, accessed May 3, 2023, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/138931>.

²⁰¹ e.g. 'Schwabe was a generous patron of the arts in Manchester, and particularly music'.

philanthropy and *patronage*, is explored by Feingold in his essay *Philanthropy, pomp, and patronage* in which he distinguishes between the two by defining philanthropy as ‘charity, or support of less fortunate’, and patronage as ‘the support of high culture, involving scholarship, art, science, music and the like’.²⁰² Menninger considers that patronage ‘emphasizes a specific act of purchase or acquisition of an object of art (broadly defined) without any reference to a larger public good’ and is therefore not the appropriate term to use when discussing the funding of the arts.²⁰³ Lässig prefers the term ‘cultural patronage’ denoting the provision of private means for public causes intended for general use. However, she does not use it to indicate support for art and culture alone but also includes giving to the natural and social sciences, education and social causes.²⁰⁴

In using both patronage and philanthropy in the sub-title of this thesis I am drawing on the definition of ‘patronage’ as the action of a patron to advance the interests of a cause; and, as outlined earlier, that of ‘philanthropy’ as ‘the donation of time, money, experience, and skills in support of a cause or organisation which has significance for the donor and/or is of benefit to the local community and wider society’. It might be argued that to include both of them is tautologous; I consider them to be complementary.

Musical philanthropy and patronage

As discussed above, the RAM and RCM, in common with most other educational institutions were dependent on donations from individuals for their funding. However, these were not the only examples of philanthropy in a musical context. In her book *The provincial music festival, 1784–1914*, Pippa Drummond points out that the main purpose of the festivals was philanthropic; the income from ticket sales was expected to cover expenses and secure a profit for local charities.²⁰⁵ One festival of significance in the context of this

Bill Williams, "Schwabe, Salis (1800–1853), calico printer and philanthropist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Aug 23, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/57656>.

²⁰² Feingold, "Philanthropy, pomp," 156.

²⁰³ Menninger, "The serious matter," 120–122.

²⁰⁴ Simone Lässig, "Bürgerlichkeit, patronage, and communal liberalism in Germany, 1871–1914," in Adam, *Philanthropy, patronage, and civil society*, 200.

²⁰⁵ Pippa Drummond, *The provincial music festival, 1784–1914*, Music in nineteenth-century Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 199–200.

thesis is the Manchester Grand Musical Festival of 1828, the organisation of which is examined in detail by Michael Busk.²⁰⁶ He notes that there is evidence in the 1750s of concerts in Manchester being organised with charitable intentions, and specifically for the benefit of the Infirmary, as was the case in 1828, thus indicating a history of philanthropic support for and through music.²⁰⁷ In common with my investigation of the supporters of the RMCM, Busk undertakes an analysis of the list of festival patrons, identifying the reasons why they were approached for their support.²⁰⁸ He also points to the festival being run on business-like lines by people who were businessmen, as Shapely does in relation to charities; an aspect which I identify in relation to the RMCM.²⁰⁹

Philanthropic support in a different musical environment is the subject of Charles McGuire's book *Music and Victorian philanthropy*.²¹⁰ He examines the history and development of the Tonic Sol-Fa sight singing system and uses it as 'a lens through which to study the links between music and the moral philanthropy of the age'.²¹¹ McGuire describes the type of philanthropy here as 'the thread of Victorian philanthropy; how to make the individual into a better person while maintaining the code of the dominant society';²¹² it does not fall into the same category as that of support for a musical and educational institution. Paula Gillett devotes a chapter of her book *Musical women in England, 1870–1914*, to the subject of music and female philanthropy but here, as with the examples of women and philanthropy discussed above, the author is linking it to a social mission and moral improvement – for instance, teaching singing and piano in girls' clubs and performing in charity concerts.²¹³

6. *Music and Class*

The issue of class in Manchester is addressed by several authors, of whom the following are highlighted as examples. In the Introduction to *City, class and*

²⁰⁶ Michael Busk, "Manchester's 1828 Musical Festival: provenance, planning and performance" (PhD dissertation, Open University, 2023).

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 41.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 79–90.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 259.

²¹⁰ Charles Edward McGuire, *Music and Victorian philanthropy: the Tonic Sol-Fa movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²¹¹ Ibid., xvi.

²¹² Ibid., xviii.

²¹³ Paula Gillett, *Musical women in England, 1870–1914: "Encroaching on all man's privileges"* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 33–62.

culture Kidd addresses the complexity of the history of the middle classes in Manchester, noting the numerous factors which contributed to its formation.²¹⁴ Gunn, in a discourse which refers particularly to Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester, restates the notion that the middle-class in England 'has been defined as comprising property-owning groups which engaged in active occupations, usually connected with manufacturing, trade and the professions'.²¹⁵ It was marked, he writes, by distinctions of wealth, religious identity and political affiliation and unified by culture.²¹⁶ Seed and Wolff argue that culture 'was and is a crucial arena in the development of classes' and, in particular, the development of musical life in Manchester owed much to the middle class.²¹⁷ They identify what I have proved through my research – that musical and concert life was almost entirely dependent on and supported by manufacturers and businessmen for many years.²¹⁸ Most of the men who became involved with the establishment of the RMCM were either merchants, businessmen, manufacturers, bankers, members of professions (doctors, dentists, solicitors, accountants), clergy or from academia. Seed and Wolff's statement about musical life owing much to the middle class is reinforced by Wilfred Allis. He asserts that the Gentlemen's Concerts was an elite and prestigious society whose subscribers 'were drawn from the 'best' of Manchester society – the middle class'.²¹⁹ This was also true of many of the clubs and societies; only the middle class were admitted.²²⁰

Manchester was not the only town or city in whose cultural life the middle class played an important role. Antje Pieper's book on the nineteenth-century middle class in Birmingham and Leipzig concerns 'the ways and means by which the middle class of each town fashioned a cultural ideal as well as the institutions through which this ideal could be... expressed'.²²¹ She justifies the choice of the

²¹⁴ Kidd, "Introduction".

²¹⁵ Gunn, *Public culture*, 14.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

²¹⁷ John Seed and Janet Wolff, "Class and culture in nineteenth-century Manchester," *Theory, Culture & Society* 2 (1984): 38–53. The authors, in common with others, refer to both the bourgeoisie and the middle class, including a discussion on the interchangeability of the two terms in this article.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

²¹⁹ Wilfrid Allis, "Music and class in nineteenth century Manchester" (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2002), 12, 224.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 230.

²²¹ Antje Pieper, *Music and the making of middle-class culture: a comparative history of nineteenth-century Leipzig and Birmingham* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), xii.

two towns because they are, generally, 'representative of a new type of urban élite to whom a sense of collective identity and worth was... more focused on the public cultural sphere.' Whilst there are similarities in the towns that make them suitable for comparison, many of the points she makes could apply equally to Manchester and its cultural development under the influence of the middle class.

7. Music and Civic Pride

Rachel Milestone writes that 'the Victorian era was a time a competitive commercialism, when a new consciousness of local and civic pride developed that encouraged displays of wealth and prosperity.'²²² As I will discuss, civic pride was invoked to encourage support for the new music college in Manchester, and there are examples of music being used for this purpose in several sources. Simon Gunn, writing about the early years of the Hallé orchestra, suggests that it became a powerful resource for later Victorian pride,²²³ while Drummond highlights the holding of prestigious cultural events, such as music festivals, as another manifestation.²²⁴ Milestone herself discusses the significance of town halls in the Victorian era proposing that, after it was rebuilt in the 1880s, Stalybridge Town Hall became the hub of musical life in the community and stirred the musical and civic pride of the inhabitants.²²⁵ Elsewhere she suggests that the introduction of organ concerts at Leeds Town Hall was a means of encouraging the civic pride of Leeds inhabitants.²²⁶ Whilst Fiona Palmer, author of a chapter on Liverpool's Philharmonic Hall in the same book, does not refer to explicitly to civic pride, the editor Paul Rodmell suggests that it was a crucial factor in the foundation of the institution, which was undertaken not by municipal involvement but an amateur society.²²⁷

²²² Rachel Elizabeth Milestone, "'A Melodious Phenomenon': the institutional influence on town-hall music-making," in *Music and institutions in nineteenth-century Britain*, ed. Paul Rodmell, Music in nineteenth-century Britain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

²²³ Simon Gunn, "The sublime and the vulgar: the Hallé concerts and the constitution of 'high culture' in Manchester c.1850–1880," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2 (1997): 210.

²²⁴ Drummond, *The provincial music festival*, 253.

²²⁵ Rachel Elizabeth Milestone, "'A new impetus to the love of music': the role of the town hall in nineteenth-century English musical culture" (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2009). See also her chapter "'That monstrosity of bricks and mortar': the Town Hall as a music venue in nineteenth-century Stalybridge," in *Music in the British provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007).

²²⁶ "'A Melodious Phenomenon'."

²²⁷ Fiona M. Palmer, "A home for the 'Phil': Liverpool's first Philharmonic Hall (1849)," *ibid.*; Paul Rodmell, "Introduction," *ibid.*

Contents

In Chapter One, three themes which are key to understanding the context in which the establishment of the RMCM took place are addressed. The first of these is an overview of philanthropy in the second half of the nineteenth century as it related to civic culture in Manchester generally. This will draw on the model of Owens College (later the Victoria University of Manchester), with which the RMCM had close connections. Alongside this there is a focus on three other educational institutions in the city which were fundraising at the same period. The projects not only provided exemplars for those initiating the RMCM scheme but also had a number of personnel in common. A brief description of the Gentlemen's Concerts is followed by an exploration of Hallé's place in Manchester society looking at his social and cultural circles, contacts and networks, in order to demonstrate the bearing this had on the subsequent activities around the establishment of the RMCM. Finally in this chapter I trace the events which took place in the 1880s, beginning with the campaign for a national conservatoire of music, the launch event for which was in Manchester.²²⁸ These have received little or no mention in previous histories of the RMCM, leading to the presumption that what took place in November/December 1891 was the beginning of the story of the College. I argue that these events are important because they demonstrate the increase in the calls for a college of music in Manchester amongst a larger group of people, and are likely to have been in the minds of those who were approached for support.

Chapters Two and Three consist of detailed descriptions of the foundation of the RMCM from 1891–1893, focussing on the financial and organisational aspects and identifying the key personnel, their roles and level of involvement. The methods employed to raise the finances are examined and compared with the models outlined in the introduction. This is continued in Chapter Four which covers the period 1893–1920 during which time the RMCM faced significant financial challenges. Methods for further fundraising are discussed alongside the establishment of scholarships, the Students' Sustentation Fund, and

²²⁸ For a more detailed description of the campaign for the national conservatoire (Royal College of Music) and a comparison with that of the RMCM, see Anna Wright, "The funding of conservatoires in late nineteenth-century England", in *Financing music in Europe*, ed. Étienne Jardin, *Speculum Musicae* (XLVII) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 129–150.

bequests, all of which were dependent on retaining existing supporters and engaging with new ones.

Chapter Five consists of a comprehensive review of the different networks that have been revealed by the study and prosopographical analysis, and a discussion of the significance of these networks in the history of the RMCM. Chapter Six provides biographical information about the key individuals, together with a review of the role of philanthropy. It concludes with a brief examination of the sources of the wealth of some donors, in light of the recent projects undertaken by other Manchester institutions into the legacy of the slave trade and enslavement.

The Appendices include transcriptions of key documents; a complete list of donors and subscribers, together with full details of their monetary donations; various different tables with names of those approached for support and committee members; membership of local organisations and links to musical organisations.

The aims of this thesis are to reveal the important, and mostly unacknowledged, role played by the supporters and benefactors of the RMCM, and to understand who those people were and why they became involved. This begins in Chapter One with an exploration of the contexts within which the scheme was situated.

Chapter One

Contexts

The establishment of the RMCM needs to be understood in context and, to this end, three different strands are explored in this chapter. The first is that of the fundraising culture and practices in Manchester in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, with a focus on how these were manifested in the setting up of other educational institutions in the city at the time. After describing the general situation pertaining to fundraising in Manchester, I offer four 'case studies' of educational institutions in the city which, between the 1860s and 1890, were set up from new or were fundraising for specific projects. The purpose is twofold: firstly, to show how other similar organisations operated, and that the methods employed would have been familiar to the initiators; and, secondly, to provide a picture of the fundraising environment in which the RMCM scheme was undertaken.

The second strand is a summary of the history of the Gentlemen's Concerts, an organisation which is of particular significance owing to the role played by its officers and subscribers in the establishment of the RMCM. This is followed by an overview of Hallé's place in Manchester musical society which was an important factor in attracting support for his proposal. The final element is an examination of the events in the decade from 1881, when the campaign for a national conservatoire (the RCM) was launched, through to November 1891 and the commencement of the scheme for a college of music in Manchester. I argue it is important because not only have the events immediately preceding the public meeting in December 1891 been overlooked hitherto, but also no attention has been paid to the gradual build-up of support for a school of music during the previous decade, without which Hallé's scheme might not have gained traction.

1. Philanthropy in Manchester

Prior to the twentieth century in Britain there was little or no state funding, either nationally or locally, for most organisations, whether their purpose was welfare-based, educational or cultural. Historically, institutions of all types were

dependent on the generosity of the public for their funding.¹ Peter Shapely has written in detail about charitable organisations in Victorian Manchester - their structures, fundraising, officers, honorary figureheads and subscribers - on the basis of a survey he made of ninety-eight charities.² Much of what he writes is equally applicable to the educational and cultural institutions founded during the same period which form the background to this study. He argues that voluntary charities existed only if enough members of the public were willing to finance and manage them;³ the same could certainly be said of cultural organisations. Shapely also remarks that charities faced the problem of a limited number of people being willing to subscribe, with an underlying dependence on a small number of subscribers. This is not a new observation; a similar one, to which he refers, was made in 1885 in a paper given to the Manchester Statistical Society '...the fact which most strikes one on even a cursory perusal is the great frequency of names which are most familiar in the subscription lists...'.⁴ My research shows that this limited number of people were, more often than not, the same group who were also contributing to the establishment of other institutions in the city.

The methods of running the two types of organisation – charitable and educational/cultural - were also similar, as were the means by which funds were raised. Public meetings to launch a cause were commonplace, usually preceded by announcements in the local newspapers and followed by reports of the meeting together with details of the committee set up to begin work. The announcements might be accompanied by a list of the names of those who had already promised subscriptions. The publication of these lists, together with the names of those in honorary positions or appointed as office-holders, was a recognised method of establishing the credentials, credibility and profile of a new body, and a practice which was referred to as an essential element when fundraising for the RMCM began.⁵ Once established, organisations usually

¹ Jordan, *Philanthropy*, 40–53, 83.

² Shapely, *Charity and power*.

³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴ Fred. Scott, "The need for better organisation of benevolent effort in Manchester and Salford," *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society* (1885): 130.

⁵ 'I think it is essential that, on the day of the public meeting, we should have a list ready which would be publicly announced, for unless somebody makes a start and we have a few actual promises to place before the meeting, I am afraid that the whole thing will fall flat.' Gustav Behrens, *Letter to Charles E. Lees*, April 20, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3/57–58.

published an annual report with accounts, the majority listing details of subscriptions and/or one-off donations made for particular purposes.

Shapely identifies the importance of the underpinning of the structure of the charity field by a business ethos, not because they were viewed as 'a form of proto-business...[but] those involved could be seen to have simply transposed their knowledge of administering a business organisation onto the structure of the voluntary charity'.⁶ In his study, Shapely analyses the occupations of eighty-five charity treasurers, of whom forty-five were bankers, from banking families, served as directors of a bank, or accountants or stockbrokers; sixteen were from a variety of manufacturing backgrounds, and thirteen from the mercantile world. The appointment of experienced professionals and businessmen to boards, committees, official posts such as secretary and treasurer, and honorary offices, including President, was not confined to charities; it was common in the other sectors looking for public financial support as the following examples and the history of the RMCM demonstrate.

James Moore, writing about Manchester in the 1850s, points out that there were several major public subscription projects in the city that competed for philanthropic attention.⁷ These projects, as diverse as the Royal Infirmary and the Peel Monument, the free public library and the development of Owens College, were not the only ones during that or the following decades, as discussed below. The four institutions included here have been chosen because they are all educational institutions in Manchester, established or extended in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and requiring financial support from the public. Furthermore, there is not only significant overlap in the people involved in the various projects, testifying to the comments made by F. Scott and Shapely about the limited numbers involved, but also in the methods of fundraising which are based on the same patterns. It is not the intention here to revisit the histories of these institutions in detail but to explore those elements which contribute to, and explain, the context in which the RMCM was founded.

⁶ Shapely, *Charity and power*, 28–29.

⁷ Moore, *High culture*, 143.

A. Owens College (1860s and 1870s)

Owens College opened in 1851, a college of higher education financed initially by a bequest of almost £100,000 from John Owens, a wealthy local merchant.⁸ However, it was soon found necessary to raise funds for new facilities and scholarships through public subscriptions. By 1865 the authorities were beginning to investigate the possibility of expanding and moving to new premises on a different site and two years later it was announced that a Committee was to be set up to raise an amount of not less than £100,000 and preferably of £150,000 'for the purpose of carrying into effect the proposed system of extension'.⁹ A newspaper report noted that a list of subscriptions which 'had been offered voluntarily, without the slightest canvass' had been read.¹⁰ At the same meeting an Executive Committee was appointed to 'determine and carry out measures for raising the required fund and ... prepare a scheme of such extent as may be deemed desirable and warranted by the funds subscribed...'.¹¹

The Committee arranged for meetings to be held in several neighbouring boroughs in the summer of 1868, including Bolton and Oldham. In October it was reported that subscriptions to the general fund plus some specific funds, the details of which were listed, had reached £69,859. Together with the estimated value (£7,000) of the current site, the Committee stated that it had £76,859 towards the new buildings.¹² In April 1872 the total amount raised for the various funds had reached £127,483,¹³ but when the new buildings were opened in October 1873 Thomas Ashton noted that there was more to do: 'Although they had already gone to the public who had responded generously,

⁸ B. W. Clapp, "Owens, John (1790–1846), merchant and philanthropist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed May 25, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2104>.

⁹ Joseph Thompson, *The Owens College: its foundation and growth; and its connection with the Victoria University, Manchester* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1886), 316.

¹⁰ "A north of England university: proposed extension of Owens College," *Manchester Guardian*, Feb 2, 1867, 5.

¹¹ Thompson, *The Owens College*, 314–317.

Town Hall meeting, Feb 1, 1867. Executive Committee members: Thomas Ashton (Chairman), Oliver Heywood (Treasurer), B. [Benjamin] Armitage, C. F. [Charles Frederick] Beyer, W. R. Callender, jun., R. Johnson, J. L. Kennedy, S. J. Stern, Principal Greenwood, Professor Christie, Professor Roscoe and six trustees – R. D. Darbishire, Murray Gladstone, A. Neild, J. Robinson, J. E. Taylor, and W. H. Houldsworth. The names of Joseph Whitworth, J. P. Joule, Joseph Thompson and Herbert Philips were added at the first meeting.

¹² *Ibid.*, 341.

¹³ "Owens College," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 15, 1872, 3.

and although they were then £20,000 in debt, he looked forward to the time when they would make an appeal for £150,000 more.¹⁴ By 1876, three years after the new buildings were opened, it was suggested that about £220,000 had been contributed by voluntary subscribers; funds which 'have been raised almost exclusively in a very small circle and by a few public-spirited individuals'.¹⁵ The ongoing financial history of Owens College is similar to that of the other Manchester institutions at the same period. Treasurers continued to report on the urgent need for more funds and, despite many generous donations and endowments, fundraising campaigns remained a necessity for Owens College.

B. Manchester School of Art (1870s and 1880s)

The School of Art was established, initially as a School for Design, in 1838 and renamed in February 1853. A year later it became a sectional department of the Royal Manchester Institution (RMI), offering elementary and further education as well as supporting the members of the RMI. In common with many other Manchester organisations it too was continually beset by financial difficulties, despite (unusually for this period) receiving a generous government grant.¹⁶ In the annual report for 1870 the Committee lamented the lack of support for the School.

The Committee have again to come before the subscribers and friends of the Institution under the same depressing influences as to finances as they have experienced for some years past, and with the same general complaint of the want of sympathy and support in their endeavours to spread the knowledge of pure Art in this large manufacturing community.¹⁷

Appeals for subscriptions continued during the early years of the decade; in the 1874 report the Committee trusted that 'friends of the School will enable them to restore and even increase the subscription list in the course of the year'.¹⁸ In

¹⁴ Ibid., 466–467.

¹⁵ Extract from a speech given by Mark Pattison to the Social Science Congress on 13 October 1876, quoted in: H. B. Charlton, *Portrait of a University 1851-1951: to commemorate the centenary of Manchester University* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), 76. The complete lists of donors may be found in Thompson, *The Owens College*, 633–649.

¹⁶ For a detailed exposition of this period in the school's history see David Jeremiah, *A hundred years and more* (Manchester: Manchester Polytechnic. Faculty of Art and Design, 1980).

¹⁷ Manchester School of Art, *Annual report*, Dec 22, 1870, 13. Manchester Metropolitan University. MSA/1/2/1/4.

¹⁸ MSA, *Annual report*, Dec 22, 1874, 20. MSA/1/2/1/4.

1875, the School of Art was given notice by the RMI to quit its rooms,¹⁹ and suggestions for dealing with the situation included making a connection with Owens College, but the School wished to remain independent.²⁰ A public meeting was held on 2 February 1877 to discuss the erection of a new School of Art.²¹ The Chairman reported that a plot of land had been identified and, owing to the urgent need for the new building, purchased at a cost of £10,500; the donations already promised would cover that amount. A notice published subsequently in some of the Manchester newspapers lists the names of those who had made donations, together with the amounts given, totalling £12,205. Promises of new subscriptions were also encouraged.²² A further £15,000 would be required to erect a 'proper building' and the meeting pledged itself to aid in further efforts and commended the undertaking to public support.²³ Oliver Heywood pointed out the scale of the task required to raise the necessary finances.

You are labouring under difficulties in seeking to get larger premises similar to those we encountered in enlarging Owens College. I have had something to do with the Mechanic's Institution, something to do with the ... Children's Hospital, and something to do with the Grammar School, which only ten years ago largely extended its borders; and I am connected with another institution for which we are asking £35,000 more because the space is inadequate to our wants, and towards which we have £26,000. In fact, I may say we are overwhelmed with special claims of this sort.²⁴

Two weeks after the meeting a columnist in the *Manchester Times* remarked on the speed with which a handsome amount had already been raised from less [sic] than 80 donors of 'a thoroughly representative character'.²⁵ Not only is this an interesting comment on the speed with which the money has been raised, but it also provides a contemporary observation about the limited circle of people who supported fundraising appeals.

¹⁹ MSA, *Annual report*, Mar 15, 1876, 6. MSA/1/2/1/4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

²¹ MSA, *Report of meeting on 2 Feb 1877*, 8. MSA/1/2/1/4.

²² "Manchester School of Art," *Manchester Evening News*, Feb 3, 1877, 1; "Manchester School of Art," *Manchester Courier*, Feb 10, 1877, 1. These lists were repeated in subsequent weeks with the latest donations and updated totals.

²³ "Manchester School of Art," *Manchester Times*, Feb 3, 1877, 5.

²⁴ MSA, *Report of meeting on 2 Feb 1877*, 25. MSA/1/2/1/4.

²⁵ "Manchester School of Art," *Manchester Times*, Feb 17, 1877, 6.

When the next annual report was published in December 1877 the total raised had reached £15,000. The land purchase had been completed but it was stated

the balance in hand, ...is far short of the amount required for the erection and fittings of the School. The appeal of the Building Committee was at the outset generously responded to, and were it not that Manchester is visited by a serious commercial depression, they would no doubt ere now have been in possession of funds adequate to their purpose... In giving this renewed publicity to the work in which they are engaged... the Committee again solicit aid from the people of Manchester towards acquiring an Institution of which the City will have every reason to be proud.²⁶

In 1878/9 the fund was boosted by a generous donation from Sir Joseph Whitworth and in thanking him the Committee was keen to encourage other donors.

When it is considered how fluctuating a List of Subscribers always is, and what constant efforts are needed to supply gaps caused by removals and deaths, the establishment of an adequate Endowment Fund cannot be too strongly impressed on those whose means enable them to make presentations, or bequeath legacies of a like character.²⁷

The building fund now stood at £16,722 10s but this was still short of the total required and modifications were made to the plans. By 1880 it was anticipated that a further £7,000 beyond that already subscribed would be required in order to complete and fit up the building. The report continued: 'the Committee feel most anxious to avoid installing the School in a new building hampered by debt, and if they experience the co-operation, for which they appeal with great confidence that the response will be hearty and generous, then their next step will be assured.'²⁸ The new building was inaugurated in April 1881 and although the opening was celebrated the difficulties in raising the funds were not forgotten.

Considerable time has elapsed since the project of erecting a New School was first contemplated, and difficulties of no ordinary magnitude have had to be surmounted by the promoters in procuring the necessary funds... the means for purchasing land and erecting the Building in which the work of the School will now be carried on have had to be slowly and gradually acquired by canvassing for subscriptions, and by other devices...²⁹

²⁶ MSA, *Annual report*, Dec 21, 1877, 21–22. MSA/1/2/1/4.

²⁷ MSA, *Annual report*, Feb 26, 1879, 9. MSA/1/2/1/4.

²⁸ MSA, *Annual report*, Dec 23, 1880, 10. MSA/1/2/1/5.

²⁹ MSA, *Annual report*, Feb 1, 1882, 5–6. MSA/1/2/1/5.

The financial challenges continued. In the Annual Report for 1883 the Committee commented again on the need to increase the number of annual subscriptions: 'The meagre sum of £250 yearly cannot be considered as adequate for the requirements and fair claims of the School...'.³⁰ Another plea was issued in 1887: 'There has been a slight increase (£10 only) in the Annual Subscription List, and the Council is constrained again to express regret that support from the public generally, and from those whose pecuniary interests are immensely benefitted by the growth of artistic ability in our midst, is as yet not freely proffered.'³¹ This was followed in 1889 by 'the list of Annual Subscribers shews [sic] little indication of appreciation by those who are most interested in having so excellent an establishment flourishing in our midst; indeed from deaths and removals, this list is steadily diminishing instead of increasing'.³² These are representative of the general tenor of the annual reports berating the Manchester public for its lack of support for the school.

In 1891 the School was the beneficiary of a donation of £1,000 made by the residuary legatees of Daniel Procter (who also gave a donation to the RMCM) and it was involved in plans to become part of the Whitworth Institute which, it was hoped, would improve its financial position.³³ Ultimately the arrangement did not materialise and in 1892 it separated from the Whitworth Institute and became "The Manchester Municipal School of Art" under local council control and relatively free from earlier financial uncertainties. Reflecting on this period in the life of the School, Fowler and Wyke comment that

In the light of the sums of money involved – the final cost for the land and building was over £28,000 – the School of Art was a remarkable testament to the belief amongst a small section of the local middle classes that a city of the size and importance of Manchester needed to provide advanced art education in suitable premises.³⁴

³⁰ MSA, *Annual report 1883*, Feb 1, 1884, 6. MSA/1/2/1/7.

³¹ MSA, *Annual report 1886*, Jan 21, 1887, 11. MSA/1/2/1/7.

³² MSA, *Annual report 1888*, Jan 23, 1889, 8. MSA/1/2/1/7.

³³ 'The establishment of the Whitworth Institute, which is now in a position to commence an active career, leads the Council to look hopefully towards the future. Frequent allusions have been made as to the apathy with which the public views the efforts put forward by the School of Art during the last six or eight years. When the School, however, forms an integral part of the Whitworth Institute, the funds which may come to be at the command of the latter will be available towards the expenses of the School, and an extension of its aims and efforts may, therefore, confidently be anticipated.' MSA, *Annual report 1890*, Jan 15, 1891, 8. MSA/1/2/1/7.

³⁴ Alan Fowler and Terry Wyke, *Many arts many skills: the origins of the Manchester Metropolitan University* (Manchester: The Manchester Metropolitan University Press, 1993), 53.

The sums of money which would be required to establish the RMCM were much smaller than those described above for the School of Art, but otherwise there are many similarities between them. As I will show in the next chapters, the quotation above could also read ‘the RMCM was a remarkable testament...that a city of the size and importance of Manchester needed to provide advanced musical education’. Furthermore, the example of the School of Art was later to be referred to by those supporting the calls for a school of music.³⁵

C. Manchester High School for Girls (1870s)

In common with the other institutions described, the High School for Girls was ‘organized and shaped by Manchester citizens, most of them actively engaged in business and professional life...’.³⁶ In the early 1870s, in response to the growing demand for girls to be educated to the same level as boys, the decision was taken to set up a public fee-paying school for girls in Manchester, initially under the auspices of the Manchester Association for Promoting the Education of Women. On 6 December 1872, an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* drew attention to a meeting being held that day to consider the proposal to establish a school for girls.³⁷ The intention was that it would eventually become self-supporting but required some finance to set it up. ‘The necessary sum is estimated by the Committee at £2,000, and in addition a guarantee will be required for the first four years.’ A list of donors and guarantors was published by the new Committee in October 1873, the amounts promised ranging from one hundred pounds to two guineas.³⁸ By 18 December 1873, £2,240 had been subscribed towards a revised estimate of £3,000.³⁹ The Committee had wanted its own purpose-built premises but was so eager to get the school established that the members decided to commence the project with rented buildings, two adjacent houses on Oxford Road. The estimated cost of £3,000 included the rent and alterations.⁴⁰ Manchester High School for Girls opened on 19 January 1874 but was still in need of further financial support. A report of its opening

³⁵ See below, p.61. “The Royal visitors and their music scheme,” *Manchester City News*, Dec 17, 1881.

³⁶ Sara A. Burstall, *The story of the Manchester High School for Girls 1871–1911* (Manchester: University Press, 1911), 23–24.

³⁷ “Editorial article,” *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 6, 1872, 5.

³⁸ Manchester High School for Girls, *Minutes of the Committee meeting*, Oct 15, 1873, MHSG. [No archive reference].

³⁹ “Summary of News. Domestic,” *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 19, 1873, 4.

⁴⁰ Report of Association 1873, reproduced in Burstall, *The story of MHSG*, 32–33.

week in the Manchester Guardian indicated that its 'state of dependence' was £4,000, of which a little over £2,000 had been subscribed. The report continued: 'for the balance, the Committee appeal to the liberality and public-spirit of the district, which is surely justified by the character of their undertaking.'⁴¹

The story of the High School for Girls is that of the continuing necessity to raise funds from external donors, particularly subscribers. Immediately after its opening the provision of suitable premises became a priority for the Committee, and in the first annual report an appeal was made to 'the Manchester public to enable them first to purchase and secure a site, and afterwards to erect upon it suitable school buildings... the Committee sincerely believe that there is no public work at this time called for in Manchester more deserving of liberal support...'.⁴² In December 1876 a suitable site was identified and an Extension Fund set up, with Mr Edward Donner as the Treasurer who 'conducted a very thorough personal canvass'.⁴³ An appeal for £30,000 was launched, with the Committee confidently appealing to the public of Manchester.

As had been noted by the Committee which was raising funds for the School of Art at the same time, the last few years of the 1870s were not propitious ones during which to be making appeals for money, and this affected the plans for the MHSG buildings. One year after the launch of the Extension Fund, subscriptions amounted to just over £5,000, while the estimated cost of necessary buildings was £15,000. At a Committee meeting held in February 1878 'the list of donations to the Building Fund was read. It was resolved that the Canvassing Committee be asked to apply for annual subscriptions towards the Building Fund'.⁴⁴ The architect's plans for the new building were approved in July 1879, although there was still a shortfall, and Committee members continued work to attract further donations. The fund was boosted in November with an offer from Mr John P. Thomasson to lend £10,000 on mortgage at a low rate of interest.⁴⁵ When the annual report for the year ending 31 July 1881 was

⁴¹ "The Manchester High School for Girls," *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 23, 1874, 5.

⁴² Burstall, *The story of MHSG*, 75–76.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴⁴ MHSG, *Minutes of the Committee meeting*, 20 Feb, 1878. [No archive reference]

⁴⁵ John Pennington Thomasson (1841–1904), cotton manufacturer, was Liberal MP for Bolton 1880–1885. Originally a Quaker, he and his wife Katharine (née Lucas) converted to Unitarianism. Both of them were heavily involved in the suffrage movement, initially through the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage.

published it listed the total receipts since the Extension Fund was started as £20,167 13s. 5d., but this was not the end of the need for external financial support.⁴⁶ The Treasurer, having reported on the current situation, stated it was desirable that an effort should be made to obtain further donations.⁴⁷ This scheme had to keep returning to its supporters to ask for more money and in each instance, as with the other projects, the appeal is to the 'Manchester public' or a variant thereof.

D. *Withington Girls' School (1890s)*

Another fee-paying girls' school opened in April 1890 in Withington, a township to the south of the city of Manchester. It developed out of Lady Barn House School, a pioneering co-educational school for pupils up to the age of thirteen, and was conceived as a continuation of schooling for girls of twelve and upwards who had passed the preparatory stage.⁴⁸ Among its founders, and generous financial supporters, were Henry Simon and his wife Emily, Dr Adolphus Ward, C.P. Scott and his wife Rachel. The first Committee meeting was held on 19 October 1889 at which it was resolved that '£1,000 be raised for the establishment of this school by public subscription and by loan on terms to be determined by the Finance Committee'.⁴⁹ Within six weeks of the meeting promises of donations and loans to the amount of £540 were reported to the Committee, the intention being to pay interest on the loans at 3½ per cent. The school was being advertised in Manchester newspapers in March 1890 and was opened on 21 April 1890. Both Simon and Scott, continued to underwrite the finances of the school for a number of years and their benefactions are still honoured today.⁵⁰

This was the fundraising environment in which those working for the establishment of a conservatoire in Manchester were operating, with several educational projects already underway, in addition to those for expensive causes such as the Royal Manchester Infirmary. The economic situation was

⁴⁶ MHSG, *Annual report year ending 31 July 1881*, 39. [No archive reference].

⁴⁷ Burstall, *The story of MHSG*, 88.

⁴⁸ "Withington Girls' School," *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, Apr 22, 1890, 3; Withington Girls' School, *Jubilee Newsletter* no.34, Christmas 1940, 11, WGS. [No archive reference].

⁴⁹ WGS, *Committee Minutes*, vol.1, Oct 19, 1889, 2. [No archive reference].

⁵⁰ "History & Founders," *Withington Girls' School*, 2024, accessed Sep 10, 2024, <https://www.wgs.org/about-wgs/history-founders/>.

not particularly auspicious and the same people were being canvassed by many different institutions. The practices outlined in these four studies were the accepted ones – a committee was formed; public meetings were held and the names of prominent supporters made known; appeals were made for subscriptions, details of which were published in local newspapers; further meetings might be held and, once a sufficient sum had been raised or promised, the decision would be taken to proceed with the scheme. The founders of the RMCM would follow the same approach.

Donations, subscriptions, guarantees and loans

In the case studies outlined above there are references to different types of giving – donations, subscriptions and guarantees – and an explanation of the differences between them is outlined here in order to clarify what sort of commitment was being asked from, and made by, donors. Donations or subscriptions involved the donor and/or subscriber giving money to the organisation; this could be in the form of a one-off payment or a regular subscription, usually annual. The latter was often promised in advance for a fixed period of time. If the promise was in the form of a guarantee, the person making it was understood to be underwriting the project; that is, in the event of a loss being made the guarantor promised to contribute to the shortfall, up to the limit of their guarantee. This was the form of funding employed for the Jubilee Exhibition; in the end a surplus was made so none of the guarantees had to be called in.⁵¹ It was also the model used for the formation of the Hallé Concerts Society. When the society was established in 1898–99 those who signed up guaranteed an amount up to £100. Within three years calls were being made on the guarantors to meet the losses being incurred; the first for £5 was made in 1902. In 1912, when the society was in particular financial difficulties, the guarantors were approached to contribute a large proportion of their guarantee. This met with resistance from some who argued that this had not been part of the original agreement, despite it being clearly stated in the Articles of Association.⁵² Withington Girls' School was set up on the basis of a mixture of

⁵¹ Royal Jubilee Exhibition Manchester, *Royal Jubilee Exhibition Manchester. Official catalogue* (Manchester: John Heywood, 1887), 10–12. The surplus was given to the Whitworth Institute. "The Whitworth Institute," *Manchester Courier*, Jan 3, 1890, 3.

⁵² Hallé Concerts Society, *Memorandum and Articles of Association* (Manchester: A. M. Petty & Co, 1899), 13.

loans and donations; from the records it can be seen that several of the loans were subsequently converted to donations.⁵³

Fig. 1.1 is an example of a promise form for the College of Music. The donor was offered the opportunity to make a single donation for initial expenses and to subscribe a stated amount every year for the next five years to the Guarantee Fund. This is not the same type of arrangement as that made by guarantors. It was a guaranteed payment, not a guarantee to underwrite losses.

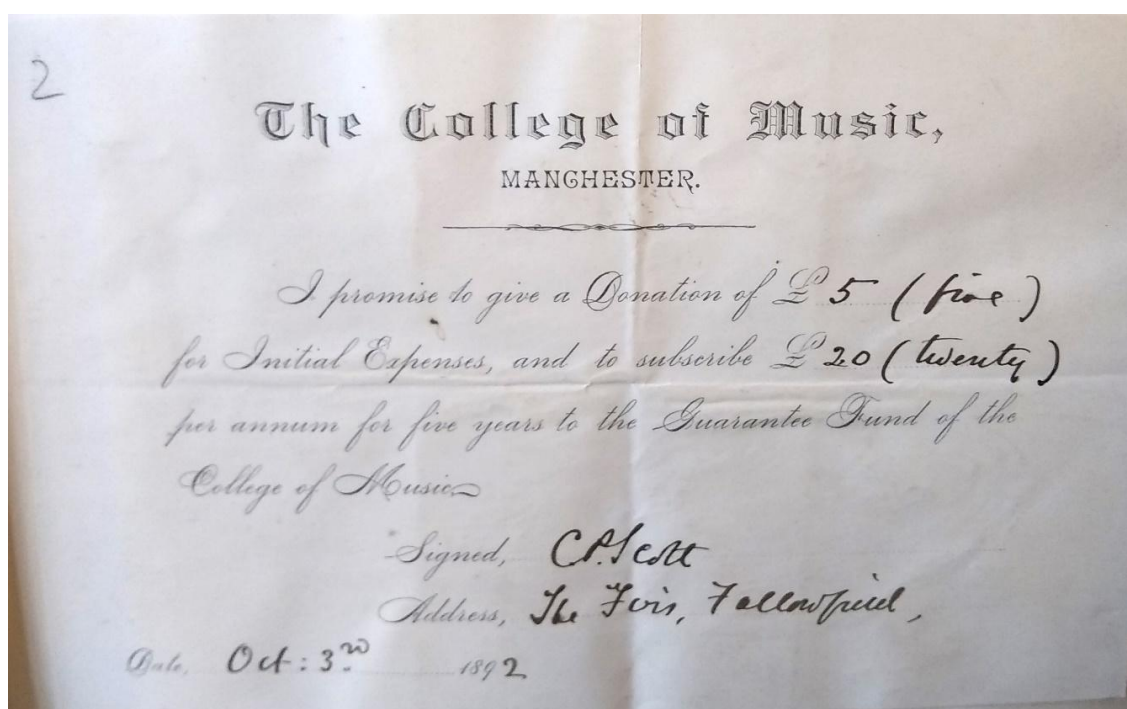


Fig. 1.1. Promise form from C. P. Scott. RMCM/A/4.

2. The Gentlemen's Concerts, and Charles Hallé

The Gentlemen's Concerts were established in Manchester in the 1770s, one of several such societies set up in Britain in the eighteenth century.⁵⁴ As the history

⁵³ WGS, *Council minutes*, Dec 6, 1889, 6.

⁵⁴ Jenny Burchell, *Musical societies in subscription lists*, ed. Michael Burden and Irena Cholić, vol. IX, *A handbook for studies in 18th-century English music* (Oxford: Burden and Cholić, 1998); ———, *Polite or commercial concerts?: concert management and orchestral repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730–1799*, ed. John Caldwell, *Outstanding dissertations in music from British Universities* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1996); John Caldwell, *The Oxford history of English music, vol. II from c.1715 to the present day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 124–125; Simon McVeigh, *Concert life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh, eds., *Concert life in eighteenth-century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004); Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Roz Southey, "The role of gentlemen amateurs in subscription concerts in North-East England during the eighteenth century," in *Music in the*

of the society has been written about by Wilfred Allis, and others who have referred to it in the context of their research, it does not need to be repeated here.⁵⁵ The significant point to be noted for this thesis is that it was a society which operated on a subscription basis. In 1830 the annual cost was five guineas, which entitled the subscriber to two tickets for each concert, and the number of subscribers was limited to 600.⁵⁶ The cost of the subscription, the limit on the numbers, and the scrutiny of applications by a Committee of 'local notables', meant that membership was open only to those who could afford it and thus limited to a particular group in society.⁵⁷ By 1888 the numbers of subscribers had dropped to just below 400 but there was still a substantial number who could be approached to give their support for a college of music, on the presumption that they would be sympathetic to the idea.

As I noted in the Introduction to this thesis, contrary to the common trope, Hallé was not the only person responsible for founding the RMCM. However, his place in the musical life of Manchester, described by Beale as his undisputed personal pre-eminence as leader of the entire musical community, was fundamental to the events surrounding its establishment, both as a figurehead and the personality which drew the support of others.⁵⁸

With my arrival [in England] in March 1848 begins a new epoch in my life... At the end of June he [Hermann Leo] came to London purposely to propose that I should take up my residence in Manchester... In Manchester I was most kindly received, especially by the German colony, which was prosperous and important.⁵⁹

British Provinces, 1690–1914, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁵⁵ Wilfrid Allis, "The Gentlemen's Concerts: Manchester, 1777–1920" (MPhil dissertation, University of Manchester, 1995); ———, "Music and class in nineteenth century Manchester" (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2002); Michael Busk, "Manchester's 1828 Musical Festival: provenance, planning and performance" (PhD dissertation, Open University, 2023); Rachel C. Gick, "Concert life in Manchester, 1800–1848" (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2003); Johnson, "Musical networks"; Geoff Thomason, "Brodsky and his circle: European crosscurrents in Manchester chamber concerts, 1895–1929" (PhD dissertation, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2016).

⁵⁶ According to the Bank of England inflation calculator in October 2024 this was equivalent to approximately £482. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

⁵⁷ Simon Gunn, "The sublime and the vulgar: the Hallé concerts and the constitution of 'high culture' in Manchester c.1850–1880," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2 (1997): 211.

⁵⁸ Beale, *Charles Hallé*, 235.

⁵⁹ Hallé, *Autobiography*, 115, 119, 121.

Hallé made his first appearance as a soloist with the Gentlemen's Concerts Orchestra in September 1848 and was invited to take charge of it, as conductor, a year later. His first chamber music concert took place on 9 January 1849, the beginning of a series.⁶⁰ In 1850 he founded the St Cecilia Society 'in imitation of the German "Gesang-Verein"',⁶¹ and in 1857 he was contracted to provide an orchestra to give daily afternoon concerts at the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition. This was followed in 1858 by a new series of orchestral concerts, the first of which, on 30 January, is deemed to mark the beginning of the Hallé Orchestra.⁶² In 1861, following a difficult season, the orchestral concerts were re-established as Grand Orchestral and Choral Concerts 'with the help of a committee of Manchester well-wishers and businessmen'.⁶³ That year also saw the end of the Manchester Chamber Concerts Society.

It is fortunate that amongst Hallé's papers now held by Manchester Libraries, and referred to in the Introduction, are his own records of the members of the Classical Chamber Music Concerts (1853–56), a chronological list of subscribers (1854–59), a diary of his pupils (1861–70) and pupils' account book (1860–72).⁶⁴ From the lists of pupils it is possible to ascertain which people and families were known to Hallé personally, whilst those of the subscribers provide a pointer towards those who supported him. The Committee set up in April 1861 to reinvigorate the orchestral concerts arose from a meeting of 'Gentlemen interested in the Promotion of Music in Manchester' the outcome of which was to institute a series of Subscription Concerts, 'the sole direction and conductorship of the concerts confided to Mr Hallé'.⁶⁵ It may be presumed that the attendees at the meeting and the Committee members were, at least, sympathetic to Hallé, and a number of them, such as Hermann Leo, were his friends. Gunn suggests that the orchestra 'became a powerful resource for later

⁶⁰ See Thomason, "Brodsky," for a detailed examination of Hallé's contribution to the history of chamber music performance in Manchester.

⁶¹ Allis, "The Gentlemen's Concerts," 87.

⁶² "Our heritage," *Hallé*, 2023, accessed Sep 17, 2024, <https://halle.co.uk/who-we-are/our-heritage/>.

⁶³ Beale, *Charles Hallé*, 131.

⁶⁴ See the Bibliography for full details.

⁶⁵ "Mr Charles Halle's [sic] Grand Orchestral and Choral Concerts," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 20, 1861, 1.

Victorian pride', an attitude which may have fed into the motivation for the establishment of the RMCM.⁶⁶

In addition to the Gentlemen's Concerts, the St Cecilia Society and his own orchestra, Hallé had a long association with many other musical institutions, including the Manchester Liedertafel, which had been established in 1841 when 'a small number of young German friends agreed to meet for the purpose of practising part-singing'.⁶⁷ Hallé was its President in 1862 and, according to Broadfield, also its conductor.⁶⁸ Outside musical circles, Hallé was a member of the Schiller-Anstalt and a founder member of the Brasenose Club.

An indication of the regard with which he was held in the city comes in the form of a dinner held in March 1890 prior to the departure of Hallé and his wife on a concert tour to Australia. According to the report in the *Manchester Guardian*, which includes a list of those in attendance at the dinner, Hallé was entertained by 'a number of his admirers and friends. The object was to testify to the esteem in which he is held for his personal worth as well as for the services he has rendered to musical art in Manchester...'.⁶⁹ The tributes following his death and the public display at his funeral are also testament to the affection felt for him in the city.

If anything had been wanting to prove that the community as a whole deplored the loss of Sir CHARLES HALLE [sic] as a misfortune to the city and district, the imposing and impressive demonstration at the funeral yesterday would have supplied it... Along the four miles of streets between Greenheys Lane and the Salford Cemetery there were two almost unbroken lines of men and women...⁷⁰

In later chapters I will mention references to the people with whom he was known to be personal friends, all of which points to a large group who could be called on to support the scheme for a college of music.

⁶⁶ Gunn, "Sublime," 210.

⁶⁷ "Manchester Liedertafel," *The Musical World* 19 (1844): 77–78.

⁶⁸ Beale, *Charles Hallé*, 235, fn.271; "under the presidency of Mr Charles Hallé...", *Manchester Courier*, Dec 13, 1862, 10; Edward John Broadfield, *Sir Charles Hallé. A sketch of his career as a musician* (Manchester: John Heywood, 1890), 29.

⁶⁹ "Dinner to Sir Charles Halle [sic]," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 31, 1890, 6.

⁷⁰ [Editorial article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 30, 1895, 5.

3. 1881–1891

Other than the writings by Hallé and Withers, referred to below, narratives of the establishment of the RMCM commence with the Town Hall meeting held on 3 December 1891. However, it would be a mistake to think that this was the earliest date at which the suggestion of a conservatoire in Manchester was considered. Not only was there significant activity in the two weeks immediately prior to this occasion, which will be explored in Chapter Two, but during the preceding decade there had been a gradual increase of interest in, and calls for, a college of music in Manchester. These activities form an important part of the background and context in which the scheme developed.

As described in the Introduction, when Hallé died in October 1895 he left an unfinished autobiography in which he had written about his life from his birth in 1819 up to 1860, covering his first twelve years in England and Manchester, but it does not contain any mention of his idea for a college of music in the city.⁷¹

The remainder of his life after 1860 was summarily described by his son, Charles E. Hallé, with a brief mention of the foundation of the RMCM and a comment that this had been his father's dream since 1852.⁷² Despite the lack of detail in the autobiography, Hallé's own voice is not missing completely from the earlier history. Both his speech to the aforementioned Town Hall meeting (reported in the *Manchester Guardian*) and the article in the *Strand Musical Magazine*, published fifteen months after the opening of the RMCM, provide some indications of his thoughts.⁷³ In the article, having extolled the musical nature of the district (Lancashire, with Manchester as its centre) he writes that in such a well-populated area 'a large percentage of which is musically inclined, there had often been overheard a rumble of dissatisfaction that provision for its proper cultivation was so inadequate'. There was plenty of local teaching but

⁷¹ Hallé, *Life*; ———, *Autobiography*.

As noted earlier, as Beale remarks, with reference to Hallé's description of his birth, 'as with many small details of his account, it is, although close to accuracy, not strictly true'. Beale, *Charles Hallé*, 19. There are occasions when there is a discrepancy between what Hallé states and what is recorded in other sources.

⁷² Hallé, *Life*, 149. Kennedy, probably erroneously, gives the year as 1854. Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*, 1. Charles Rigby provides a different version: 'Long before 1890 he had been canvassing everybody who would listen and had influence, and only lack of time had prevented him from bringing his idea to fulfilment'. However, there is no evidence to substantiate this. Rigby, *Hallé*, 147.

⁷³ "Proposed musical college for Manchester: important statement by Sir Charles Hallé," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 4, 1891, 7; Hallé, "RMCM."

‘nothing in the nature of systematic training obtainable nearer than the metropolis’ and he questions why such training should be confined to the capital of a country. He continues that it had ‘in this way long been germinating in my mind that if only the public of Lancashire, with all their energy and wealth, could be induced to take up the idea, Manchester was the very place where a great conservatoire of music might be established on the lines of the best German schools...’.⁷⁴

What Hallé does not elaborate on in this article is how the ‘rumble of dissatisfaction’ manifested itself; the newspaper report of the Town Hall meeting is more enlightening as in it he is recorded as saying that ‘he had received a great many letters from people he did not know personally, who had suggested it, and who seemed to think it necessary that he should do something to assist in the formation of a school of music’.⁷⁵ Writing in his jubilee history, twenty-five years after the event, Stanley Withers describes the gradual increase in local feeling to the point where

some organised effort must be made in the interests of higher musical education... In the early eighties when funds were being raised in Lancashire to help found a National College of Music in London, this feeling received concrete expression in the phrase – “Manchester should have a college of its own”.⁷⁶

There is further corroboration of the general desire in an article published in the *Manchester Courier* two days after the Town Hall meeting. In it, an unnamed correspondent writes that the idea of establishing a school of music is not a new one; it had been floating about in musical circles for a very long time.⁷⁷ What follows is an examination of the events during the years prior to November 1891.

The fundraising referred to by Withers and, possibly, the growing ‘local feeling’, began with an event held in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester on 12 December 1881, under the auspices of the Manchester Athenaeum. It was the first public occasion at which the idea of the new national conservatoire of music (the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 323.

⁷⁵ “Proposed musical college for Manchester...”

⁷⁶ Withers, *RMCM*, 3.

⁷⁷ “A school of music for Manchester,” *Manchester Courier*, Dec 7, 1891, 5.

RCM) was promoted. The minutes of the Athenaeum's Board of Directors record that 'the Honorary Secretary be authorized to invite His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to give the Manchester Athenaeum the honour of his presence, and to request him to address the Members of the Institution on the subject of Music...'.⁷⁸ At a subsequent meeting the Duke's response was reported, together with his proposal that 'the Duke of Albany should be included in it in order that an opportunity should be afforded him (Prince Leopold) of delivering an address on the Subject of National Education in Music'.⁷⁹ On the day the royal party comprised the two dukes and their brother-in-law, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, with George Grove (organising secretary, and later Director of the RCM) in attendance.⁸⁰

In his opening remarks to the meeting the Duke of Edinburgh said his object was to enlist sympathy on behalf of music and to 'obtain an expression of your opinion that the time has arrived when the advancement of music in England should be promoted by the establishment of a Central Public Institution, ranking in importance with the national Conservatoires on the Continent'.⁸¹ A further aim was to press the case for an element of state funding.

...our Object should be to form a College of Musicians in England... the Institution so formed should be assisted by the public, and be recognised and subsidised by the State.

I am earnestly anxious...that you, and through you the city of Manchester, should express its opinion that the advancement of music by public aid is a subject worthy alike of the attention of the Government and of the country....⁸²

The speeches delivered by the Princes, but drafted by Grove, were published for circulation and reported verbatim in several newspapers, including the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times*.⁸³

⁷⁸ Manchester Athenaeum, "Ninth Ordinary meeting of the Board, August 31st 1881," *Board of Directors' minutes*, Feb 3, 1881–Jan 20, 1887, MLA. M2/1/12.

⁷⁹ Manchester Athenaeum, "11th Meeting of the Board, October 10th 1881," *ibid.*

⁸⁰ Percy M. Young, *George Grove, 1820–1900: a biography* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 159.

⁸¹ *The proposed Royal College of Music. Three addresses delivered by H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, H.R.H. The Duke of Albany, and H.R.H. Prince Christian, at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, Dec. 12, 1881*, (London: John Murray, 1882), 3.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 31–32.

⁸³ *Ibid.*; "Grand soiree at the Free-Trade Hall," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 13, 1881, 5; "Royal visit to Manchester," *The Times*, Dec 13, 1881, 6.

It is unclear as to why this event in Manchester was chosen as the first public outing for the national conservatoire campaign. Was the invitation from the Athenaeum to the Duke of Edinburgh fortuitously timed, and recognised as an opportunity to begin the campaign? Charles Graves, in his biography of George Grove, says that the campaign was initiated 'with a view to enlist the interest and support of wealthy and enlightened amateurs in the provinces as well as London'.⁸⁴ Taking the campaign to Manchester certainly satisfied the latter aim, as well as that of establishing a national remit, a point reinforced in the *Manchester City News* where it was suggested that 'the princes secured the ear, not of Manchester only but of England...'.⁸⁵

On 28 February 1882 the Prince of Wales, President-designate of the new College, hosted a meeting at St James' Palace, for which a preliminary list of subscribers was prepared and published subsequently in *The Times*, alongside a description of the event.⁸⁶ The resolution to establish a Royal College of Music, which was passed at the end of those proceedings, included an undertaking that meetings would be called throughout the country and 'the utmost exertions used, individually and collectively, to forward the movement by obtaining the necessary funds for founding and endowing a College of Music...'.⁸⁷ The city of Manchester had already acted prior to this resolution, the mayor having called a meeting in January 1882 'in compliance with a requisition signed by several influential citizens' to consider the question of promoting the establishment of a National Conservatoire of Music.⁸⁸ According to the report in the *Manchester Guardian*, the mayor commented that:

Manchester might take some credit herself for being the first to take an active part in this movement, and he was reminded of an old proverb which said that whatever Manchester decreed England confirmed. If the musical public of Manchester decided that there should be, in accordance with the opinions of their Royal Highnesses, a conservatoire of music, and if they brought their full opinion to bear in carrying that out, he had no doubt that that opinion would materially aid in giving life and vigour to the scheme.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Charles Graves, *The life and letters of Sir George Groves*, CB (London: Macmillan, 1903), 278.

⁸⁵ "The Royal visitors and their music scheme," *Manchester City News*, Dec 17, 1881.

⁸⁶ "The Royal College of Music," *The Times*, Mar 1, 1882, 6.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ "The proposed national conservatoire of music. Meeting in Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 18, 1882, 6.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

The motion that 'this meeting cordially approves of the formation of a National Conservatoire of Music' was proposed in a lengthy speech by Charles Hallé.⁹⁰ During the ensuing discussion a question was asked as to whether it was intended that Manchester would ultimately have a conservatoire of its own. Hallé replied 'it was in the first place intended to establish a national institution. When that was done successfully, there could be no reason why Manchester should not have its own conservatoire of music if the public so desired'. Manchester was not the only place in the north-west to take up the cause; committees were also established in Liverpool, Oldham, Bolton and Lancaster as a result of meetings held there.⁹¹

This was not the first time that the subject of a local conservatoire had been raised. In an earlier *Manchester City News* report about the Athenaeum soirée the writer had asked two questions: 'Is it not desirable to promote schools of music in the great centres of population, rather than to locate them all in London?' and 'We have in our midst, thanks to the liberality of Manchester men, a School of Art for drawing and design. Why should we not have one for music?'.⁹² The fact these questions were being asked, and the nature of Hallé's response at the January meeting, suggest that such an idea was being discussed in the locality much earlier than previous histories have suggested.

At the end of the Manchester meeting it was agreed to set up a Committee to 'carry out the scheme', that is to support the formation of the conservatoire.⁹³ Amongst those appointed as members of the Committee alongside Hallé were ten men who, a decade later, were either to be closely involved in the RCMC themselves or had family connections with others who were.⁹⁴ A local appeal for public support was issued in April 1882 on the grounds that 'a central musical college, once established on a firm basis, will almost necessarily demand the

⁹⁰ Ibid. He would later be appointed as a member of the national RCM Committee and conduct concerts in London in aid of the new college.

⁹¹ "Oldham and the Royal College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 24, 1882, 4; "Bolton and the proposed Royal College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 27, 1882, 6.

⁹² "The Royal visitors and their music scheme," *Manchester City News*, Dec 17, 1881.

⁹³ "Proposed national conservatoire of music," *Manchester Courier*, Jan 21, 1882, 6.

⁹⁴ The proposed Committee members were: Messrs C. Halle [sic], G. Stanley Darbishire, G. Freemantle, A. Hecht, T. A. Bazley (hon. Sec.), Dr Hiles, F. Coventry, J. H. Agnew, S. Platt, W. H. Houldsworth, --- Koecher, the Rev. Canon Toole, Emil Reiss, J. K. Payne, J. Slagg, C. J. Hall, G. Gunton. "Proposed National Conservatoire of Music," *Manchester Courier*, Jan 18, 1882, 8.

foundation also of provincial music schools'.⁹⁵ The newspaper report includes a quotation from the Committee, stating it felt that 'in our musical district the latter is a most important consideration, and it is because they believe that the establishment of the Royal College of Music will not only give a stimulus to the cultivation of music generally throughout the country, but ultimately make provincial music schools possible'.⁹⁶ The Manchester Committee was willing to support the scheme because it was seen as a step towards establishing its own institution, for which there seemed to be an appetite.

It appears, however, that little happened in response to the appeal as, on 15 December 1882, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that 'an effort is about to be made to revive interest in the promotion of the Royal College of Music in this neighbourhood', reproducing a circular letter sent to the Mayor on behalf of the Prince of Wales.⁹⁷ It expressed the hope that 'you will continue the effort begun in your town by your predecessor in office on behalf of the Royal College of Music'. That too seems to have had no effect and the Committee was dissolved in April 1883, owing to 'the apathy displayed by the residents in the district to the scheme for the establishment in London of a Royal College of Music...'.⁹⁸ Asa Briggs writes about Manchester men complaining of the dominance of London in national life; this disinclination to fund a national conservatoire offers proof of his statement.⁹⁹

An editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* seven years later suggests that 'Manchester declined to respond [to the appeal for pecuniary assistance] on the ground that there was a pressing need for a college of the kind within its own borders', but the earlier terse report of the Committee's dissolution gives no hint, and no other records or reports to support this statement have been located.¹⁰⁰ The records of donations to the RCM do not contain evidence of any monies having been sent by the Manchester Committee, whilst the names of many other local boroughs do appear in the lists, including the names of

⁹⁵ "The proposed Royal College of Music," *Manchester Times*, Apr 8, 1882, 7.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ "The Royal College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 15, 1882, 5.

⁹⁸ "Royal College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, May 1, 1883, 5.

⁹⁹ Asa Briggs, *Victorian cities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), 108.

¹⁰⁰ [Editorial article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 26, 1890, 7.

individuals who later supported the RMCM.¹⁰¹ The only obvious contribution from the city of Manchester is one made by the Athenaeum which sent £210, the profits arising from the soirée, for the foundation of a Manchester Scholarship.¹⁰²

Withers, having referred to the early 1880s and fundraising for the RCM as possible indicators of the general desire for a college of music in the Manchester area, provides no other examples of 'the growing local feeling', including the letters which were later mentioned by Hallé.¹⁰³ However, there is evidence to be found in archival sources and newspaper reports. In December 1882, at the time of the fundraising efforts on behalf of the national college of music, a letter from an anonymous correspondent was published in the *Manchester Courier*.

As an old observer I may say that I fear the decay and extinction of the Concert Hall... I would suggest a transfer to the corporation, after the manner of Milan and other cities. You would then have a school of music with frequent rehearsals by second class players... Donations, prizes, scholarships, &c., would soon arise in support of a permanent foundation.¹⁰⁴

There appears to have been no further public reference to the subject until December 1886 when Dr Henry Hiles (organist, and a lecturer in music at Owens College) proposed a vote of thanks at a meeting of the Society of Professional Musicians, during which he made a plea for a school of music in Manchester. 'He trusted it would not be long before Manchester had its own school of music. In this district we were fond, perhaps too fond, of boasting about our musical propensities. Why, then, did not Manchester follow the example of London, and establish a Manchester School of Music?.'¹⁰⁵

Evidence of conversations and discussions in more formal settings begin to appear from early 1889. The minutes of a Gentlemen's Concerts' Committee meeting held on 16 February that year record that 'Sir Joseph Lee suggested that the Directors should consider if any arrangements could be made in

¹⁰¹ RCM. Records of the Bursar. See Appendix 1.2 for the list of people.

¹⁰² "Manchester Athenaeum," *The Manchester Courier*, Feb 1, 1883, 8.

¹⁰³ "Proposed musical college for Manchester: important statement by Sir Charles Hallé," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 4, 1891, 7

¹⁰⁴ "The Concert Hall," *The Manchester Courier*, Dec 2, 1882, 3.

¹⁰⁵ "The Society of Professional Musicians. Dr Mackenzie on English Music," *Manchester City News*, Dec 18 1886, 3.

connection with the Manchester Institute for the promotion of an Academy of Music in Manchester with the centre at the Concert Hall'.¹⁰⁶ The suggestion was made in the context of the Society's ongoing financial difficulties which had caused the Directors to consider a number of options for its future, including dissolution, but there is nothing further in the minutes to indicate that the idea of an 'Academy of Music' was followed up.

From Autumn 1889 the subject of a college of music begins to appear in the columns of Manchester newspapers. Writing in relation to the opening of the new session of the Royal Academy of Music in September that year an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* remarks on the possibility of music colleges being founded in areas other than London. 'In face of the success of the London colleges and the increased pursuit of music in other parts of the country, it is not unreasonable to ask whether similar institutions might not fitly be founded elsewhere than in the capital. There is surely room for local colleges of music as well as arts and letters.'¹⁰⁷ As this was the *Manchester Guardian*, the comment might be interpreted as a general call for music colleges to be located more widely or a suggestion that Manchester would be a suitable location for just such an institution. At the time the editor, C. P. Scott, was a member of the Committee overseeing the establishment of the (Manchester) Whitworth Institute and the article may reflect discussions of which he was a part. However, C. E. Montague writes that 'for the years from 1879 to 1896 the personality which was most strongly expressed in the leader and critical columns of the *Guardian* [sic] was that of William Arnold'.¹⁰⁸ Whichever of the

¹⁰⁶ Gentlemen's Concerts, *Minutes*, 1883–1893, MLA. BR780.67Me68.

'The Manchester Institute' is the 'Whitworth Institute'. It was funded initially by a legacy from Sir Joseph Whitworth (£50,000) and the surplus (£40,000) from the 1887 Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition, together with donations in kind such as the purchase of the land. The latter comprised a site on Oxford Road for a park and another on Sackville Street for the new technical school. "The Whitworth Park and Institute," *Manchester Courier* Jun 1, 1888, 8.

¹⁰⁷ [Editorial article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Sep 26 1889, 5.

¹⁰⁸ Charles Edward Montague, "Journalist and editor," in C. P. Scott, 1846–1932. *The making of the "Manchester Guardian"* (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1946), 79–80.

W. T. Arnold was the grandson of Arnold of Rugby. When the former was invited to join the General Committee in 1892, he responded thus: 'I shall be glad to join the School of Music Committee if it is clearly understood that musical knowledge is not an essential qualification. My interest in the matter is considerable, but it is that of any Manchester citizen who is eager that the means of higher education in every art and branch of knowledge shall be available in Manchester. My knowledge of music is nil, and I should suppose that it would not be difficult to find members who have that knowledge as well as the general interest to which alone I can lay claim, and who would therefore be much suited for membership of the Committee than I should be.' W. T. Arnold, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, May 23, 1892. RMCM/A/1/4/12.

two wrote the article, the editorial line taken by the newspaper was in favour of a school of music in the city.

A substantial article in the *Manchester Examiner and Times* on 9 November 1889 reported on the development of the Institute, which was intended primarily to promote the cause of technical education in the city.¹⁰⁹ According to the (unnamed) author the Institute proposed to include 'those valuable educational agencies of the Technical School and the School of Art, and, indeed, it will extend a ready welcome to any similar institution which may desire to become associated with it'. Later, the author expands on the point thus:

We think, indeed, that many other bodies in the city which have hitherto been working for the advancement of the population will sooner or later perceive the benefits they would receive from becoming a portion of the Whitworth Institute. There is, for instance, no reason why the directors of the Concert Hall, who in the past have done so much for the advancement of music in this centre, should not extend the scope of their operations, and be willing to associate themselves with the formation, in conjunction with the Whitworth Institute, of a real academy of music...The new scheme ... may easily be made to embrace this part of the fine arts.

The *Manchester Examiner and Times* was owned by The Manchester Press Company Ltd. Its principal subscriber and managing agent was Sir Joseph Cocksey Lee who was both Chairman of the Whitworth Institute Committee and a director of Gentlemen's Concerts. It is reasonable to think he may have instigated the inclusion of this lengthy article in the newspaper in order to encourage the idea that an academy of music - the exact words he had used in the earlier meeting of the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts - could form part of the new institution.¹¹⁰ Alternatively, Broadfield, who was a regular contributor to the paper may have had some involvement.¹¹¹

Whether or not this particular article acted as a catalyst in developing the idea, there is documentary evidence that Gustav Behrens (a fellow Director, with Lee,

¹⁰⁹ "The Whitworth Institute," *Manchester Examiner and Times*, Nov 9, 1889, 10. A cutting of this article is amongst the papers in the RNCM Archives relating to the foundation of the RMCM. Its retention in these papers, presumably by Gustav Behrens, suggests he thought it was of significance. RMCM/A/1/1.

¹¹⁰ The use of the term 'academy' in relation to establishing a musical institution of education in Manchester is unusual; other articles and reports generally refer to either a school/college of music or conservatoire. It was used once in the *Manchester Guardian*. [Editorial article], *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 26, 1890, 7.

¹¹¹ See Chapter Six for biography.

of the Gentlemen's Concerts) made at least one attempt to pursue it when he wrote to Mrs Enriqueta Rylands later in November, 1889:

Madam,

Some time ago, when the future of our Concert Hall (Gentlemen's Concerts) was discussed by the Directors, Sir J.C. Lee suggested the propriety of founding a School of Music in this city, available to students in the north of England. Sir W. Houldsworth, another of our Directors, warmly supported the scheme...

The generous aid given by Lady Whitworth has enabled a number of our leading citizens to establish a system of technical education together with a School of Art, which, when completed under the name of the Manchester Institute, will greatly add to the many admirable educational means already [...] in this City.

In order to complete this great scheme it is necessary to provide people in the North with means of obtaining a thorough musical training.

I now venture to ask whether the establishment of a really efficient School of Music would meet with your approval & support; and in this case whether Sir J. C. Lee and myself might wait upon you in order to personally explain the details of our Scheme...¹¹²

In referring to Sir Joseph Lee's suggestion at the outset, Behrens may have been taking the opportunity to capitalise on the recent newspaper article. The timing of the letter suggests that might be the case, given the months that had passed since Lee had made the initial suggestion to the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts. It is possible that Behrens had been asked to make the approach to Mrs Rylands because Lee had failed to persuade either the directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts or the members of the Whitworth Committee of the advantages of establishing a school of music under the auspices of the Institute. Although the core of the Institute was being funded by Sir Joseph Whitworth's legacy, this letter suggests it would, or could, not be expected to encompass the inclusion of a school of music, for which additional monies would, therefore, be required. Behrens was to be disappointed as a prompt response, written on behalf of Mrs Rylands, politely rejected the request.¹¹³

¹¹² Gustav Behrens, *Letter to Enriqueta Rylands*, Nov 21, 1889. RMCM/A/1/1. The copy in the archives is effectively a hand-written carbon copy and some of the words are illegible. There is no indication on the document as to whom it is addressed, but the existence of the reply provides the necessary information.

The choice of Mrs Rylands as a potential supporter is unsurprising; her husband John, a wealthy textile merchant who would have been well-known to Lee and Behrens in business circles, had died a year earlier leaving an estate valued at the time in excess of £2.5m. She was the beneficiary of the bulk of the estate.

¹¹³ W. W. Morton, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Nov 22, 1889. RMCM/A/1/1.

There are no other references to the possible inclusion of a music school as part of the Whitworth Institute in either the Gentlemen's Concerts' papers or the RMCM archives after this date. Furthermore the surviving papers relating to the Institute itself contain no mention whatsoever of the suggestion and therefore it is difficult to determine whether the Committee ever considered it formally.¹¹⁴ However, the idea had not disappeared, and several articles appeared in the Manchester newspapers during July 1890.¹¹⁵ The author of an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* refers to an event earlier that week when the foundation stone for the new RCM building had been laid by the Prince of Wales.¹¹⁶ It will, the author suggests, lead to the usefulness of the RCM being immeasurably increased when the new buildings are completed but 'the question naturally arises why towns like Manchester should not be able to afford the highest kind of musical education'. The article continues:

Is not the moment opportune for the foundation of so desirable an institution as a Manchester College of Music? Have the Governors of the Whitworth Institute and the Directors of the Concert Hall nothing to say on the subject? There never was a time when Manchester possessed so many accomplished musicians - capable of taking part in the practical work of such a college, - and we sincerely hope that before too long our many noble educational institutions will be supplemented by the establishment of an equally excellent School of Music.

Scott was no longer a member of the Whitworth Committee when this was written but he seems keen to continue to press both the Institute and the Gentlemen's Concerts to consider the idea.¹¹⁷ A column in the *Manchester Weekly Times*, published on 19 July 1890, reflecting on the inauguration of the Institute that same week concludes with the following: 'There is another art, much prized in Manchester, which seems to stand in need of a home... May it

Mrs Rylands did become a subscriber to the RMCM in 1892, promising £25 for general expenses and £25 per year for 5 years, and then donated £10 per year every year from 1898 until her death in 1908. See Appendix C.

¹¹⁴ Whitworth Committee Records, 1887–1889. Whitworth Art Gallery Archive, University of Manchester Library. WAG/1/1/1. Printed documents, 1888–1891. WAG/1/1/8; Letters received by Sir Joseph Lee in his capacity as Chairman of the Manchester Whitworth Institute, 10 Feb. 1888–20 Nov. 1893. WAG/1/1/10/13–45; *Governors' Minute Book*, 17 Jul 1890–25 Mar 1902. WAG/1/2/1/1. The Council minute book covering the period prior to February 1895 is missing. *Archives Hub*, accessed Dec 7, 2021, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-wag/wag/1/1/1>.

¹¹⁵ There is a passing reference to there being no conservatoire in Manchester in the speech given by the Mayor, John Mark, at the dinner in honour of Hallé in March 1890. "Dinner to Sir Charles Halle [sic]," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 31, 1890, 6.

¹¹⁶ [Editorial article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 10, 1890, 5.

¹¹⁷ Even if Arnold as leader-writer was responsible for the article, presumably Scott would have approved its publication.

not be hoped that music, like painting and sculpture, will, sooner or later, find a helping-hand stretched out to her by the Whitworth Institute?’¹¹⁸ The article is anonymous but, as mentioned earlier, Edward J. Broadfield, a friend of both Behrens and Hallé, and a director of the Gentlemen’s Concerts, was a contributor to the paper. It is plausible to suggest that he was the author.

This article was followed by a further editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* taking up the cause again. ‘The friends of higher education in Music were probably not a little disappointed when the publication of the scheme of the Whitworth Institute made it clear that the directors had no immediate intention of doing anything to provide facilities for musical training...’.¹¹⁹ The writer proceeds to suggest that ‘perhaps the neglect of the public with regard to music in the past is one reason why nothing has been done for it in connection with the Institute. The want so deeply felt by many has, however, been frequently brought under the public notice...’ Having referred to the failure of the RCM fundraising campaign on the basis that Manchester wanted a college within its own borders, readers are reminded that ‘nothing came of this implied recognition of a serious gap in our local educational equipment, and to this day there has been no public movement in favour of the establishment of an Academy of Music...’. The author is convinced that there are ‘no insuperable difficulties in the way of setting up in Manchester a School or Conservatoire of Music, and, with the exception of London, nowhere else in Great Britain could such an institution be so successfully carried on...’. The publication of these articles and editorials in different local newspapers within a short space of time of each other are evidence of the increasing demand for the establishment of a college of music in the city.

The two *Manchester Guardian* editorial articles met with a prompt response by way of a letter from Dr Henry Hiles, in which he thanks the editor on behalf of ‘the friends of higher education in music’ and refers to the events of 1882–3, the

¹¹⁸ “The Weekly Times,” *Manchester Weekly Times*, Jul 19, 1890, 4.

¹¹⁹ [Editorial article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 26, 1890, 7.

foundation of the RCM, and the lack of any developments towards establishing a school of music.¹²⁰

It is strange that the protest against the centralisation of all our efforts which was so firmly spoken here some ten years ago had only a purely negative result, and that the earnestness of Manchester in advancing every other kind of educational influence has been attended by utter supineness with regard to the increase and stability of our musical advantages... In Manchester a like earnestness is needed, and among us a complete college of music could at once be started in every respect equal to any Metropolitan undertaking, however powerfully supported.... I do earnestly trust that your efforts on behalf of music may lead to something more than the mere tacit "recognition of a serious gap in our educational equipment."¹²¹

The correspondence apparently ceases for six months until another editorial on the subject was published in the *Manchester Guardian* in January 1891, referring to a paper given at a recent meeting of the National Society of Professional Musicians in Liverpool on the subject of local orchestras.¹²² The author of the editorial takes the opportunity to refer once more to the lack of local institutions for the training of professional musicians.

Was this idea being discussed privately, throughout this period, particularly amongst those associated with the Gentlemen's Concerts? There is little firm evidence, but reports and correspondence seem to demonstrate an increase in activity towards this end. For instance, a letter from E. J. Broadfield to Behrens, dated 7 October 1891, does not explicitly mention the college of music in the brief, somewhat cryptic, contents: 'You have anticipated some of my remarks and I thought of suggesting a special meeting of the CH directors at our meeting tomorrow of the [Musical] Committee.'¹²³ It is clearly the reply to one from Behrens, which is not extant, and the retention of it (probably by Behrens himself) amongst other documents relating to the foundation of the RMCM, suggests that the establishment of a college of music was the subject of the

¹²⁰ According to a newspaper report in 1882 Hiles had been invited by the Prince of Wales to attend the St James' Palace meeting in support of the movement to aid the establishment of a royal college of music. [No title], *Manchester Courier*, Feb 23, 1882, 8. Henry Hiles (1826–1904) was responsible for setting up the Faculty of Music at the Victoria University of Manchester. Bernarr Rainbow, "Hiles, Henry," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Oct 1, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13017>.

¹²¹ Henry Hiles, "Higher education in music," Letter to the Editor, *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 29, 1890, 8.

¹²² [Editorial article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 10, 1891, 7.

¹²³ E. J. Broadfield, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, October 7 (or 5), 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/1.

correspondence and it provides further evidence of the growing public conversations.

On 16 October 1891 Sir William Houldsworth presided at the annual presentation of prizes and certificates for successful students at the local examinations held by Trinity College of Music. In his speech to the gathering he said he was 'very sorry indeed that we had not a college of music in Manchester. He thought we should have, and he hoped some day to see it'.¹²⁴ It seems that pressure to establish a music college was now growing, if the correspondence columns of the local newspapers are an accurate reflection of public feeling.

Ten days after the report of Houldsworth's speech a letter to the editor from a George Ratcliffe of Guide Bridge was published in the *Manchester Guardian*:

Sir, - I have at various times seen leaders in your paper urging the formation of a local College of Music, and now I wish to ask whether the matter cannot be brought before the governors of Owens College, or whether a meeting cannot be called to consider whether some scheme cannot be formulated... I am interested in this matter personally in a way many of your readers know, and I hope yourself, Sir Charles Hallé, Mr De Jong,¹²⁵ and others will see if something cannot be done.¹²⁶

Ratcliffe followed this soon afterwards with another letter to the editor:

Sir, - I am glad Dr Hiles is taking this matter up again... I went into the question thoroughly a week or two ago, and can see no reason why Manchester cannot give facilities for studies in all phases of musical knowledge... To set the ball rolling, I am prepared to subscribe £5 towards establishing a college, and have to-day posted letters to many of our prominent gentlemen asking if they are in favour of the scheme. I should be glad to hear from any lady or gentleman who would be willing to subscribe if the idea can be carried out, or from any who would be glad to study in the college if instituted. If satisfactory answers are received a meeting can then be called and the matter properly taken in hand.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ "Trinity College (London) musical examinations. Manchester Centre," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 17, 1891, 9.

¹²⁵ Edward de Jong (1837–1920) was Hallé's principal flute, and founder and conductor of the Popular Concerts.

¹²⁶ George Ratcliffe, "A musical college for Manchester," Letter to the Editor, *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 27, 1891, 12.

¹²⁷ George Ratcliffe, "College of music for Manchester," Letter to the Editor, *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 10, 1891, 4.

The second letter is of particular interest because it mentions setting up a subscription fund and holding a meeting to discuss the matter, both of which occurred later when the scheme was taken up. The RMCM archives include two of the letters he mentions having sent – one to Albert Nicholson, another Director of the Gentlemen's Concerts, and the other to Behrens. The content is identical other than the name of the addressee:

Dear Sir, You will have noticed that we are agitating for a Musical College in Manchester & I have many very favourable answers. I am waiting more replies when they shall be announced. Your name has been given me by a great musician and I shall be glad to hear that I can use your name as one favourable to the Scheme. Can you bring any pressure to secure the help of Sir Chas Halle [sic] the Owens College & Whitworth Institute Authorities please. Mr Agnew says very warmly that he has a Scheme & Several Gentlemen want a meeting called.¹²⁸

It appears that Ratcliffe was not known personally to Behrens, as evidenced by a note in the RMCM archives, but presumably he wrote to Behrens and Nicholson because they were Directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts, or he may have been advised so to do by the 'we' who were agitating for a musical college.¹²⁹ It is likely that Ratcliffe was one of the people referred to by Hallé as 'unknown to me' in the Town Hall speech a few weeks later, as he too received a letter from the gentleman asking for support.¹³⁰

We are arranging leading articles in all the three papers re the Musical College & we are very anxious to get your help. Mr de Jong will do anything he can but says that it is imperative to get your help to carry it out successfully. Mr W^m Agnew will no doubt see you on this matter & he has a scheme to lay before the public & will bring the matter before the Whitworth Institute.¹³¹

Unfortunately, the lack of minutes of the Whitworth Institute Council covering this period means that there is no evidence of whether Agnew did take the matter there. Meanwhile, there had been a further item of correspondence, in

¹²⁸ George Ratcliffe, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Nov 13, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/5.

¹²⁹ A pencil note attached to the letter sent to Behrens (and probably written by the latter) states 'This Mr G. Radcliffe is a coal agent in a moderate way of business, & is chiefly noted in the District for his extreme views on the Temperance Question. & as an egotist. He is however, I believe, thoroughsome [sic] and earnest in whatever he takes in hand. I do not know whether he is anything of a musician himself, but his son was a very fair treble before his voice broke last season, was principal of T. A. Barrett's Choir of boys & sang the solos at the Crystal Palace Temperance Fete, for which he received a medal.' RMCM/A/1/2/4.

¹³⁰ George Ratcliffe, *Letter to Sir Charles Hallé*, Nov 16, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/12–13.

¹³¹ See the biography of Agnew in Chapter Six. No evidence of Agnew taking the matter to the Whitworth Committee has been located.

support of a college of music, in the *Manchester Guardian*, from a Lily Peck, Holly Bank, Blackley.¹³²

Sir,- A college in Manchester would assuredly be a success. We have so much music already that we are ripe for further developments. Since the Gentlemen's Concerts are dying out slowly and surely, cannot the trustees take a new departure and devote their funds to the training of students? This idea was mentioned to me some time since, and I wonder that it still remains only an idea. Obviously the Gentlemen's Concerts no longer meet a requirement in Manchester, and here is an opportunity for them to cease gracefully for the sake of reincarnation as a young and useful institution for the study of vocal and instrumental music in conjunction with the theoretical instruction at Owens College.¹³³

The dates of these letters are significant; within a few days Hallé would be discussing his ideas for the future of music in Manchester, including the possibility of establishing a school of music in the city and this is explored in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The events outlined above have demonstrated that there was an increasing desire and clamour for a college of music in Manchester during the 1880s. Although Hallé was said to have had the idea in the 1850s, I suggest it was the campaign for a national conservatoire which engendered the idea that such an institution could be established in Manchester. It is unfortunate there is no definitive evidence that the failure of the fundraising campaign in 1882–3 occurred because Manchester wanted its own college of music; but there must have been enough of a feeling at the time for it to be referred to several years later both by the writer of the editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* and Dr Hiles. I contend that the gradual building of interest in the idea of a college of music, underpinned by supportive editorials in several newspapers, was a crucial precursor to what took place from November 1891 onwards. It demonstrated to Hallé and his colleagues that there was an appetite for such a scheme; there

¹³² In Slater's Directory of Manchester, 1886, Miss Lily Peck was listed as a teacher of music living at 101 Cecil Street, Ducie Street, Greenheys, Manchester. *Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford with their vicinities*, (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1886), 311. She advertised as a pianoforte teacher in both the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Courier* with the descriptions 'from Leipzig Conservatorium' or 'diplomée Leipzig', citing Dr Hiles as a referee. [Classified advertisement] "Education", *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 23, 1885, 3, and her name is included in a list of British and Imperial Students who attended the Leipzig Conservatorium, cited by Brightwell in "One equal music, vol.2," 509.

¹³³ Lily Peck, "College of music for Manchester," Letter to the Editor, *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 12, 1891, 3.

was already interest in principle. In order to bring the idea to fruition it would be necessary to engage with the people who might become its supporters and benefactors. In this chapter I have described the contexts out of which the establishment of the RMCM arose; in the next chapters I will outline the processes through which the scheme was developed and who became involved.

Chapter Two

Hallé's scheme for a school of music in Manchester: the initial steps, November 1891–May 1892

Considerable care was taken to involve the public in all aspects of the new proposal; a series of meetings defined the College's purpose and organization, appealed for funds, and then reinforced the appeal with reports of what had so far been collected... Important public figures were associated with it from the first.¹

This quotation refers to the establishment of University College Liverpool in the early 1880s, but could apply to plans for the opening, or extension, of many other educational institutions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Chapter One includes examples of such schemes in Manchester – Owens College, the Manchester School of Art, Manchester High School for Girls and Withington Girls' School – which would have been well-known to the group of men involved in setting up the RMCM. Furthermore, this pattern was also applicable to many other types of 'public' institutions such as hospitals, libraries, and museums, with which the wealthy business and professional men of Manchester, and surrounding areas, were involved.² It is unsurprising, therefore, that this was the pattern followed in the move to solicit support for a college of music in the city.

In this chapter, which covers the period from November 1891 up to and including the public meeting held on 4 May 1892, the development of the scheme is examined. It will show how Behrens, and his small group of confidantes and 'advisors', drew up the lists of men who were deemed necessary to be approached to give their *imprimatur* to the scheme and/or to be called upon for financial support. The names of those who were approached will be identified and their links and affiliations examined to gain an understanding of the people who became supporters of the RMCM. It will also draw out the networks within Manchester society which will be investigated further in Chapter Five, thus developing the suggestions of their significance made by earlier commentators.³ The development of the scheme, from the original

¹ Jones, *Origins*, 61.

² The term 'professional men' refers to those with occupations such as academia, accountancy, legal (barrister/solicitor) and medical (dentist/doctor).

³ See the Literature Review in the Introduction, e.g. Gunn, "How Manchester is amused."

announcement up to the decision to proceed, will be followed to highlight the roles of the key participants, thus addressing the question of who the supporters and benefactors were.

Hallé's visit to Behrens

On Sunday, 15 November 1891, a few days after the letters from George Ratcliffe and Lily Peck referred to in Chapter One were published in the *Manchester Guardian*, Sir Charles Hallé visited his friend Gustav Behrens.⁴ The latter recorded details of the visit immediately after the event and, subsequently, in both his personal notes relating to Hallé and a later lecture to the Manchester Literary Club.⁵ His contemporaneous note reads as follows:

Halle called on Sunday Nov. 15th 1891
Told me that he wished to consult me as to an idea which had been in his mind for some time but which so far he had not mentioned to any one - viz. If the Directors of the Concert Hall would undertake to build a large Hall (like the L'pool [Liverpool] Philharmonic) with all modern conveniences he would be prepared to transfer to them his own Concerts – merely remaining conductor similarly as he is in L'pool. In this way the Gentlemen's Concerts could be reinstated (without competition) & his life [sic] work perpetuated. The Scheme could be extended to cover a School of Music.
We discussed his plan which on the whole commends itself to me & I advised Hallé to consult E. J. Broadfield, with whom I would like to take counsel.⁶

According to the text of the lecture, given some years later and published subsequently in the *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, Hallé had discussed the future of his concerts with Behrens on several occasions during the autumn of 1891.⁷ However, this is the only meeting between the two of them for which the details appear to have survived and it certainly seems to be the one which precipitated the events leading to the establishment of the RMCM.⁸ The document is reproduced at Fig. 2.1, showing not only Behrens' note of the

⁴ Future occurrences of the name of Gustav Behrens will refer to him by surname only, unless required to distinguish him from others with the same surname. Other family members will be referred to by forename(s) and surname.

⁵ Gustav Behrens, *Personal notes relating to Sir Charles Hallé and founding of Royal Manchester College of Music and Hallé Concerts Society*, 1918, RNCM. Man-Mus/41; ———, "Sir Charles Hallé - and after," *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club* 52 (1926): 1–12.

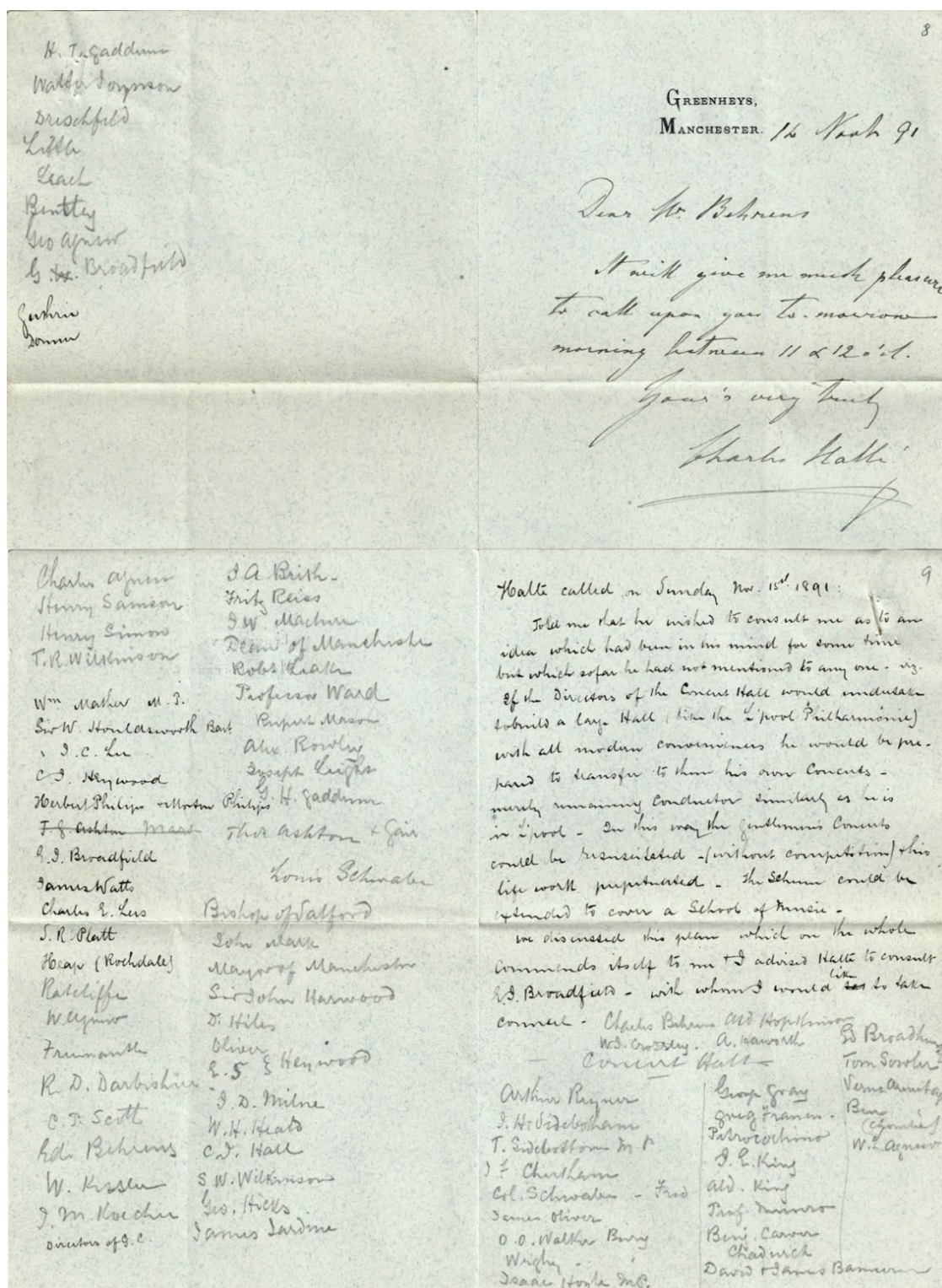
⁶ Gustav Behrens, [*Personal note*], Nov [15], 1891. RMCM/A/1/2, 8–9.

'Directors of the Concert Hall' means the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts.

⁷ In a speech given to a Gentlemen's Concerts Conversazione in January 1888, Hallé mentioned the likelihood of needing to build a new Concert Hall after his retirement but there was no reference to a school of music at this juncture. "Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts," *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 19, 1888, 6.

⁸ Behrens, "Sir Charles Halle."

meeting but also the list he made of the names of those who might be approached to be involved.⁹ It is likely that some of the names were written down at the time that Behrens made the note and others added later as he consulted with Broadfield and William Agnew.¹⁰



⁹ See Table 2.1 for a transcription of the list in alphabetical order, with full names added where necessary.

¹⁰ In letters to Behrens from Agnew (RMCM/A/1/2, 21-22) and Broadfield (RMCM/A/1/2, 26), dated 26 and 29 Nov respectively, they both suggest more names that should be added to the list.

Fig. 2.1. Behrens' note. RMCM/A/1/2/8–9.

Charles Agnew	W. [Jacob Philip William] Kessler
Geo. [George] Agnew	Ald. [Alderman John] King
W. [William] Agnew	J. E. [John Edward] King
W. L. [William Lockett] Agnew	J. M. [John Michael] Koecher
Ben Armitage (Chomlea) ¹¹	Leach
Vernon Armitage	Robt Leake
Thomas Ashton	Sir J. C. [Joseph Cocksey] Lee
[Thomas] Gair Ashton	[Bosdin Leech] Mayor of Manchester
David Bannerman	Charles E. Lees
James Bannerman	Joseph Leigh
Charles Behrens	[David] Little
Ed. [Edward] Behrens	[Edward C. Maclure] Dean of
J. A. [John Alexander] Beith	Manchester
[Alfred Thomas] Bentley	J. W. [John William] Maclure
E. J. [Edward John] Broadfield	John Mark
G. [George] Broadfield	Rupert Mason
Ed. [Edward T.] Broadhurst	Wm. Mather, M.P.
Benj. Carver	J. D. [John Dewhurst] Milne
Chadwick	Prof. [Joseph E. C.] Munro
J. F. [John Frederick] Cheetham	James Oliver
W. J. [William John] Crossley	Petrocockino
R. D. [Robert Dukinfield] Darbshire	Herbert Philips
[Edward] Donner	[William] Morton Philips
[Julius] Dreschfeld	S. R. [Samuel Ratcliffe] Platt
[George] Freemantle	[George] Ratcliffe
G. H. [George Henry] Gaddum	Fritz Reiss
H. T. [Henry Theodore] Gaddum	Arthur Reyner
George Gray	Alex. Rowley
Francis Greg	Henry Samson
[Edwin] Guthrie	Fred. Schwabe
C. J. [Charles John] Hall	Col. [George Salis] Schwabe
Sir John Harwood	Louis Schwabe
A. [Abraham] Haworth	C.P. [Charles Prestwich] Scott
W H [William Norris] Heald	J.H. Sidebotham
Heap	T. [Thomas Harrop] Sidebottom, M.P.
C. J. [Charles James] Heywood	Henry Simon
E. S. [Edward Stanley] Heywood	Tom Sowler
Oliver Heywood	[Herbert Vaughan] Bishop of Salford
Geo. [George] Hicks	O. O. [Oliver Ormerod] Walker
Dr [Henry] Hiles	Professor [Adolphus W.] Ward
Ald [Alderman John] Hopkinson	James Watts
Sir W. Houldsworth, Bart	S.W. [Samuel Wright] Wilkinson
Isaac Hoyle, M.P.	T. R. [Thomas Read] Wilkinson
James Jardine	Wrigley
Walter Joynson	

¹¹ 'The existence over a long period of history of two "Benjamin Armitages"...necessitated the use of territorial titles, and a distracted public came to know one of them as "Chomlea" and the other as "Sorrel Bank", these being the names of their respective houses on the Eccles Old

Table 2.1. Transcription of RMCM/A/1/2/8-9 (re-ordered in alphabetical order by surname). The names have been transcribed as they are on the document; those in square brackets have been added for clarification and identification.

Gustav Behrens was pivotal to the proceedings, as the person to whom Hallé confided his initial plan and who undertook the majority of the organisation in setting up the first Town Hall meeting. He was appointed as Secretary to the first Committee and was, it appears, the linchpin of the activity which took place between December 1891 and May 1892. Of all the people involved at this stage Behrens and Broadfield were the ones who seem to have been closest to Hallé and, therefore, the people in whom he trusted the most. By late 1891, Behrens and Hallé had known each other for more than twenty-five years. According to Behrens:

My first introduction to the late Sir Charles Hallé was in the year 1865 when he paid regular visits to my Father's office...to bring a cheque for remittance to our business friends...to be handed over to his mother who lived in Hagen.

After my marriage in 1879 Hallé was a regular visitor – spending many Sunday evenings with us at Plymouth Grove with our old friends Ludwig Straus (leader of the Halle band) – Ed. Hecht (chorus master) & other artists whom my wife & I entertained as guests – viz. Madame Norman Neruda (later married to Charles Hallé), Joseph Joachim & Alfredo Piatti.¹²

Behrens' reminiscences of his friendship with Hallé provide an insight as to why it was to him that the latter turned for support.

E. J. Broadfield was also an acknowledged friend of Hallé's. In 1888 Hallé writes to Broadfield 'at all events I feel that our friendship is drawing us together closer and closer and rejoice at it'.¹³ It is also evident from other letters, which are part of the collection in the RNCM archives, that Hallé considers Broadfield to be a close confidante. Hallé tells him about his knighthood and his feelings on his marriage to Wilma [Norman Neruda], there is a long letter with details of the trip to Australia in 1890, and Hallé says that he is looking forward to one of their 'charming little dinners'. Presumably Behrens knew of Hallé's regard for

Road.' William Haslam Mills, "Fifty years of modern Manchester," in *The Manchester Reform Club, 1871–1921: a survey of fifty years' history*, ed. William Haslam Mills, (Manchester: The Manchester Reform Club, 1922), 7. The one referred to throughout this thesis is Benjamin Armitage (Chomlea).

¹² Behrens had moved from Bradford to Manchester in 1864 to assist with running the family firm, Jacob Behrens & Sons. He was 19 or 20 when he met Hallé. Behrens, *Personal notes*, 1.

¹³ Charles Hallé, *Letter to E. J. Broadfield*, Mar 20, 1888, RNCM. BR 22–23.

Broadfield when he suggested that they should consult with him about the scheme. Behrens and Broadfield would have known each other for several years, having been on various committees together and had membership of several clubs and associations in common since c.1880. They, too, appear to have been on familiar terms with Broadfield addressing several letters to 'My dear Gustav' and in return, Behrens beginning his with 'My dear Broadfield'.¹⁴

William Agnew, too, had close connections with Hallé. According to a history of the firm of Agnew's, William had a wide circle of friends across many spheres whom he liked to entertain.¹⁵ The musicians mentioned in this connection were Hallé, [Charles] Santley,¹⁶ [Alfredo] Piatti (the violincellist [sic]),¹⁷ and Mme Neruda [Lady Hallé] - an overlap with the some of the people that Behrens also mentions as having visited him and his wife.¹⁸ The inclusion of Santley in this list of musicians is noteworthy. He had sung with Hallé's orchestra regularly from 1858 onwards and was, therefore, well-known to Hallé and others.¹⁹ Geoffrey Agnew says that William had a love of music which he inherited from his father and there were wider family links with Hallé and music as Agnew's

¹⁴ e.g. E. J. Broadfield, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Oct 7, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/1; Gustav Behrens, *Letter to E. J. Broadfield*, Nov 24, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/15–16.

¹⁵ Geoffrey Agnew, *Agnew's, 1817–1967* (London: Bradbury, Agnew Press Ltd., 1967), 24.

¹⁶ Harold Rosenthal and George Biddlecombe, "Santley, Sir Charles," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Oct 2, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24547>; John Warrack, "Santley, Sir Charles (1834–1922)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Oct 3, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35945>.

¹⁷ Lynda MacGregor, "Piatti, Alfredo," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Jan 1, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21652>.

¹⁸ It is possible that there was a further link between Hallé and Agnew. In 1874 Agnew purchased a painting by James Tissot entitled "Hush! (The Concert)". It depicts a female violinist about to play to a group of people gathered in a London salon. The violinist is generally thought to be Wilma Norman-Neruda, later Hallé's wife, who was mentioned as regularly being amongst Agnew's guests. Agnew's did buy other Tissot paintings so there may be no significance in this purchase but the identity of the subject does pose the question as to whether this painting was of particular interest to him. See Lucy Paquette, "A Closer Look at Tissot's "Hush! (The Concert)," *The Hammock*, Nov 15, 2017, accessed Feb 13, 2024

<https://thehammocknovel.wordpress.com/2017/11/15/a-closer-look-at-tissots-hush-the-concert/>. Also, Musée du Petit Palais and Tate Britain (Gallery), *Impressionists in London : French Artists in Exile*, ed. Caroline Corbeau-Parsons, The EY Exhibition (London: Tate Publishing, 2017), 95.

¹⁹ Thomas Batley, ed., *Sir Charles Hallé's concerts in Manchester* (Manchester: Chas. Sever, 1896), 10–11.

At the beginning of the scheme for the new conservatoire Santley was under consideration to lead the vocal department, and there are several items of correspondence referring to the matter very favourably, e.g. a letter from Behrens to Lees, Apr 20, 1892. 'I quite agree with Sir Charles that it would be indeed a feather in our cap if we could secure Santley. He is an Englishman and has a world-wide reputation.' (*Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [57–58].) Hallé also referred to the possibility at the public meeting on 4 May, 1892; but, having attended a meeting of the Executive Committee on 20 May, by the end of the month Santley had withdrawn.

brother, John Henry, was a subscriber to Hallé's concerts in the 1850s.²⁰ Agnew and Broadfield, who were almost exact contemporaries, had also been known to each other for more than sixty years.²¹ The others were on the lists for a variety of reasons which are interrogated below.

There are current and former M.P.s, underlining Gunn's point that 'Manchester M.P.s were expected to have a high profile in the city, not only as employers and representatives of commerce, but as contributors to the public weal':²²

William Houldsworth (Conservative. Manchester North-West, 1885–1906)²³

Isaac Hoyle (Liberal. Heywood, 1885–92)

John William Maclure (Conservative. Stretford, 1886–1901)²⁴

William Mather (Liberal. Salford South, 1885–86; Gorton, 1889–95)²⁵

Thomas Harrop Sidebottom (Conservative. Stalybridge, 1874–80; 1885–1900);

and local mayors and councillors:

Sir John James Harwood (Mayor, 1887–88)

Alderman John Hopkinson (Mayor, 1882–83)

Alderman John King (Mayor, 1874–75)

Bosdin Thomas Leech (Mayor, 1891–92)

Other dignitaries include Edward C. Maclure (Dean of Manchester),²⁶ Herbert Vaughan (Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford),²⁷ and representatives of Owens

²⁰ Charles Hallé, *Chronological list of subscribers*. Oct 24, 1856. MSRm927.8Hc3203.

²¹ "Sir William Agnew: Mr E. J. Broadfield at the University," *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 1, 1910, 14.

²² Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 314.

²³ A. C. Howe, "Houldsworth, Sir William Henry, first baronet (1843–1917), cotton industrialist and politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Jun 29, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/40813>.

²⁴ J. W. Maclure is included in the *ODNB* entry for his brother. See C. W. Sutton and H. C. G. Matthew, "Maclure, Edward Craig (1833–1906), dean of Manchester merchant and manufacturer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Dec 5, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34792>.

²⁵ Geoffrey Tweedale, "Mather, Sir William (1838–1920), mechanical engineer and textile equipment manufacturer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oct 4, 2007, accessed Oct 24, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/45649>.

²⁶ Sutton and Matthew, "Maclure, Edward Craig."

²⁷ V. A. McClelland, "Vaughan, Herbert Alfred Henry Joseph Thomas (1832–1903), cardinal-archbishop of Westminster," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, May 21, 2009, accessed Dec 5, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36633>.

College and Victoria University: Alfred T. Bentley (Registrar, Victoria University, 1882–1895), Prof. [Joseph E. C.] Munro (Professor of Law, Victoria University, 1882–1896), and Professor [Adolphus W.] Ward (Principal, Owens College, 1889–97).²⁸

The support of all of the above would have been considered essential to the success of any local project. Having men of influence and high standing within the local community named as supporters of a project gave it credence, as noted by Jones, for example. Having described the important part played by peers as the patrons, presidents and board members of universities and colleges, he writes 'Distinguished commoners were also useful. As members of council or trustees, men of wealth, power and known probity added to the social tone and guaranteed the proper use of other men's contributions'.²⁹ This is exemplified frequently in the columns of the local newspapers where all types of causes, whether in support of hospitals, colleges or cultural institutions, were publicised by means of advertisements and reports. These invariably included the names of the local 'worthies' who were supporting it; a method also reported by Gunn who writes: 'In practice, no public movement which did not have a good number of rich backers on its board, "men whose names will command confidence", could hope to get off the ground.'³⁰

Networks of contacts

In order to understand why the other names were included on Behrens' list, an analysis of memberships of associations and institutions prior to 1891 has been undertaken. This assists both with identifying how the men named were known to Behrens, Broadfield, Agnew and Hallé (and hence why they might be approached to support the scheme) and also illustrates the networks of which they were all part.

In Manchester during the nineteenth century there was 'the creation of an endless stream of societies catering for an ever-widening range of cultural and

²⁸ G. P. Gooch and R. J. W. Evans, "Ward, Sir Adolphus William (1837–1924), historian," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Oct 3, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36726>.

²⁹ Jones, *Origins*, 104.

³⁰ Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 161.

intellectual interests'.³¹ In addition to these institutions, which Rose describes, there were also business groups, educational bodies, political associations, charitable organisations and various clubs and, in most instances, the men on the list were involved with several of them. As Rose writes, 'the subscribing members of most societies could be numbered in hundreds rather than thousands... Even within this small number [there was] an even smaller active minority... Furthermore, this active minority's activity was often spread over a number of organisations'.³²

This is illustrated in Table 2.2 which provides details of the significant and overlapping affiliations of those whose names were on the list.³³ It is arranged by the numbers involved in each organisation/institution and shows that there were multiple memberships and allegiances across different organisations and events. Organisations in which there is no obvious involvement by Behrens, Broadfield, Agnew and Hallé prior to November 1891 have been omitted from this analysis - two such examples are the Portico Library and the Union Club – but they are included in the table in Appendix 5.1. The institutions/events listed may be spilt into several categories as shown in the table. The majority of them are established organisations but some are temporary or 'one-off' occurrences – Bright and Slagg's Committee (1880);³⁴ the National Conservatoire Committee (1882);³⁵ the Royal Jubilee Exhibition (1887);³⁶ and the dinner in honour of Sir Charles Hallé (1890), which was referred to in Chapter One. They are included because they form part of the networks in which contacts were made and relationships formed. Useful here is Prell's distinction which was described in the Introduction. She writes of 'state relations', which have a degree of permanency or durability, and 'event relations...which are more temporary, but

³¹ Rose, "Culture," 110.

³² *Ibid.*, 113.

³³ For brief descriptions of the various institutions and organisations, see Chapter Five.

³⁴ Jacob Bright and John Slagg were the (successful) Liberal party candidates for two of the three seats in the Manchester constituency at the 1880 General Election. The committee was set up to support their nominations and campaign for them. Advertisements in the local newspapers informed readers that the committee was meeting daily, as well as giving the names of the committee members. See, for example, "Messrs Bright & Slagg's Committee," *Manchester Evening News*, Mar 18, 1880, 1.

³⁵ See Chapter One.

³⁶ The 1887 exhibition was held to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee and drew, to some extent, on the experiences of the earlier 1857 Art Treasures Exhibition. It relied heavily on the support of local citizens, as guarantors and as members of the various organising committees.

which nevertheless provide a point of contact between the actors'.³⁷ I suggest that these meetings and events come into the latter category and are relevant because by including single events alongside membership of, or involvement with, the established institutions, a more complete picture of the complex nature of Manchester society emerges.

Category	Description	
Music	Gentlemen's Concerts. Current and past subscribers and/or Directors (including Behrens, Broadfield, Agnew)	53
Music	Dinner in honour of Sir Charles Hallé. Committee and/or attendees (including Behrens, Broadfield, Agnew)	40
Institution	Royal Exchange. Subscribers (including Behrens)	34
Society	Manchester Geographical Society. Members (including Behrens and Broadfield)	33
Other	Royal Jubilee Exhibition (1887). Committee members and/or guarantors (including Broadfield and Agnew)	32
Institution	Chamber of Commerce. Members and directors (including Agnew and Broadfield)	30
Politics	Liberal Association. Members and/or Committee (including Broadfield and Agnew)	26
Education	Whitworth Institute. Governors, Council members (including Agnew)	19
Politics	Bright & Slagg's Committee (1880). Members (including Behrens, Broadfield, Agnew)	17
Politics	Reform Club [Liberal]. Members (including Agnew)	17
Education	Manchester School of Art. ³⁸ Committee members (including Agnew)	16
Institution	Royal Manchester Institution. Shareholders and/or Council members (including Agnew)	16
Society	Manchester Statistical Society. Members (including Behrens and Broadfield)	16
Club	Brasenose Club. Members (including Broadfield and Hallé)	15
Education	Owens College. Governors (including Broadfield)	14
Charitable	Provident Society. Committee members (including Behrens)	14
Society	Ancoats Recreation. Supporters (including Behrens)	13
Club	Schiller-Anstalt. Members (including Hallé)	11

³⁷ Prell, *Social network analysis*, 9.

³⁸ See Chapter One.

Category	Description	
Music	Subscribers to Hallé's early concerts (1850s). ³⁹ Individuals.	11
Club	Manchester Athenaeum. Members (including William Agnew)	9
Music	Subscribers to Hallé's early concerts (1850s). Family connection, e.g. parent, spouse or sibling.	7
Music	National Conservatoire Committee (1882). Members (including Hallé) ⁴⁰	7
Education	Manchester High School of Girls. ⁴¹ Governors (including Broadfield)	6

Table 2.2. Affiliations and connections with Manchester organisations.

Other networks of significance within Manchester are those relating to nationality, religion, politics and family connections. These are examined in more detail in Chapter Five, but an initial analysis is offered here.

Nationality⁴²

It has been possible to ascertain the nationality of 175 of the 179 names on the lists using census records, naturalisation certificates and newspaper reports and/or notices. The breakdown is as follows:

Nationality	Number
Austrian: naturalised British ⁴³	1
Dutch/Dutch: naturalised British	2
British (including Irish, Scottish, Welsh)	140
British: Austrian parentage (naturalised British)	1
British: German parentage	3
British: German parentage (naturalised British)	7
British: Swiss parentage	1
German	3
German: naturalised British	16
Greek: naturalised British	1
Unable to trace person (with certainty)	4

³⁹ See the Bibliography for details.

⁴⁰ See Chapter One.

⁴¹ See Chapter One.

⁴² Nationality has been determined by the person's place of birth, generally taken from the census returns and/or naturalisation certificates. Some returns give the place of birth, e.g. Gustav Dehn, 1891, Hamburg Germany. National Archives, RG12/3202 fol.104, p.48; Abraham Bles, 1891, Holland, Hague. RG12/3214 fol.150, p.8.

⁴³ Under the terms of the 1870 Naturalization Act, the certificate of naturalization declares the named person to be a British subject who is 'entitled to all political and other rights, powers and privileges, and... subject to all obligations to which a natural-born British subject is entitled or subject in the United Kingdom'.

Table 2.3. *Nationalities.*

There are several common tropes mentioned by commentators on nineteenth-century Manchester, a key one being that of the contribution by the German community to the cultural, and especially the musical, life of the city. For instance, Neville Cardus writes that great music was brought to the city by the Germans, while Simon Gunn comments on the significance of German merchants in cities like Manchester and Bradford, particularly in fields such as music, and Jonathan Westaway suggests that the members of the German commercial community were key players in the formation of middle-class cultural institutions.⁴⁴ There are twenty-nine on the list (including Hallé) who are identified as being German, German by birth (but naturalised British), or with German parents, and they make up just over 16% of the total. Whilst they are the second largest national grouping - the predominant nationality is British, with a small number of representatives of other nationalities - this suggests that, in numerical terms at least, the significance of the Germans in the context of this might be questioned. However, the names on the list point to an influence exceeding that implied by the numbers; they include leading merchants, physicians and musicians, most of whom were very well-known in the city and whose support would carry extra weight amongst their contemporaries.⁴⁵

Religion

Determining the religion of the people on the list is a more difficult task than that of their nationalities. Of the 175 names on the combined 1891 lists who have been positively identified it has not been possible to ascertain the religious affiliation of fourteen; the affiliations of the remaining 161 have been found. As this represents 92% of the total it provides a sufficiently high number to be representative of the group as a whole. The information about religious identity has been obtained from biographical notices, obituaries, tributes, and church records. The latter category covers both records of life events (births/baptisms,

⁴⁴ Neville Cardus, "Music in Manchester," in *The soul of Manchester*, ed. W. H. [William Harrison] Brindley, (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1974; reprint, 1st ed. (Manchester : Manchester University Press for the Society [of Chemical Industry], 1929), 177; Gunn, *Public culture*, 26–27; Westaway, "German community."

⁴⁵ Bernhard Alexander, Charles Behrens, Edward Behrens, Gustav Behrens, Gustav Dehn, Rudolph Dehn, Julius Dreschfeld, Louis Grommé, George Gumpert, Sigismund L. Helm, Frederick Hertz, Willy Hess, Ernest Horkheimer, Philip Kessler, William Kessler, John M. Koecher, Noah Kolp, Emil Liebert, Emil Reiss, Fritz Reiss, Edward Salomons, Henry Samson, Frederick Salis Schwabe, George Salis Schwabe, Louis Schwabe, Charles E. Schwann, Henry Simon, Frederick Unger.

marriages and burials), from which religious allegiance has been inferred, and administrative records which clearly demonstrate a close involvement with a particular denomination.

Religious affiliation	Number
Anglican	76
Anglican (presumed)	15
Catholic	3
Congregational	12
Greek church	1
Jewish	8
Methodist	5
Nonconformist/Independent	9
Presbyterian	4
Quaker	2
Swedenborgian ⁴⁶	3
Unitarian	21
Unitarian (presumed)	2

Table 2.4. Religious affiliations.

It is necessary, however, to treat the indication of religious affiliation with some caution, particularly where it has been inferred from the record of life events. For instance, as Dobkin observes, a number of Germans Jews converted to Christianity. 'Not all [Germans] acknowledged their Jewishness and some even professed Christianity, usually Unitarianism'.⁴⁷ One example in this list is the architect Edward Salomons. He was born into a Jewish family but gradually moved away from Judaism as a result, according to Rhona Beenstock, of his assimilation into Manchester society.⁴⁸

Having a particular religious affiliation also does not mean that those listed automatically knew each other, unless they attended the same place of worship, were members of denominational/faith committees or representatives to other bodies, such as school boards. One number which stands out is that of the twenty-three who were, or were thought to have been, connected to the

⁴⁶ 'Of or pertaining to Emanuel Swedenborg, a Swedish scientific and religious writer (1688–1772), or the body of followers of his religious teachings, organized in 1788 and styled by themselves 'The New Church'. *OED Online*, s.v. "Swedenborgian (adj.)," July 2023, accessed Apr 16, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/7198285545>.

⁴⁷ Monty Dobkin, *More tales of Manchester Jewry* (Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1994), 4.

⁴⁸ Rhona Beenstock, "Edward Salomons — a sociable architect," *Manchester Region History Review* 10 (1996): 90–95; ———, "Edward Salomons: an eclectic Anglo-Jewish architect," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 102 (2006): 116–132.

Unitarian church, second only to the Anglicans;⁴⁹ although it should be noted there was also a significant number of other Nonconformists (thirty-six). The importance of Nonconformity in the history of Manchester is referred to by Messinger, while Kidd highlights the role of Unitarian intellectuals through their participation in local social and cultural leadership which is, he suggests, out of proportion to the size of their congregations.⁵⁰ Gatrell posits that the central role of Unitarians in Manchester business and society, albeit in a slightly earlier period, was a distinctive feature of the social structure of the town at the time.⁵¹ The Cross Street Chapel, of which William Gaskell had been the minister, is often cited as being of particular importance in the life of Manchester, summarised here by Wilfred Allis: 'Many of those who formed Manchester's intellectual strata worshipped at the Unitarian Cross Street Chapel, were prominent in local affairs, social and church work, politics, and members of one or more societies in the town.'⁵² Seven of the Unitarians in the list had a connection with Cross Street, plus George Freemantle who, although an Anglican by upbringing, was the organist there. The other Unitarians were connected predominantly with the Upper Brook Street and Platt Chapels.

The relatively small number of those of the Jewish faith might be considered surprising given the emphasis by many writers on the role played by them in the life of Manchester.⁵³ Williams notes that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Manchester was home to the largest Jewish community in provincial England as, by 1870, 'Manchester Jewry had...moved into the bourgeois heartlands of Manchester's social, cultural, political and economic life'.⁵⁴ When Aronsfeld writes that 'Charles Hallé...was beholden to the erstwhile German-Jewish merchants of Manchester...', he is contributing to another common theme, that of the significance of the Jewish (and German) community to

⁴⁹ George W. Agnew, Peter Allen, Thomas Ashton, Thomas G. Ashton, W. Mark Ashton, Gustav Behrens, John T. Brunner, Robert D. Darbishire, George H. Gaddum, T. Walton Gillibrand, Francis Greg, George E. Gumpert, Abel Heywood, Albert Nicholson, James Oliver, Charles Rowley, Frederick Salis Schwabe, George Salis Schwabe, Louis Schwabe, Charles E. Schwann, C. P. Scott, Henry Simon, Frederick Unger.

⁵⁰ Messinger, *Manchester in the Victorian age*, 33; Kidd, "Introduction," 11.

⁵¹ Gatrell, "The commercial middle class," 154.

⁵² Allis, "The Gentlemen's Concerts," 154.

⁵³ Edward Behrens, Oliver P. Behrens, David S. Bles, William Eller, Max Hesse, Edward Salomons (later converted to Christianity), Henry Samson.

⁵⁴ Williams, "Anti-semitism," 74.

cultural life.⁵⁵ It is also one mentioned by Gunn: 'the cultural impress of German and Jewish merchant communities in cities like Manchester and Bradford was similarly registered, especially in fields such as music.'⁵⁶ The low numbers might be explained by the practice of some Germans to convert from Judaism, as mentioned above. Although the numbers of practising Jews in this list is relatively small, in Chapter Five I will show that in the whole period under consideration there were more and, in common with those belonging to other religious groups, this would afford them another opportunity to network.

Politics

Establishing political views is less problematic than finding religious affiliations. Information on membership of associations and clubs is available in the organisations' records in archival repositories, and/or in newspaper reports of elections and meetings. As noted above there are four people whom it has not been possible to identify with certainty, and fifty-six for whom no information of their political allegiances has been found. The composition of the remaining 119 is as follows:

Political affiliation	Number
Conservative (Tory)	36
Liberal	73
Liberal / Unionist	9
None ⁵⁷	1

Table 2.5 Political affiliations.

As is clear from the table, the political allegiance is strongly weighted in favour of the Liberal cause, as was also demonstrated in the numbers of members of the Liberal Association and the Reform Club shown in Table 2.2. Noteworthy here is an observation by Gunn who, in discussing the significance of political gentlemen's clubs, points to the great party clubhouses (such as the Manchester Reform Club) serving as 'organisational epicentres for Liberal and Conservative activists of city and region'.⁵⁸ In his PhD thesis Gunn refers to the

⁵⁵ Caesar C. Aronsfeld, "German Jews in Victorian England," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 7 (1962): 319.

⁵⁶ Gunn, *Public culture*, 26–27.

⁵⁷ 'Hitherto Sir Frank Adam has taken no part in political life...'. "Sir Frank Forbes Adam, Kt., C.I.E., J.P.," *Manchester Faces and Places* VIII (September 1897): 177.

⁵⁸ Gunn, *Public culture*, 98–99

pairings of 'Liberal Dissent/Nonconformity' and 'Tory Anglicanism'.⁵⁹ Of the eighty men identified as Liberal or Liberal Unionist, forty-nine were Nonconformist (eighteen Unitarians), three Jewish and twenty-eight Anglicans. These findings give some weight to the comments regarding the links between politics and religion.

Family connections

An analysis of the names in the combined 1891 lists reveals the following family names: Agnew (4), Armitage (2), Ashton (3), Behrens (4), Broadfield (2), Dehn (2), Gaddum (2), Galloway (3), Haworth (2), Heywood (3 + 1 unrelated), Kessler (2), Leech (2), Maclure (2), Reiss (2), Schwabe (3). There were also other relationships, through marriage, which will be explored further in Chapter Five.

Preparations for the public meeting

There was a considerable amount of activity in the days immediately following Hallé's visit to Behrens. This included further meetings and letters between Behrens and Hallé, as well as correspondence between Behrens, Broadfield and Agnew. By 26 November, agreement had been reached between the three of them, together with Hallé and the Mayor of Manchester (Bosdin T. Leech), to hold a meeting in the Town Hall on 3 December, and letters of invitation were issued on 28 November. The text of the circular letter was ostensibly from Hallé but had been drafted by Behrens and approved by Broadfield.⁶⁰

Dear Sir

I shall be glad if you can make it convenient to meet some friends, interested in music and musical education, at the Mayor's Parlour on Thursday next, Decbr. 3, at 3 p.m.

I am anxious to submit a project to which I have for a long time given considerable thought and which bears directly upon the future of music in this district.

Believe me to be, dear Sir, Your's faithfully Charles Hallé.⁶¹

The names of the intended recipients are included on two lists. One is a set of names and addresses (Fig. 2.2), which was probably supplied to the person at

⁵⁹ ———, "The Manchester middle class," 116, 132

⁶⁰ Behrens sent a rough draft 'which Hallé approves of – which kindly revise as you think... Hallé would get the letter lithographed in his own handwriting & I could arrange to forward to the people named.' Gustav Behrens, *Letter to E. J. Broadfield*, Nov 24, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/15–16.

⁶¹ Charles Hallé, *Letter*, Nov 28, 1891. *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [1].

Forsyth's music shop who was sending out the invitations; the second, consisting mostly of names only, is headed 'Letters dated Nov. 28th sent to:' (Fig. 2.3). These two lists include more names than were thought of by Behrens originally. A table with all of the names on the above-mentioned lists, together with those who were present at, or sent apologies for, the meeting on 3 December 1891 is given in Appendix 2.1, in order to show the extent of the constituency which Behrens and the others were hoping to involve.

The illustrations which follow the reproductions of the lists are graphic visualisations of the networks of which Behrens, Agnew and Broadfield were a part at this time. Fig. 2.4 shows the connections between the three men in terms of their membership of, and involvement, with local societies and institutions; Figs. 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7 illustrate the extent of their individual connections with others on the list. The visualisations provide compelling visual evidence of the numbers of connections between the subjects.

Sir Wm th Houldsworth Bart th 9 th	Knutsford
Wm th Maske M. P.	Woodhill, Prestwich
Sir J. C. Lee	Park Gate, Althincham
C. J. Heywood	Chaseley Eccles Old R ^d ^{Prestwich}
E. S.	Light Oaks, Islam o. the Heights
Oliver	Claremont, Eccles Old R ^d
Herbert Phillips	^(Islam o. the Heights)
Wm th Munton Phillips	13 Lime Grove Oxford St C-on M.
James Watts	Heybridge, Team, Stoke on Trent
Charles E. Lees	Chaddle Old Hall, Chaddle, Cheshire
B. R. Platt	Wurmsh Park Oldham
Joseph Heape J. P.	Werneth Hall, Oldham
Wm th Agnew	Summer Hill Eccles Old R ^d
Charles	Beechwood, Prestwich
W. Lockett	Fairhope, Eccles
George W.	Gorsefield, Eccles Old R ^d Prestwich.
Edward Behrens	The Oaks, 237 Walmslow R ^d ^{Fallowfield}
Charles	^{36 Princess Street}
C. P. Scott	The Firs, Oak Drive, Fallowfield.
Wm th Kessler	Summerville, Victoria Pk. Rusholme
J. M. Koecher	Victoria Villa Oxford St. Victoria Park
Fritz Riss	^(Rusholme)
~~Smith~~	Nease Lodge, Nease Lane Prestwich
J. W. Martin M. P.	The Home Whalley R ^d Whalley Range.
Dean of Manchester	The Cathedral, Manchester.
Bishop of Salford	
Mayor of Manchester	
Robert Leake M. P.	The Dales Whitefield
Professor G. Ward	7 Ladybarn R ^d Fallowfield
Rupert Mason	Andershaw Hall, Andershaw
Mr. B. Rowley	^{9, 6, 8, 10, 12}
Joseph Leigh	Tabley House, Knutsford.
G. H. Gaddum	Adria House, Didsbury.
Thomas Ashton	Ford Bank Didsbury.
^{mau} T. Jarvis	Carr Field Cottage, Hyde.
Mr. Phillips Wood Lee Vict. Pk	

Fig. 2.2. First page of address list. RMCM/A/2/2/6.

Letters dated Nov 28 th sent to:		Notice April 29 Sent to				
1	Sir D. C. Lee			36	J. M. Machin M.P.	✓ ✓
2	Ed. Broadfield	✓	✓	37	Dean of Manchester	✓ ✓
3	C. J. Heywood	✓	✓	38	Bishop of Salford	
4	C. H. Beaver		✓	39	Mayor of Manchester	✓
5	A. Nicholson	✓	✓	40	Robert Leake M.P.	✓
6	L. Grommi		✓	41	Dr Ward	✓ ✓
7	J. P. Petrocokino		✓	42	Rupert Mason	✓
8	W. C. Lord	✓	✓	43	Joseph Leigh	✓
9	T. Brown		✓	44	G. H. Gaddum	✓
10	J. W. Gillman	✓	✓	45	Thomas Ashton	✓
11	F. Hertz	✓	✓	46	T. G.	✓
12	H. Philips		✓	47	Mark	✓
13	W. Mathew M.P.	✓	✓	48	Prof. Wilkins	✓
14	G. Behrens	✓		49	Sir J. J. Harwood	✓
15	J. Amisaf Bennett		✓	50	Dr. Hiles	✓ ✓
16	Sir W. Houldsworth	✓	✓	51	J. D. Milne	✓
17	E. S. Heywood	✓	✓	52	W. H. Heald	✓
18	~~Line~~	✓		53	C. J. Hall	✓
19	W. M. Philips		✓	54	S. W. Wilkinson	✓
20	James Watts		✓	55	J. Jardine	✓
21	~~Charles S. Lees~~	✓		56	George Hicks	✓
22	S. R. Platt		✓	57	Arthur Keymer	✓
23	Jos. Heape T.P. Rochdale		✓	58	J. W. Sidebottom M.P.	✓
24	Wm. Agnew	✓	✓	59	J. H. Sidebottom M.P.	✓
25	Charles		✓	60	J. F. Cheetham	✓ ✓
26	W. L.		✓	61	James Oliver	✓
27	George W.		✓	62	O. O. Walker	✓
28	Edward Behrens		✓	63	Isaac Hoyle M.P.	✓
29	~~Oliver Behrens~~	✓	✓	64	George Gray	✓ ✓
30	C. P. Scott		✓	65	Francis Greg	✓
31	Wm. Kessler		✓	66	J. E. King	✓ ✓
32	Phr.		✓	67	Alfred J. King	✓
33	J. M. Kocher		✓	68	Prof. Munro	✓
34	Fritz Reiss	✓	✓	69	Ben. Carver	✓
35	Emil		✓	70	Ed. Broadhurst	✓
			22			✓ 66.

Fig. 2.3. First page of list of letters sent. RMCM/A/2/2/10.

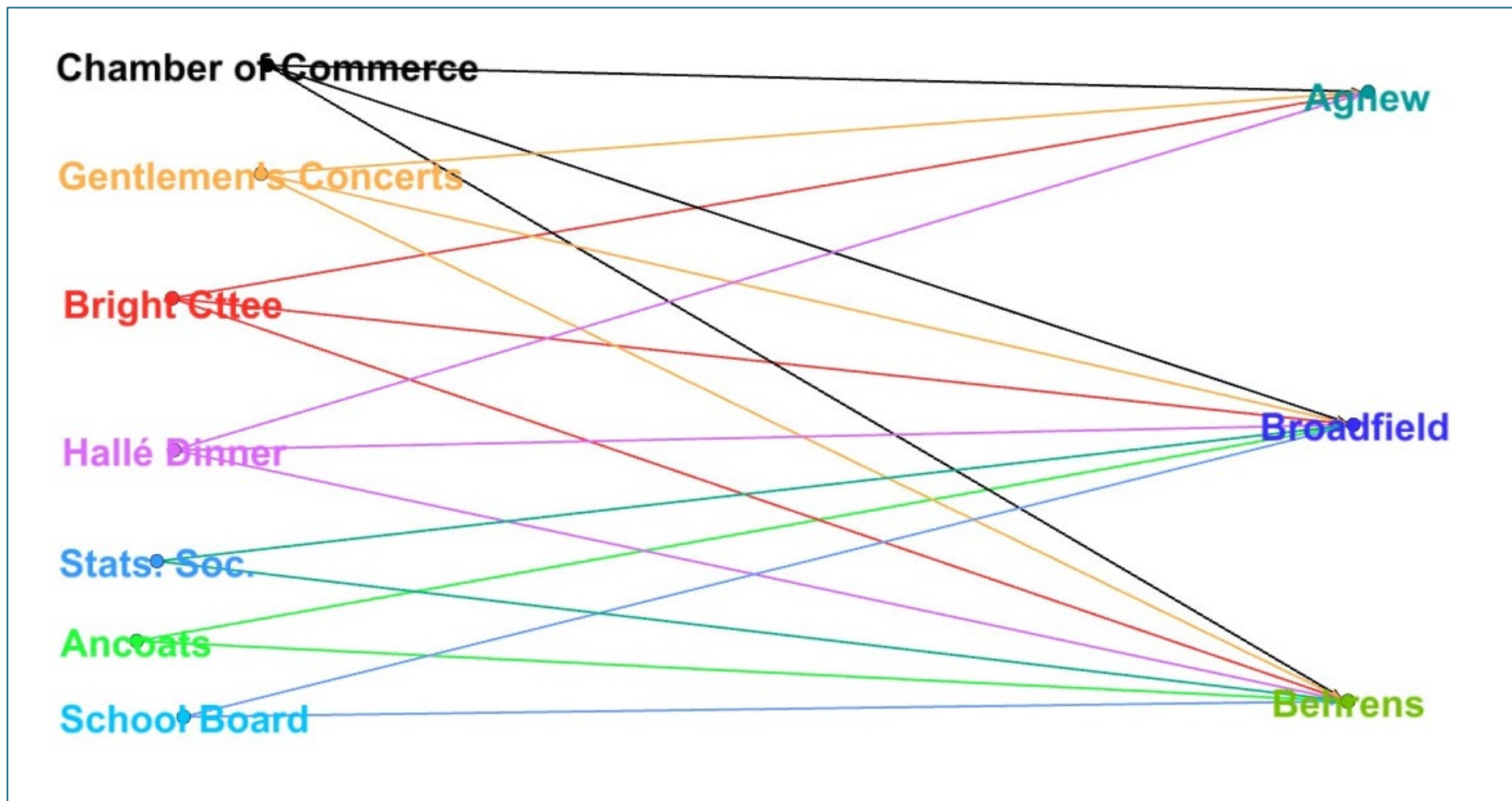


Fig. 2.4 The networks which Behrens, Agnew and Broadfield had in common.

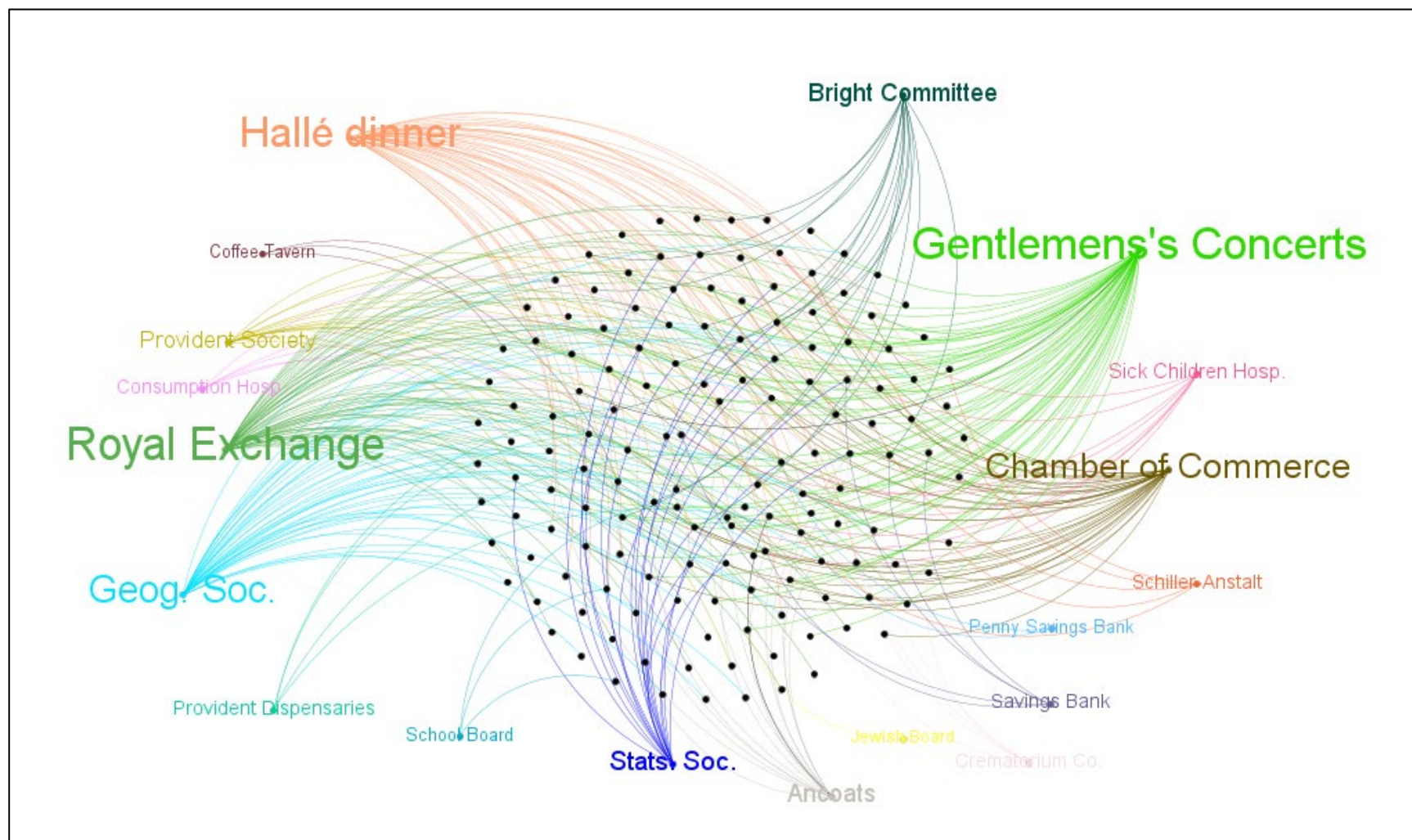


Fig. 2.5 Graphic representation showing Behrens' connections with others on the combined 1891 lists.
Each black circle represents another person belonging to the organisations.

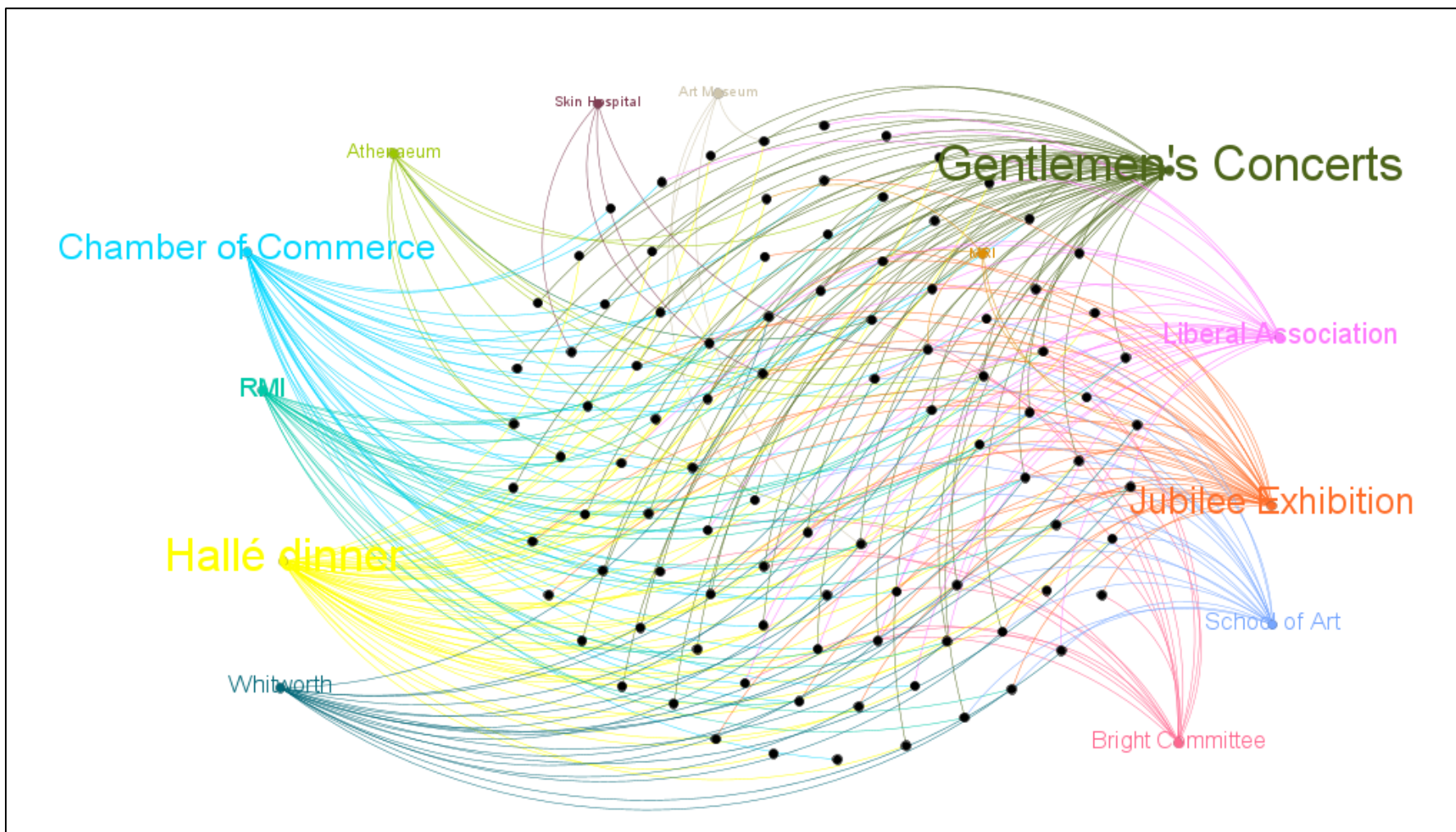


Fig. 2.6 Graphic representation showing Agnew's connections with others on the combined 1891 lists.
Each black circle represents another person belonging to the organisations.

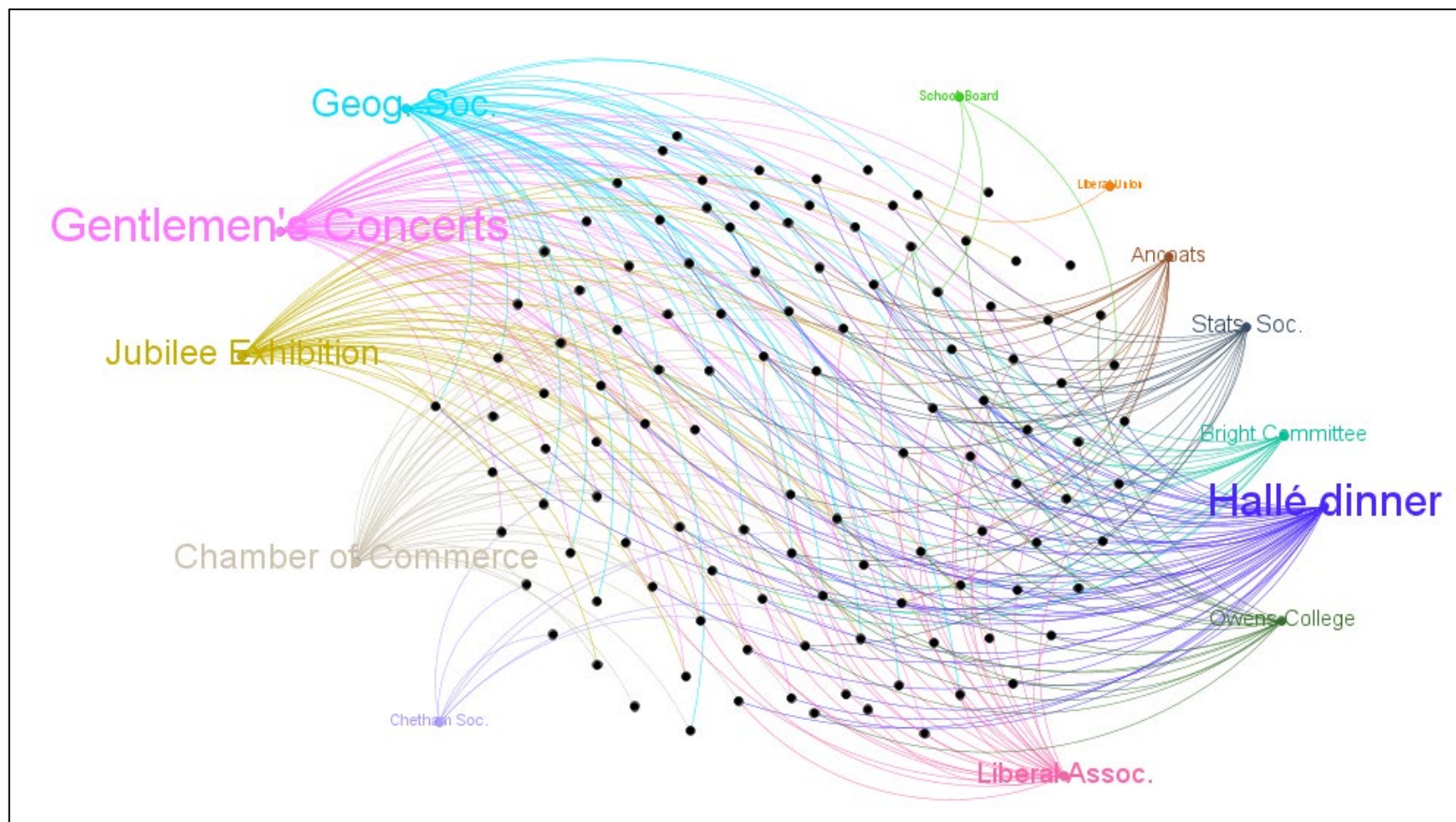


*Fig. 2.7. Graphic representation showing Broadfield's connections with others on the combined 1891 lists.
Each black circle represents another person belonging to the organisations*

Public meeting and follow-up

The Town Hall meeting on 3 December 1891 was attended by Hallé and thirty-four other gentlemen:⁶²

Sir Charles Hallé	M. Hertz
The Dean of Manchester	Dr Hiles
[Edward C. Maclure]	J. F. Cheetham
Sir W. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P	Geo. Gray
E. J. Broadfield	J. E. King
J. W. Maclure M.P.	Louis Schwabe
W. Mather M.P.	Dr Little
William Agnew	Dr Gumpert
Oliver Heywood	Charles Rowley
E. S. Heywood	Henry Simon
Alb. Nicholson	Geo. Freemantle
W. C. Lord	Francis Hampson
T. W. Gillibrand	James Forsyth
Charles E. Lees	T. C. Horsfall
Fritz Reiss	W. Huntington
Charles Behrens	C. H. Bowker
Prof. Dr. Ward	G. Dehn
A. T. Bentley	Gustav Behrens

Other than the list of attendees, the proceedings of the meeting are not recorded in the minutes, but reference is made instead to comprehensive reports published in the *Manchester Courier*, *Manchester Examiner and Times*, and the *Manchester Guardian*, cuttings of which are pasted into the minute book.⁶³ Putting forward his plan, Hallé told his hearers that, from what he had heard, the time had come to found a great musical conservatorium in Manchester.⁶⁴ He said he had had the idea in his mind for a long time and had heard from those who ‘seemed to think it necessary that he should do something to assist in the formation...’.⁶⁵ He thought it would receive support

⁶² “Minutes of Meeting held at Mayor’s Parlour at 3pm Thursday Dec. 3/91,” *Preliminary minute book*, 1891–92, [8].

The names are transcribed in the format in which they appear in the minutes.

⁶³ “Proposed Conservatoire of Music for Manchester. Address by Sir Charles Halle [sic],” *Manchester Courier*, Dec 4, 1891, 6; “Music culture in Manchester. Important proposal,” *Manchester Examiner and Times*, Dec 4, 1891, [page no. missing from cutting]; “Proposed Musical College for Manchester. Important statement by Sir Charles Halle [sic],” *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 4, 1891, 7; [Editorial article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 4, 1891, 5. A brief report was published in *Manchester Evening News*, Dec 4, 1891, 2.

⁶⁴ “Proposed Musical College for Manchester,” *Manchester Guardian*, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

from a great many persons and was willing to put himself at the service of 'those who took a leading part in the movement'.⁶⁶ Thus his first proposal was the creation of a Conservatoire of Music; the second was the creation of a society, in conjunction with the Gentlemen's Concerts or a similar institution, to take over his concerts;⁶⁷ and he was suggesting a new hall to accommodate the concerts and the conservatoire. As there were, he said, 1,200 subscribers to his own concerts,⁶⁸ as well as those who subscribed only to the Concert Hall, he seemed to think there would be plenty of support.⁶⁹

There were several speakers in favour of the scheme, particularly the establishment of a college of music. William Agnew said that he had 'long been of the opinion that the time had arrived when there should be a school of music in Manchester and he would esteem it a privilege to make an exceptional effort to help forward any scheme of the kind that had been indicated by Hallé.' Broadfield remarked (although 'speaking informally') that the Directors of the Concert Hall had 'ever been prepared to consider any scheme of a comprehensive nature which might be brought before their notice'. He also referred obliquely to the Whitworth Institute, remarking that 'at one time it was thought that some portion of the surplus of the Jubilee Exhibition might have been devoted to the establishment of such a school in Manchester.' In the course of the ensuing discussion Dr Hiles, who had himself been promoting the idea of a conservatoire in Manchester, asked Hallé whether the latter considered the two parts of his scheme should necessarily go together.⁷⁰ Hallé responded that he had never had the idea that the society which continued the concerts, and the school should be bound together in any way, indicating that he was willing to entertain the idea of one strand of his plan proceeding without the other.

Holding a meeting of this nature to discuss a subject of interest and importance to the locality was typical of the manner in which such issues were approached.

⁶⁶ "Proposed conservatoire of music for Manchester," *Manchester Courier*, *ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ "Proposed Musical College for Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, *ibid.*

⁶⁹ At a meeting held on 20 October 1891 it was reported that the number of subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts for that year was 1,064. "The Gentlemen's Concerts. Conference of Ladies," *Manchester Courier*, Oct 21, 1891, 6.

⁷⁰ See Chapter One, pp.62, 68–69.

In doing this Behrens, Hallé, and the others were drawing on an accepted precedent which would be familiar to those to whom the invitation was addressed and therefore send out the message that this was a significant event. Following a requisition to the Mayor, the great, the good and the influential were called to a public meeting for preliminary discussions and a committee set up to work on the feasibility of an idea and report back. An example of this has already been described in Chapter One in relation to the Manchester meeting called, ten years earlier, to support the plan for a national conservatoire. Following that pattern, the meeting concluded with a resolution to appoint a Committee to consider Hallé's suggestions and report to a future meeting. The members of the Committee listed in the minute book as having been appointed were:⁷¹

The Mayor (of Manchester) [Ald. B. T. Leech]
The Dean of Manchester [Edward C. Maclure]
Sir Charles Hallé
Sir W. Houldsworth Bart. M.P. [Chair of the Town Hall meeting]
J. W. Maclure, M.P.
W. Mather, M.P.
W. Agnew J.P.
E. J. Broadfield
Charles E. Lees J.P.
Thomas Craven J.P.
George Gray
Fritz Reiss
C. J. Heywood
Alb. Nicholson
F. Hampson
Gustav Behrens, Hon. Sec.

George Murray [added 6 January 1892]⁷²
J. A. [John Armitage] Bennett [added 6 January 1892]
Henry Cooke [added 6 January 1892]
Edw. Donner [added 6 January 1892]
S. R. Platt [added 6 January 1892]
T. W. Gillibrand [added 6 January 1892]

As with Behrens' initial list, some of those on the Committee may be considered as 'obvious' candidates – the Mayor, three local M.P.s and the Dean of Manchester –again signalling civic support for, and interest in, the scheme plus

⁷¹ *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [9]. This list contains more names than those in the newspaper reports of the meeting; some were confirmed or added on Jan 6, 1892. The names are transcribed as they appear in the minute book. The text in square brackets has been added for clarification.

⁷² "Second Meeting of Committee, Wednesday Jan 6/92," *ibid.*, 14.

Behrens, Broadfield and Agnew who had all been involved in the initial conversations with Hallé. The names of the others provide an insight into the significance of the connections in Manchester society.

Charles Edward Lees, who was to play a key role in the establishment of the RMCM, was on Behrens' original list. He was a wealthy cotton manufacturer who had a reputation in the area as a benefactor of the arts, particularly in Oldham.⁷³ He was present at the dinner in honour of Hallé in March 1890 and in December that same year became a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts. The inclusion of references to their respective wives, in letters from Lees to Behrens which are otherwise wholly concerned with the development of the scheme, suggest that the two families were well known to each other.⁷⁴ The tenor of the correspondence between them gives the impression that not only did they know each other but also Behrens valued his opinion. Lees was also a friend of William Agnew and his brother, having been introduced to them in the 1870s by his father, Eli; according to Rebecca Hill it was this friendship which was a major factor in Lees' development as an art collector.⁷⁵ It may have been as a consequence of this that Lees served as a member of the Royal Jubilee Exhibition Fine Arts Sectional Committee, of which Agnew was the Chairman. Since 1887, Lees had been a Director of the Public Hall Company (the owner of the Free Trade Hall where Hallé gave his orchestral concerts).

⁷³ Rebecca Hill, "The Charles Lees Watercolour Collection at Oldham Gallery," *ArtUK*, Feb 1, 2017, accessed Oct 4, 2023, <https://artuk.org/discover/stories/the-charles-lees-watercolour-collection-at-gallery-oldham>. See Chapter Six for biography.

⁷⁴ 'Now my wife is at home again I hope you will come to see us and bring Mrs Behrens with you.' Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Feb 21, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3/30; 'I saw your sister in law and took the liberty of introducing myself to her. With kind regards to Mrs Behrens and your self [sic]...' Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Mar 26, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3/40.

'My wife returned the book to Mrs Behrens on Saturday. Many thanks for the loan of it'. Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 25/26, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3/63–64. Letter addressed to, and signed off, 'My dear Mr Lees'. Gustav Behrens, *Letter to Charles E. Lees*, Apr 20, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 57–58.

⁷⁵ Hill, "The Charles Lees Watercolour Collection at Oldham Gallery."

The first purchase by Lees from Agnew's appears to have been made in May 1873; see *Agnew's picture stock book, 1871–1874*, 74, National Gallery. NGA27/1/1/4.

<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/research/research-centre/agnews-stock-books/reference-nga27114-1871-74>.

Other directors of that company put forward for this initial Committee were:

Henry Cooke, stockbroker. Trustee, President and Chairman of the Public Hall Company;⁷⁶

Edward Donner, foreign merchant. Elected as a director of the company in 1890, and subscriber to Gentlemen's Concerts from 1882;

Samuel Radcliffe Platt, mechanical engineer. Member of the National Conservatoire Committee who also donated individually to the fund.⁷⁷ He was a committee member of the newly formed Society for the Promotion of Orchestral Playing, begun in 1884, and had subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts since 1867.⁷⁸

That the Gentlemen's Concerts provided several Committee members, in addition to Behrens and Broadfield, from amongst its directors is unsurprising. These were:

John Armitage Bennett, subscriber, 1867; director, 1882 and Honorary Secretary, 1884 (a post he held until his death in 1897);

Thomas Craven, engineer. Subscriber, 1879–, director, 1889–94;⁷⁹

Thomas Walton Gillibrand, chartered accountant. Subscriber, 1876–, director, 1890–98. He had subscribed to Hallé's concerts in the 1850s and was a shareholder in the Public Hall Company;⁸⁰

George Gray, cotton merchant. Subscriber, 1854–, director, 1883–98;

Francis Hampson, solicitor. Subscriber, 1869–; director, 1883–89, Vice-Chairman, 1884–88, later solicitor to the Gentlemen's Concerts;

Albert Nicholson, grey cloth agent. Subscriber, 1867–, director, 1888–. He subsequently held various offices on the Committee until the final demise of the society in 1920;

Charles James Heywood, member of the eponymous banking family.⁸¹ Subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts since the 1860s, director,

⁷⁶ At the School of Music Committee meeting on 6 January 1892 it was minuted that its members particularly desired his co-operation. "Second Meeting of Committee," *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [13].

⁷⁷ *RCM Donations, 2 volumes, 1882–1896*, RCM. RCM01422.

⁷⁸ See D. A. Farnie, "Platt family (per. c.1815–1930), textile machinery manufacturers," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Jun 29, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50762>.

⁷⁹ See biographical note in Appendix B.

⁸⁰ See biographical note in Appendix B.

⁸¹ See Chapter Six for biography.

1868– Treasurer, 1879–. Also a subscriber to Hallé's concerts in the 1850s.

Of the remaining Committee members, Fritz Reiss, a merchant, was a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts from 1867 and also served on several other committees alongside Behrens. George Rigby Murray, partner in the well-known firm of A & G Murray Cotton Mills, had less obvious connections prior to 1891 although he would have been known to others in the cotton trade as well as social circles.⁸²

Other than the civic officials, MPs, Hallé, Agnew, Behrens and Broadfield, the membership of the Committee agreed on 3 December therefore comprised five other directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts and two subscribers; of the six men added on 6 January 1892, two were directors and two subscribers. Only Cooke (the President of the Public Hall Company) and Murray appear to have had no connection with the Gentlemen's Concerts.⁸³ Given that Hallé's initial idea was for a new concert hall to be built by the directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts, in consequence of which he would transfer this concerts to them and the Gentlemen's Concerts could then be reinstated, the involvement of representatives of that organisation in the discussions was essential. In addition, they would be recognised as having an interest in music and thus suitable to investigate the proposal.

Immediately after the Town Hall meeting Behrens and other members of the Committee began gathering information and making enquiries. Albert Nicholson accompanied Hallé to the Philharmonic Hall in Liverpool in order to obtain more detailed figures about its operations and he wrote to Behrens on 9 December 1891 with a full description of the seating numbers and ticket prices.⁸⁴

⁸² See biographical note in Appendix B.

⁸³ Other than his position in the Public Hall Company, Cooke may have had a personal connection with Charles Edward Lees. Cooke's son, Henry Reginald Cooke, was an executor alongside Lees of the latter's father, Eli, who died in 1892.

⁸⁴ Albert Nicholson, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 9, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2, 29.

'if we can raise say £50,000 by the sale of seats that money will practically be without interest & with the income even 3/3/- each seat we could carry on the concerts that wd [sic] leave the income from the cheaper seats to go to cover other expenses & we cd also let the Hall. We have also our "Concert Hall" £10,000 so surely we ought to manage to run the school of Music in [sic] as well for I am sure we may depend on a considerably subscription to that & a certain income as soon as started.'

Nicholson's report was clearly predicated on the plan to build a concert hall which would also include rooms for a school of music. The first meeting of the new Committee was arranged for 16 December and in advance of it there was further correspondence. Charles J. Heywood tendered his apologies and signalled his concern about the viability of taking on Hallé's concerts.⁸⁵

It is not probable, I think, that any Committee can be formed to undertake the financial responsibility of carrying on Sir Chas Halle's [sic] orchestral Concerts. But with the establishment of a School of Music I feel much sympathy, and it has always appeared to me that the present Concert Hall is admirably adapted for the Concerts and gatherings that would be the outcome of such a School & that the Concert Hall is also most valuable in offering a centre to the musical and Dramatic societies Existing in an around Manchester.

I do not see that the teaching rooms and practising rooms of a School of Music need be in the same building as the Concert Hall, but if an adjoining warehouse could be acquired and adapted all the better?

Similar concerns were expressed in a letter to Behrens from Lees who had taken the opportunity, while in London, to visit the RCM and the RAM.⁸⁶ He wrote that he was strongly in favour of a School of Music in Manchester but did not approve of the proposal to build another concert hall. He thought the Free Trade Hall and Concert Hall were sufficient and 'the best situation for a School of Music would probably not be the most suitable for a large Hall, which must be central'.

Refining the scheme

The six Committee members present at the meeting on 16 December 1891 passed three resolutions.⁸⁷ These differ slightly from the proposals Hallé had made in his original meeting with Behrens (the Directors of the Concert Hall to build a new, large Hall, following which he would be prepared to transfer to them his own Concerts, the Gentlemen's Concerts to be reinstated, and the inclusion of a school of music) and are more in line with the way in which he had laid out his ideas at the public meeting. The objects he had in view, he said, were how his concerts could be continued, whether the provision of a new larger hall

⁸⁵ Charles J. Heywood, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 14, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2, 45-46.

⁸⁶ Charles E Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 14, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2, 47.

⁸⁷ Present: Mr E.J. Broadfield, in the Chair, Messrs W Mather M.P., F. Hampson, A. Nicholson, G Gray & G. Behrens. "First Meeting of Committee, Wednesday Dec. 16th 1891," *Preliminary minute book, 1891-92*, [12-13].

would enable this to happen and establishing a musical conservatoire in Manchester, which could be attached to the hall.⁸⁸

The first resolution passed by the Committee recognised 'the desirability of Sir Charles Hallé's concerts being continued in their present high state of efficiency'; the second recognised the desirability of establishing a conservatoire of music in the city of Manchester. The third was that it is 'the opinion of this Committee that the directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts & such property as the Trustees hold for their subscribers should become the basis of the scheme propounded to the continuation of the Gentlemen's Concerts, of Sir Charles Hallé's concerts & the establishment of a conservatoire of music in Manchester'.⁸⁹ This was carried, but with one dissenting voice, that of George Gray. The first two resolutions were affirming Hallé in his desire to continue his concerts and establish a conservatoire; the third linked them both formally to the Gentlemen's Concerts and, at this juncture, were drawing on Hallé's own suggestions.

The second meeting of the Committee was arranged for 6 January 1892. There were several apologies tendered including that of William Agnew, who had sent a letter to Behrens which was read to the meeting.⁹⁰ Agnew writes that he had given much thought to the matters on which the Committee had been asked to report and offers the following views.

First I don't think it will be possible to get money subscribed to build a new Concert Hall....The continuity of friend Halle's [sic] concerts is not at this time in jeopardy. The Manchester public is greatly his debtor and I in common with hundreds desire there shall exist in our midst a visible proof of Manchester appreciation of his reforming & noble work. Such I think wd [sic] be a School of Music.

I am of opinion [sic] that we should at first confine our efforts to the establishment of the School.... if the Com^e [Committee] of the Concert Hall will hand over their property to the school subject to such conditions for continuity of musical training as the Com^e may determine, I am of opinion the public will provide funds to enable us to start the School

⁸⁸ "Proposed conservatoire...", *Manchester Courier*, Dec 4, 1891. 'The first proposal he had to lay before them was the creation of a real Conservatoire of Music...The second proposal was that some society should be created either in connection with the Gentlemen's Concert institution or some similar institution, and that they should take over his concerts and do away with the existing opposition, and engage him...for so long as he could be of service.'

⁸⁹ "First Meeting of Committee," *ibid*.

⁹⁰ William Agnew, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, [n.d.]. RMCM/A/1/3, 10–12; "Second Meeting of Committee, Wednesday Jan 6/92," *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [12].

within 12 months. Within a very short time it can be seen how the experiment works...⁹¹

The minutes do not record the response of the other members to these comments which, following those from Heywood and Lees, were now the third set expressing doubts about all but the conservatoire element of the scheme. Those who were closely involved in developing the scheme were, even at this early stage, voicing their concerns as to whether the plan in its entirety was realistic, particularly in terms of the amount of money that would be required, and whether there would be sufficient support for it. Two days after the meeting, Behrens writes at length to Agnew.⁹² He tells the latter that it would have been abundantly clear to Hallé at the meeting [January 6] that the building of a new hall would not meet with public favour and approval, and that the view of the Committee on that point is unanimous, although this is not stated in the minutes. However, the meeting did appoint a sub-committee (consisting of Sir William Houldsworth, Agnew, Francis Hampson and Behrens) to meet with Hallé in order to 'ascertain the exact conditions upon which Sir Charles Hallé is prepared to arrange for the continuance of his Concerts'.⁹³ This suggests that the topic was discussed, even if not minuted, and that the members wished to meet with Hallé out of committee to establish if he was willing to accede to the idea of proceeding with the conservatoire only. If the members, who were well-connected, felt there was no appetite for building a new hall and making new arrangements for concerts, it was necessary to convince Hallé of that fact.

The likely costs of the scheme

Behrens concludes the letter to Agnew, cited above, with his initial ideas for the scheme, working on the assumption that a new trust will be set up for the purpose of establishing a conservatoire, giving concerts and maintaining a permanent chorus and orchestra. He estimates that this will require a guarantee or subscription fund of not less than £5000 (per) annum for five years, plus an additional sum of £10/15000 for 'providing suitable class rooms in connection with or proximity to the Concert Hall – which will be used for the purposes of the

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Gustav Behrens, *Letter to William Agnew*, Jan 8, 1892 [carbon copy]. RMCM/A/1/3, 16–19.

⁹³ "Second Meeting of Committee," *ibid.*

Conservatoire & for giving Chamber concerts'.⁹⁴ Here, for the first time, is a statement that the finance for the scheme will have to be raised by means of public subscription – the tried and tested method for funding such ventures – although it is highly likely that this had been in the minds of Behrens and his colleagues from the outset.

The third meeting of the Committee took place on 19 January 1892, the sub-committee having met with Hallé on 11 January.⁹⁵ Following that meeting Halle wrote a letter to Behrens which was read to the Committee: 'Now that my original plan of uniting School and Concerts in one building has been abandoned, would it not be well to set to work earnestly with the School and leave the Concert-Scheme open for later consideration...' Behrens then read out the text of a draft scheme similar to that he had proposed in his letter to Agnew. The subscribers of the Gentlemen's Concerts were to be asked to agree to transfer their property to a new trust (with shares of a nominal amount) which would be set up for the purposes of:

- I. Establishing and maintaining a Conservatoire of Music in Manchester;
- II. Maintaining a permanent Orchestra and Chorus;
- III. Giving concerts to subscribers and the public.

This would require a capital sum of £15,000 to £20,000, and a subscription or guarantee fund of £5,000 yearly for five years. The capital would be used to 'supply the class-rooms for the School of Music, either by enlarging the present Concert Hall or acquiring and adapting adjacent property for the purpose, while the yearly subscriptions will be required for providing a high-class teaching staff for the Conservatoire and for paying the fees of a certain number of free pupils and finally for making good any deficiency which may arise in the working of the Trust.' Any profits accruing from the concerts would be used for the Conservatoire.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Gustav Behrens, *Letter to William Agnew*, Jan 8, 1892.

⁹⁵ [Report of meeting between Messrs W. Agnew, F. Hampson, Gustav Behrens and Sir Charles Hallé,] Jan 11, 1892. *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [17]; "Third Meeting of Committee, Tuesday Jan 19th," *ibid.*, [18–20].

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

The estimates of the amount required for the subscription fund is unchanged from Behrens' estimate in his letter to Agnew, but the capital sum needed in order to provide accommodation for the conservatoire has risen. At this stage the Gentlemen's Concert Hall was the main building under consideration and, following Behrens' presentation of his ideas for the scheme, the meeting appointed a sub-committee comprised of Messrs E. J. Broadfield, W. T. [sic] Gillibrand, A. Nicholson, F. Hampson and Behrens to consult with the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts 'as to obtaining for the purposes of a Conservatoire of Music the use of the Concert Hall either by purchase or rental'.⁹⁷ In effect these men were consulting with themselves, alongside the other directors – Broadfield was Deputy Chairman of the Gentlemen's Concerts, Gillibrand, Nicholson and Behrens were current directors and Hampson had previously served in this capacity. The other directors at this period were: Sir Joseph C. Lee (Chairman), Charles J. Heywood (Treasurer), John Armitage Bennett (Hon. Secretary), Charles H. Beever, Louis Grommé, William C. Lord, and William Mather, M.P.

The overlap in personnel between the nascent School of Music Committee and the Gentlemen's Concerts Committee, particularly its Directors, was inevitable. These men were known to Behrens and Broadfield and in musical matters the ones to whom they would be most likely to turn. Furthermore, Hallé had linked them together when he proposed his scheme a few months earlier.

Financing the scheme

Although there was a gap of almost two months between the third and fourth meetings, the Committee members were not idle. On 21 February Lees responded to a letter from Behrens (not extant) which must have contained the latter's ideas as to how the requisite money to establish the school of music might be raised.⁹⁸

I think your idea of a few of the more wealthy men guaranteeing £1000 ea. a year for 5 years is a good one. Would it be possible to find 10 men who would guarantee £500 a year each for 5 years? If possible we should enlist the sympathy of as large a section of public we can, but I think in all cases it would be best to obtain promises of yearly subscriptions for 5 years, rather than donations.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Feb 21, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 30.

Behrens was probably being overly optimistic in thinking that they would be able to find five wealthy men to guarantee £1,000 each per annum for five years. For comparison, the maximum amount given by individuals to the Owens College General Fund was £1,000, and to the Extension Fund, £4,000.⁹⁹ Lees was, perhaps, being more pragmatic in suggesting it would be better to approach ten men to give £500 each per annum for five years.

Behrens wrote to Agnew on 25 February, with the suggestion of similar figures to be raised (£5,000 per annum for five years), informing the latter of the generous contribution promised by Lees, and recognising that there were limits to the number of people who could be approached for large donations.¹⁰⁰

I think I told you in my last letter that the issue before us is now practically narrowed down to the provision & maintenance of a high-class School of Music for the North of England in Manchester. There is no doubt that we can establish a conservatoire of high character if we are provided with ample funds, but if such funds are not forthcoming then we must be satisfied with a second or third rate institution or abandon the scheme. To my mind the latter alternative is preferable to the first – indeed I would not raise a finger unless I see my way to provide our City with an educational institution second to none in the Country. I know we are at one insofar [sic]. Now even, finding our way experimentally, I am convinced that unless we raise a fund of at least £5000 (per) annum for 5 years our task will be hopeless. Again such a sum cannot be raised in small contributions - & for big sums we have but a very limited constituency. Charles Lees has promised a minimum subscription of £500 (per) annum for 5 years & I think if pushed will do more.

Agnew responded that Lees' offer was 'a noble one' which he could not emulate but he would commit to £100 a year for five years, provided 'the School must be first class ... and the Concert Hall shall dedicate the property to the Institute'.¹⁰¹ He comments on the budget thus:

I have no information as to the facts or theories upon which your budget of 5000 a year is assessed at. Assuming for arguments sake that the estimate is not exaggerated, that in effect it is just, I think the appeals should cover a large area. For the larger the area of sympathy and sacrifice the safer will be our foundation.

At the fourth meeting of the Committee held on 11 March 1892, the outcome of the meeting between the sub-committee and the Directors of the Gentlemen's

⁹⁹ Thompson, *The Owens College*, 633, 635.

¹⁰⁰ Gustav Behrens, *Letter to William Agnew*, Feb 25, 1892 [Copy]. RMCM/A/1/3, 32–33.

¹⁰¹ William Agnew, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Feb 28, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 34.

Concerts was reported.¹⁰² In summary, the Directors indicated that they would favourably consider any proposal for letting the hall to the music school Committee. It was now agreed that a report, as proposed at the public meeting on 3 December 1891, should be drawn up for the Committee's consideration. Lees and Behrens were commissioned to produce the report which would be confined to consideration of a school of music, as the Committee was unanimous in pronouncing 'the suggestion of building a new Hall – to contain School of Music & large room for giving concerts similar to those of Sir Chs [sic] Hallé – as impracticable' and 'as Sir Chas. Hallé expressed his desire in his letter of Jan 17/92 for the committee [sic] to leave the Concerts Scheme open for further consideration'.

A new School of Music

From this meeting onwards the scheme was definitely to be for a new school of music only, thus reducing the amount of money that would have to be raised from potential donors, and making it a more realistic prospect to bring into existence. Behrens and Lees must have produced an initial draft quickly as on 26 March Hallé wrote to the former telling him that he had received a copy to which 'I have not the slightest objection to make'.¹⁰³ In advance of the Committee meeting to be held on 5 April Behrens received letters of apology from Lees who 'entirely approves of the scheme',¹⁰⁴ and Sir William Houldsworth who thinks it would not be a good time to go ahead as 'prices are too bad. I am afraid you will fail while people are so depressed'.¹⁰⁵ He also mentions that Owens College is hard at work trying to raise a large sum of money and, although he is in favour of the scheme, thinks the time very inopportune.

The draft report was presented to the meeting by Behrens and approved. There was also agreement to have copies printed and circulated, and to organise a public meeting for its consideration.¹⁰⁶ The key paragraphs of the report are the

¹⁰² "Fourth meeting of Committee, Friday March 11th," *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [18].

¹⁰³ Charles Hallé, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Mar 26, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 41.

¹⁰⁴ Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 4, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 48.

¹⁰⁵ W. H. Houldsworth, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 4, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 47.

¹⁰⁶ "Fifth Committee Meeting, Tuesday April 5/92," *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [20].

following which state the aim of the project, outlining the level of finance required (now reduced to £4,000 per annum) and how this was to be obtained.

4. Your Committee are unanimous in recommending that an effort be made to found a Conservatoire of Music in this city...
5. For the purposes of a Conservatoire premises can be secured at a moderate rental.
7. The cost of supplying an educational staff of this kind will necessitate the provision of an ample revenue. It is not to be anticipated that...a new Conservatoire of music can, at all events, for some years, become self-supporting...
8. The Committee deem it desirable that the funds necessary for the initial expenses and to cover any yearly deficit should be raised in the shape of a guarantee fund spread over five years. This mode appears more practicable than appealing for a capital sum.
9. A carefully prepared estimate of expenditure shows that the guarantee fund should not be less than £4,000 per annum.
10. It is hoped that the advantages of the Manchester Conservatoire of Music will be utilized by pupils residing in the north of England as well as in Manchester and its more immediate neighbourhood. The appeal for subscriptions to the guarantee fund, ought, therefore, to be made over as wide an area as possible.
12. ...the Committee would suggest the advisability of appointing a number of representative gentlemen to secure the necessary funds, which must be subscribed before the work can be initiated.

Following the Committee meeting there was further correspondence between Behrens and Lees,¹⁰⁷ with Behrens expressing the hope that they will 'bring some substantial results in the shape of promises of pecuniary support.'¹⁰⁸ He continues:

I think it is essential that, on the day of the public meeting, we should have a list ready which would be publicly announced, for unless somebody makes a start and we have a few actual promises to place before the meeting, I am afraid that the whole thing will fall flat... Meantime I am also trying to obtain promise of assistance from others.

The first sentence of this excerpt exemplifies the acknowledged method of philanthropic fundraising, as noted in the Introduction.¹⁰⁹ In order to raise funds it was necessary to be able to produce a list of those who had already promised support for a project, thus establishing its validity and credibility.

¹⁰⁷ Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 8, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 49.

¹⁰⁸ Gustav Behrens, *Letter to Charles E. Lees*, Apr 20, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 57–58.

¹⁰⁹ See p.33.

The first promises of support

Lees responded a few days later, enclosing a letter to be read out at the forthcoming public meeting as he would be absent.¹¹⁰

I cordially approve of the scheme as proposed in the report issued by the committee [sic], and to show my sympathy with the undertaking, I am willing to subscribe to the Guarantee fund the sum of £250 a year for 5 years,¹¹¹ and provided some others will do the same, to give a donation of £250 towards the expenses of altering and furnishing the School, providing musical instruments, & other expenses that would necessarily be incurred during the first year.

Having obtained this promise from Lees, Behrens wrote to Charles J. Heywood, a fellow Committee member, as well as Director and Treasurer, of the Gentlemen's Concerts.¹¹²

My dear Mr Heywood,
Re School of Music

Referring to our conversation of yesterday, I have just received a letter from Mr. Charles E. Lees, wherein he has modified his proposal, which I mentioned to you, as follows, namely :- That he will subscribe to a guarantee fund the sum of £250 a year for five years, and provided others will do the same, he will give a donation of £250 towards the expenses of altering and furnishing the school. Mr. Lees is quite right in supposing that the expenses of initiation will be comparatively heavy in the first year, and that, once the paraphernalia having been provided, the guarantee fund in the successive years will only be drawn upon to the extent of making up the deficiency between income and expenditure.¹¹³ I think, from what I gathered from you yesterday, that this modified proposal of Mr. Lees' will be more in consonance with your views. I shall be glad if you will kindly take the opportunity of consulting your brother Mr. Edward Heywood and if you would kindly let me know before the 4th of May to what extent we may rely upon your and your brother's co-operation.

Heywood's response of 1 May was as follows: 'I have communicated with my brother Edward in reference to the proposed School of music. We shall be glad to give, together, a contribution of £250 to meet the preliminary expenses and in addition to this to guarantee £200 per annum for five years.'¹¹⁴ With this letter from Heywood, alongside the one from Lees, Behrens had the promises he deemed it necessary to have in place to avoid the project from falling flat (as he

¹¹⁰ Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 25 (26), 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 62–63; *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 25, 1892. *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [28]. The letter is stuck into the minute book.

¹¹¹ Not the £500 per annum which Behrens had told Agnew.

¹¹² Gustav Behrens, *Letter to C. J. Heywood*, Apr 26, 1892 [Carbon copy]. RMCM/A/1/3, 64.

¹¹³ As noted in Chapter One, this was not how it operated in practice.

¹¹⁴ Charles J. Heywood, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, May 1, 1892. RMCM/A/3/1. The letter is stuck into the minute book.

had written to Lees on 20 April). Between Lees and the Heywood brothers £450 of the £4,000 per annum estimated to be required for the guarantee fund, and £500 for initial expenses, had been promised. The support of these respected men for the project would demonstrate to those gathered at the meeting that it was a credible undertaking.

The circular calling the meeting was sent out on 28 April, the list of recipients being indicated on the same document as that used for the previous one in November 1891 [see Appendix 2.1]. Notices were also published in the Manchester newspapers on Saturday, 30 April.¹¹⁵ This was an invitation to a public meeting in order to receive the report of the Committee appointed on 3 December 1891 and ‘take such further action as is deemed desirable’, i.e. to accept the Committee’s recommendation that an effort be made to found a conservatoire. By reporting back to the public meeting which had requested the report, the organisers were continuing to employ the recognised methods of progressing such ventures.

Gaining public approval for the scheme

The meeting was held in the Town Hall on 4 May 1892. The official record in the minute book is again very brief, listing only the names of those in attendance, apologies for absence, the resolution made, the names of those to form a Committee for the next stage, and, importantly, the promised subscriptions.¹¹⁶ The *Manchester Courier* and the *Manchester Guardian* both devoted whole columns to the meeting, reporting the proceedings in full, including the speeches.¹¹⁷ In addition to the promises made by Lees and the Heywoods, the following were reported:

Sir William Houldsworth. £100 for initial expenses; £50 per annum for 5 years
Behrens. £50 for initial expenses; £50 per annum for 5 years
Henry Simon. £50 per annum for 5 years
T. C. Horsfall. £50 per annum for 5 years

¹¹⁵ “Re Establishment of School of Music in Manchester,” *Manchester Courier*, Apr 30, 1892, 1; *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 30, 1892, 1. Also the *Manchester City News* and *Manchester Examiner*, according to a note in the minute book.

¹¹⁶ “Public meeting in Mayor’s Parlour, Wednesday May 4/92,” *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, [25].

¹¹⁷ “A Conservatoire for Manchester. Handsome offers of help,” *Manchester Courier*, May 5, 1892, 8; “Proposed Conservatoire of Music in Manchester,” *Manchester Guardian*, May 5, 1892, 7.

The minutes list the following as being present:

Sir W. H. Houldsworth Bart., M.P. in the Chair	A. [Alfred] Barnes*
Sir Charles Hallé	J. B. [James Begg] Shaw* ¹¹⁸
E. J. Broadfield	W. [Willy] Hess
A. Nicholson	A. [Adolf] Beyschlag*
Hy Simon	Geo. Gray
O. P. Behrens	Dr. Gumpert
E. Salomons	Chas. Rowley
F. Hampson	Gustav Dehn
J. A. Bennett	T. C. Horsfall
F. J. Astbury	Geo. Murray
J. A. [John Albert] Cross*	Geo. Ratcliffe
Dr Hy [Henry] Watson	Gustav Behrens & others.

* indicates the person was not on any of the previous lists.

With apologies from:

The Mayor of Manchester [Bosdin T. Leech]	E. S. Heywood
Rt. Hon A. J. Balfour, M.P.	C. J. Heywood
W. Mather, M.P.	C. E. Lees
The Dean of Manchester [Edward C. Maclure]	T. Craven
Charles Santley	Geo. Freemantle
	E. [Edwin] Guthrie ¹¹⁹
	Miss Ewart* ¹²⁰

The report having been read and adopted, i.e. to proceed with the plan to found a Conservatoire, the proposal was made to appoint a Committee to 'frame a Constitution for a College of Music in Manchester and to collect Subscriptions to meet of establishing & conducting such an Institution'. The names put forward for the new Committee were:

The Mayor of Manchester [Bosdin T. Leech]	S. R. Platt
The Mayor of Salford [Peter Keevney] #	Herbert Philips J.P. #
The Mayor of Oldham [Alfred Emmott] # ¹²¹	E. J. Broadfield
	Oliver P. Behrens#
	W. Eller#
	A. Nicholson

¹¹⁸ Shaw had written to Behrens after the public meeting in December to say that he would be pleased to help in any way in the establishment of 'such a very desirable undertaking'. James Begg Shaw, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 4, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2, 28.

¹¹⁹ Guthrie had sent a letter indicating his 'desire to intimate my sympathy with your object and my willingness to take any part which might be thought suitable or helpful towards the movement.' Edwin Guthrie, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 29, 1892. RMCM/A/2/2, 15.

¹²⁰ Mary Alicia Ewart, a close friend of Hallé and his family had written that she was exceedingly sorry to be away from home and unable to attend the meeting. 'I hope that there are good results and will hear about it from Sir Charles Hallé himself'. Mary A. Ewart, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, May 2, 1892. RMCM/A/1/2/2, 22.

¹²¹ Alfred Emmott had written a letter in support which was read out at the meeting. He said he was sure that 'such a scheme as is proposed would meet with hearty approval in Oldham & I

J. W. Maclure M.P.
J. W. Sidebotham M.P.
W. Mather M.P., J.P.
W. Agnew J.P.
Dr A. W. Ward LL.D.#
C. J. Heywood
Charles E. Lees

J. A. Bennett
T. W. Gillibrand
Gustav Dehn#
Geo. Murray
Rupert Mason J.P. #
Gustav Behrens
with power to add more

names marked # were a new addition to the Committee.

The members of the new Committee

The inclusion of the mayors of Salford and Oldham is an indication of the desire to spread the constituency of the school of music beyond Manchester. The intention to involve the wider area (Lancashire/ Cheshire/the North of England) in the establishment of the conservatoire, and as the source for future students, had been under discussion from early on. For instance, as mentioned above, Behrens had written that the 'issue before us is now practically narrowed down to the provision & maintenance of a high-class School of Music for the North of England in Manchester',¹²² and, in response, Agnew had told Behrens he thought the appeals should cover a wide area because 'the larger the area of sympathy and sacrifice the safer will be our foundation.'¹²³ Lees hoped he would be able to obtain promises of help from Oldham and Ashton [under-Lyne],¹²⁴ and the report itself (para.10) clearly stated the hope that the conservatoire would attract students from the north of England and, consequently, the appeal should be made over as wide an area as possible. The point was reinforced by Sir William Houldsworth, in his remarks as chairman of the meeting, when he commented that he had no doubt 'the matter would be heartily taken up not only in Manchester but in the districts around. Indeed it might be that the majority of students might come from the out-districts'.¹²⁵

Of the other new Committee members, Dr Adolphus W. Ward, the Principal of Owens College, was a member of many Manchester organisations. Having him

trust also with considerable financial support'. He would also be glad to assist with anything to forward the scheme. Alfred Emmott, *Letter [to Gustav Behrens]*, May 3, 1892, RMCM/A/3/1.

¹²² Gustav Behrens, *Letter to William Agnew*, Feb 25, 1892 [Copy]. RMCM/A/1/3, 32–33.

¹²³ William Agnew, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Feb 28, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 34.

¹²⁴ Charles E. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 8, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 49.

¹²⁵ "Proposed Conservatoire of Music in Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, May 5, 1892, 7.

on the Committee added an important voice as a representative of higher education. Herbert Philips (a subscriber to, and director of, the Gentlemen's Concerts) had been a Governor of Owens College since 1870 and was a founder Governor of the Whitworth Institute, amongst many other honorary and official positions, thus bringing considerable experience to the Committee. He was also widely noted for his charitable and philanthropic activities, which may have provided an additional reason for his inclusion, in the hope that he would be generous in his financial support.¹²⁶ Three of the other newcomers were merchants: Oliver P. Behrens, a shipping merchant, was a second cousin of Gustav Behrens;¹²⁷ William Eller, also a shipping merchant, was a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts and locally renowned for his services to music; Gustav Dehn, a German by birth, was a cotton shipping merchant.¹²⁸ The final addition, Rupert Mason J.P., was a cotton spinner and manufacturer, who had been a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts since 1885. Being a subscribing member (or a Committee member) of the Gentlemen's Concerts is the most common link between the existing Committee members and those who were added, although there were also connections through business interests.

The membership of the Committee was now a balance of dignitaries (M.P.s, mayors, clergy), those with experience of high-level involvement in educational institutions, a banker, and a significant number of merchants and manufacturers, who brought with them not only their business acumen but also a wide network of influence, as well as a reasonable geographical spread around the surrounding districts.¹²⁹

Other support

Following the meeting Behrens was in receipt of several letters offering further support in various ways. F. J. Astbury, an accountant and the secretary of the Gentlemen's Concerts, who had attended the meeting on 4 May, forwarded the details of his ideas for a scheme, based on using the Gentlemen's Concert Hall.¹³⁰ Another was from Edward Salomons, the renowned architect, writing to

¹²⁶ "Mr Herbert Philips," *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 6, 1905, 8.

¹²⁷ See the family trees on pp.233–234.

¹²⁸ See biographical notes in Appendix B.

¹²⁹ See Appendix 2.2.

¹³⁰ "School of Music," RMCM/A/1/3, 73. There is no indication of authorship but the handwriting appears to be the same as that of the previous document which is a letter from Astbury to

say that he could not contribute any money to the Conservatoire scheme but should be very glad to 'put my professional services (honorary) at the disposal of the committee [sic], advising as to premises, alteration of same &c.'.¹³¹

Salomons was to go on to play a crucial role in finding suitable premises for the College and acted as buildings adviser to the RMCM for several years. An offer of assistance with professional matters, in lieu of financial support, was also received from solicitor Charles Dunderdale.¹³²

I am very much interested in the establishment here in Manchester of the new Conservatoire or School of Music which I hear that you and several other influential men in Manchester are trying to bring about. I regret that I am unable to help the scheme with anything more substantial than my hearty good wishes for its ultimate success; but it occurs to me that there may be, and most probably will be, certain preliminary work of a legal character to be done which will saddle your young association with an initial expense, which it is desirable if possible to avoid.

May I, without presumption, and in lieu of giving a subscription, which I am unable to afford, offer my honorary services to your committee [sic] in the capacity I have indicated. I shall esteem it an honour to assist \in/ however humble a fashion in carrying out your scheme, which I am convinced will, if carried out, be a conspicuous advance in the musical education of the public of this neighbourhood.

Conclusion

The months from November 1891 to May 1892 were taken up with the formalities of bringing the scheme to the attention of the public. The project was initiated by means of the accepted method, described in the quotation at the head of this chapter - to call a public meeting under the auspices of the Mayor, thus signifying its civic significance, at which a Committee would be established to consider any proposal(s) arising out of the meeting and then report back to a subsequent meeting. The amount of correspondence which passed between Behrens and his fellow 'organisers' Broadfield, Agnew and, to some extent, Hallé, in the last two weeks of November demonstrates their awareness that not only was it necessary to present a good case for the scheme, but they also needed to have names of potential supporters in place in advance of the event. The lists which were drawn up include the names of almost everyone who would have been known in and around the city at the time - a veritable 'Who's

Behrens in which he writes, 'I beg to enclose you a copy of the scheme I submitted to you this morning'.

¹³¹ Edward Salomons, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, May 5, 1892, RMCM/A/1/3, 74.

¹³² Charles Dunderdale, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, May 14, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 90. See biographical note in Appendix B.

Who' of 1890s Manchester - as demonstrated by the table of affiliations of those on the initial list. Behrens and the others were drawing on all of their networks and personal contacts to come up with the names. At this stage they were not asking for money but for assurance that there was enough backing to make it worthwhile to spend time looking further into the scheme. As was demonstrated in Chapter One they were not operating in a complete void, with the idea being brought to the public out of nowhere. This was the culmination of a process which had been underway for several years and had definitely gained momentum over the last two or three.

'The Committee were from the first fortunate in securing the services of many gentlemen extremely well known for their devotion to the cause of education generally, as well as for their discriminating love of music...' ¹³³ Although there were quite a number of names on the Committee list, in reality it appears, from the minutes and the extant correspondence, to have been a small group who were actively involved with the early stages of the project. These were Gustav Behrens, William Agnew, Charles Edward Lees, E. J. Broadfield, Albert Nicholson and Francis Hampson, plus Sir Charles Hallé and, to a lesser extent, Sir William Houldsworth. However, the majority of the work and discussions around the possibilities were undertaken by the first four, whose particular connections were outlined earlier in this chapter.

In the next phase of the project it would be crucial to widen the group of people who were involved, both in terms of active and practical participation as Committee members and supporters, and in relation to raising the finances required. The activities which took place to bring this to fruition in the period from May 1892 to the opening of the RMCM in October 1893 are examined in Chapter Three.

¹³³ Hallé, "RMCM," 323.

Chapter Three

Bringing the scheme to fruition: May 1892–October 1893

Once the public meeting had approved the recommendation that an effort be made to found a Conservatoire of Music in Manchester, the next steps were to draft a constitution and secure the necessary funds. In terms of the current study the second of the two aims was the significant one. The initial Committee had been clear that the promises of subscriptions must be in place before the project could be initiated, and it would require ‘a number of representative gentlemen’ to do this.¹ The use of this phrase encapsulates the method which would be employed – a group of men was expected to use their network of contacts to raise the money. Jones, for instance, refers to the importance of personal solicitation in reinforcing the effects of publicity, and in this chapter I will examine how this was undertaken for this scheme.² By drawing on minutes, correspondence and newspaper reports I will explore the methods which were used to publicise the project to a wider audience beyond the initial lists of contacts, and how these conformed to contemporary practice. Following the analysis, in Chapter Two, of the networks found in the 1891 lists I will undertake a similar exercise for those who donated to the project, again focussing on membership of institutions and associations, occupations, nationality, religious and political affiliations, and family connections. I will examine the background and connections of those who were appointed to the various Committees and offer suggestions as to the reasons for their inclusion. These details will contribute answers to the research questions about who the supporters and benefactors were, of which networks they were part and who were their contacts.

The reference to ‘representative gentlemen’ exemplifies the perception that such organisations and committees would be composed of men. However, in Manchester there were already examples of women being involved in the management of organisations as committee and board members. For example, Lydia Becker had been elected to the Manchester School Board in November 1870, soon after the Education Act of that year permitted women to vote and sit

¹ “Third Meeting of Committee, Tuesday Jany 19th at 3pm,” *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*, 20.

² Jones, *Origins*, 104–106.

on school boards.³ After her death in 1890 she was succeeded by Rachel Scott, wife of the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.⁴ The latter also served on the managing Committee of the Manchester High School for Girls from 1876–1884, alongside Margaret E. Gaskell, showing that committees in educational organisations at least were not necessarily all male.⁵ As will be demonstrated in this, and later chapters, women had a role to play as supporters of the RMCM; in the specific context of raising subscriptions they were drawn into the process of personal solicitation amongst their own usually, but not exclusively, female networks. Whilst in the first instance it was expected that men would be the primary actors, hence the use of the phrase ‘representative gentlemen’, women were soon being invited specifically to become involved. Their inclusion would enable access to a wider network of potential supporters.

Setting up the structure

The newly appointed Committee met on 11 May 1892, with the Mayor of Manchester, Bosdin T. Leech, as Chairman, Charles E. Lees as Treasurer and Gustav Behrens as Honorary Secretary.⁶ A smaller Executive Committee was set up to ‘carry out the work’, comprising the Mayor, Lees and Behrens as *ex officio* members with Hallé, Dr Ward, Charles J. Heywood, Samuel R. Platt, Herbert Philips, E. J. Broadfield, Oliver P. Behrens, Gustav Dehn, William Eller, T. W. Gillibrand and George R. Murray (with power to add to their number).⁷ The decision was also taken to appoint a paid secretary who could ‘devote his whole time to the work of the Committee’.⁸

The distinction between the three Committees should be noted here. The membership of the General Committee, which was being established, was large and filled with people of significance in the local area – nobility; civic, political

³ Joanna M. Williams, *The great Miss Lydia Becker* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Limited, 2022), 175–215.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁵ MHSG, *Governors’ meetings, minutes*. [No archive reference]. See Chapter Five p.241, for the names of the women who served on the boards of Manchester High School for Girls and Withington Girls’ School.

⁶ “Committee Meeting, Wednesday, 11th May 1892,” *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92*. For the list of members see Chapter Two, p.110.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ “Minutes of Subcommittee held on Tuesday June 14th 1892,” *Minute book, 1892–93*. RMCM/A/3/2. Stanley Withers was appointed as Secretary on 14 June 1892, for six months in the first instance. He remained in post as Secretary, then Registrar, until his death in December 1927.

and religious leaders; prominent professionals, and businessmen. Its purpose was to underpin the fundraising; as with Behrens' initial list, being able to advertise these names as supporting the scheme would give it the credibility necessary to attract donations and support from others. Jones, in discussing the founders and benefactors of the civic universities, describes the situation thus: 'As members of council or trustees, men of wealth, power and known probity added to the social tone and guaranteed the proper use of other men's contributions.'⁹ At the meeting on 11 May, the names of further noblemen and gentlemen were suggested, as listed in Appendix 3.1, plus those of further representatives - the Chairmen & Vice Chairmen of the Technical Instruction Committees of the County Councils of Lancashire, Cheshire and adjacent districts.

The Committee, as it was called, was the one appointed at, and by, the meeting on 4 May and charged by the public meeting with drawing up a constitution and collecting subscriptions to meet the costs of establishing and conducting such an institution. The Executive Committee was, from thereon, the group of men who would undertake most of the day-to-day work on the scheme, meeting regularly from the middle of May 1892 onwards. Drafting a constitution and raising funds, discussions about the appointment of Hallé as Principal, the names of potential teaching staff, the addition of names to the General Committee and the acquisition of suitable premises, constituted the majority of the business, as recorded in the minutes.¹⁰ Correspondence received (and retained) by Behrens provides further evidence of the activity of the Committee members, demonstrating the significance of their involvement in the scheme.

The strategy to attract support

At its meeting on 4 July 1892 the Committee resolved that 'Mr Gustav Behrens and the Secretary [Withers] be empowered to draw up a special appeal for funds in the form of a circular, the said circular to be submitted to the Executive Committee, and issued to the public at such time as they may direct.'¹¹ The stated aim was to raise £4,000 per annum for five years (reduced from Behrens'

⁹ Jones, *Origins*, 104.

¹⁰ *Preliminary minute book, 1891–92; Minute book, 1892–93.*

¹¹ "Meeting of Executive Committee on Monday July 4th," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 7–9.

original figure of £5,000 per annum for five years) to cover expenditure, plus £1,500 for initial expenses, such as furniture and musical instruments.¹²

With the employment of Withers, and other costs, the Committee was now incurring expenditure and needed to draw on some of the promises already received. At the meeting on 12 July it was resolved, therefore, that a levy of 20 per cent should be made on the subscriptions promised to the Initial Expenses Fund and donations totalling £130 were collected from Charles E. Lees, the Heywood brothers, Sir William Houldsworth and Behrens.¹³ The circular was considered again during the meeting on 26 July and it was decided to 'procure a large number of influential names before it was finally issued';¹⁴ another instance of the recognised necessity to have the support of persons of standing from the locality, and illustrating the point made by Jones referred to above. A revised version, including an incomplete list of names of members of the General Committee, was then approved and was to be sent to a further group of people, inviting them to become members of the General Committee. This included each of the M.P.s representing the Manchester, Salford, Lancashire and Cheshire constituencies; the Lord Lieutenant and the High Sherriff of Lancashire; the chief members of the County Council and various Mayors of Lancashire towns; plus more named individuals. The difference in the tenor of the appeal between the two versions of the text is notable. The first might be described as 'businesslike'; stating the facts, outlining the amount of money required and appealing for subscriptions. The second informs the readers not only of the importance of establishing a College of Music in the locality, but also the leading role to be played by Hallé as Principal and Professor of the Piano, and the names of the well-known musicians who would, potentially, join the teaching staff.¹⁵ Drawing attention to Hallé's involvement, as well as to that of those who might be teaching, was intended to add further cachet to the project, and thus encourage donations.

¹² The full text of the initial draft, and later revisions, are transcribed in Appendix 3.2.

¹³ *Promises*. C. E. Lees, £50; Heywood brothers, £50; Sir William Houldsworth, £20; Gustav Behrens, £10. *Minute book, 1892–93*, 40.

¹⁴ "Meeting of the Executive Committee on Tuesday 26th July," *ibid.*, 14.

¹⁵ The report stated that 'if on becoming generally known, this project meets with the amount of support necessary to carry it into execution within the next few months, Sir Charles Hallé has undertaken to become the first Principal of the College and its chief Professor of Pianoforte. In this expectation negotiations have been already opened with some of the most eminent teachers of the day in their various departments...'. *Ibid.*, 33. RMCM/A/3/2.

In this version of the circular the list of potential teachers consisted of:

Piano

‘Miss Olga Neruda, to assist Sir Charles at the Pianoforte.’

Olga Neruda (1858–1945), who had studied with Clara Schumann, was a concert pianist, piano teacher and Hallé’s sister-in-law. Her first appearance in a concert in Manchester was performing a programme of piano duets with Hallé at the Gentlemen’s Concerts in February 1891.¹⁶

Singing

‘Madame Sherrington, Miss Anna Williams, and Mr Andrew Black as the leading Professors of Singing.’

Helen Lemmens-Sherrington (1834–1906) was an English soprano who had made her Manchester debut at the musical inauguration of the ‘new’ Free Trade Hall in Manchester in 1856. She was the ‘leading oratorio soprano at the Halle [sic] concerts’.¹⁷

Anna Williams (1845–1924) was ‘one of the leading sopranos of her day’, and a frequent performer in Manchester, under Hallé.¹⁸

Andrew Black (1859–1920), the Scottish baritone, was a renowned oratorio singer noted particularly for his performances of Mendelssohn’s *Elijah*. His first appearance in one of Hallé’s Grand Concerts at the Free Trade Hall was on 12 February 1890 singing that work.¹⁹

¹⁶ “Neruda, Olga,” *Europäische Instrumentalistinnen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, 2015/2022, accessed April 25, 2024, <https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/neruda-olga>; “The Gentlemen’s Concerts, Concert Hall. Programme,” *Manchester Guardian*, Feb 24, 1891, 8; “Olga Neruda,” *The Musical Times* 87, no. 1236 (1946): 62.

¹⁷ “Madame Lemmens-Sherrington. [In memoriam],” *Manchester Courier*, May 19, 1906, 7; Henry Davey and John Rosselli, “Sherrington, Helen Lemmens- (1834–1906), singer,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, accessed Apr 25, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34491>. Hallé was particularly keen to obtain her services as a teacher and offered her more generous terms than some of the other staff. When appointed she was on £300 a year guaranteed.

¹⁸ “Obituary: Anna Williams,” *The Musical Times* 65 no. 981 (1924): 1037; “A great singer. Death of Anna Williams,” *The Times*, Sep 5, 1924, 13.

¹⁹ Jean Mary Allan and Ruzena Wood, “Black, Andrew,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Apr 25, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03182>; [Classified advertisement] “Free-Trade Hall, Manchester. Sir Charles Halle’s [sic] Grand Concerts,” *Manchester Courier*, Feb 12, 1890, 1; “Sir Charles Hallé’s concerts. “Elijah”,” *Manchester Evening News*, Feb 13, 1890, 2.

Strings

‘Mr Willy Hess as chief Professor of the Violin, and Mr Whitehouse of the Violoncello.’

Violinist Willy Hess (1859–1939), who had studied with Joseph Joachim, was leader of the Hallé Orchestra from 1888 to 1895.²⁰

William E. Whitehouse (1859–1935) studied cello with Alfredo Piatti at the RAM and had played alongside Joseph Joachim.²¹

Organ

‘Mr J. Kendrick Pyne as Professor of the Organ.’

James Kendrick Pyne (1852–1938) was organist of Manchester Cathedral from 1875, and Manchester Town Hall from 1877, and gave frequent concerts there.²²

Brass and wind

‘Mr Paersch as Professor of the Horn and Trumpet, Mr Charles Reynolds as Professor of the Oboe, and Mons. Brossa as Professor of the Flute.’

Franz Paersch (1857–1921), principal horn of the Hallé Orchestra from 1883 to 1915.²³

Charles Reynolds (c.1851–1917), oboist in the Hallé Orchestra, 1871 to 1916.²⁴

J. F. Brossa (1839–1916), flautist in the Hallé Orchestra, 1871 to 1900.²⁵

With the exception of the cellist, Whitehouse, all of those named as potential teachers at the new college had a long-standing history in Manchester, having either performed regularly with Hallé in his concerts, or as players in his

²⁰ Watson Forbes, "Hess, Willy (i)," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Apr 25, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12936>; Geoff Thomason, "Hess, huffs and Hallé facts: staff appointments in the early years of the Royal Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Sounds* 3 (2002): 55–67.

²¹ James D. Brown and Stephen S. Stratton, *British musical biography: a dictionary of musical artists, authors and composers born in Britain and its colonies* (Birmingham: S. S. Stratton, 1897), s.v. William Edward Whitehouse; "Professor Whitehouse," *The Times*, Jan 14, 1935, 19.

²² Harold Rosenthal and Rosemary Firman (née Williamson), "Pyne, James Kendrick (iii)," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Apr 25, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.013.90000381325>.

²³ Horace Fitzpatrick, "Paersch, Franz Friedrich," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Apr 25, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20692>.

²⁴ "Obituary: Charles Reynolds," *The Musical Times* 58, no. 890 (1917): 160.

²⁵ Stuart Scott, *Hallé flutes: flautists of the Halle orchestra, 1858-[19]93* (Sale: Stuart Scott, 1998).

orchestra.²⁶ Thus they would have been well-known amongst those to whom the appeals were being made. As shown below, in Fig.3.6, a large number of those who became donors were linked in some way with the Gentlemen's Concerts and it is reasonable to assume that they would also have patronised Hallé's Grand Concerts.²⁷

This list of names of those who had joined the General Committee is of particular interest as it is the first time that the involvement of any women is mentioned publicly in connection with the project. As outlined earlier in this chapter, it was not generally expected that women would serve on committees, but the endorsement of a scheme by the addition of their names might encourage others. 'Elite women could play a high-profile role in generating public support for institutions, campaigns and charitable appeals.'²⁸ George R. Murray had been in correspondence with Behrens, in the course of which he had sent a list of names of ladies who might be approached, as suggested to him by Miss Ewart and Mrs Kennedy.²⁹ Murray seems to have been particularly assiduous in the mission to collect promises of support. In one letter to Behrens he writes

I have exhausted my circulars & find I shall require 18 more besides any fresh names you may sanction in my latest list. Of course you must say frankly if you think we have asked enough but personally I see no reason to limit our general Committee. I confess however I should like you and some other members of the Comm: to suggest a few more names so that I don't appear, even to myself, to be taking too much upon myself!!³⁰

There are two distinct groups of women listed as members of the General Committee - the first group are aristocrats, of whom there are five.³¹ Their

²⁶ Details of the dates on which the soloists performed with Hallé's orchestra may be found in Batley, *Sir Charles Hallé's concerts in Manchester*.

²⁷ The final version of the circular, which went out in September 1892, did not include the names of Olga Neruda and the three Hallé brass and wind players, stating instead that 'negotiations have been already opened with some of the most eminent teachers of the day in their various departments'. *Minute book, 1892-93*, 33.

²⁸ Simon Morgan, *A Victorian woman's place: public culture in the nineteenth century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 107.

²⁹ Miss Wakefield, Mrs Harvey Goodwin [Miss Wakefield's sister, Ruth], Miss Ewart, Mrs Theodore Gaddum, Mrs Heaton, Mrs Stewart Garnett, Mrs James Turner, Mrs Edward Behrens, Mrs Carne Ross, Mrs Turner, Mrs W. McGrath, Miss Holliday, Mrs Kennedy, Mrs Lockett Agnew, Mrs Charles Moseley, Lady Stirling, Mrs A. P. Vaughan, Mrs H. Worrall, Mrs A.M. Blair. [Handwritten list of names]. RMCM/A/1/3/67.

³⁰ George Murray, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, [undated but the general chronology of the correspondence suggests c. May 20, 1892]. RMCM/A/1/3/105.

³¹ The Countess of Bective, Lady Sinclair, Lady Brooke, Lady Elphinstone, Lady Stirling.

position in the hierarchy of supporters is clear, being listed after the noblemen and ahead of the M.P.s and clergy. This order of publication, with the names of those of a higher rank in society at the top of a list and the general public in alphabetical order below, is also one frequently seen both in annual reports and subscription lists published in newspapers. Of these five women only Lady Bective appears to have had a close connection with the scheme, although Lady Stirling's name had been on the list given to Murray. There are thirty-three women in the alphabetical list of members of the General Committee. It has not been possible to identify twelve of them definitively, including the Mrs Kennedy who was the co-author of the list sent to Murray. Ten of them were on Murray's list and the remaining eleven includes names such as Miss Gaskell and Miss Hallé, plus the wives of men who had been approached.

Lending one's name to the scheme did not necessarily imply a long-term interest in, or commitment to, it. Some of the people whose names appear on the list of General Committee members took no further part in supporting that stage of the project, or the College when it was established. At each Executive meeting more names were suggested for addition to the General Committee, and the civic net was spread even wider on 9 August when Withers was instructed to call upon the Mayors of surrounding towns with the view of soliciting their sympathy and support, and to discuss 'the best means of giving effect to the same...'.³² This is further evidence of the desire to gain sympathy from as far afield as possible and to ensure sufficient funds by involving more people than just those in the city networks. It also promoted the conservatoire as serving an area larger than Manchester and its immediate environs. In order to illustrate this point, Fig.3.1, below, is a modern map showing the spread of the towns whose mayors were invited to support the project.

³² "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on August 9th," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 18. The towns mentioned were Oldham, Bury, Rochdale, Bolton, Ashton, Stalybridge, Preston, Macclesfield, Stockport, Warrington, Southport, Blackpool, Altrincham, Lancaster, Wigan, Clitheroe, Colne, Burnley, Blackburn, St Helens, Heywood, Accrington and Darwen.



Map data © 2024 Google

Fig. 3.1. Map showing the locations of the towns whose mayors were invited to support the project.

Withers reported back to the Committee meeting on 30 August on the outcome of his visits. He had secured promises of support for the scheme from fourteen

of the previously identified towns and further ones to be contacted were added to the list.³³ The Committee clearly felt it was necessary to obtain buy-in to the scheme from the nearby towns of Lancashire and Cheshire, not only because it had the potential to increase the amount of money which would be donated, but also the recognition that future students would come from those towns. If the primary aim was to obtain financial support from the towns, it was not particularly successful. Lancashire and Cheshire County Councils both established scholarships but the boroughs did not. However, from 1898 onwards, when the names of the General Committee members were published in the Annual Report, the list included the mayors of twenty-nine towns. Other than the one-time mayor of Oldham (Alfred Emmott) none of the others were directly involved in the College, nor did their boroughs provide any money. The inclusion of their names would be seen as providing civic approval. Table 3.1 lists the names of the towns approached in 1892, the mayors who were listed as being on the General Committee in September 1892 and the list from the 1898 Annual Report.

List of towns	Towns approached for support, 1892	List of mayors on General Committee, September 1892	List of mayors on General Committee, 1898
		Manchester	
Accrington	X	X	X
Altrincham	X	X	X
Ashton-under-Lyne	X	X	X
Bacup	X	X	
Barrow-in-Furness		X	X
Blackburn	X	X	X
Blackpool			
Bolton	X	X	X
Burnley	X	X	X
Bury	X	X	X
Chester		X	X

³³ "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Aug 30," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 20–21. Bacup, Chorley, Haslingden, Rawtenstall, Radcliffe, Middleton, Mossley, Widnes, Runcorn, Northwich, Hyde and Todmorden, in addition to the Mayors of Ashton, Staleybridge [sic], Southport, Blackpool, Warrington, Macclesfield, Heywood and Darwen, 'who had been approached but had not yet given their consent to the scheme'.

List of towns	Towns approached for support, 1892	List of mayors on General Committee, September 1892	List of mayors on General Committee, 1898
Chorley	X	X	X
Clitheroe	X	X	X
Colne	X		
Darwen	X	X	X
Eccles		X	X
Haslingden	X	X	X
Heywood	X		
Hyde	X	X	X
Kendal			X
Lancaster	X		X
Macclesfield	X		X
Middleton	X		X
Nelson		X	X
Northwich	X		
Oldham	X	X	X
Preston	X	X	X
Radcliffe	X		
Rawtenstall	X	X	X
Rochdale	X	X	X
Runcorn	X		
St Helens	X	X	X
Salford		X	X
Southport	X	X	X
Stalybridge	X		
Stockport	X	X	X
Todmorden	X		
Warrington	X		
Widnes	X		
Wigan	X	X	X

Table 3.1. Comparison of towns approached with those which were listed in the names of the General Committee in 1892 and 1898

The next stage

When they met on 21 September the members of the Committee felt they were now in a position to send out the circular and call another public meeting, which was to be convened by the Mayor on receipt of 'an influentially signed

requisition'.³⁴ The Committee approved a revision of the circular, with the intention that it should be printed at once and publicly issued as widely as possible before the Town meeting. A further revision to the text of the circular was approved on 27 September, adding a section which referred to the possible use of the Concert Hall.³⁵ The version which was then issued also included a substantially increased list of names of members of the General Committee.³⁶ On the first two Saturdays in October (1st and 8th) notices appeared in the Manchester newspapers with an announcement (reproduced in Fig. 3.2) which was in the form of a requisition to the Mayor, followed by his response in acceding to the request and calling a public meeting.³⁷ This is a further example of the Committee adhering to the accepted method by which a project of this nature would be brought to the public for its approbation. As well as the announcement, the *Manchester Guardian* also published an article which summarised the text of the circular.³⁸

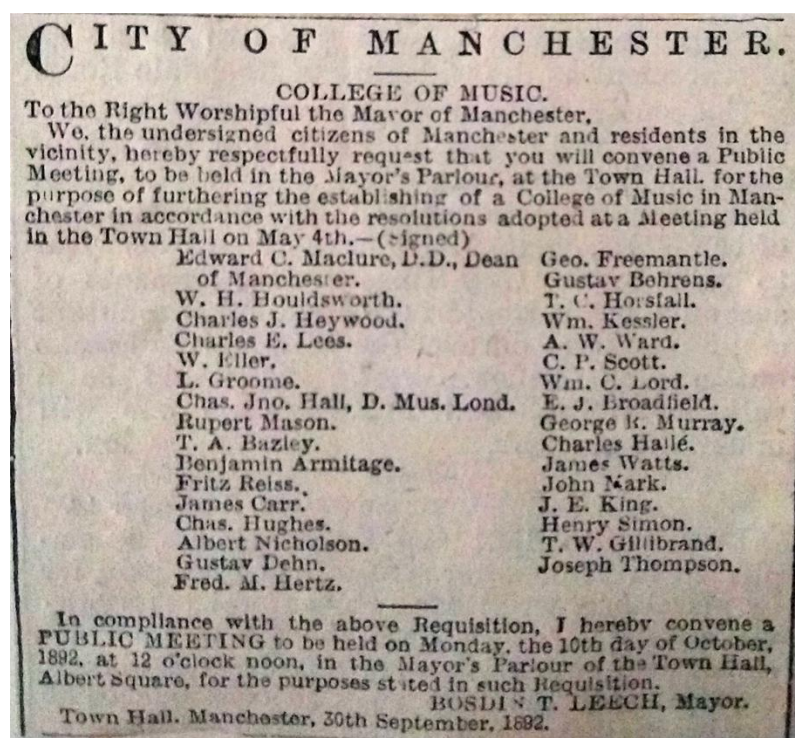


Fig. 3.2 Cutting from one of the Manchester newspapers, source unspecified ('In all the Manchester Papers on Saturdays the 1st & 8th').
 Minute book no.1. RMCM/A/3/2, 31.

³⁴ "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Sep. 21", *Minute book*, 1892–93, 26.

³⁵ "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Sep. 27," *Ibid.*, 29. RMCM/A/3/2. The minute notes 'Mr Heywood and Mr Lees undertaking to defray the cost of such alteration, on the Secretary reporting that 5000 copies of the Circular were already printed'.

³⁶ See Appendix 3.3 for the list of names.

³⁷ "City of Manchester. College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 1, 1892, 1; *The Manchester Courier*, Oct 1, 1892, 1.

³⁸ "The College of Music, Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 1, 1892, 9.

The public meeting was preceded by a meeting of the General Committee held on 7 October. The latter was attended by nineteen people of whom seven were women (Miss Gaskell, Miss Ewart, Mrs Gerald Peel, Mrs Stewart Garnett, Mrs Ernest Frank, Mrs Carne Ross, Mrs Charles Moseley). Other than the apologies proffered by Miss Ewart for an earlier meeting, this is the first time that the names of women are recorded as attending either a Council or a Committee meeting. At that meeting it was reported the subscriptions promised so far now amounted to £951 per annum for five years and donations towards preliminary expenses were £881. No minutes of the public meeting on 10 October appear to exist but there were detailed reports in the newspapers and these are, again, appended to the minute book in the form of cuttings. They are from the *Manchester Evening News* (11 October, summary report);³⁹ *Manchester Courier*, (11 October, full report of proceedings and separate comment column);⁴⁰ and, *Manchester Guardian* (10 October, with details of the forthcoming meeting;⁴¹ 11 October, full report of the proceedings and a separate editorial).⁴² From the newspaper reports it is possible to assemble a partial attendance list, given below [arranged here in alphabetical order]; it is interesting to note that there are differences between the published lists, emphasising the point that newspaper reports may not always be relied upon for their accuracy. [An asterisk next to the name in this list indicates the first (and only) occurrence of that person's name in connection with the RMCN.]

The Mayor (Alderman B. T.) Leech (Chairman)	<i>Courier; Guardian</i>
Dr Horton Allison*	<i>Courier</i>
Mr J. A. Bagley [probable error for T. A. Bazley]	<i>Courier</i>
Mr T. A. Bazley	<i>Guardian</i>
Mr Gustav Behrens	<i>Courier</i>
Mr E. J. Broadfield	<i>Guardian</i>
Mr J. A. Broadfield [probable error]	<i>Courier</i>
Mr J. A. Cross	<i>Courier</i>
Mr W. Eller	<i>Guardian</i>
Mr George Freemantle	<i>Guardian</i>
Sir Charles Hallé	<i>Courier</i>
Mr C. J. Heywood	<i>Courier; Guardian</i>
Mr J. W. Holder*	<i>Courier</i>

³⁹ "The Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Evening News*, Oct 11, 1892, 2.

⁴⁰ [no title,] *Manchester Courier*, Oct 11, 1892, 5; "The Manchester College of Music. Public meeting yesterday," *ibid.*, 7.

⁴¹ [Editorial Article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 10, 1892, 5.

⁴² "The Manchester College of Music. Public Meeting," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 11, 1892, 9; [Editorial Article,] *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 11, 1892, 7.

Dr Maclure, Dean of Manchester
Mr J. B. Shaw
Alderman J. Thompson
Mr Charles H. Thompson*
Principal Ward

Courier, Guardian
Courier
Courier, Guardian
Courier
Guardian

With apologies from:

Mr W. Agnew
The Countess Bective
Lord Derby
Mrs Fraser
Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P.
Mr James Jardine
The Duke of Rutland

Courier, Guardian
Courier, Guardian
Courier, Guardian
Courier, Guardian
Courier, Guardian
Courier, Guardian
Courier, Guardian

The *Manchester Guardian* reported that, in his letter of apology, Lord Derby had written: 'neither money nor musical taste is wanting in Manchester, and if public attention is called to the subject I cannot doubt that you will succeed in raising the necessary amount'.⁴³ William Agnew confirmed that his sympathies were with the movement and it would be his duty and his happiness 'to give to those sympathies practical expression'.⁴⁴

In introducing the meeting the Mayor referred to the events of a decade earlier when there had been resolutions in favour of a national conservatoire of music; but the time had now come when 'they in the North of England should establish a conservatoire for themselves...', noting that: 'A large amount of money would have to be guaranteed for a certain number of years to put the college on a sound basis...'. Here the Mayor was making it very clear to the audience that if public opinion was in favour of a conservatoire to serve the area, the public (a significant number of individuals) would have to 'put its money where its mouth was' and promise the money. Hallé then proposed that 'this meeting pledges itself to raise the necessary funds for the purposes of the College of Music', and the resolution was adopted. As indicated in the minutes of the General Committee on 7 October, and the newspaper reports of the public meeting on 10 October, by the time these took place the circular was already bringing

⁴³ "The Manchester College of Music. Public Meeting," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 11, 1892, 9.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

results in terms of subscriptions and donations. The response was instantaneous – the first pledge forms are dated 1 October 1892.⁴⁵

Local meetings and drawing support from a wider area

The Committee from the beginning had insisted that the College should be a Manchester institution only in the accident of its locality and that it should serve the needs and requirements of as large a portion of the north of England as should be inclined to take advantage of it; and so the all-important work of the Committee was primarily to enlist the sympathy of the many large towns...that are all within easy reach of Manchester...⁴⁶

At the Executive Committee meeting on 14 October 1892 the members suggested 'various methods of procuring subscriptions'; unfortunately the details of what these methods might be are not minuted, although the discussions did include consideration of the preliminary arrangements for a public meeting in Oldham.⁴⁷ This was to be the first of several such meetings in the surrounding area to canvass for support, both financial and for the principle thereof.

Alfred Emmott, the Mayor of Oldham, had shown his support for the scheme already, and the Committee wished to exploit this before his term of office was due to expire.⁴⁸ Emmott issued his own circular letter on 18 October, inviting attendance at a meeting to be held on 24 October in Oldham Town Hall.⁴⁹ Having introduced the subject by summarising the Manchester Town Hall meeting, and the funding required for the scheme, he continues by informing the recipients that it is hoped to raise the money by 'public subscriptions in the large towns in Lancashire and the adjoining districts, and as Oldham is certain to derive benefit from the College ... I trust we shall see our way to assist the Committee in their efforts to carry out the project'. He invites his readers to attend a meeting which will be addressed by Sir Charles Hallé and 'other Gentlemen well known in the music world'. He concludes by mentioning the

⁴⁵ RMCM/A/4. The full list of pledges is reproduced in Appendix 3.4; the forms were numbered (it is assumed by Withers) but the numerical order does not match the chronological one.

⁴⁶ Hallé, "RMCM," 324.

⁴⁷ "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Friday Oct 14th," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 44. RMCM/A/3/2.

⁴⁸ 'I am sure such a scheme as is proposed would meet with hearty approval in Oldham & I trust also with considerable financial support. If I can, as Mayor for the time being, do anything to help forward the scheme I shall be heartily glad to assist.' Alfred Emmott, *Letter [to Gustav Behrens]*, May 3, 1892. RMCM/A/3/1, 27.

⁴⁹ Printed copy of circular letter. *Minute book, 1892–93*, 48.

names of their townsmen, Mr Charles E. Lees and Mr S. R. Platt, who are members of the Executive Committee, and have themselves promised generous support. Emmott trusts that their example will be followed by the many lovers of music in Oldham.

At the bottom of the circular there is an additional sentence, printed in italics: 'N.B. – The presence of ladies at the meeting is specially desired.' As far as can be ascertained, this is the first time in this project that such a request has been made, but it is not the last, as it also appears in the circulars from W. Nicholson, Mayor of Bolton, and William Bindloss, Mayor of Kendal.⁵⁰ None of the notices for the town meetings in Manchester include such a request, nor is there anything in the General or Executive Committee minutes to suggest that issuing a specific invitation to ladies would be a useful strategy. As mentioned previously the names of several women were on the General Committee (thirty-eight out of a total of 121), whilst fifteen of the eighty-eight pledge forms dated prior to 12 November 1892 were from women. One can only speculate as to why ladies were specifically invited to the local meetings in support of the College of Music. The organisers were wanting to encourage as much support as possible; perhaps the thought was that if ladies attended the meetings, the married ones might be accompanied by their husbands, or they could be prevailed upon to try to persuade the latter to donate; married women, who now had the ability to dispose of their own money might be drawn to the cause of music education; similarly, well-off single and widowed women who were not answerable to a spouse were free to dispose of their income as they wished.⁵¹ As was discussed in the Introduction, the philanthropic efforts of women were generally directed towards causes which alleviated poverty or moral improvement, not support of cultural institutions, although the educational nature may have been perceived as more attractive to women.⁵² The conservatoires certainly attracted more women than men⁵³ – in the first intake to the RMCM in October 1893, eighty students registered, of whom sixty-seven

⁵⁰ Nicholson, Bolton circular, *ibid.*, 61; Bindloss, Kendal circular, *ibid.*, 73.

⁵¹ The Married Women's Property Act 1882 (which came into force on 1 January 1883) allowed a married woman to be 'capable of acquiring, holding, and disposing by will, or otherwise of any real or personal property as her separate property...' "Married Women's Property Act 1882," accessed Jan 5, 2024, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/45-46/75/enacted>.

⁵² See, for instance, Gillett, *Musical women*, 33–62.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 34–35, 189.

were female and thirteen male⁵⁴ - but there is nothing to demonstrate that the Committee was aware of this likelihood and so wished to encourage women to attend meetings.

Unfortunately, the records and reports of the meetings do not indicate whether these requests were successful as there are no details of attendees, other than the local dignitaries and speakers, who were all male. The exception was the Kendal meeting which was organised primarily by women and of which details are given below.

The proceedings of the Oldham meeting were reported in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Oldham Evening News*.⁵⁵ Stanley Withers gave a positive report of the donations and told the meeting that, of the sum of £1,377 per annum promised, £355 came from Oldham. He also emphasised that the Committee was 'not asking for large subscriptions so much as for a large number of small ones'. This latter point was, according to the newspaper report, echoed by Hallé and Behrens who 'emphasised the fact that their chief hope was in the guinea subscriptions of the many amateurs who were interested in musical education...'.⁵⁶ This comment echoes a remark made by Thomas Ashton a decade earlier about the fundraising for the Owens College museum: '...there were an immense number of men who could give £100 and £50 each to this fund. He would rather have nine subscriptions of £100 each than one of £1,000, because by numerous subscribers the interest in the College was extended.'⁵⁷

The report of the meeting again illustrates the types of fundraising strategies being employed at the time. One was to publicise the names of the great and good to emphasise their support; the second was to draw attention to the significance of the contribution that a local area could make, thus seeking to appeal to civic pride (the figures that Withers gives here meant that people from

⁵⁴ "No. of new students. Michaelmas Term 1893," *Appendices to minute books no.1*, f2r. RMCM/C/2/1.

⁵⁵ "The Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 25, 1892, 8; "Proposed College of Music for Manchester. Meeting in Oldham," *Oldham Evening News*, Oct 25, 1892, [page no. missing from cutting].

⁵⁶ "The Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 25, 1892, 8.

⁵⁷ "Erection of a public museum for Manchester," *Manchester City News*, Dec 2, 1882, 3.

Oldham were promising, at that stage, just over twenty-five per cent of the annual subscriptions); and, thirdly, the great and good were important, but so were those who could promise a smaller amount. (In 1890 a guinea equated to 3 days' wages for a skilled tradesman.)⁵⁸ The outcome of the Oldham meeting was a resolution to 'pledge itself to use every effort to raise the necessary funds for the purposes of the College'.

The Executive Committee continued to discuss methods of obtaining more subscriptions, with approaches being made to Bolton, Preston (the Mayor), and contacts in Kendal (Miss Wakefield and the Countess of Bective) about the feasibility of holding meetings in those locations. It was also suggested that a local Committee might be formed in Oldham with a view to approaching co-operative societies and procuring subscriptions more generally. Holding country-wide meetings and establishing local committees had been one of the methods used in the process of setting up the national conservatoire ten years earlier. Whilst the Manchester Committee was not looking country-wide it was certainly wanting to involve the surrounding counties and towns, as demonstrated by the list of Mayors who had been approached for their support, as well as holding meetings where the cause of the Conservatoire could be drawn to the attention of interested parties. The plan to engage support from a wider geographical area had been expressed in the report of May 1892 which hoped that 'the advantages of the Manchester Conservatoire of Music will be utilized by pupils residing in the north of England as well as in Manchester and its more immediate neighbourhood. The appeal for subscriptions to the guarantee fund, ought, therefore, to be made over as wide an area as possible.'⁵⁹ This view was echoed at the Oldham meeting by Samuel R. Platt who said that he did not 'look upon the College of Music as established for the benefit of Manchester alone; he looked upon it as being for the whole northern district of England.'⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Figure obtained using the National Archives currency converter. "Currency converter, 1270–2017," *The National Archives*, accessed Dec 13, 2023, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#>.

⁵⁹ RCMC/A/3/1; and reported in the newspapers, including "Proposed conservatoire of music in Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, May 5, 1892, 7.

⁶⁰ "Proposed College of Music for Manchester. Meeting in Oldham," *Oldham Evening News*, Oct 25, 1892.

This presumption that students would be drawn from a wide geographical area was certainly borne out within the first few years of the RMCM's existence, as demonstrated in the Fourth Annual Report for 1896–97 which stated the following:

Of the students in attendance during the past year, the register discloses the fact that, while forty-seven were resident in Manchester, 104 lived without the city boundaries, and that of these, sixty-four were drawn from localities many of them far distant, all beyond the suburbs of the city. Among the cities and towns thus represented the following may be named:- Liverpool, Chester, Birmingham, Carlisle, Peterborough, Bradford, Leicester, Oldham, Bolton, Blackburn, Preston, Darwen, Blackpool, Southport, St Anne's, Lytham, Warrington, Wigan, Rochdale, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stalybridge, Stockport, Hyde, Bingley, Brierfield, Brighouse, Macclesfield, Cheltenham, Cowes, Welshpool, Huddersfield, Hartford, Ormskirk, Accrington, Glossop, and Leigh.⁶¹

Publicising names and donations

In November two new members were invited to join the Executive Committee. The first was Edward S. Heywood who, along with his brother Charles (who was already a member), had been amongst the first people to promise a substantial donation and annual subscription to the scheme. The other was Dr Charles J. Hall, a Manchester solicitor with a London D.Mus., who had signed the requisition for the October public meeting. He had been a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts since 1883, was involved with the Gentlemen's Glee Club and had been on the local Committee for the national conservatoire in 1882. At his death in 1901 one obituary singled out his close association and identification with 'the higher musical life of the city', not least because of his role as music critic of the *Manchester Evening News*.⁶²

At the meeting on 7 November the decision was taken to publish the list of contributions in the local newspapers.⁶³ Appearing on 12 November the list was headed 'The College of Music, Manchester. Contributions promised. First List.'⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Fourth Annual Report*, 1896–97 (Manchester: RMCM, printed by Palmer, Howe & Co., 1897), 4. RMCM/B/3/1.

⁶² "Death of Dr C. J. Hall. A local musical celebrity," *Manchester Evening News*, May 14, 1901, 2. See also the biographical note in Appendix B.

⁶³ 'It was resolved that on the ensuing Saturday the full subscription list should be advertised on the front page of the *Guardian*, the *Courier*, the *Examiner*, & the *City News*; and that a shorter advertisement be also inserted in the *Oldham Chronicle*.' "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday 7th Nov.," *Minute book*, 1892–93, 54.

⁶⁴ For the list as published in the *Manchester Guardian* see the transcription in Appendix 3.5. A second table provides the totals from promises and pledges made after 12 November 1892.

There is no evidence, either from the minutes or the newspapers, of a second list being published in this manner. Below it on the page in the *Manchester Courier* and the *Manchester Guardian* is a list for Lifeboat Saturday headed 'Fourth List', showing how common the practice of publishing these contributions was. The importance of the publication of these and similar lists is described by several writers, including Jones.

Emulation was necessarily based on an awareness of previous donations; status seekers needed to know that their contributions would become public knowledge. And in the early years potential philanthropists needed to know that their contributions would become public knowledge. Local papers were the greatest potential source of publicity...⁶⁵

Checkland makes a similar point: '...the precipitators became expert in operating a kind of honours system, which by publishing donors' names and amounts, served as an almost costless incentive to givers.'⁶⁶ By publishing the list of subscriptions in this way the Committee was following the accepted, and expected, method of inviting further donations. As was also the practice, the contributions were listed in order of the amount given or promised, not by alphabetical order of the donors' surnames, enabling the reader to see who was the most generous.

Plans were made for the Bolton meeting which was scheduled for 28 November. The Committee had already been informed of the promised attendance of 'well known [sic] local gentlemen' Mr [Thomas] Glaister and Mr [Joseph Ridgway] Bridson, whose names were also referred to in Nicholson's invitation – a further example of the importance of signalling the support of persons of status in the locality. The Bolton newspapers carried notices announcing the forthcoming meeting;⁶⁷ the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Bolton Evening News* reported the proceedings.⁶⁸ The meeting was addressed

⁶⁵ Jones, *Origins*, 105. See also Alan J. Kidd, "Philanthropy and the 'Social History Paradigm'," *Social History* 21 (1996): 189.

⁶⁶ Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, 5.

⁶⁷ The cuttings are stuck into the minute book. "Monday next. The College of Music, Manchester. A public meeting," *Bolton Chronicle*, Nov 26, 1892 [no page reference]; "Manchester College of Music," *Bolton Guardian*, Nov 26, 1892 [no page reference]; *Bolton Journal*, Nov 26, 1892 [no page reference].

⁶⁸ "The College of Music, Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, 29 Nov 1892, 12; "Manchester College of Music. Meeting in the Mayor's Parlour," *Bolton Evening News*, Nov 28, 1892 [no page reference].

by Withers, who reported on promises received to date and suggested 'it would not be too much to expect that Bolton should subscribe £200 per annum to the guarantee fund, especially when they bore in mind that Oldham had already nearly doubled that amount'. The meeting pledged to do 'all in its power to raise the necessary funds for the purposes of the College'. Hallé, who was also present, was reported as having replied to the resolution, saying that it had always been his great hope to assist in founding in the North of England a school of music such as that which had been described as he should then feel that his work had been accomplished. He concluded by saying that

while re-echoing the wish that had been expressed that there might be a large increase of small subscribers he could not refrain from saying that he trusted that a good many of those present would give practical expression to their interest in music by contributing not small subscriptions, but large ones, to the guarantee fund of the College.

There are two points of particular interest to draw out from this report. The first is the use made by Withers of a comparison with Oldham; he is challenging Bolton to match, or exceed, the amount raised by the former town, by calling on feelings of civic pride. In this instance the honour is not in the establishment of an institution in the town but outdoing the fundraising efforts of a neighbouring one. The second is Hallé's comment about needing larger subscriptions, which is in direct contradiction to that made by Withers at the Oldham meeting; a comment that Hallé, with Behrens, was reported as having echoed. Had something changed in the month between the two meetings? There is nothing obvious to that effect in the minutes, such as comments made about insufficient funds being raised. However, the Mayor of Preston had indicated that he was unable to hold a public meeting, the subscription list had been published in the newspapers and Hallé had been asked to write some letters with a view to obtaining subscriptions. Furthermore, on the day of the Bolton meeting, the Executive Committee (including Hallé) had been informed that the subscription list totalled £1,763.16.6 and the donations, £1,457.⁶⁹ Whilst the latter had almost reached the 'target' of £1,500 for initial expenses, the guarantee fund amounted to less than fifty per cent of the £4,000 per annum thought to be necessary to open and run the College.

⁶⁹ "Meeting of the Exec. Committee held on Monday Nov 28th," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 59.

The Bolton meeting was, however, deemed to have been a success, and a local Committee was set up there. William Nicholson issued a second circular at the end of January 1893 describing the earlier meeting and reporting the outcome of the Committee's deliberations. It was

of opinion [sic] that, having regard to the amount contributed by other Lancashire towns, Bolton ought to contribute a sum of £400 per annum for five years to the Guarantee Fund of the College, and that with a view to securing this result an appeal be at once made to the people of Bolton for their generous support.⁷⁰

Withers' challenge had worked, at least in terms of the target set by the Bolton Committee. It was necessary to encourage as wide a range of people as possible to contribute; perhaps invoking civic rivalry (and pride), one of the potential motives for becoming a supporter, was one method of doing so.

It had also been hoped to hold a public meeting further afield in Huddersfield, but the plan was abandoned following a visit there by Withers. He reported back that 'having consulted various well-known local leaders in musical matters... all of whom advised him so strongly against holding a meeting in their town while trade was so very depressed that he had not felt justified in proceeding any further with arrangements for a meeting.'⁷¹ The years from 1873–1896 are often described as 'The Great Depression', and although it has been argued that this is misleading, there was a mass of contemporary opinion that conditions were bad.⁷² There was a slump between 1890 and 1893, and a general atmosphere in business of uncertainty and depression, and it is in this context that these comments should be viewed.⁷³

The report from Withers' visit to Huddersfield, the comments made by Sir William Houldsworth in a letter sent to Behrens in April,⁷⁴ and in the public meeting in May,⁷⁵ are, however, the only hints that the current state of trade,

⁷⁰ Printed circular headed 'The College of Music Manchester' issued by W. Nicholson (Mayor), J.P. Haslam (Hon. Treasurer), W. H. Green (Hon. Secretary), dated 26th January 1893, *ibid.* 81.

⁷¹ "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday Dec. 6th," *ibid.* 65.

⁷² A. E. Musson, "The Great Depression in Britain, 1873–1896: a reappraisal," *The Journal of Economic History* 19 (1959): 199–200.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ See Chapter Two, p.105. W. H. Houldsworth, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Apr 4, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 47.

⁷⁵ "Proposed conservatoire of music in Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, May 5, 1892, 7.

and the financial position of the country, might be a problem when attempting to raise funds.

Arrangements were, however, proceeding for a meeting in Kendal, the prime instigators of which were Alice, Lady Bective and Miss Wakefield.⁷⁶ The invitation was issued by William Bindloss, Mayor of Kendal, although the meeting, as he indicated, was intended for the whole county of Westmoreland, not just the town. The invitation was reinforced by a personal note from Lady Bective, who also sent out the circulars; another instance of the significance of personal contacts.⁷⁷ The Kendal meeting took place on 9 January 1893 and reports were published subsequently in several newspapers. Short reports appeared in the *Herald & Lakes News* and the *Manchester Guardian*;⁷⁸ there was a much more detailed report in another local paper, a cutting of which is preserved in the archives but with no information to identify the source - it is possibly the *Kendal Mercury and Times*.⁷⁹ Hallé was unable to attend owing to illness and sent his apologies so it was Withers, as at other local meetings, who made the main address. Again, he announced the figures of the amounts promised and raised to date, and said that 'if they had a body of solid supporters behind them it showed the need for such an institution like the one they were projecting was very widely felt'. He remarked on their indebtedness to Lady Bective who had issued the circulars calling the meeting and advocated the interests of the proposed new college. He concluded his remarks by stating

⁷⁶ Mary Augusta Wakefield (1853–1910) was the founder of the Kendal (Westmorland Music Festival) which now bears her name. "Mary Wakefield Festival. The history of the festival," *Mary Wakefield Westmorland Festival*, [n.d.], accessed Jan 10, 2024, <http://marywakefieldfestival.weebly.com/the-history-of-the-festival.html>.

According to Rosa Newmarch, Miss Wakefield and Lady Bective were close friends. 'Among the chief of these loyal affections was that which she always cherished for Lady Bective. Her diaries are full of brief allusions to visits paid to Underley, and in later years to Lunefield, while during the last years of her life a large proportion of her time in London was spent at the house of this friend.' Rosa Newmarch, *Mary Wakefield: a memoir* (Kendal: Atkinson and Pollitt, 1912), 24. See also E. D. Mackerness, *A social history of English music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 203–205.

⁷⁷ 'I have been asked by the Committee for the "Northern Counties College of Music" (now being established in Manchester) to draw your attention to the enclosed papers – They fully explain the objects and organisation of this very important undertaking. I venture to hope that it will meet with your support and approval. And that you will make a point of attending the Mayors [sic] meeting in Kendal on Jan'y 9th.' Copy of a letter from Lady Bective, dated 30th Dec, 1892. *Minute book, 1892–93*, 74.

⁷⁸ "The College of Music, Manchester," *Herald & Lakes News*, Jan 13, 1893, 8; "The College of Music, Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 10, 1893, 8.

⁷⁹ "A proposed Northern College of Music. Enthusiastic meeting," [*Unidentified newspaper*]. *Minute book, 1892–93*, 75. RMCM/A/3/2.

that they had not asked for large subscriptions, although they would be thankful for them, but what they wanted was the humble guinea each year for five years. Miss Wakefield spoke about the importance of musical education, emphasising her support for the college of music, and proposed the resolution that 'the meeting pledges itself to do all in its power to raise the necessary funds for the maintenance of the college.' E. J. Broadfield and Behrens were also present, with the former making a speech. A resolution was passed to form a Committee for the purpose of collecting subscriptions.⁸⁰

In terms of general fundraising, the Executive Committee later heard that Lady Bective had written to say she would do her best to 'work up the Local Committee in Kendal' and refused to allow the Committee to defray the costs of postage she had incurred.⁸¹ It was also reported that 500 copies of the circular had been sent out to Bolton residents 'whose names had been carefully selected, with the assistance of the Town Clerk, from the Bolton Directory'.⁸² The Executive felt the point had now been reached that a meeting of the General Committee could be called to hear the strong recommendation of the former that the College should be opened in October next [1893].⁸³

In the nine months from May 1892 to February 1893 the Committee had built on the initial promises of support and undertaken a wide-ranging fundraising campaign. By 30 January 1893 the figures had reached £1,872 per annum in subscriptions promised and £1,525 for the initial expenses. The latter figure was in excess of the suggested target; the former was still less than half of the £4,000 which had been deemed necessary for the guarantee fund. At the meeting of the General Committee on 27 February Withers reported, on behalf of the Executive Committee, that although the promises fell short of the sums asked for the previous October, 'they confidently expected that when the public realised that the College was an actual fact there would be a great increase in

⁸⁰ The proposer was Arthur Somervell (1863–1937), composer and educationist, who was born in Windermere. He had studied at the Hochschule für Musik, Berlin and the Royal College of Music and in 1894 he joined the staff of the latter institution. The Committee was to include one of Somervell's brothers, Lady Bective and Miss Wakefield's sister, Agnes.

⁸¹ "Minutes of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday 17 Jan. 93," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 78.

⁸² "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Monday January 30th [1893]," *ibid.*, 82.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

the pecuniary support forthcoming'.⁸⁴ He also told the meeting that the Executive had revised its opinion and now thought it was safe to begin with a guarantee fund of £2,000 to £2,500 per annum.⁸⁵ The optimism of the Executive that the announcement of the opening would bring in further donations was not met. There is no documentary evidence of a strategic plan to make further requests either to those who had been on the original lists, or added their names to the General Committee but not promised a donation. However, using the phrase attributed to the eighteenth-century poet William Cowper (which might be applied to any archival research) 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'.⁸⁶ It seems unlikely that, in the context of the various networks with which they were involved, Committee members did not attempt some further personal conversations to persuade their contacts to donate. Eventually, in this tranche of fundraising (October 1892–October 1893), there would be 162 individual supporters whose promises to the guarantee fund amounted to just under £1,900 per annum. A breakdown of who those donors were and how much they gave is provided later in this chapter.

Finding (and funding) a suitable building

There remained one significant issue to be resolved before the opening could be confirmed, that of suitable premises. Edward Salomons, the honorary architect, had been assisting with the search for several months; various buildings, including the Gentlemen's Concert Hall, had been inspected but deemed to be unsuitable. On 3 February 1893 Salomons wrote to Behrens:⁸⁷

I have seen Sale's re Ducie Club. I have but little doubt that £2000 will be accepted. They have however to communicate with their client... I should think he is heartily tired of paying the chief rent for so many years & for this reason is sure to accept the offer after probably trying to get something more. I told Sales [sic] that I could not & would not recommend any client of mine to give a penny more than the £2000. I also claimed my usual commission on sale which if I get I shall hand over to the Society.

⁸⁴ "The College of Music, Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Feb 28, 1893, 12.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ To date I have not been able to locate the source of the phrase which is quoted many times in journal papers but without a reference.

⁸⁷ Edward Salomons, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*. The letter is dated Feby 2nd 1892 but this clearly an error as there is no other documentation around that date in 1892 which relates to the issue, whereas there are plenty of subsequent references in 1893. RMCM/A1/3/27.

Salomons wrote to Withers on 11 February, the contents of this letter being reported to the Committee meeting two days later. 'A letter was read from Mr Salomons, the hon. architect of the College, ... stating that the conditional offer of £2000 that he had made...for the Ducie Street Club had been accepted by their client, and only needed confirmation to complete the purchase.'⁸⁸ The next paragraph of the minutes is remarkably understated considering the significance of its contents.

'The Committee, being strongly of opinion [sic] that so admirably adapted a building ought to be secured for the money at the earliest possible moment, the Chairman, Mr Lees, expressed his intention of relieving the Committee of the difficulty of purchase by himself buying the building and presenting it to the College.'⁸⁹

The Committee then recorded its desire to 'place on record its sense of the generosity of the Treasurer in thus presenting a permanent home to the College.' A day later Lees wrote to Behrens, sending his apologies for the next meeting. A reproduction of the letter is at Fig. 3.3.

Dear Mr Behrens,
... I hope the subscribers will decide to proceed with the proposed College of Music, as I feel sure if it were once established further subscriptions would be obtained.
The premises in Ducie St, with some slight alterations, would make an admirable home for the College, the situation being quite in the educational district and easily accessible by tram.
The buildings seem substantial, and considering how long they have been empty, in very good condition...
P.S. As named yesterday I will find the £2000 for the purchase of the above property, if it is decided to go on with the scheme.

A meeting of the General Committee was arranged and took place on 27 February 1893.⁹⁰ In addition to the Mayor of Manchester, who was Chairman, there were twenty-two people in attendance, with apologies from a further fourteen. The minutes of the meeting are brief, and there is no extant copy of the text of the Committee's report, but full details of the proceedings were carried by the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester Courier*, these being

⁸⁸ "Meeting of the Executive Committee on Monday, Feb. 13th [1893]," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 88.

⁸⁹ According to the Bank of England inflation calculator, £2,000 in 1893 equated to £217,182 in October 2024. When Lees died eighteen months later in August 1894, the gross value of his estate was £852,685.

⁹⁰ "Meeting of the General Committee held on Monday, Feb. 27th," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 94.

appended to the minute book.⁹¹ According to the newspapers the report of the Executive Committee, which was read out by Withers, stated that ‘the efforts of the committee [sic] to raise the necessary funds for the purposes of the College had met with sufficient success to justify them in recommending the opening of the College during the present year’.⁹² In addition to the revised estimate of the required size of the guarantee fund, the Executive Committee was pleased to report that it had been ‘relieved of one heavy item of expense by the kindness of a member of the committee [sic], who had made a free gift to the committee of a building in their opinion pre-eminently well adapted to become the home of the College of Music’, and recommended acceptance of the offer to the meeting.⁹³

Having approved the report, the meeting resolved, firstly, to establish the Council of the College of Music, to consist of

The Mayor [Anthony Marshall]	Dr Charles J. Hall
Mr Gustav Behrens	Sir Charles Hallé
Mr O. P. Behrens	Mr Charles J. Heywood
Mr E. J. Broadfield	Mr Edward S. Heywood
Mr Gustav Dehn	Mr Charles E. Lees
Mr Charles Dunderdale	Mr George Murray
Mr William Eller	Mr S. R. Platt
Mr T. W. Gillibrand	Dr Ward

and, secondly, it directed the Council ‘to take such steps as it may be advised towards establishing & incorporating the College of Music, Manchester.’ An exploration of the links between the members of the Committee occurs later in this chapter.

⁹¹ “The College of Music, Manchester,” *Manchester Guardian*, Feb 28, 1893, 7 and 12; “The Manchester College of Music,” *Manchester Courier*, Feb 28, 1893, 7.

⁹² Extracts taken from the article in the *Manchester Guardian*, Feb 28, 1893, 12.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

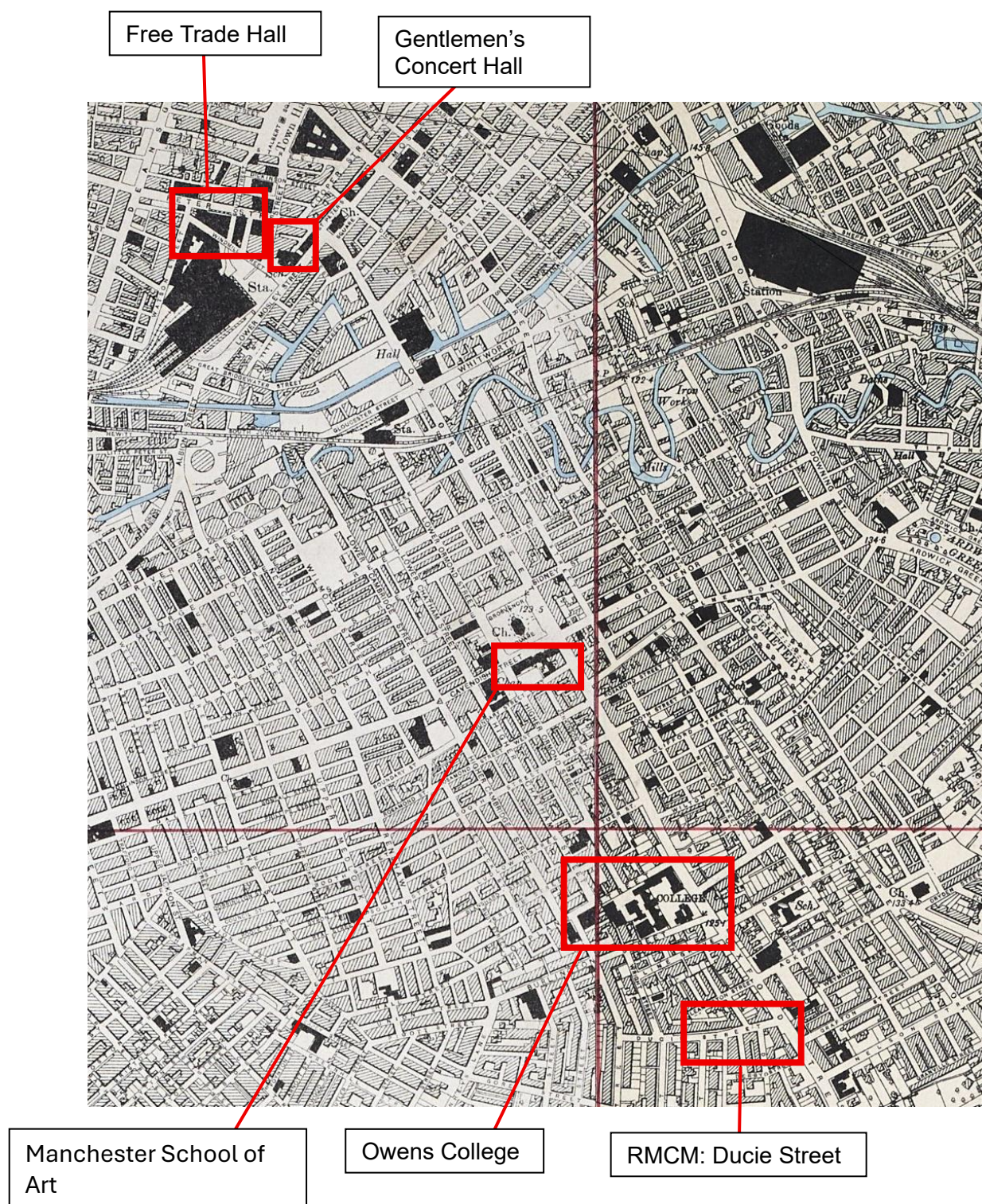


Fig. 3.3. Map showing locations of the RMCM, Owens College, Manchester School of Arts, Gentlemen's Concert Hall and Free Trade Hall. Index to Ordnance Survey 25 inch to 1 mile: Ordnance Survey 1:2500 county series. Lancashire. Sheet XCVI. © The University of Manchester Library. CC-BYb

The final phase

The first meeting of the new Council took place on 1 March 1893 and began with the appointment of officers:⁹⁴

Chairman: Dr Ward⁹⁵

Vice-Chairman: Mr Charles Heywood

Treasurer: Mr Charles E. Lees

Honorary Secretary: Mr Gustav Behrens

Other business included the formal appointment of Sir Charles Halle as Principal, the establishment of several sub-committees to deal with the various practicalities, and the agreement that the Treasurer should call on all who had promised contributions to the initial expenses to pay their donations into the bank. At each meeting thereafter one of the first items of business was the state of the bank account.

At the meeting on 14 April, Lees reported the receipt of a letter from Behrens, which was to be of great significance for the financial support of students in the future.

Dear Mr Lees, I have this day paid to the Manchester & County Bank, the sum of £19.1.10 to the credit of the College of Music. In this matter I am acting for a number of contributors who desire the above amount to be devoted towards forming the nucleus of a fund out of which gratuitous instruction may be provided for poor students at the College. I am
Yours faithfully, Gustav Behrens.⁹⁶

The letter was entered in the minutes and the Council resolved that 'the fund thus indicated be called the Sustentation Fund.' The development of this fund, and by whom it was supported, will be examined in Chapter Four. There is almost no mention of donations and fundraising in the minutes of the meetings held over the next two months, but the Council must have felt confident it had sufficient finances in order to take the decision to advertise the opening date in local, regional and national newspapers from 24 June onwards.⁹⁷ Donations

⁹⁴ "First Meeting of the Council held on Wednesday, 1 March [1893]," *Minute book, 1892–93*, 98.

⁹⁵ Gooch and Evans, "Ward, Sir Adolphus William."

⁹⁶ "[IV] Meeting of the Council, Tuesday 18 April 93," *Council minute book no. 1*, 11. RMCM/C/1/1.

⁹⁷ 'Resolved: That the Prospectus of the College be advertised in the Guardian, Courier & City News on four successive Saturdays beginning on June 25th and in the Times, Atheneum [sic], Leeds Mercury, Yorkshire Post, Sheffield Independent, Westmorland Gazette, Warrington evening June 25th.' "[IX] Meeting of the Council, 20 June 93," *ibid.*, 24.

have for the College, the
 situation being quite in the
 educational district and
 easily accessible by train.
 The buildings seem substantial,
 and considering how long
 they have been empty, in very
 good condition.
 Hoping you will have
 a successful meeting, I am
 Yours faithfully
Charles E. Lees

P.S. As named yesterday
 I will find the £2000 for
 the purchase of the above
 property, if it is decided
 to go on with the scheme.

Heron Park
 Hotham
 Feb. 14/93

Dear Mr. Behrens.
 As I am going
 abroad tomorrow I much
 regret that I cannot be
 present at your meeting on
 the 27th.
 Should the subscribers
 will decide to proceed with
 the proposed College of Music,
 and feel sure if it were once
 established further subscrip-
 tions would be obtained.
 The premises in Piccadilly
 with some slight alterations,
 would make an admirable

Fig. 3.4. Letter from Charles Lees to Gustav Behrens, confirming his offer to pay for the purchase of the building. RMCM/A/3/2/93.

and guarantees were, of course, not the only source of funding; earlier discussions had included consideration of the rate to be charged to students and now they were confirmed as £30 per session (£10 per term). A copy of the advertisement is reproduced at Fig. 3.4.⁹⁸

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC,
MANCHESTER (DUCIE-STREET, OXFORD ROAD).

Principal—Sir **CHARLES HALLÉ.**

PROFESSORS.—Singing: Madame Sherrington, Miss Anna Williams, Miss Lemmens-Sherrington, Mr. Andrew Black, Mr. John Acton, and Mr. F. H. Dale. Pianoforte: Sir Charles Hallé, Mr. Frederick Dawson, Mr. George Gunton, Miss Olga Neruda, Miss Bretey, and Miss Shaw. Violin: Mr. Willy Hess, Mr. C. Rawdon Briggs, and Mr. Speelman. Viola: Mr. Speelman. Violoncello: Mr. Vieuxtemps and Mr. Carl Fuchs. Double Bass: Mr. J. Hoffmann. Flute: Mr. De Jong and Mr. F. Brossa. Clarionette: Mr. G. A. Hoffmann. Oboe and Corno Inglese: Mr. Charles Reynolds. Bassoon and Contra-fagotto: Mr. Lalande and Mr. Knight. Horn and Trumpet: Mr. Paersch and Mr. Thomas Reynolds. Trombone: Mr. Branston. Harp: Mr. Cockerill. Organ: Mr. J. Kendrick Pyne. Harmony, Composition, and History of Music: Henry Hiles, Mus.D., assisted by Mr. R. H. Wilson, Mus.B., and Mr. Walter Carroll, Mus.B. Choirmaster: Henry Watson, Mus.D.

THE COLLEGE WILL OPEN ON OCTOBER 2, 1893.

Every Branch of Music is taught in the College, and all students are required to enter upon a complete course of musical instruction while choosing one specific branch for their principal study. The full course of instruction occupies at least three sessions, and no certificates of proficiency will be granted, except in special cases, to students who have not attended the full period of the College education. Students are required to pass an entrance examination.

The Entrance Examination for the first session will begin on Tuesday, September 26. Candidates offering themselves for admission must apply on or before August 29 to the secretary. Fee for the session £30, payable in three instalments of £10 at the beginning of each term.

Copies of the College prospectus can be obtained at Messrs. Forsyth Bros., Messrs. Hime and Addison's, and other principal music-sellers in Manchester and district, or on application to the Secretary, who will furnish all information concerning the College.

STANLEY WITHERS, Secretary and Registrar.
 Temporary Offices of the Royal College of Music, Manchester,
 36, Princess-street.

Fig. 3.5. *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 24, 1893, 1.
 RMCM/A/3/2, 103.

The College opens

The RMCM opened its doors to students, as planned, on Monday 2 October 1893. The minutes of the Council meeting held on 6 October briefly record the opening thus: 'The Secretary reported that the College opened for tuition on the

⁹⁸ As may be seen, the new institution was being announced as 'The Royal College of Music, Manchester'. The *Manchester Courier* had carried a brief report on 23 June announcing the grant of title of 'Royal'. However, this met with opposition from Sir George Grove on behalf of the Royal College of Music in London and, after some correspondence between the Council members, and discussion at a special meeting held on 11 July 1893, the decision was taken to change the name to the 'Royal Manchester College of Music' in order to 'avoid any similarity of title'. By the end of the month the advertisements were published under the revised name.

previous Monday and that Classes had been held daily, the number of students being 74.⁹⁹ Reports in newspapers during the previous month had heralded the opening – the *Manchester Evening News* with a short entry on 4 September,¹⁰⁰ and the *Manchester Guardian* in a substantial article on 26 September which, referring to the financial outlook, commented that the Council of the College ‘feel deep satisfaction at the liberal manner in which their efforts have been seconded by the public’.¹⁰¹ In public the Council was being optimistic; however, at its meeting on 20 September it had received a report that the College was £172 in deficit owing to expenditure on making the building ready. The meeting resolved that it should call up the first year’s subscriptions as soon after the College’s opening as possible.¹⁰²

The day of the opening appears to have passed otherwise unremarked but the ‘official’ inauguration, which occurred at the Opening Conversazione on 7 October, was reported at length in the *Manchester Courier*.¹⁰³ In his speech as Chairman of the Council Dr Ward pointed out that those present were assembled ‘truly and literally as the founders of the College, but they were the founders because in differing degrees they were the subscribers to it’. He mentioned the generous gift of the building by a member of the council and noted that further efforts would be necessary if success was to be achieved. The Council trusted that ‘the college which had been so liberally founded would, by their [the subscribers’] efforts, be liberally maintained by corresponding efforts on their part and a part of a much larger proportion of the community.’ Furthermore it was hoped that many would be ‘inclined to found scholarships and exhibitions in the college’ to support students of slender means.

The initial scheme to found the RMCM had been successful but this was only the first stage for, as Dr Ward noted in his speech at the Opening Conversazione, it would still be reliant on its supporters for their money in the future. Furthermore, he suggested that the support base would need to be

⁹⁹ “[XII] Meeting of the Council, 6 Oct 93,” *Council minute book no. 1*, 36.

¹⁰⁰ “The Royal Manchester College of Music,” *Manchester Evening News*, Sep 4, 1893, 2.

¹⁰¹ “The Royal Manchester College of Music,” *Manchester Guardian*, Sep 26, 1893, 9.

¹⁰² “[XV] Meeting of the Council, 20 Sep. 93,” *Council minute book no. 1*, 33.

It was also decided to rescind the resolution made at a previous meeting to provide light refreshments for the Opening Conversazione, to which subscribers were invited.

¹⁰³ “Royal Manchester College of Music. Inaugural Conversazione,” *Manchester Courier*, Oct 9, 1893, 8.

extended, and this is examined in Chapter Four. The establishment of the RMCM had fulfilled the desire for a conservatoire in Manchester which had been growing throughout the previous decade, as outlined in Chapter One. Behrens, Hallé and the other key participants had been operating in an environment which was already open to the idea of a conservatoire; their task was to draw on that in order to elicit support in principle and practically by the promise of donations.

It is also clear that the initiation of the project by Hallé, with him as the figurehead, were thought to be important factors in attracting supporters to become involved, and the following are examples of how his name was used to add credence to the scheme. The first was the report produced for the public meeting in May 1892 which concluded: 'They [the Committee] also have great pleasure in stating that they have the promise of the cordial cooperation of Sir CHARLES HALLÉ in any efforts that may be made to establish a Conservatoire of Music as recommended by them'.¹⁰⁴ The second was that Hallé's presence at the meetings to be held in Bolton and Oldham was highlighted in the invitations, in the hope this would encourage attendance and donations. His significance to the project was further emphasised by Professor Ward at the October meeting when he told the audience that the willingness of 'the great musician of whom Manchester had special reason to be proud' to devote the latter part of his career to the superintendence of a college was deemed, by the promoters of the scheme, as too good an opportunity to be lost.¹⁰⁵

Analysis of supporters, May 1892–October 1893

Financial support

The tables in Appendix 3.5 provide the details of the amounts promised by the supporters; table four in that appendix brings together the figures from the list published in the *Manchester Guardian* on 12 November 1892 with those from the pledge forms submitted after that date, and is arranged by the overall totals promised. The names of those who promised a total of £100 or more are listed below in Table 3.1. From these tables it may be seen that the most generous benefactor was Charles Edward Lees, with his promise of £250 per annum for

¹⁰⁴ *Preliminary minute book, 1891–1892*. Capitalisation as per the printed copy.

¹⁰⁵ "The Manchester College of Music. Public meeting," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 11, 1892, 9.

five years and a donation towards initial expenses of £250, making a total of £1,500. Lees died in August 1894 and the actual total of his donation is unknown, but a comment in the Annual Report for 1917 indicates that his widow honoured his promise.¹⁰⁶ In addition he had paid £2,000 for purchase of the building, shared the cost (with Charles J. Heywood) of the circulars which had to be re-printed and, in January 1894, paid an unknown amount for an organ, which was purchased for the RMCM from the artist Edward Burne Jones (plus the arrangements for its removal and setting up).¹⁰⁷ It is clear that for the time during which Lees was associated with the RMCM he was very generous with his support. His widow, Sarah Anne Lees, took over his involvement in the College soon after her husband's death and her generosity, as well as that of her daughters, is explored in Chapter Four.

The Heywood brothers, Charles James and Edward Stanley, are next in the lists, each promising £625, consisting of £100 per annum for five years and initial donations of £125, making a total of £1,250 between them. Their support had been obtained very early in the proceedings and was reported at the public meeting on 4 May 1892; they both continued to support the RMCM financially for the remainder of their lives.¹⁰⁸ In August 1892, prior to the general call for subscribers, the Earl of Derby (Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl) had promised £100 per annum for five years. However, he died in April 1893 before the promises were called on and, as with Lees, there is no documentation indicating whether anything was paid. Also promising the sum of £500 through subscriptions of £100 per annum for five years were William Agnew and Samuel R. Platt, both of whom were involved with the project from its early stages. This was also the case with Sir William H. Houldsworth, M.P. who chaired the first public meeting in December 1891 and was appointed as a member of the initial Committee. He promised a total of £350, as did the Duke of Devonshire and

¹⁰⁶ *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of Council*, 1917 (RMCM: Manchester, 1917), 16. RMCM/B/3/3.

¹⁰⁷ There is no indication of the cost of the leaflets; later minutes listed the amounts of the accounts to be paid for approval by the Committee or Council.

¹⁰⁸ When Charles died in 1905 his estate was valued at £223,562. *National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations)*, 1906, H–J, p.134; on his death in 1914, Edward's was £61,369. *National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations)*, 1914, H–K, p.107.

Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
C. E. [Charles Edward] Lees [d. Aug. 1894]	250.00	1250.00	250.00	1500.00
C. J. [Charles James] Heywood	100.00	500.00	125.00	625.00
E. S. [Edward Stanley] Heywood	100.00	500.00	125.00	625.00
The Earl of Derby [d. Apr. 1893]	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
William Agnew	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
S. R. [Samuel Radcliffe] Platt	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
The Duke of Devonshire	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
Sir W. H. [William Henry] Houldsworth, M.P.	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
Frank Behrens	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
Sir W. C. [William Cunliffe] Brooks	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
Gustav Behrens	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
James Jardine [d. Sep. 1893]	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
Fritz Reiss	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
Benjamin Armitage	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
T. C. [Thomas Cogan] Horsfall	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
Henry Simon	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
Mrs Rylands	25.00	125.00	25.00	150.00
Herbert Philips	20.00	100.00	50.00	150.00
L. [Louis] Grommé	25.00	125.00	0.00	125.00
Samuel Armitage	25.00	125.00	0.00	125.00
J. E. [John Edward] Taylor	20.00	100.00	25.00	125.00
C. P. [Charles Prestwich] Scott	20.00	100.00	5.00	105.00
Thomas Craven	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
W. J. [William John] Crossley	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
James Forsyth	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00

Table 3.2. Extract of list of donations showing totals of £100 and above, excluding corporate donors. [The figures have been converted to decimal currency.]

Frank Behrens.¹⁰⁹ There were a further sixteen individuals who pledged sums of between £100 and £300, most of the promises consisting of an annual subscription each year for five years, plus a donation towards the initial expenses.

From the list of those who promised £100 or more, £1,445 of the total of £1,897.53 (£1,897 10s. 6d.) in annual subscriptions was promised by twenty-five individual donors (out of the total of 165); £1,100 of the £1,553.20 (£1,553 3s. 11d.) in initial expenses was promised by thirteen individual donors. This means that 76% of the annual subscriptions were promised by 15% of the donors, and 70.8% of the initial expenses by 7.9% of them. Thus, a relatively small number of people was responsible for a substantial proportion of the finance. These numbers reinforce Shapely's observation in relation to charities in Manchester, which is as applicable to institutions such as the RMCM. 'One of the problems facing charities was the limited number of people willing to subscribe. There was an underlying dependence on a small number of subscribers...' ¹¹⁰ At the other end of the scale, remembering the comments made at the Oldham and Bolton meetings about small contributions being welcome, forty-two of the 165 donors (25.5%) promised annual sums of between 10/6 and one guinea, ¹¹¹ while twenty people (12.1%) promised one pound or one guinea to the initial expenses. A total commitment of £10 or less was made by 58 people, representing 35% of the total number of donors.

Networks

Membership of institutions

Personal connections were key to attracting promises of subscriptions and donations. Correspondence from members of the Committee with Behrens contains information from the writers advising of the contacts to whom they were promoting the project, making use of the circulars in addition to the public meetings and the publicity therefrom. An analysis of the donors and subscribers from 1892–93 reveals that 117 of the donors had a link to a society, institution or

¹⁰⁹ Francis "Frank" Behrens (1839–1902), calico printer, was an uncle of Oliver P. Behrens (who had joined the Committee in 1892) and a second cousin of Gustav Behrens. See family trees, pp.231–232.

¹¹⁰ Shapely, *Charity and power*, 28.

¹¹¹ The decimal equivalents are 52.5p and £1.05.

one of the 'events' mentioned earlier and thus are likely to have been part of the network of contacts.¹¹² Fig. 3.5 below shows the numbers of people from the lists who had such a link. The largest number is the fifty-five who subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts, followed by forty-eight subscribers to the Royal Exchange, thus highlighting the significance of music and business contacts. The second graph, Fig. 3.6, illustrates the extent of individual involvement. The person who was involved with the most of societies and institutions (sixteen) was C. P. [Charles Prestwich] Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. Broadfield was linked with fifteen, Behrens with twelve and Agnew with ten. Conversely, twenty-six had a connection with one institution only.

There were other networks outside of belonging to institutions, some of which overlapped with membership of other groups. One such example is that of occupations – the men may have known each other because they moved in the same circles owing to the nature of their business, or because they were subscribers to institutions such as the Royal Exchange and/or the Chamber of Commerce. Of the 162 individual donors, 131 are men and of those it has been possible to determine occupations for 126 (the noblemen and those of independent means have been excluded from this analysis).¹¹³ It is not surprising that the largest number, thirty-one, had occupations related to an aspect of the cloth and yarn industries, predominantly cotton but also silk, and there were twenty-eight who were described as merchants or shipping merchants, shown in Fig. 3.7. Out of the thirty women there was one with a recognised occupation, that of the headmistress of Manchester High School for Girls.

Comparison of 1891 lists and subsequent donors

Out of the 179 people on the 1891 lists, fifty subsequently supported the establishment of the RMCM, making a one-off donation, a pledge for five years or, in some cases, continuing for many years. There were 162 individual donors who responded to the request for support made in September 1892. The

¹¹² These numbers are calculated on the basis of the information gathered from research in archival records and other sources, such as newspapers. See the Bibliography for the list of sources consulted. It is not an exhaustive list of all possible organisations.

¹¹³ The information about occupations has been obtained from census returns, church register entries, directories, newspapers, and publications such as *Manchester Faces and Places*.

following tables provide a breakdown of the same categories which were analysed in Chapter Two.

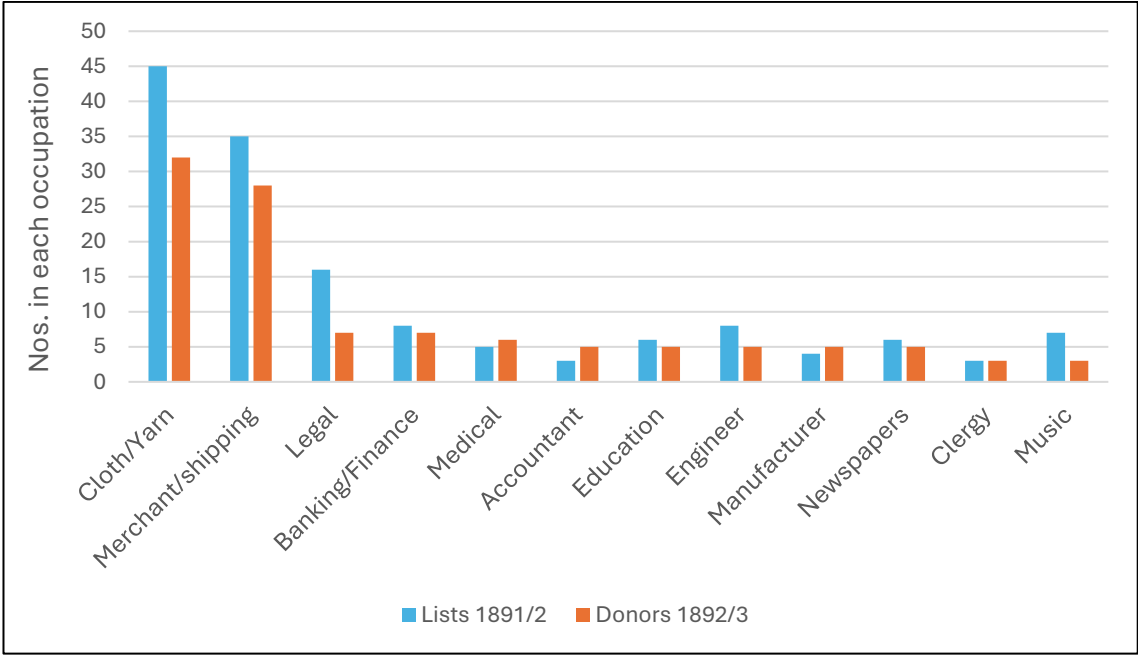


Fig. 3.6. Comparison of occupations of people on the 1891/2 lists and the donors in 1892/3.

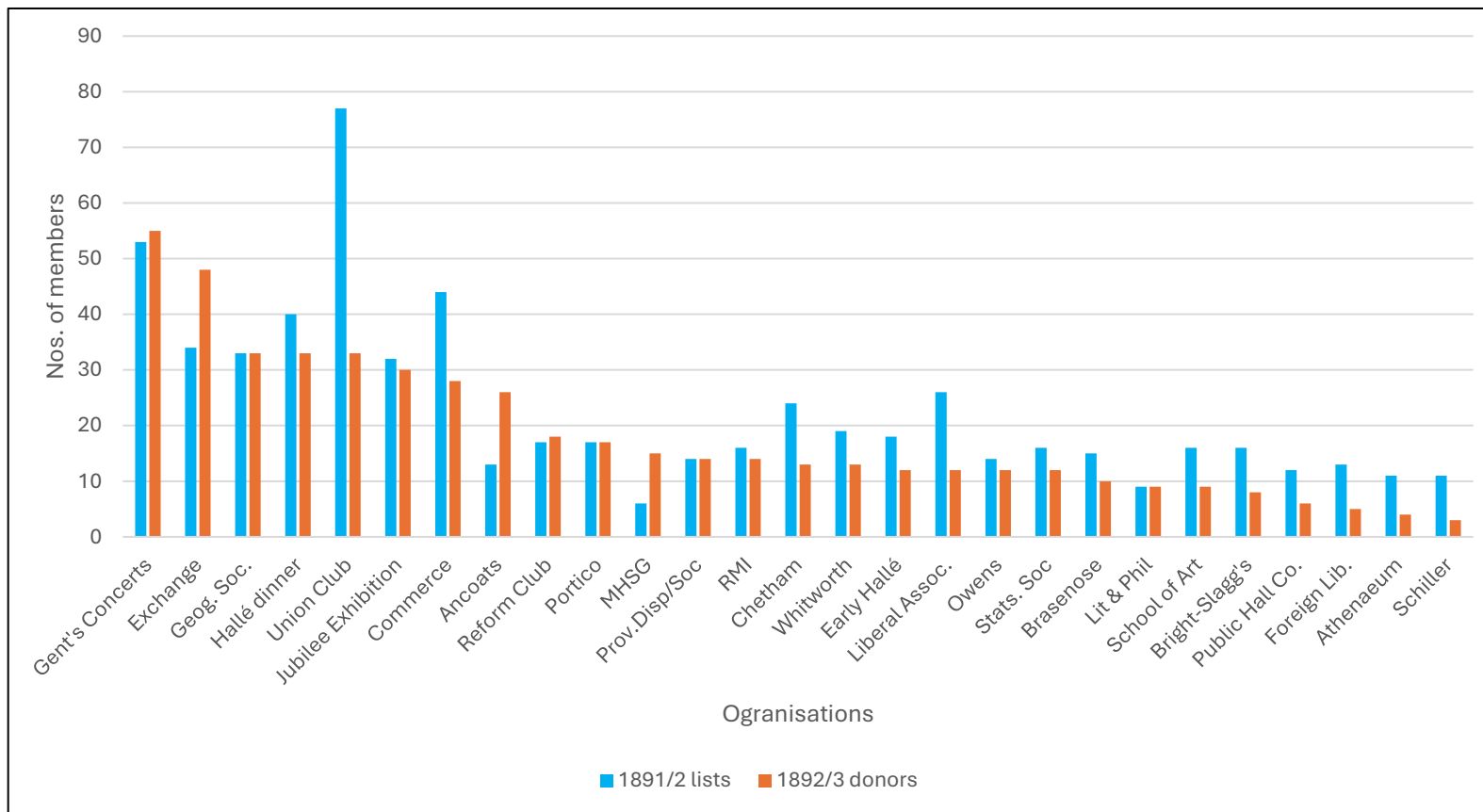


Fig. 3.7. Comparison of number of affiliations to societies and institutions.

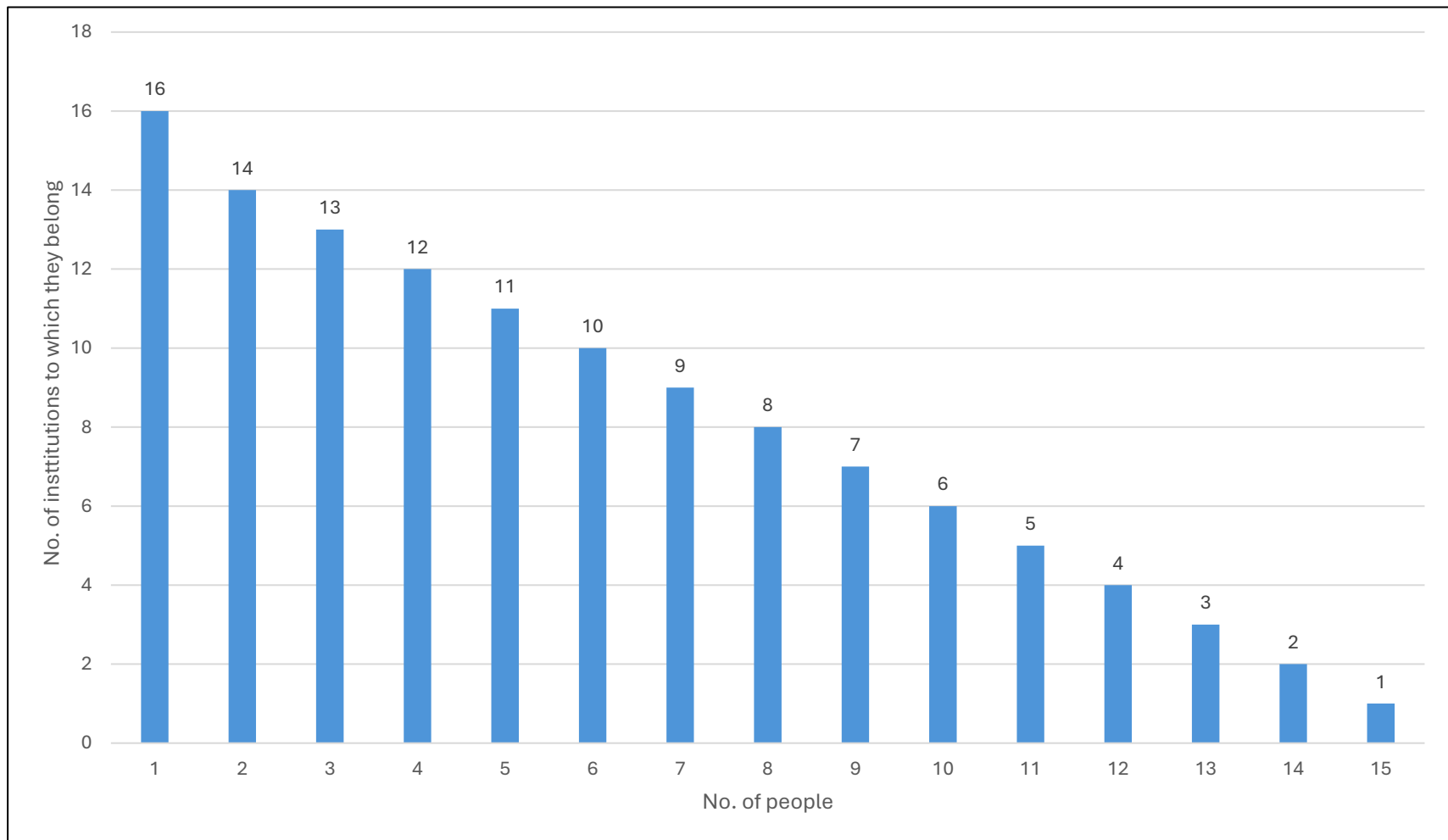


Fig. 3.8. Numbers of memberships of institutions, combining the 1891 lists with the donors from 1892/3.

Nationality¹¹⁴

An analysis of the nationalities of donors, undertaken on the same basis as that in Chapter Two on the initial lists, shows the following breakdown:

Nationality	1891		Continued from 1891	New 1892/3	All 1892/3
Austrian: naturalised British	1		0	0	0
Cuban: naturalised British	0		0	1	1
Danish: naturalised British	0		0	1	1
Dutch	2		1	0	1
British	132		38	98	136
British: Austrian parentage (naturalised British)	1		0	0	0
British: French parentage	0		0	1	1
British: German parentage	3		0	4	4
British: German parentage (naturalised British)	7		2	1	3
British: Greek parentage	0		0	1	1
British: Scottish parentage	8		1	0	1
British: Swiss parentage	1		0	0	0
German	3		0	0	0
German: naturalised British	16		8	4	12
Greek: naturalised British	1		0	0	0
Swiss: naturalised British	0		0	1	1
	175		50	112	162

Table 3.3. Nationalities of donors.

From this table it may be seen that nineteen of the 162 individual donors were of German origin, either having been born in Germany or the British-born offspring of German parents, thus comprising 11.72% of the supporters. This is a smaller percentage than that of the initial contact lists, but still the second highest national grouping after the British.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ See Chapter Two, p.97, for details of how nationality was determined.

¹¹⁵ Bernhard Alexander, Charles Behrens, Emil A. Behrens, Francis Behrens, Gustav Behrens, Gustav Dehn, Julius Dreschfeld, Thomas Dreydel, Gustav Eckhard, Ernest Frank, Louis Grommé, Sigismund Helm, William Kessler, Frederick Nathan, Fritz Reiss, Herman Rohde, Maurice Schlesinger, Henry Simon, John [Johann] Voss.

Religion

It has not been possible to establish the religious affiliations of thirty-eight donors; the remaining 124 (76.5%) are shown in the table below.

	1891		Continued from 1891	New 1892/3	All 1892/3
Anglican	76		24	38	62
Anglican (presumed)	15		5	3	8
Catholic	3		0	0	0
Congregational	13		6	9	15
Greek	1		0	0	0
Jewish	8		3	5	8
Jewish (presumed)			0	1	1
Methodist	5		0	4	4
Nonconformist/Independent	9		1	3	4
Pentecostal	0		0	1	1
Presbyterian	4		0	1	1
Quaker	2		0	1	1
Swedenborgian	3		3	0	3
Unitarian, or presumed Unitarian	23		5	10	16
	160		47	77	124

Table 3.4. Religious affiliations.

The percentage of those whose religious affiliations can be identified is lower than that of the 1891 lists, making it problematic to be as certain about the balance of denominational/faith allegiance. Furthermore, the caveat referred to in relation to the 1891 lists applies here, not only to those originally of the Jewish faith who converted but also others whose religious identity was not straightforward and easily categorised. Mrs Enriqueta Rylands was one such person; for the purposes of this study she has been categorised as Congregational.¹¹⁶ Professor J. G. Greenwood, Principal of Owens College, was another; he was the son of a Congregational minister but had joined the Church of England in his twenties and has been listed as Anglican for the purposes of this study.¹¹⁷ In 1891 twenty-three of the donors were identified as Unitarian, comprising 14.4% of the total whose religion could be identified, but

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth C. Gow, "Enriqueta Rylands: the public and private collecting of a Nonconformist bibliophile, 1889–1908" (PhD, University of Manchester, 2023), 15–17.

¹¹⁷ A. W. Ward and M. C. Curthoys, "Greenwood, Joseph Gouge (1821–1894), Greek scholar and university administrator," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oct 8, 2009, accessed Apr 23, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11439>.

in 1892/3 the overall number, and the percentage (12.9%), of those who could be identified as Unitarian had dropped.¹¹⁸ However, they represented a significant number of the Nonconformists – 39% in 1891, and 36.3% of the 1892/3 lists. The Congregationalists are the one group where the numbers increased from the 1891 list to donors in 1892–93. An initial analysis does not provide any obvious suggestions as to the reasons for this; it seems that they were members of, or attendees at, different Congregational chapels, thus ruling out a close social connection through chapel attendance. However, they may have met in other settings linked to their churchgoing and faith practice, so this does not preclude denominational affiliation being a factor in the network of contacts.

In the 1851 Ecclesiastical Census for the borough of Manchester, the only available benchmark, the percentages of those attending a place of worship are given in Table 3.5.¹¹⁹ When the numbers attending Nonconformist places of worship are added together, as in Table 3.6, there is a higher percentage than for the Church of England.

	% attendance, 1851	% affiliation, RMCM 1891	% affiliation, RMCM 1892/3
Church of England	34.4%	55.6%	56.5%
Roman Catholic	23.4%	1.9%	0.0%
Methodist	19.3%	3.1%	3.2%
Independent	8.8%		
Presbyterian	5.4%	2.5%	0.8%
Baptist	3.8%		
Other Nonconformist	1.8%		
Unitarian	14.2%	14.4%	12.9%
Society of Friends	0.6%	1.2%	0.8%
Church of Scotland	0.5%		
Jewish	0.3%	4.9%	7.3%
Greek	0.1%	1.9%	0.0%

¹¹⁸ Gustav Behrens, Thomas Bromley, Gustav Eckhard, Miss Mary Ewart, Miss Margaret Gaskell, T. Walton Gillibrand, Samuel Greg, John Harwood, Albert Nicholson, Frederick M. Pierce, C. P. Scott, Henry Simon, Frederick Smallman, J. E. Taylor, John P. Thomasson, Mrs James [Mary] Worthington.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter Five for a discussion of the reliability of the figures.

Table 3.5. Comparison of attendances at places of worship with religious affiliations. ¹²⁰

Denomination	% attendance, 1851	% affiliation, RMCM 1891	% affiliation, RMCM 1892/3
Nonconformist	36.2%	36.4%	36.3%
Church of England	34.5%	55.6%	56.5%
Roman Catholic	23.4%	1.9%	0.0%
Jewish	0.3%	4.9%	7.3%

Table 3.6. Comparison of attendances at places of worship with religious affiliations, with Nonconformist affiliations aggregated.

Politics

Political affiliation	1891		Continued from 1891	New 1892/3	All 1892/3
Conservative (Tory)	36		8	9	17
Liberal	73		20	26	46
Liberal / Unionist	9		2	1	3
None ¹²¹	1		1	1	2
	119		31	37	68

Table 3.7. Political affiliations.

There is a much higher number here (96/162) than the 1891 lists (58/175) for whom it is has not been possible to find the political allegiance. This suggests that, for the initial contact lists, political sympathies were significant but became less so as more people were approached. Nevertheless, as with the earlier lists, the Liberals and Liberal Unionists provide the highest number of supporters.

Family connections

There are fewer repeated surnames amongst the donors compared with the 1891 lists. However, as mentioned in Chapter Two, there are ‘hidden’ connections. For instance, Mrs S. A. [Mary Isabella] Bennett was the daughter of James A. Bannerman who had been on the 1891 lists. These networks and relationships are examined in further detail in Chapter Five showing that, during the thirty-year period covered by this study, a considerable number of family connections may be identified amongst the supporters of the RMCM.

¹²⁰ As the definitions of the denominations can vary, only those in the RMCM columns for which there is a reasonable degree of ceremony are included.

¹²¹ Sir F. F. Adam, as noted in Chapter 2, fn.44; and James E. Cornish who ‘took no part in public life’. “Memorial notices. Mr J. E. Cornish,” *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 19, 1903, 5.

Supporting the RMCM as an officer and/or Committee member

Making a donation or subscribing was not the only way in which support could be offered; serving as an officer or a Committee member was also important in the process of establishing a new institution. Many of those who took on this responsibility held similar positions within other organisations in the city and would have been known for their experience in such capacities. Eight members of the first Committee, set up in December 1891, were also directors or officers of the Gentlemen's Concerts, and others joined subsequent iterations of the Committee. When the Council was established in March 1893 it included five directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts. In relation to higher level educational institutions, Charles E. Lees and Dr Ward, served as governors of the Manchester School of Art and the Whitworth Institute; Broadfield and Lees were governors of Owens College, along with Ward who held the post as a consequence of his role in the institution. Members of the committees of other cultural organisations included T. W. Gillibrand and Charles J. Heywood; and four others had served on Jubilee Exhibition Committees a few years earlier.¹²²

The members of the Committee appointed at the public meeting on 4 May 1892 and the relevance of their inclusion was discussed in Chapter Two. The new Council which took office in March 1893 differed very little in membership from the previous Committees.¹²³ William Agnew, one of the original instigators of the project and on the Committee, but not the Executive, after 4 May meeting, was not appointed as a Council member and seems not to have had any further involvement with the administration of the RMCM from that date. However he remained a supporter of the College as a Life Member of the General Committee until his death in 1910. Also missing from the new Council was Herbert Philips; he, too, continued to give his support until he died in 1905. Bosdin T. Leech was replaced by Anthony Marshall who had succeeded him as Mayor of Manchester;¹²⁴ the other new member was Charles Dunderdale who had offered his services as Honorary Solicitor (see Chapter Two). He remained in that post, and as a Council member, until his death in 1922. The Council appointed Dr Ward as Chairman and Charles J. Heywood as Vice-Chairman;

¹²² Gillibrand represented the Royal Manchester Institution on the Art Gallery Committee (1885–); C. J. Heywood was a member of the Art Museum Committee (1882–).

¹²³ For a complete list of Council members and officers, see Appendix 3.6.

¹²⁴ Marshall was the last Mayor and first Lord Mayor of Manchester.

Lees remained the Honorary Treasurer and Gustav Behrens, Honorary Secretary.

With the exception of the Mayor/Lord Mayor, whose appointment was by virtue of his office, most of the other Council members all served for long periods and many died in post: Gustav Behrens (1936), Edward J. Broadfield (1913), Charles Dunderdale (1922), William Eller (1927), T. W. Gillibrand (resigned March 1898, died August 1898), Charles J. Hall (1901), Charles J. Heywood (1905), Edward S. Heywood (1914), Charles E. Lees (1894), George R. Murray (1933), S. R. Platt (1902); while others resigned owing to departure from the area.¹²⁵ The Principal was always an *ex officio* member of the Council and when Adolph Brodsky was appointed as Principal in November 1895, after Hallé's death, he succeeded him on the Council.

Another of Shapely's observations, which applies to the organisation of educational and cultural institutions in addition to charities, is that it was necessary to adopt a business ethos to run them: 'The application of business principles was reflected in the occupation of serving personnel, most of whom had associations with commerce, industry and finance.'¹²⁶ In his study of two charities and the Manchester Royal Infirmary at four periods across the nineteenth century, Shapely identifies that, of the 137 recognised occupations, 121 were from a business background. Relating this to the make-up of the RMCM officers and Committee members, excluding the Mayor and Hallé, the twelve members of the Executive Committee appointed in May 1892 represented the following occupations: finance (2), manufacturing (3), merchant (4), education (2), plus an acknowledged philanthropist. Again excluding the Mayor and Hallé, the fourteen members of the Council from March 1893 were constituted thus: finance (3), legal (2), manufacturing (3), merchant (4), education (2). These numbers provide further evidence that the establishment of the RMCM followed local precedents known to the key participants. Shapely also suggests that those involved in charities transposed their knowledge of administering a business organisation onto the structure of the charity, and that it was necessary to place 'experts', people who could be trusted, in the key

¹²⁵ Oliver Behrens (1914), Dr Ward (1898).

¹²⁶ Shapely, *Charity and power*, 28.

administrative positions.¹²⁷ This was also true of the RMCM. Lees (manufacturer) served as Treasurer from 1892–1894; he was succeeded by banker Charles J. Heywood (1894–1905) and then merchant, Gustav Behrens (1906–1934).

Support in kind

The offer made by Charles Dunderdale to act as solicitor was referred to above. The other person who offered his professional services, to advise as to premises and the alteration thereof, was the renowned Manchester architect, Edward Salomons. He was another of the Gentlemen's Concerts subscribers, had been on the list of those to whom invitations to the first Town Hall meeting were sent, and was present at the second public meeting. He would have been well known to the Committee members, having designed many buildings in the city, served as Honorary Secretary of the Royal Manchester Institution for over twenty years, and been a member of several clubs.¹²⁸ Having inspected several potential buildings between May 1892 and February 1893 it was Salomons who negotiated the purchase of the Ducie Club and then oversaw the necessary alterations. His role as honorary architect continued after the opening with his advice on soundproofing being sought within a few weeks, an extension planned and built in 1895 and an enlargement of the hall in 1898.

Conclusion

The initial establishment of the RMCM was dependent on a small group of men who were committed to bring Hallé's vision to fruition. Some of them expressed their commitment through service on the various Committees and Council, and by carrying out the practicalities necessary for such a project; others were generous donors and a few gave both money and time. These were the founding supporters and benefactors whose involvement may be explained as arising from loyalty to Hallé, pride in Manchester, and a strong feeling that the musical and cultural life of the city, and the wider region, would be enhanced with the provision of a conservatoire. Having initiated the project, they exploited their contacts and networks to attract the support of others, using the methods

¹²⁷ Ibid., 29.

¹²⁸ "Edward Salomons," *Architects of Greater Manchester, 1800–1940*, [n.d.], accessed Mar 5, 2024, <https://manchestervictorianarchitects.org.uk/architects/edward-salomons>; Beenstock, "Edward Salomons: an eclectic Anglo-Jewish architect."

which were employed by many other institutions and organisations and familiar to those to whom the appeals were directed.

The next chapter will look at the period from after the opening in 1893 through to 1920. It will include discussion of ongoing efforts to attract regular donations, scholarships and support to the Student Sustentation Fund, as well as appeals related to specific anniversaries in 1914 and 1918.

Chapter Four

Subscriptions, Scholarships and the Sustentation Fund: donors and supporters, 1893–1920

In this chapter, which covers the period after the opening of the RMCM in October 1893 until 1920, I examine the ways in which further appeals were made to potential donors, and who responded to them. When the initial appeal was made in 1892 it was for two main types of support, the annual ‘guarantee’ fund and donations towards the initial expenses.¹ During the years under consideration here there were several categories of financial support: pledges of annual subscriptions (the continuation of the ‘guarantee’ fund); donations made specifically for the Student Sustentation Fund, the Endowment Fund and in response to the anniversary appeals (1914 and 1918); scholarships, legacies and prizes; and instances of individual generosity to pay for particular projects. Some scholarships were awarded by town and county councils but, as with the original fundraising, the appeals were mostly addressed to, and answered by, sympathetic individuals. I will interrogate the lists of regular donors to trace those who had been supporters since the outset, and those who responded to later appeals, and analyse their membership of the networks which were explored in the previous chapters. I will also examine other gifts, such as books, music and instruments, to establish if there was a relationship between the donors and the RMCM. By looking at all of these areas, I will provide a complete picture of the supporters and benefactors, their networks and links to other musical organisations.

Annual subscriptions

As Professor Ward stated in his speech at the Inaugural Conversazione, the Council was relying on current subscribers and ‘the efforts of a larger part of the community’ to maintain the College, as well as expressing the hope that many would be inclined to found scholarships and exhibitions.² There are no detailed records of the regular donations received between October 1893 and October 1898, the five-year period for which the original pledges had been given, and it is impossible, therefore, to know which of these promises were fulfilled. From

¹ See Chapter One for an explanation of guarantees.

² “Royal Manchester College of Music. Inaugural Conversazione,” *Manchester Courier*, Oct 9, 1893, 8.

Table 4 in Appendix 3.5 it may be seen that the expected total annual subscriptions should have amounted to £1,902 10s. 6d. The audited accounts for 1894–1898 list the amounts received in subscriptions, detailed in Table 4.1 below.³ These match with the promised donations and, as the accounts to 30 September 1893 also confirm, the promised donations for initial expenses were received.⁴

Financial year	Subscriptions
1893–1894	£2085 4s. 6d.
1894–1895	£1876 10s. 6d.
1895–1896	£1831 7s. 6d.
1896–1897	£1904 10s. 6d.

Table 4.1. Annual subscriptions, 1893–1897.

As the totals received were in line with what had been promised, it appears that the Council did not feel the need to canvass for new annual subscriptions during those five years; there is no mention of a campaign for them until 1898. In the meantime, the College retained some level of contact with the subscribers. They were invited to the Inaugural Conversazione and able to attend the students' concerts. According to the Annual Report for 1896, the Open Practices were invariably attended by large audiences and the Annual Public Examinations attracted friends of the College and the public.⁵ Although the annual subscriptions were secured for the first five years, as Professor Ward had mentioned at the Inaugural Conversazione, there was a hope that scholarships would be founded, and the details of these are discussed later in this chapter.

The Council was clearly cognisant of the fact that the promises of annual subscriptions would expire in 1898, as the minutes of the meeting on 16 February 1898 refer to the appointment of a sub-committee to revise a draft circular. The subsequent meeting received the drafts of two circulars, one to be

³ *Private (finance) ledger*, 1893–1915.

⁴ 'The Amount received in Donations is £3,581.18.6 which sum includes a special Donation of £2,000 for purchase of the College building.' "Minutes of the Council, Friday Oct 20th [1893]," *Council minute book no. 1*, 38–40.

⁵ Annual report, 1896, 4.

addressed to existing subscribers, the other to the general public. The meeting resolved that: 'Subscribers be invited to continue their annual subscriptions rather than to contribute to an Endowment Fund, and that the appeal to the Public be in the same sense mainly an appeal for new subscribers and only secondarily an appeal for contributions to the Endowment Fund.'⁶ The text of the circular to be sent to existing subscribers began by thanking them for their aid in the previous five years and went on to say that, in order to make provision for its future prosperity, it would be necessary to again appeal to 'the liberality of the friends of the College'.⁷ In addition to the £4,000 per annum from students' fees, an annual income of at least £1,000 a year would be required and this could only be provided for by 'continued help in the form of annual subscriptions until such time as the College obtains a sufficient endowment'. The appeal was to 'all friends of music and of education in Lancashire and the North of England to assist them in carrying on the work of an institution designed for the public good'. The circular was to be accompanied by a brochure with the names of the professors, members of the Council, a list of members of the General Committee, and a detailed description of the development of the College over the previous five years.

The form sent with the circular offered recipients the opportunity to become an annual subscriber and/or offer a donation to the Endowment Fund. Annual subscribers of one guinea and upwards would become 'members of the Governing Body of the College' and 'have the privilege of free admission to the regular Open Practices, and to the Annual Public Examination of the Students'.⁸ As had occurred in 1892 the responses to the circular were immediate – the first pledge forms were dated 1 April 1898, one day after the circular was distributed. Fig. 4.1 is an example of one of the first to be returned.

⁶ "Meeting of the Council, March 16th 98," *ibid.*, 171–72.

⁷ Text of circular, Mar 31, 1898. *Appendices to minute books no.1*, f29.

⁸ *Ibid.*, f30r.

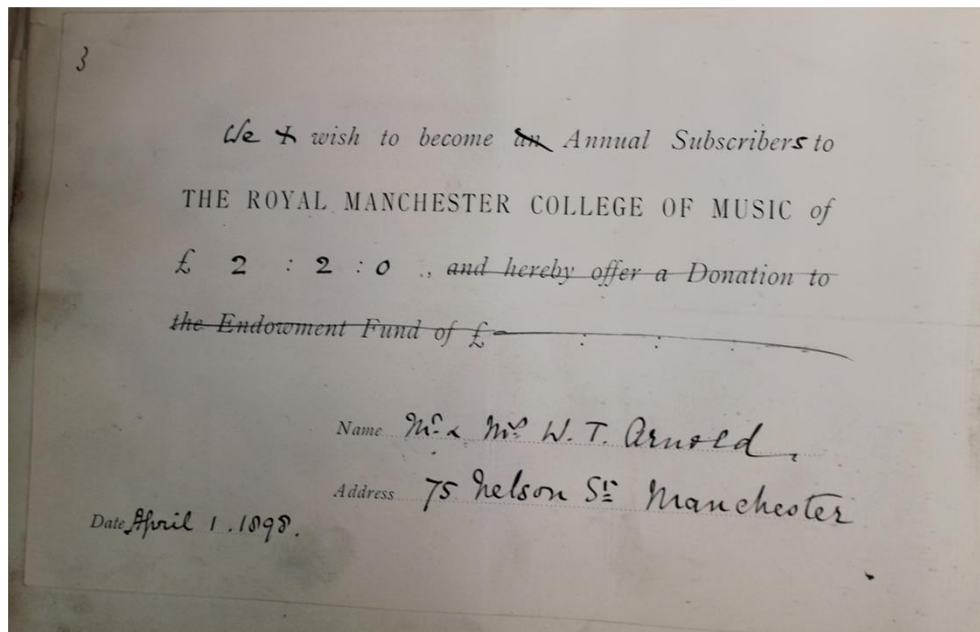


Fig. 4.1. Pledge form, 1898. RMCM/4.

As well as distributing the circulars, the Council again made use of local newspapers to bring the appeal to the attention of the general public. On 19 April 1898 reports and editorials were published in the *Manchester Courier*, *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, *Manchester Evening News* and *Manchester Guardian*.⁹ The full reports in the *Courier* and the *Manchester Guardian* reproduce the Council's circular almost verbatim, whilst the editorials in those two papers encourage their readers to respond to the appeal.

At the Council meeting on 27 April 1898, the Registrar reported that '2000 Appeal Circulars had been sent out to the Subscribers of the Gentlemen's, the Hallé, and the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, and to the Mayors of the principal towns in Lancashire and Cheshire'; and that in response the annual subscriptions now promised amounted to £550:19:0 [sic], and Donations to the Endowment Fund to £340'.¹⁰ One month later the promises of annual subscriptions had risen to £720 a year. Between 1 April 1898 and 18 January

⁹ "The Royal Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Courier*, Apr 19, 1898, 8; [Editorial,] *Manchester Courier*, Apr 19, 1898, 6; "The Royal College of Music, Manchester," *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, Apr 19, 1898, 2; [Editorial,] *Manchester Evening News*, Apr 19, 1898, 2; "The Royal Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 19, 1898, 12; [Editorial,] *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 19, 1898, 7.

¹⁰ "Meeting of the Council, April 27th 1898," *Council minute book no.1*, 173–74.

1899, 143 promises were recorded, the majority of which were annual subscriptions.¹¹

Further details of donations are provided in the Annual Reports which, from 1898 onwards, contain two lists: one is headed 'Subscribing members' which gives names only; the second, entitled 'Annual Subscriptions to the Guarantee Fund', lists the names of the donors and the amounts given. There are discrepancies between the names on the two lists, for reasons which are not clear. Furthermore, not everyone listed in the annual report had completed a subscription form so there are more donors than completed forms.¹² Combining the names from the pledge forms with the lists printed in the 1898 Annual Report gives a total number of seven corporate and 226 individual donors, with some overlap between those who were business owners as well as being individual donors.¹³ Some people also donated to more than one fund and, in total, the listing includes 202 annual subscriptions, twenty-four subscribing members, four donations to the Endowment Fund and four to the Sustentation fund. There were 133 individuals who had donated previously and ninety-three who were donating for the first time; some names listed in the annual reports appear to be a typographical or administrative error and they are probably duplicates of existing names. Not all of the 'first-time' donors were 'new' supporters. Some, such as Charles J. Hall were already involved with the RCM, having been appointed as a Council member in March 1893, Sarah A. Lees had replaced her late husband on the Council, and nine had been on the 1891/2 lists, but not responded with a donation or guarantee pledge then.

The detail in the Council minutes for 27 April 1898 that the circulars had been sent to the subscribers of the Gentlemen's Concerts, the Hallé and the Brodsky Quartet concerts, alongside the local mayors, is particularly noteworthy. It shows that the Council members were of the opinion that those who already supported musical organisations and/or were interested in the performance of music were the most likely to respond to the appeal. Furthermore, they were

¹¹ Listed in Appendix 4.1.

¹² See Appendix 4.1, table 2, for the list of names from the annual report for which there are no pledge forms.

¹³ See Appendix 4.1, table 3. Those who made individual and corporate donations were: James Forsyth, Forsyth Bros Ltd; James Lowe, Hime & Addison; Frederic Midgley, Midgley & Sons; John D. Milne, Kendal, Milne & Co.

more likely to have the finances to do so. As Gunn suggests, writing about the Hallé concerts between the 1860s and the 1880s, 'classical music concerts increasingly drew, and depended, on the support of the wealthiest sections of the urban population'.¹⁴ Of the three organisations named it is only possible to establish, definitively, the names of those who subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts, although I discuss below that some assumptions might be made about the Hallé subscribers.

The names of the 'new' donors are listed in Appendix 4.2; Table 1 has the names of those for whom a prior connection has been identified. Twenty-three of the new RMCM subscribers had subscribed to, or had some involvement with, the Gentlemen's Concerts prior to 1898.¹⁵ Other factors which may have influenced the decision to support the RMCM include a previous connection to Hallé, such as subscribing to his concerts in the 1850s, attending his orchestral concerts, some other musical involvement, or being present at the dinner in his honour. Three had performed in concerts at the Ancoats Recreation Committee lectures there were two recent RMCM students, and two church organists (one of whom was also the music critic of the *Manchester Courier* and member of the Manchester Glee Club; the other was the head of the music publishers, Hime and Addison, and also the father of a student).

Another link was that of family connections where the new donor was related either to an existing donor or to a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts, thus indicating a familial propensity to support a musical institution. There were family connections, through previous generations, to those who had subscribed to Hallé's concerts, or received piano lessons from him. In some instances a 'new' donor replaced a deceased spouse who had been a supporter previously. Seven of the new donors were the parents (all fathers) of current or former RMCM students, and six were related to RMCM staff or Council members.

Following Hallé's death on 25 October 1895 the orchestral concerts for 1895–96, and the following three seasons (1896–97, 1897–98, 1898–99), were

¹⁴ Gunn, *Public culture*, 143.

¹⁵ Gentlemen's Concerts, *Applications for membership*, 1854–1908; ———, *Minutes*, 1883–1893; 1893–1911; ———, *List of subscribers*, 1897–1901. BR780.68Me68.

underwritten by Behrens, James Forsyth and Henry Simon, as his family had declined to take them on.¹⁶ There is no extant information which gives details of the people who subscribed to the concerts during those years, and therefore it is not possible to identify the names of those who were referred to in relation to the circulars, but there was a thriving subscription list according to a report in the *Manchester Guardian* a year after Hallé's death.¹⁷ The first public meeting at which the future of the Hallé concerts as a limited company was discussed took place on 19 July 1898. This led to the establishment of the Hallé Concerts Society, which was supported by guarantors and, I contend, it is valid to assume that those who became guarantors may well have been subscribers to the concerts prior to the establishment of the limited company. There was significant overlap between those who supported the RMCM and the Hallé Concerts Society guarantors; many were also subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts, and the three institutions had many officials in common.¹⁸ Any venture related to classical music in Manchester around the turn of the century was going to draw, inevitably, on the same group of people – those who were interested in music and, in the case of the Hallé Concerts Society, those wishing to continue the conductor's legacy and perpetuate his memory.

The other recipients of the circulars were the subscribers to the Brodsky Quartet concerts. The Quartet was founded in 1895, within weeks of Adolph Brodsky's arrival in Manchester and his appointment as Principal of the RMCM following Hallé's death. Its first concert in Manchester was at the Schiller-Anstalt on 11 November 1895; the next three concerts, the following Spring, were given to an invited audience at the RMCM. The Quartet then performed most regularly at the Gentlemen's Concert Hall, and later the Association Hall and the Midland Hall, giving five concerts per season, with other appearances at the Schiller-Anstalt and the Ancoats Brotherhood.¹⁹ Tickets for the concerts at the Concert Hall could be bought either singly or as a subscription, the latter option offering a reduction in the cost of the tickets for the season.²⁰ Unfortunately, there are no

¹⁶ Michael Kennedy, *The Hallé tradition: a century of music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 97.

¹⁷ "Sir Charles Hallé's Grand Concerts," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 30, 1896, 6.

¹⁸ A separate table listing those who were connected with the RMCM, Gentlemen's Concerts, the 1861 concerts' Committee and the Hallé Concerts Society is in Appendix 5.2.

¹⁹ For a full list of the concerts, programmes and venues, see Thomason, "Brodsky," 354ff.

²⁰ See, for example, "Brodsky Quartet," *Manchester Courier*, Dec 12, 1896, 1. The advertisement announces the dates for five evening concerts; the subscription for the season is

extant records of the subscribers to indicate who might have received one of the circulars.

Appendix 4.2 Table 2 lists those who appear to have had no previous contact with the RMCM or the other musical organisations, but includes details, such as occupation and membership of institutions, thus indicating the networks of which they were a part.

The tables below provide a breakdown of the nationality, religion and politics of the 'new' donors. The same caveats apply to the tables of religious and political affiliations, as with the analysis in the previous two chapters, in that they are more difficult to identify with certainty. They are included because the information contained in them contributes to the overall picture of the different networks to which the supporters belonged.

Nationality	Existing	New	All
Cuban: naturalised British	1	0	1
British	112	66	178
Danish: naturalised British	1	0	1
Dutch	1	1	2
British: Dutch parentage	0	2	2
British: French parentage	1	0	1
British: German parentage	3	1	4
British: German parentage (naturalised British)	2	5	7
British: Greek parentage	1	0	1
German	0	1	1
German: naturalised British	11	7	18
	133	83	216

Table 4.2. Nationalities of donors, 1898.

From the list of nationalities in Table 4.2 it may be seen that the highest percentage of donors (81%) was British; those of German descent comprise 13.9%, which is slightly higher than in 1892–93 despite Hallé's death in the intervening years; the loss of this figurehead could have led to a decrease in support from the German community if the members were not engaged with the institution in its own right.

Reserved Stalls, 10s. The price of tickets for the individual concerts is Reserved Seats, 2s. 6d; Gallery, 1s.

Religious affiliation	Existing	New	All
Anglican	61	21	82
Anglican (presumed)	9	5	14
Catholic	0	1	1
Congregational	14	3	17
Greek	0	0	0
Jewish	8	3	11
Jewish (presumed)	0	1	1
Methodist	2	7	9
Non-conformist/Independent	4	7	11
Pentecostal	1	0	1
Presbyterian	1	1	2
Quaker	1	1	2
Swedenborgian	3	1	4
Unitarian, or presumed Unitarian	15	9	24
	119	60	179

Table 4.3. Religious affiliations of donors, 1898.

A comparison between these numbers and those from 1892–93 show a slight reduction in the percentage of those who are known, or presumed, to be Anglican, from 56.5% to 53.6% whilst there is a small increase in the total number of Nonconformists, including Unitarians (from 36.3% to 38%). The percentage of adherents to the Jewish faith dropped from 7.25% to 6.7%.

Political affiliation	Existing	New	All
Conservative (Tory)	14	10	24
Liberal, or presumed Liberal	43	13	56
Liberal Unionist	3	2	5
None ²¹	2	0	2
	62	25	87

Table 4.4. Political affiliations of donors, 1898.

As was the case with analysis of political affiliations in the previous chapter, the number of those for whom it has been possible to find information about this aspect of their lives has reduced further. There is, however, a move towards a slightly higher percentage of Conservative supporters, possibly as a result of the attempt to reach out to a wider group who were not so closely connected to the members of the Committee. Although the circular was sent directly to the subscribers of the musical organisations, it was also published in the

²¹ Sir F. F. Adam and James E. Cornish, as noted previously.

newspapers with the aim of widening the group who might respond. An analysis of the memberships of the same institutions, societies and clubs which underpinned the core of the initial contact lists in 1891/2 provides the following information about the donors who gave for the first time in 1898. The list includes only half of the new donors in 1898 as no obvious information about memberships and affiliations has been found for the other half. Table 4.5 lists the institutions in order of the number of donors who were involved with them in a significant way, e.g. committee member, officer or subscriber; Table 4.6 lists the occupations.

Organisation	Number
Royal Exchange	21
Geographical Society	11
Union Club	11
Chamber of Commerce	10
Ancoats Recreation Committee	8
Liberal Association	5
Portico Library	5
Brasenose Club	4
Whitworth Institute	4
District Provident Society	3
Lit & Phil	3
Royal Manchester Institution	3
Glee Club	2
Jubilee Exhibition 1887	2
Liberal Federation	2
Manchester High School for Girls	2
Owens College	2
School of Art	2
Statistical Society	2
Foreign Library	1
Reform Club	1
Withington Girls' School	1

Table 4.5. Organisation connections of 1898 'new' donors.

Occupation	Number
Merchant (excluding cotton)	18
Cotton or silk manufacturer / spinner	9
Cotton merchant	5
Engineer	4
Independent means	4
Doctor	3
Accountant	2
Barrister / solicitor	2
Bleacher (cotton)	2
Insurance	2
Journalist	2
Draper	1
Musician	1

Table 4.6. Occupations of 1898 'new' donors.

The still high numbers of Royal Exchange subscribers, members of the Chamber of Commerce, and those whose occupation was as some type of merchant (cotton, general, shipping) or involved in cotton manufacturing, point to the ongoing significance of business networks. Behrens, and the other officers and Committee members, would have been interacting with these people regularly in a variety of settings and this might have afforded them the opportunity to promote the cause of the RMCM in person.

Unlike the founding appeals, which sought promises for a period of five years, those requested in 1898, and subsequently, were for an annual subscription. As mentioned above, the appeals went to a wider audience through the medium of the newspapers which published the proceedings of the Annual General Meetings in detail and often included verbatim excerpts from the reports.²² The appeal issued in 1898 had aimed to raise £1,000 per year but, as may be seen from Table 4.7, did not reach that total and began to decline each year after that.²³ The number of subscribers also fell, other than in 1914 (the twenty-first anniversary) when it rose; however a number of the donations made that year

²² For instance, "Royal Manchester College of Music. Annual Meeting," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 1, 1898, 9.

²³ The subscription totals are taken from the audited accounts. *Private (finance) ledger*, 1893–1915; *Private (finance) ledger*, 1915–1927. RMCM/F/1/2. The numbers of subscribers (individual and corporate) are taken from the pledge forms and annual reports.

were not repeated in subsequent years and each Annual Report thereafter included an appeal for more subscribers, especially in the years 1914–1917 when there was a deficit on the budget. In the Annual Report for 1914 the death of old subscribers is remarked on as being a contributory factor to the fall in the amount of subscriptions and the number of subscribers.²⁴ Between 1898 and 1914, 56 subscribers had died, many of them the most committed and generous supporters. The following figures taken from the accounts for 1899, 1909 and 1919, detailing the income from subscriptions and students' fees, and the expenditure on the professors' fees and expenses, show that the students' fees barely paid for the cost of the teaching; the subscriptions were a vital part of the finances, but philanthropic giving generally was waning.

Year end	Income		Expenditure
	Subscriptions	Students' Fees	Professors' Fees & expenses
1899	£930 13s. 6d.	£4,376 4s. 0d.	£4,246 5s. 4d.
1909	£587 12s 6d.	£3,839 5s. 6d.	£3,963 15s. 2d.
1919	£274 14s. 0d.	£4,993 11s. 2d.	£4,872 14s. 0d.

Table 4.7. Income and Expenditure. Excerpts from the audited accounts. RMCM/F1/1; RMCM/F1/2.

A decline in support was apparent in other organisations in the city. Rose describes how many societies flourished up to 1914 only to 'collapse dramatically and sometimes fatally after the First World War'.²⁵ Amongst the musical organisations the Gentlemen's Concerts had been in financial difficulties several times over a number of years and was reporting a deficit of between £400 and £600 per annum during the war years.²⁶ By 1920 the position had become untenable and at a meeting of the directors on 18 June 1920 it was resolved that 'in view of the financial position & the lack of support the concerts be discontinued, and the affairs of the Society be wound up.'²⁷ Although the Hallé Concerts Society had its guarantors to underwrite any losses, its audience and subscription numbers had been falling since the

²⁴ *Twenty-First Annual Report of Council*, 1914, (RMCM: Manchester, 1914), 27. RMCM/B/3/3.

²⁵ Rose, "Culture," 114.

²⁶ Gentlemen's Concerts, "Meeting September 3 1883," *Minutes*, 1883–1893; "Meeting of Directors, Tuesday June 12th 1917," *Minutes*, 1911–1920. BR780.67 Me68.

²⁷ "Meeting of Directors, Friday June 18 / 1920," *ibid.*

1890s.²⁸ Stories of a drop in the numbers of subscribers and consequent lack of funds around 1918 are repeated in the histories of several Manchester societies and associations, demonstrating that the RMCM was not alone.²⁹

Some who had subscribed in 1892–93 and again in 1898 did not renew their subscriptions in the following years, hence the significant drop in number of subscribers between 1897–98 and 1898–99. In addition to the totals given, Table 4.8 includes the number of new subscriptions in each year and the number lost owing to the death of the donor. There were a few people who did not donate every year but reappeared in lists in later years. For the purposes of these calculations, they have been counted as a ‘new’ subscriber each time they re-joined. The total number of individuals who subscribed between 1899 and 1920 was 187.

End of year	Subscriptions: total	No. of individual subscribers	No. of new subscribers	Non- renewals	+ No. of deaths
1897–1898	£1,916 1s. 6d.	226	N/A	N/A	-
1898–1899	£970 13s. 6d.	170	10	62	4
1899–1900	£932 7s. 0d.	167	13	13	3
1900–1901	£911 15s. 0d.	162	9	10	4
1901–1902	£827 18s. 0d.	159	4	5	2
1902–1903	£733 16s. 0d.	167	12	3	1
1903–1904	£736 10s 6d.	166	14	12	3
1904–1905	£706 16s. 6d.	161	6	9	2
1905–1906	£674 13s. 6d.	150	6	10	7
1906–1907	£623 0s. 6d.	144	6	10	2
1907–1908	£618 15s. 6d.	140	13	13	4
1908–1909	£587 12s. 6d.	136	8	8	4
1909–1910	£588 16s. 6d.	129	6	9	4
1910–1911	£577 12s. 6d.	126	4	2	5
1911–1912	£550 17s. 0d.	120	3	6	3
1912–1913	£546 14s. 0d.	119	6	2	5
1913–1914	£526 6s. 0d.	157	47	5	3

²⁸ Russell, “Culture, media and sport,” 275.

²⁹ e.g. Portico Library. ‘...the financial situation was worsening; membership was failing and the pool of potential members had been reduced by the effects of the war.’ Ann Brooks and Bryan Haworth, *Portico Library: a history* (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2000), 68.

End of year	Subscriptions: total	No. of individual subscribers	No. of new subscribers	Non- renewals	+ No. of deaths
1914–1915	£475 11s. 6d.	151	11	11	6
1915–1916	£466 17s. 6d.	148	4	5	2
1916–1917	£455 2s. 0d.	142	3	6	3
1917–1918	£277 17s. 0d.	134	5	6	7
1918–1919	£274 14s. 0d.	127	3	6	4
1919–1920	£240 12s. 0d.	122	3	6	2

Table 4.8. Total amounts of annual subscriptions and numbers of individual subscribers, 1898–1920.

Of those who began subscribing from 1899 onwards there was a significant number who were subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts, guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society, or related to supporters of one or both. This validates the position taken by the Council in 1898 to direct the circulars primarily to the subscribers to those organisations on the basis that, as persons already interested in music, they were more likely to respond positively.

Gentlemen's Concerts subscriber	35
Related to a Gentlemen's Concerts subscriber	9
Hallé Concerts Society guarantor	32
Related to a Hallé Concerts Society guarantor	11
Donated to the Hallé Concerts Society Pension Fund (not a guarantor)	11
Gentlemen's Concerts subscriber AND Hallé Concerts Society guarantor	16
Related to someone who was a Gentlemen's Concerts subscriber AND Hallé Concerts Society guarantor	4

Table 4.9. Number of donors who also subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts and/or the Hallé Concerts Society.

Membership of, and affiliation to, other organisations, societies and associations by those who subscribed from 1899 onwards is shown in Table 4.10; Table 4.11 details the occupations of the male donors.

Organisation	Number
Ancoats Recreation Committee	19
Royal Exchange	15
Reform Club	12
Chamber of Commerce	11
Brasenose Club	6
Union Club	5
Schiller Anstalt	5
Geographical Society	4
Portico	4
Statistical Society	4
Liberal Federation	3
Lit & Phil	3
Athenaeum	2
Jubilee Exhibition	2
Withington Girls' School	2
Royal Manchester Institution	1
District Provident Society	1
Foreign Library	1

Table 4.10. Organisation affiliations and connections of donors, 1899–1920.

Occupation	Number
Manufacturer (excluding cotton)	12
Merchant (excluding cotton)	12
Musician	10
Cotton merchant	7
Dentist / Doctor / Surgeon	6
Engineer	5
University staff	5
Barrister/solicitor	3
Cashier/Clerk	3
Cotton or silk manufacturer	3
Printer/publisher	3
Company director	2
Cotton business (not manufacturer/merchant)	2
Independent means	2
Accountant	1
Brewer	1
Chiropodist	1
Dyer	1
Goldsmith	1

Occupation	Number
Insurance	1
Journalist	1
Stockbroker	1
Colliery proprietor	1

Table 4.11. Occupations of male donors, 1899–1920.

As with the affiliations of the 1898 donors, detailed in Table 4.5, the numbers of members of the Royal Exchange and Chamber of Commerce in the years from 1899 were still significant, continuing to emphasise the important role played by business networks which was highlighted earlier. Overall, the numbers belonging to organisations, societies and associations were lower, a situation which could be attributed in part to the change in gender balance as women could not be members of the business organisations or clubs, whose membership was solely or predominantly male.³⁰ There was now a much higher proportion of women than previously, with eighty-three women, ninety-four men and three unidentified donors.

There are some interesting changes in the balance of occupations between the list in Table 4.11 and the earlier ones, with a move away from those directly involved with cotton or yarn businesses and, overall, a wider variety of other jobs. There were other differences in the composition of the donors from 1899 onwards, with members of staff and their relatives, former students, and parents of current and former students subscribing annually or making one-off donations.³¹ This was a factor not only in the diversification of occupations but also contributed to there being more women, as the constituency of the supporters was much wider than it had been previously. The author of a column in the *Musical Times* in 1920, reporting the demise of the Gentlemen's Concerts, comments that 'no longer at Manchester do artistic ventures find their main support in the old-established families'.³² Whilst a number of the long-established wealthy families did continue to support the RMCM, there was a

³⁰ The Manchester Geographical Society was one exception as, from its inception, it allowed women to be admitted on the same basis as men. T. [Theodore] Nigel Leslie Brown, *The history of the Manchester Geographical Society, 1884–1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 4.

³¹ See Appendix C for the complete list of donors.

³² "Music and the Provinces. Manchester and District," *The Musical Times*, 61, no. 933 (1920): 773.

change in the demographics of the subscribers as outlined above, another reason for the fall in the amount of income received in subscriptions.

In the years between 1899 and 1920 there was a number of subscribers who donated for multiple years, as illustrated in the graphs below. Fig. 4.2 includes the 259 individuals who were already donors in 1899, or began donating between then and 1910, and for how many years they continued to subscribe (up to and including 1920, the cut-off for this study; several continued to subscribe beyond that year and are listed in Appendix C). Fig.4.3 shows the same details, but for the eighty-four individuals who subscribed from 1911–1920.

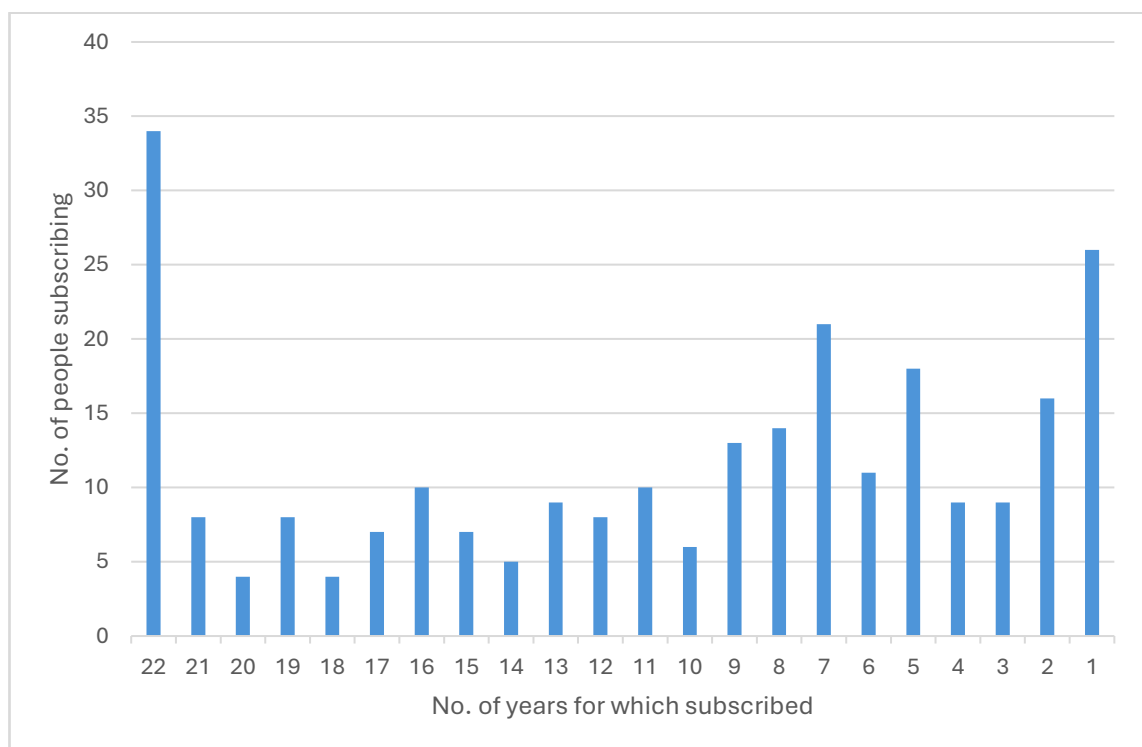


Fig. 4.2. Individual subscriptions in existence prior to 1899, or begun between 1899 and 1910, and the number of years for which they subscribed.

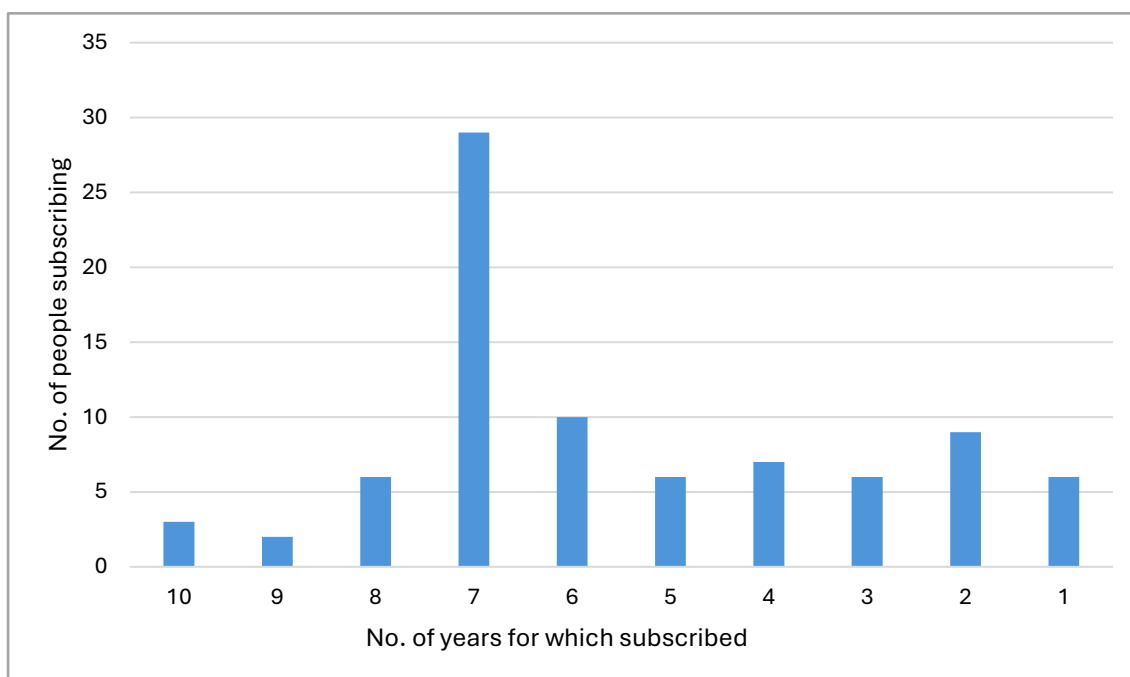


Fig. 4.3. Individual subscriptions begun between 1911 and 1920.

The individuals who subscribed for twenty years or more are listed in Table 4.12.³³

Name	Years subscribed
Ludwig Aron ³⁴	1900–1924
Samuel Bardsley	1901–1920
Charles L. Barnes	1898–1923
Charles Behrens	1893; 1899–1925
Gustav Behrens	1893; 1899–1914; 1916–1935
Oliver P. Behrens	1893; 1899–1929
Mrs Archibald [Alice] Briggs	1898–1931
Edward T. Broadhurst	1898–1922
John L. Carr	1893; 1899–1918
Alice Curtis ³⁵	1893; 1899–1924
Mrs Edward [Anna] Donner	1893; 1899–1935
Charles Dunderdale	1893; 1899–1922
Edward A. Eason ³⁶	1893; 1899–1923

³³ Sarah A. Lees (Mrs C. E. Lees) has been omitted from this list as her notable individual contribution is discussed later in this chapter.

³⁴ See biographical note in Appendix B.

³⁵ Donor of the Curtis Gold Medal for Singing.

³⁶ His surname was recorded as Hertzson when he was baptised in Cheltenham, 30 July 1848. Parish of Cheltenham, register entry no. 802. Gloucestershire, England, *Church of England*

Name	Years subscribed
Gustav Eckhard ³⁷	1893; 1899–1924
William Eller	1893; 1899–1923
Alfred Emmott	1893; 1899–1926
Walter Flinn	1900–1920
Ernest Frank	1893; 1899–1919
Mrs Stewart [Caroline] Garnett	1893; 1899–1936
Mrs [Anna] Grommé ³⁸	1908–1930
Ernest W. Grommé	1903–1931
John Harwood	1893; 1899–1918
John P. Haslam	1898–1920
Mrs C. J. [Anna] Heywood	1893; 1899–1922
Miss Mary Monica Heywood	1898–1925
Thomas C. Horsfall	1893; 1899–1925
Richard W. Kenyon	1914–after 1939
G. C. Mandleberg	1908–1930
Charles Marx	1899–1929
Mrs [Jessie] Massiah	1900–after 1939
William Mather	1893; 1899–1920
George R. Murray	1893; 1899–1933
Mrs [Marie] Nasmith	1893–1926
William Morton Philips	1893; 1899–1925
Miss Annie G. Pierce	1914–1938
Mrs [Isabella] Rayner	1899–1921
Robert F. Riddick	1899–1921
Miss Edith Robinson	1914–1940
Miss [Emma] Sandbach	1898–
Maurice Schlesinger	1893; 1899–1923
Joseph W. Sidebotham	1893; 1899–1925
Mrs Henry [Emily] Simon	1900–1921
Ernest D. Simon	1914–after 1939
Margaret Barton Smith	1899–1918

Baptisms, 1813-1913 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014.
Original data: Gloucestershire Anglican Parish Registers. Gloucestershire Archives.

³⁷ See biographical note in Appendix B.

³⁸ Widow of Louis Grommé.

Name	Years subscribed
George Stott	1909–1933
Miss M. E. A. [Mary] Sutcliffe	1899–1936
Nicolai P. Thamsen	1893; 1899–1920
Mrs [Edith] Toller	1898–1932
John Voss	1893; 1899–1923
Miss [Susette] Warburg	1911–1938
James Watts	1893; 1899–1920
William Wilkinson	1899–1935
Dr Percy Withers	1899–1929
John Youatt	1893; 1899–1925

Table 4.12. Donors who contributed for twenty years or more.

The above graphs and table demonstrate that there was a significant number of people who were faithful supporters of the RMCM. Unlike the automatic methods by which payments may be made today, these supporters would have had to make their annual subscription payment by means of a cheque, postal order or cash, signifying that they were making a conscious decision to continue their support. In terms of connections with other musical organisations, twenty-two of the above-named (including Gustav Behrens) were, or had been, subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts; twenty-two were, or would become, guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society; and fifteen subscribed to both, indicating that support of the musical institutions in Manchester was important to them.

Special appeals

An increase in the number of subscribers in 1914 was noted in the previous section; this was due in some measure to the special appeals which were launched to mark the College's twenty-first birthday. The subject was first raised in January 1912 when the Treasurer read a memorandum to the Council which had been 'prepared by a member of the College staff, on the desirability of considering a scheme for the commemoration of the Coming of Age of the College in 1914'.³⁹ An organising Committee was appointed and initially it was

³⁹ "Meeting of Council, 17 Jan. 12," *Council minute book no.2*, 80–81. RMCM/C/1/2. The member of staff referred to was Walter Carroll.

agreed that, in connection with the celebration, a fund be raised for the endowment of the College.⁴⁰ The Annual Report for 1912 states that the 'principal objects [of a scheme of celebration] to be aimed at are (a) the Provision of an Endowment Fund, (b) the Clearing off of Debt, (c) the Founding of a Hostel for Women Students, and (d) the Establishment of Scholarships and Bursaries.'⁴¹

Once again, an appeal circular was drawn up and 5,000 copies were to be issued.⁴² The text of the appeal, which rehearsed the College's success during the previous twenty-one years, concluded thus:

The College has never been unmindful of its poor and gifted students. It has expended a sum of £4500 from a voluntary and independently subscribed fund in the payment and part payment of their fees, in this way enabling many to finish their course who otherwise could not have done so.⁴³

The council and the Board of Professors are desirous that the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the opening of the college shall be signalised [sic] by a combined effort to free it from debt, to provide an adequate endowment fund, to develop its usefulness by the increase of Free Scholarships and Exhibitions, to extend its facilities by the opening of a Hostel for Women Students, and generally to improve and consolidate its position.

To this end an earnest appeal for aid is made to all who are acquainted with the character and scope of its work, to all lovers of art and of education, and to all who sympathise with the poorer classes of the community in the effort to afford them the best possible training for the cultivation of their musical gifts. Contributors become life members of the college, and annual subscribers of one Guinea and upwards members of its general committee.⁴⁴

The appeal was publicised in the newspapers, with an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian* which highlighted it further.⁴⁵ Also repeating the practice of earlier years, a list of donations to the endowment fund and the annual subscriptions was published in the local newspapers.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ "Special meeting of Council, 14 Feb. 1912," *ibid.*, 83–84. The members of the Committee were to be: Lady Donner, Mrs Lees, Miss Gaskell, Mr Broadfield, Mr Gustav Behrens, Dr Brodsky, Dr Carroll, Mr Eller, Mr Fuchs, Mr Grommé, Mr Mayer, & Dr Perkin.

⁴¹ *Nineteenth Annual Report of Council*, 1912, 13. RMCM/B/3/2.

⁴² "Minutes of Council, 18 Feb 14," *Council minute book no.2*, 116–17.

⁴³ The Sustentation Fund – see below for more detail.

⁴⁴ [Printed copy of circular,] *Appendices to minute books no. 1*, fol.143v.

⁴⁵ "A musical coming of age. Royal Manchester College," *Manchester Courier*, Mar 9, 1914, 6;

"Royal Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 9, 1914, 8, 11.

⁴⁶ "Royal Manchester College of Music. Promises received. First list," *Manchester City News*, Mar 21, 1914, 1; *Manchester Courier*, Mar 21, 1914, 1; *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 21, 1914, 1.

The commentary in the Annual Report for 1914 was enthusiastic about the response to the appeal. ‘Happily the practical purposes of the celebrations has been achieved. The appeal for the provision of an Endowment Fund and for new Annual Subscriptions met with a very gratifying response.’⁴⁷ The number of subscribers and amount raised in contributions to the general fund in 1914 were detailed above in Table 4.8; £2,701 was given for the Endowment Fund, of which a generous contribution of £1,000 from the President, Sir William H. Houldsworth, was noted as giving a significant lead. Full details of the subscribers and amounts given to the Endowment and Hostel Funds are listed in Appendix 4.3. An analysis of the sixty-six named individual donors (excluding the student collection) is shown in Table 4.13, revealing that thirty-four had donated previously or had a known connection; and thirty-two did not. Of the latter category, only three continued to support the RMCM financially after 1914, along with twenty-eight of those with a previous connection.⁴⁸

Category	Numbers
Existing donors	11
Related to a donor	3
Previous donor	1
Previous connection	1
Council member, or involved since foundation	7
Staff	7
Father of student	2
Connection with the Hallé orchestra	2
Total with a known previous connection	34
No known previous connection	32

Table 4.13. Analysis of donors to the Endowment Fund, 1914.

The sum promised for the Hostel for Women Students amounted to only £46 and the plan had to be ‘held in abeyance’.⁴⁹ From the list of names of those who supported this fund, it may be seen that women were the majority. Many of them were not existing supporters, nor did they contribute again in the future but made just this one promise.

⁴⁷ *Twenty-First Annual Report of Council*, 1914, 13.

⁴⁸ The one corporate donor was the solicitors Sale & Co. who had not donated previously but had been involved with the purchase of the building in 1893.

⁴⁹ *Twenty-First Annual Report*, 1914.

The plan for the hostel was not the only thing which had to be put into abeyance that year. The original scheme for the coming-of-age celebrations had consisted of three strands: the appeal for financial support; a series of concerts to be given by current and former students in neighbouring towns, with the aim of making the College better known (any proceeds going to local charities); and, a celebration in October 1914.⁵⁰ The first two activities were carried out successfully but the third had to be abandoned 'because of the untoward and unforeseen circumstances brought about by the war... and from every point of view it was felt that the time was inopportune for festivities'.⁵¹

Sustentation Fund

The Sustentation Fund was established in May 1893 with a bank deposit of £19 1s. 10d made by Behrens; it was to be 'devoted towards forming the nucleus of a fund out of which gratuitous instruction may be provided for poor students at the College'.⁵² The fund was added to by a donation of £50 from Rebecca Hecht, the widow of Hallé's long-serving chorus master.⁵³ When the accounts were published in the autumn of 1893, the Free Scholarship Fund stood at £69 1s. 10d.⁵⁴

During the years from 1893 onwards there was never an outright appeal for donations to this fund in quite the same manner as that for annual subscriptions and scholarships. Details of individual contributions were reported to Council meetings and published every year in the annual reports, along with a somewhat understated appeal. For instance, the text of the Annual Report for 1899 includes a similar phrase to that of previous years quoted above, and

⁵⁰ *Twentieth Annual Report of Council*, 1913, (Manchester: RMCM, 1913), 16. RMCM/B/3/2.

⁵¹ *Twenty-First Annual Report of Council*, 10. There is also a detailed report, pp.15–16, on the concerts in the neighbouring towns, together with a list of the current and former students who gave their services.

⁵² "[IV] Meeting of the Council, Tuesday 18 April 93," *Council minute book no.1*, 11–13.

⁵³ Edward Hecht (1832–1887) was chorus master of the Hallé Concerts, and deputy conductor of the orchestra as well as conducting several local choirs, including the Manchester Liedertafel (1859–78) and the St Cecilia Society. He was lecturer in harmony and composition at Owens College from 1875. See Michael Kennedy, "Hecht, Edward," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Jun 6, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12650>; Albert Nicholson and David J. Golby, "Hecht, Edward (1832–1887), conductor," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Jun 6, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12857>.

⁵⁴ "Balance sheet, Sep 30, 1893," *Private (finance) ledger, 1893–1915*. The description of it in the accounts as the Free Scholarship Fund stood until 1896, when it was entered as 'Sustentation Fund', and remained so thereafter.

continues 'the Council are very desirous that additional donations may be forthcoming in the interests of gifted but poor students, as the fund is now exhausted.'⁵⁵ There was a relatively small group of people who supported the Sustentation Fund over several years. One of the most significant contributions was from the Brodsky Quartet which donated the proceeds from its concerts for the whole of its existence, other than in 1915 when Brodsky was interned in Austria. As outlined earlier, the Quartet was formed in 1895 and comprised violinists Adolph Brodsky and Christopher Rawdon Briggs, viola player Simon Speelman, and cellist Carl Fuchs, all of whom were on the staff of the RMCM. In 1896, at the end of the first season of concerts, the Quartet Account showed a balance of £19 11s. 0d. which the Principal proposed 'to devote, in fulfilment of a wish previously expressed, to the Sustentation Fund.'⁵⁶ Every year thereafter the proceeds were given to the Fund, and in the Annual Report for 1921 it was noted that the Quartet's total contribution was £2,048 18s. 7d.⁵⁷

As Geoff Thomason notes, there was a marked fall in the contribution from the Quartet in the 1908–9 season;⁵⁸ consequently the Council set up a Committee consisting of Lady Donner, Mrs Lees, Mr Gustav Behrens, Mr Eckhard, Mr Eller, & Mr Grommé to 'undertake the business & financial arrangements of the Brodsky Quartet concerts in Manchester'.⁵⁹ The result was a brochure in which the importance of the Quartet's contribution to the Sustentation Fund was emphasised. Even if the audience members did not support the RMCM directly, they could still help by subscribing to the Brodsky Quartet concerts.

Royal Manchester College of Music, Brodsky Quartet Concerts
14th October, 1909

The undersigned Members of a Committee of the above College venture to draw your attention to the forthcoming Season of the BRODSKY QUARTET CONCERTS in Manchester. The reason for their doing so is that the College is directly interested in the financial results of these Concerts, the entire proceeds of which are very generously contributed to the Students' Sustentation Fund. Not only do the Members of the Quartet play without fee, but the eminent Artists, who from time to time assist them, also give their services.

From this source the fund has benefited to the extent of upwards of £1,300, the whole of which has been expended in helping gifted Students whose

⁵⁵ *Sixth Annual Report of Council*, 1899 (Manchester: RMCM, 1899), 12–13.

⁵⁶ "Meeting of the Council, 24 June 96," *Council minute book no. 1*, 133.

⁵⁷ *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of Council*, 1921 (RMCM: Manchester, 1921), 18. RMCM/B/3/3.

⁵⁸ Thomason, "Brodsky," 169.

⁵⁹ "Meeting of Council, 31 March 09," *Council minute book no. 2*, 31–32.

means were insufficient for the completion of their studies. It will readily be understood that this help has proved an incalculable boon to many who, without it, would have failed to take their proper place in the ranks of the musical profession...

These Concerts fill a unique place in the artistic life of Manchester, and have a special claim upon all lovers of classical music.

The Committee confidently appeal for practical recognition of the disinterested aims and high ideals of the Quartet in the one way in which it would be acceptable, namely, an increased subscription list.

If you do not already subscribe, they trust you will be good enough to fill up the subjoined form...⁶⁰

The amounts contributed to the Sustentation Fund by the Brodsky Quartet are listed in Appendix 4.4, together with details of other donations, the overall total and the amount paid out of the fund for student fees.

The lack of income from the Brodsky Quartet in the 1914–1915 financial year was compensated for, to some extent, by additional donations and the receipt of proceeds from concerts given by other staff members, which were acknowledged in the report for that year.⁶¹ The opportunity was also taken at this point to draw attention again to the need for continued support: 'The gratifying fact that the Brodsky Quartet has embarked upon a new series of concerts for the benefit of the fund ... must not be taken to imply that no other help is needed, or that private benefactions will be superfluous. They will be doubly welcome at this time.'⁶² There were some people who were regular donors to the Sustentation Fund, of which the following were the most generous (giving £20 or more) during the years from 1897 onwards.

⁶⁰ "Brochure, 14th October 1909," *Appendices to minute books no.1*, fol.112v.

⁶¹ *Twenty-Second Annual Report of Council*, 1915 (RMCM: Manchester, 1915), 19. RMCM/B/3/3.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Name	No. of years / donations	Total donations
Individuals		
Ludwig Aron	9	£67 15s. 0d.
Alfred T. Bentley ⁶³	4	£125 0s. 0d.
Mrs Archibald [Alice] Briggs ⁶⁴	5	£140 0s. 0d.
Mrs Edward [Anna] Donner ⁶⁵	19	£570 0s. 0d.
Gustav Eckhard	2	£30 5s. 0d.
Mrs [Sarah Jane] Fielden ⁶⁶	2	£160 0s. 0d.
Miss Ida Freund (executors) ⁶⁷	1	£500 0s. 0d.
Carl Fuchs	3	£32 1s. 1d.
Miss Julia B. Gaskell	5	£60 0s. 0d.
Miss Margaret E. Gaskell	17	£340 0s. 0d.
Ernest W. Grommé	9	£275 0s. 0d.
Louis Grommé	4	£400 0s. 0d.
Sir William H. Houldsworth	2	£60 0s. 0d.
Mrs [Cecilia M.] Hutchinson (from student performances) ⁶⁸	3	£72 6s. 6d.
George R Murray	3	£45 0s. 0d.
Hans Richter	6	£35 5s. 0d.
Max E. Robinow	1	£20 0s. 0d.
Joseph Shore	1	£30 0s. 0d.
Herbert H. Smith-Carington ⁶⁹	7	£70 0s. 0d.
Miss Susette Warburg ⁷⁰	24	£150 5s. 5d.
Organisations		
Hallé Memorial Fund	1	£30 0s. 0d.
Openshaw Brotherhood	9	£27 1s. 0d.

Table 4.14. Total donations (in excess of £20) to the Sustentation Fund.

The donation made by Miss Freund's executors was the second given by them to the RMCM as, in 1914, they had donated £500 which was allocated to the

⁶³ Alfred T. Bentley (1839–1917). Registrar of the Victoria University of Manchester, 1882–1895, and RMCM Council member, 1904–17. See biographical note in Appendix B.

⁶⁴ Alice Sophia Briggs (1843–1931). Mother of violinist, Christopher Rawdon Briggs.

⁶⁵ These figures are for the years up to and including 1920. For the full details of her donations see Appendix C.

⁶⁶ Sarah Jane Fielden (1813–1910) endowed the Chair of Education at Owens College.

⁶⁷ Ida Freund was the niece of Ludwig Straus, the former leader of Hallé's orchestra. Gustav Behrens (or, as an alternate, his sister-in law Susette 'Sette' Warburg) was nominated as one of her executors and trustees. In her will she bequeathed 'To such Musical Institutions whose objects are charitable as my trustees may in their absolute discretion select the sum of two thousand pounds to be paid to such Institution or Institutions if more than one in such proportions as my trustees shall think proper'. Ida Freund, *Last will and testament*, Mar 7, 1913. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service]. Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie, "Freund, Ida (1863–1914), chemist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Nov 14, 2018, accessed Oct 2, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48490>.

⁶⁸ RMCM staff (singing), 1898–1904.

⁶⁹ These figures are for the years up to and including 1920. For the full details of his donations see Appendix C.

⁷⁰ These figures are for the years up to and including 1920. For the full details of her donations see Appendix C.

Endowment Fund. Behrens, who was one of the executors, wrote to notify the Council of the donation:

I have just received a letter from my co-executor in the estate of Miss Ida Freund, agreeing to my suggestion as to the allocation of her legacy, and we shall allocate £500 as a gift to the Royal Manchester College of Music (without any special proviso as to its application). The gift will be in the names of Miss Ida Freund and of the late Mr Ludwig Straus, who for so many years was the intimate friend of Sir Charles Hallé and leader of his band.⁷¹

Excluding the sum from Ida Freund's legacy, the most generous individual donors to the Sustentation Fund were Anna Donner, (Heinrich) Louis Grommé and Miss Margaret Gaskell. Mrs [later Lady] Donner (1843–1935) was a supporter from the outset; she became a Council member in 1908, remaining in post until her death.⁷² Her services to the RMCM as a Council member, as well as her generous support to the funds, were remarked upon in her obituary in the *Manchester Guardian*, which also noted that she was a regular attender of the Hallé concerts.⁷³ Her death drew the following resolution from the RMCM Council: 'That this Council learns with the deepest regret of the death of Lady Donner, and desires to record its profound gratitude for her generosity towards the College and for the keen personal interest she had always taken in its work.'⁷⁴ Her husband Edward, a foreign merchant, was on Behrens' original list of people to be approached and was appointed to the first Committee in 1891, but did not serve after 1892 and never subscribed or donated.

Louis Grommé (1841–1907) had also supported the scheme to found a conservatoire from the beginning, pledging £25 per annum for five years and signing up to an annual subscription in 1898; he was appointed to the Council in 1899 and when he died in 1907 regret was expressed at the loss of 'one of the most active and liberal supporters of the College.'⁷⁵ His contribution as a generous benefactor of the Students' Sustentation Fund was also highlighted by

⁷¹ Gustav Behrens, *Letter to Stanley Withers*, Jun 16, 1914. *Appendices to minute books no.1*, fol.145v.

⁷² Mrs Donner's husband, Edward, was awarded a baronetcy in the King's Birthday Honours in November 1907. "Birthday honours," *The Times*, Nov 9, 1907, 6.

⁷³ "Death of Lady Donner. A loss to Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 2, 1935, 10. See biographical note in Appendix B.

⁷⁴ "Council minutes, Nov. 12th 1935," *Council minute book no.3*, 40. RMCM/C/1/3.

⁷⁵ "Minutes of the Council, 20 March 07," *Council minute book no.1*, 322–323. See also the biographical note in Appendix B.

Withers.⁷⁶ Grommé had subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1873, becoming a Director ten years later, and was a founder guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society. A second member of the Grommé family, Louis' son Ernest William also donated a significant sum of money, giving a total of £225 to the Sustentation Fund, £100 to the Endowment Fund and paying £240 9s. in annual subscriptions from 1903 to 1932. He was appointed as a Council member in 1908 and became the Vice-Chairman in 1926, in addition to serving as Chairman of the Hallé Concerts Society from 1924 until his death in 1940.⁷⁷ Margaret Emily Gaskell (1837–1913) was the second child of novelist Elizabeth Gaskell and her husband, William, a Unitarian minister. The Gaskells had attended Hallé's concerts from the 1850s, and both she and her elder sister Marianne had piano lessons with him.⁷⁸ Margaret Gaskell was one of the first people to submit a pledge to the Guarantee Fund in 1892 and she became Council member in 1899. When she died in 1913 there was a fulsome tribute to her, with it being resolved:

That the Council desires to express its profound regret at the death of Miss Gaskell, who was one of the founders of the College, for fourteen years an active member of its Council, and throughout its history in a special sense the friend & helper of its students.

II. That the College also desires to place on record its sense of the great loss sustained not only by the College but by the whole community in the removal of one whose interest in good causes never flagged and whose hand was never closed to the appeal for aid.⁷⁹

In addition to her generous support of the College she also left the RMCM a legacy of one hundred pounds in her will.⁸⁰

Of those named above, several had a significant personal connection with Hallé which may well have been a factor underlying the decision to support the RMCM. Rebecca Hecht was linked through her late husband Edward, who had

⁷⁶ Withers, *RMCM*, 43.

⁷⁷ See biographical note in Appendix B.

⁷⁸ Entry for Sep 26, 1854 in Hallé, *Chronological list of subscribers*, 1854-59. MSRM927.8Hc3203; Margaret E. Gaskell, "Letter to Effie Wedgwood," in Irene Wiltshire, ed., *Letters of Mrs Gaskell's daughters, 1856–1914* (Penrith: Humanities-Ebooks, 2012), 69; Elizabeth Gaskell, "Letter to Elizabeth Holland," in J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard, eds., *The letters of Mrs Gaskell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), [no.145], 217.

⁷⁹ "Minutes of the Council, 5 Nov. 13," *Council minute book no.2*, 109–111.

⁸⁰ Margaret Emily Gaskell, *Last Will and Testament*, March 19, 1913. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service.] Correspondence in the Appendices to the Council minutes and a subsequent note in the Annual Report for 1914 indicate that her estate might not have realised sufficient money to allow the payment of the various legacies in full and there is no further mention of it. "Letter from Tatham, Worthington & Co., Solicitors, to the Registrar," Nov 17, 1913, *Appendices to minute books no.1*, fol.142v.; *Twenty-First Annual Report of Council*, 1914, 26.

worked with Hallé for many years; Ida Freund's uncle Ludwig Straus had been the leader of his orchestra; and Margaret Gaskell had not only studied piano with Hallé, but her family were on very friendly terms with his.

Mention should also be made of Miss Warburg, who was a faithful donor to, and supporter of, the Sustentation Fund for many years. Susette Jane ('Sette') Warburg (1860–1938) was Gustav Behrens' sister-in-law. She was a founder guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society and, having studied violin with Joseph Joachim in Berlin in the 1880s, made regular appearances in concerts given as part of the Ancoats Recreation Committee lectures. She began donating to the Fund in 1898 and continued to contribute annually; her contribution was highlighted in the Annual Report for 1916, by which time she had given £125, 'the proceeds of work by her own hands'.⁸¹ Not only did Warburg have a strong link to the RCM through Behrens, but she was musically trained and her sympathy for music students in need of support is further evidenced by an instruction in her will. This directed her trustees to give her violin or viola to a great-niece or nephew who shall show aptitude for playing either or, if that failed, to sell her instruments 'to any deserving young artist as they think fit'.⁸²

Other than the instructions from Behrens, there is little formal indication as to how the Sustentation Fund was to be disbursed, in contrast to the detailed scholarship regulations discussed below. A minute of the Special Council meeting held on 17 July, 1894, records that 'on the recommendation of the Principal £10 be paid from the Sustentation Fund to Miss Fish to enable her to continue her studies at the College during the ensuing term';⁸³ later Council minutes refer to the House and Finance Committee minutes (which are no longer extant) with mentions of the payment of fees of named students, which, it is assumed, refers to the Sustentation Fund. The Prospectus for 1900-1901

⁸¹ *Twenty-Third Annual Report of Council*, 1916 (RCM: Manchester, 1916), 18. RCM/B/3/3.

⁸² "Recent wills. Miss Susette Jane (or Sette) Warburg," *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 20, 1938, 7.

⁸³ "Special meeting of the Council, 17 July 94," *Council minute book no.1*, 71–72.

Mattie [Martha] Fish, a student of singing, registered in October 1893 and left in July 1895. She was aged 27 when she entered and there are no details in the register for a responsible parent. RCM/E2/1, 7. Her late father, George, was listed as a Carter in the 1881 census [RG11/4419 fol.49 p.9;] in the 1891 census Martha's occupation was 'Contralto Vocalist & Teacher of Singing'. RG12/3341 fol.33 p.13. According to contemporary newspaper reports she performed as a soloist with several local choral societies, before, during and after her studentship at the RCM. See, for instance, "Littleborough Choir Festival," *Rochdale Observer*, Jul 25, 1894, 1.

contains the following, the first time that the specific details of the Fund had been publicly stated:

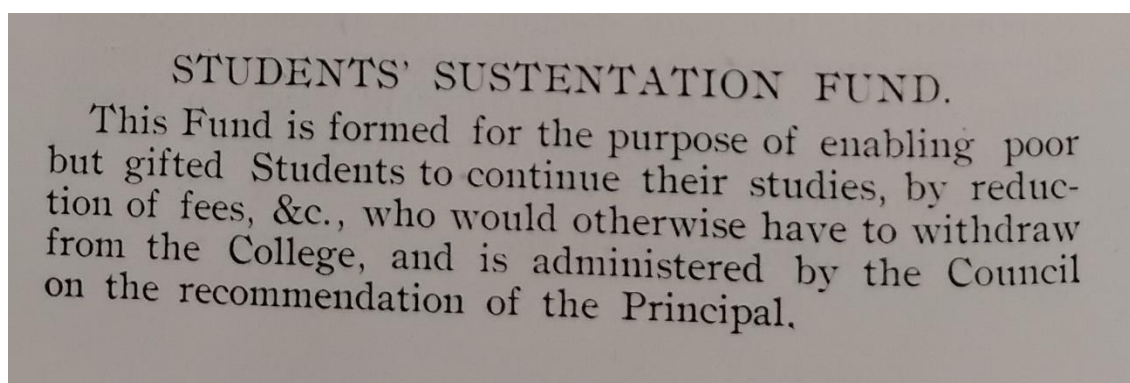


Fig. 4.4. Excerpt from the 1900–1901 Prospectus detailing the purpose of the Sustentation Fund.

The importance of the Sustentation Fund cannot be overstated. Between 1894 and 1920 £6,248 was given to students to enable them to continue their studies, the majority of the income (£6,424) coming from the individual donors and the Brodsky Quartet contributions.

Scholarships

Whereas money from the Sustentation Fund was given to students as a need arose, scholarships were offered on a competitive basis and, as each one was established, it had its own set of rules and regulations.⁸⁴ From the first year of its existence the College sought to establish scholarships in order to assist students who were unable to pay the fees, and an appeal to that end was made in first annual report and each year thereafter. Although the emphasis was placed on the local councils to provide scholarships for their own localities, individuals were also invited to offer their support.

The Council, while very grateful for the assistance given by private benefactors to a number of deserving students unable themselves to pay the fees of the College, are strongly desirous of seeing a sufficient number of scholarships open to public competition founded in connection with the College. A beginning has already been made in this direction. During the past year the Lancashire County Council has founded two scholarships in music, and the Cheshire County Council one, tenable at the College, but in the case of each of these scholarships the area of eligibility is strictly circumscribed...so that, in consequence, inhabitants of the great centres of

⁸⁴ See, for instance, the minutes of a Council meeting on 5 May, 1897, in which it was reported that 'the regulations of the Sir Charles Hallé Scholarship were approved for publication'. "Adjourned Meeting, 5 May 97," *Council minute book no.1*, 153.

population where the need of such scholarships is most urgent are not in any degree provided for them...

The Council are glad to state that this disadvantage will be in some measure compensated in the single instance of Ashton-under-Lyne through the kindness of Mr. Rupert Mason, who has announced his intention of founding a musical scholarship in connection with the College for students of the Technical School of that town.⁸⁵ The Council would be very glad to see this example following in every considerable town in Lancashire and the surrounding counties, and especially in Manchester itself, where the need is greatest and the provision to meet that altogether wanting. The Council are fully conscious of the existence of a very promising body of students of music, at the very doors of the College to whom those doors are inevitably closed because of fees which to them are prohibitive. Feeling itself wholly unable to reduce the scale of fees, the Council therefore hold themselves justified in making an urgent appeal to those interested in music, and young students of the art, to found scholarships for voice or instruments more especially such as shall be in the widest possible sense free and open to public competition.⁸⁶

Unless the donor made an annual donation, scholarships donated by individuals were usually funded by means of a lump sum payment to the College. This was invested and the interest arising therefrom used to offset the fees. The appeal was addressed to all of the supporters but only those who could afford to donate a sum of money large enough to generate sufficient interest, or to make an annual donation of at least £30, would be in a position to respond.⁸⁷

In the report for 1895–96 it was noted that a new scholarship had been given by RMCM Council member S. R. Platt, in conjunction with the Oldham Lyceum of Music, but the Council was still seeking scholarships which did not have any limitations as to eligibility.⁸⁸ There was promising news the following year with the announcement of three scholarships. On 16 December 1896 Edward S. Heywood told the Council meeting that the Committee of the Hallé Memorial Fund was offering a scholarship ‘in the Pianoforte’ in the name of the late Sir Charles Hallé. The Fund had been set up earlier that year to honour Hallé’s

⁸⁵ Cotton manufacturer Rupert Mason (1859–1931), who lived in Ashton-under-Lyne, was a subscriber to the Gentlemen’s Concerts and had supported the establishment of the RMCM. His father, Hugh Mason, had subscribed to Hallé’s concerts in the 1850s.

⁸⁶ *First Annual Report*, 1893–94 (Manchester: RMCM, printed by Palmer, Howe & Co., 1894), 9–10. RMCM/B/3/1.

⁸⁷ £30 in 1890 equated to £3,257 in October 2024. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>. In 1890 it would have been the wages of a skilled tradesman for 90 days. <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>.

⁸⁸ *Third Annual Report*, 1895–96 (Manchester: RMCM, Palmer, Howe & Co., Printers, 1896), 6. RMCM/B/3/1. Samuel Radcliffe Platt (1845–1902) – see Chapter Two p.97.

memory and was to include the founding of free and open scholarships at the RMCM 'intended for gifted students of small means'.⁸⁹ The organising Committee was chaired by Behrens, with RMCM Council members Edward S. Heywood serving as Honorary Treasurer and Charles J. Hall as Honorary Secretary; E. J. Broadfield was a Committee member and the Registrar, Stanley Withers, was Organising Secretary.⁹⁰

Another scholarship, to the value of £30 per annum, was given by the Meadowcroft Trustees. It was to be open by public competition to male students of the organ, and tenable for three years.⁹¹ Edward S. Heywood and Charles J. Hall were also Trustees of this Fund and it was the latter who wrote, in the name of Trustees, to offer the scholarship.⁹² Their positions as Meadowcroft Trustees were clearly helpful in making this money available to the RMCM.

The third, given in the name of the late Mrs Elizabeth Read, was intended for 'the benefit of young women of proved [sic] musical ability, whose means are insufficient for the payment of the College fees',⁹³ and a donation of £1,100 was made to set up the scholarship.⁹⁴ There is no information in the minutes, or associated documentation, to indicate any connection which might explain why this scholarship was given to the RMCM. Elizabeth Read, the widow of a woollen merchant, was a Unitarian who lived in Leeds for her whole life.⁹⁵ In her will she made a number of specific bequests to individuals and institutions, amongst which was the disposition of her collection of printed and manuscript music, implying that she was, at the least, interested in music. The balance of

⁸⁹ "The Hallé Memorial Fund," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 30, 1896, 6.

⁹⁰ "The Halle [sic] Memorial Fund," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 21, 1896, 7; "Halle [sic] Memorial Fund", *Manchester Courier*, Aug 1, 1896, 1.

⁹¹ The Meadowcroft Memorial Fund was set up in 1873 in memory of John Meadowcroft (d. Aug 1873), described as a Professor of Music, who would be 'chiefly remembered in connection with the training of voluntary choirs'. *Cambridgeshire Times*, Sep 13, 1873, 4. The fund was to be raised by public subscription to perpetuate his memory, with the intention to found a Scholarship Exhibition, or Prize 'having for its object the encouragement of church music'. "The Meadowcroft Memorial Fund," *Manchester Guardian*, Sep 27, 1873, 1.

⁹² "Adjourned meeting, 5 May 97," *Council minute book no. 1*, 153–156.

⁹³ *Fourth Annual Report*, 1896–97, 6–7. See Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*, 198ff., for a full list of scholarship recipients.

⁹⁴ Detailed information about the arrangements for, and conditions of, the scholarship is in *Council minute book no. 1*, 142–149.

⁹⁵ She was living at the same address as that given in her will in the census returns for 1861–1891; the address on her marriage entry was in Leeds, and her birth place was given as Leeds on all the census entries. [Census returns, marriage and baptism entries accessed on www.ancestry.co.uk]

the estate was given to her Trustee who was directed to divide any proceeds 'among such charitable and educational Societies and Institutions and in such proportions as my said trustee in his discretion think fit....'⁹⁶

The decision to give the scholarship was therefore in the gift of her Trustee, her nephew by marriage, Revd Charles Henry Wellbeloved (1835–1903). His biography does not offer any further enlightenment, except that he was a Unitarian minister and his politics were known to be Liberal.⁹⁷ Although he lived and ministered in Southport, it is likely that he had contacts with Unitarians in Manchester; his grandfather, Charles Wellbeloved, had been Principal of the Unitarian Manchester College, amongst whose students was William Gaskell, father of Margaret and Julia.⁹⁸ In light of the lack of any firm evidence, it can only be a matter of conjecture that Wellbeloved was encouraged by those known to him amongst the supporters of the RMCM to make this donation to the College, countering the initial observation of there being no obvious connection. From 1898 onwards, in order to encourage further donors, the Annual Report included two blank forms, one for bequests and the other for the purpose of founding a scholarship, but it was to be three years before another scholarship was forthcoming.⁹⁹ The minutes of the Council meeting on 13 November 1901 record that a letter was read from Mrs John Webster of 58 Cromwell Street, Stretford, enclosing a cheque for £700 and expressing her desire to 'fund an Exhibition at the College having for its object the cultivation of the Violin or Violoncello, the same to be called the "John Webster Memorial Exhibition"'.¹⁰⁰ This is another example of there being no obvious reason for the donation. John Webster was a draper living in Stretford who may have subscribed to the Guarantee Fund in 1898 and 1899 as the name is listed in the Annual Reports for those years, but there is no address in the records to corroborate this.

⁹⁶ Elizabeth Read, *Last will and testament*, Jan 25, 1894. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service]

⁹⁷ "Memorial notices. The Rev. C. H. Wellbeloved," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 25, 1903, 10.

⁹⁸ During Wellbeloved's time as Principal the college was based in York, but returned to Manchester in 1840 when he retired. David L. Wykes, "Wellbeloved, Charles (1769–1858), Unitarian minister and tutor," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Oct 24, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28995>; Frank Schulman, "Wellbeloved, Charles," *Dictionary of Unitarian and Universalist Biography*, Oct 21, 2002, accessed Oct 24, 2024, <https://www.uudb.org/wellbeloved-charles/>.

⁹⁹ *Fifth Annual Report of Council*, 1898 (Manchester: RMCM, 1898), 32. RMCM/B/3/1.

¹⁰⁰ "Minutes of Council, November 13th, 1901," *Council minute book no.1*, 227–228.

Neither his name nor that of his wife, Ellen, has arisen in connection with any other musical events or organisations in Manchester.

The Webster Exhibition had answered the appeal made, initially, in the Annual Report of 1896–97 for scholarships in ‘String and Wind Instrument Playing’; the latter met with a response in December 1903 when the Principal reported that an anonymous donor had offered a scholarship in the bassoon for three years.¹⁰¹ After discussion the Council agreed that ‘two scholarships in the Bassoon of £15 be offered instead of one of £30, each for one year but to be renewable for a second or third year at the discretion of the Council.’ The recipients of the two scholarships, Maurice E. Whittaker and Archibald [Archie] L. Camden, both aged fifteen, were not only the first bassoonists but also the first wind players to be enrolled as students at the RMCM, more than ten years after it had opened. When the scholarships were renewed in 1906, the anonymous donor was revealed to be Dr Hans Richter, conductor of the Hallé Orchestra.¹⁰² Camden and Whittaker were to join the orchestra, later becoming first and second bassoon respectively, and the former was appointed as Professor of Bassoon at the RMCM in November 1914.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ “Meeting of the Council, 16 Dec 03,” *Council minute book no.1*, 260–262.

¹⁰² “Meeting of the Council, 14 Nov. 06,” *ibid.*, 314–315.

¹⁰³ William Waterhouse, “Camden, Archie,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Jun 8, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04645>; Meyrick Alexander, “British bassoonists 1900–1950,” *Double Reed News: the magazine of the British Double Reed Society*, no. 136 (2023): 14; “Meeting of Council, November 18th 1914,” *Council minute book no.2*, 130–31.

THE
Royal Manchester College of Music.

THE READ SCHOLARSHIP.

*Founded by the Trustee under the Will of the late
Mrs. Elizabeth Read.*

REGULATIONS.

1. The Scholarship shall be called "THE READ SCHOLARSHIP."
2. The Scholarship is of the annual value of £30 and is tenable for one year, and continuable for a second or further year, as hereinafter provided.
3. The Scholarship will be awarded, when vacant, to such female candidate, not already a Student of the College, and being not more than twenty years of age, as may be judged by the Council to show distinct promise of musical proficiency, and whose means are insufficient for the payment of the College fees.
4. Candidates will be required to send in, not later than the conclusion of the Midsummer Term, applications, addressed to the Registrar of the College, stating their qualifications and circumstances, accompanied by a certificate of age and by a testimonial to character from their last instructor, or other qualified person. They will be required to present themselves for such examination as the Council may think proper, and the award will take place in September.
5. The Scholar will be required to enter upon the regular College course, commencing with the term immediately succeeding her election.
6. The Scholarship may be renewed for a second or further years (not exceeding four) by the Council on report from the Principal, such report to be on the Scholar's work during the College year and on her performance in the annual College Examinations. The Scholarship may be forfeited by misconduct.
7. Any accumulations arising from the Scholarship to be given to the Students' Sustentation Fund.

Fig. 4.5. Read Scholarship Regulations. RMCM/C/2/1.

After the death of Charles J. Heywood, founding donor and Treasurer, in December 1905 his widow offered £1,000 to establish a scholarship in piano in his memory. The Council decided that this would be an Open or Entrance

Scholarship to the value of £30 per annum, £30 being the cost of the fees for one year of study.¹⁰⁴ It was to be another eight years before the offer of a scholarship was received from an individual. At the Council meeting on 18 November 1914 the Registrar read a letter from Mrs Will Pearce offering to endow a piano scholarship in memory of her late husband.¹⁰⁵ The Annual Report for 1915 provides the information that Mrs Pearce was herself a former student of the College [Margaret Phyllis Buckley], and Will Pearce [1890–1914] had been a distinguished student and Hallé scholar.¹⁰⁶ This scholarship was also worth £30 per annum, Mrs Pearce having given £900 for its endowment.¹⁰⁷

Elsie Hargrave Bishop (1877–1952) began subscribing to the RMCM in 1914 and there is no indication of her having any prior connection with the College. In 1916 she was a donor, along with her sister Mrs Mary Dawson Elwell, of £500 to establish a Wind Instrument Scholarship in memory of their [maternal] uncle, Lt-Col. H. J. [Henry Joseph] Candlin.¹⁰⁸ In 1927, she was appointed to the RMCM Council and, on her death in 1952, bequeathed £1,000 to the College, having been a long-standing contributor to the general and Sustentation Funds.¹⁰⁹ She was also a guarantor, from 1916, of the Hallé Concerts Society. There were no further scholarships forthcoming from individual donors in the period under consideration in this study. Of the scholarships referred to above, there are two – Webster and Read – whose donors had no obvious prior connection with the RMCM; the others did, and whether directly or through the offices of Trustees who were associated with College, had an interest which prompted them to support students financially.

Reference was made in Chapter Three to Shapely's observation that it was necessary to adopt a business ethos to run charities and, I suggested,

¹⁰⁴ "Meeting of Council, 9 May 06," *Council minute book no.1*, 305–307.

¹⁰⁵ "Meeting of Council, November 18th, 1914," *Council minute book no.2*, 130–31.

¹⁰⁶ *Twenty-Second Annual Report of Council*, 1915, *ibid.*, 15. Margaret Phyllis Buckley, register entry no.1094, October 1912–Christmas 1913; Thomas William Pearce, register entry no.951, June 1909–Christmas 1913. *Student registers*. RMCM/E/2.

¹⁰⁷ "Meeting of the Council, July 21st 1915," *Council minute book no.2*, 144–45.

¹⁰⁸ "Meeting of the Council, December 20th, 1916," *ibid.*, 167–68.

¹⁰⁹ 'The Council record with profound regret the death of Miss Elsie Bishop. Miss Bishop, who was one of a small number of life-members of the College and a member of the Council, always took a close interest in the work of the College; an interest which extended to individual students, many of whom have reason to thank her for her generous assistance and advice. The Council acknowledge, with gratitude, her bequest to the College of £1,000.' *Sixtieth Annual Report of Council*, 1953 (RMCM; Heaton Mersey: The Cloister Press. Ltd., 1953), 7.

educational and cultural institutions. A business ethos is certainly in evidence in relation to the donations made for the endowment of scholarships as, without exception, all of the initial sums were invested in shares or bonds. Each investment was decided by, and/or reported to, the Council with the interest arising being used to provide the annual scholarship.¹¹⁰ This is evidence that the officers, most of whom were businessmen and, in many instances, served alongside each other on similar committees, were bringing their expertise to bear in managing the College's affairs.

Legacies

Alongside donations to support scholarships the Council had always been anxious to encourage legacies, and a form of words for this purpose was included in the Annual Report for 1898.¹¹¹ The first legacy, of which the Council received notice on 16 November 1898, predated that appeal.¹¹² A letter from Mrs Alice Swanston stated that her late husband, Thomas Swanston, who had died on 12 October 1898, 'had made a will by which all his property, furniture and effects came, after her death, to the College'.¹¹³ The actual wording of his will was that after Mrs Swanston's death any money from income and trusts was given and bequeathed to

the Royal Manchester College of Music to be applied and administered by such institution for the purpose of founding and maintaining a scholarship for proficiency in some one or more branch or branches of musical education in which instruction is given by the said Royal Manchester College of Music such scholarship to be called or known by the name of "The Swanston Scholarship"...any special conditions to be attached to the awarding of such scholarship shall be in the absolute discretion of the committee for the time being...¹¹⁴

The bequest was only realised more than fifty years later in 1953, after Alice Swanston's death, when it was reported that 'the Council acknowledge the receipt from the Trustees concerned of £8,780 on behalf of the Swanston Trust.

¹¹⁰ For details of investments and interest, see *Council minute books nos. 1 and 2* and *Private Finance Ledgers*.

¹¹¹ *Fifth Annual Report of Council*, 1898 [no imprint details], 32. RMCM/B/3/1.

¹¹² "Meeting of the Council, November 16th 98," *Council minute book no. 1*, 183–184.

¹¹³ The letter is in *Appendices to minute books no. 1*, fol.32r.

¹¹⁴ Thomas Swanston, *Last Will and Testament*, Jul 13, 1897. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service]

The interest on this capital sum is to be devoted to founding scholarships for students showing proficiency in any branch of musical education'.¹¹⁵

Thomas Swanston (1841/2–1898), a Scot by birth, was an insurance company secretary and, at his death, a director of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Accident Insurance Company Ltd.¹¹⁶ He was a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts, and was present, as a member, at the Brasenose Club twenty-first anniversary dinner in 1890.¹¹⁷ The RMCM is the only institution mentioned in, or to benefit from, Swanston's will but there is nothing obvious, other than his subscription to the Gentlemen's Concerts and membership of the Brasenose Club alongside others connected with the RMCM, to suggest why he might have been particularly disposed towards it. He had not been a subscriber to any of the RMCM funds prior to his death.

The other substantial legacy was from George Duerden, a retired estate agent, who died in September 1910. A letter from his solicitors informed the College that he had left 'his Chamber Music and 100 Ship Canal Shares to the College, together with the residue of his property, consisting of various houses in Manchester & Salford, which his Trustees were empowered to sell... the College Trustees to have the absolute & unfettered disposal of the proceeds of such sale'.¹¹⁸ As this bequest was not entailed on anyone else, unlike that of Thomas Swanston, it imposed fewer obligations on the Council. Within two years the Duerden Legacy Fund stood at almost £368 and by 1913 it was £597 9s. 7d when all of the property was sold.¹¹⁹

An initial examination of George Duerden's biographical details does not provide any obvious clues as to his motivation for leaving a bequest to the

¹¹⁵ *Sixtieth Annual Report of Council*, 1953, 8.

¹¹⁶ "Lancashire and Cheshire Accident Insurance Company, Limited," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 14, 1899, 8.

¹¹⁷ Swanston was a signatory to a letter to the Directors of the Concert Hall, published in May 1880. "Concert Hall, Manchester," *Manchester Courier*, May 29, 1880, 1; Brasenose Club, Manchester, *Report of the proceedings at a dinner. For the twenty-first anniversary, December 9th 1890* (Manchester: Examiner Printing Works, Pall Mall, n.d.), 8.

¹¹⁸ "Meeting of Council, 16 Nov. 10," *Council minute book no.2*, 58–59.

¹¹⁹ "Balance sheet, Sep 30, 1912," *Private (finance) ledger, 1893–1915*, 50–52; *Twentieth Annual Report*, 1913, 16. In 1914 the amount credited to the Duerden Legacy Fund was transferred to the General Fund and the only remaining reference in the accounts after that date was to the Ship Canal shares. "Auditor's report, 14th October 1914," *Appendices to minute books no. 1*, fol.145r.

RMCM, although he had signalled his intentions, in part, when he wrote to Hallé in 1894:

Dear Sir,

I have in my possession a considerable quantity of Chamber Music, and as I am now in my 66th year I have a desire to bequeath it to the "Manchester Royal College of Music" thinking it may be of some service in the future.

Roundly speaking it consists of about

300 String Duets	)
100 " Trios	)
270 " Quartetts	)
70 " Quintetts	)
200 Duets for Pianoforte and Strings	)
90 Trios --do--	)
20 Quartetts --do--	)

Mr Speelman and Mr Vieuxtemps can speak of them, having played from them many times.¹²⁰

Will you kindly say if you think they will prove acceptable. I have a complete catalogue which of course will form part of the bequest.¹²¹

The details of the offer were read to the Council and the Chairman [Dr Ward] was asked to forward a letter of acceptance.¹²² As far as can be ascertained, Duerden had no further official contact with the College between sending the letter and his death; his name is not amongst the lists of subscribers or in any other documentation. However, the mention in his letter of Mr Speelman and Mr Vieuxtemps demonstrates that he knew at least two members of RMCM teaching staff well, and the significance of those links is reinforced by some of his other bequests.¹²³ These were to Simon Speelman,¹²⁴ Samuel Goudman,¹²⁵

¹²⁰ As mentioned earlier in this chapter Simon Speelman (1851–1920) was a viola player who was on the staff of the RMCM from 1893, a member of the Brodsky Quartet and the Hallé Orchestra; J. J. E. (Jules-Joseph-Ernest) Vieuxtemps (1832–1896) was appointed in 1893, alongside Carl Fuchs, to teach cello at the RMCM. Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*, 17; Boris Schwarz and Sarah Hibberd, "Vieuxtemps, (Jules-Joseph) -Ernest," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Jun 19, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000380409>.

¹²¹ George Duerden, "Letter to Sir Charles Hallé," *Appendices to minute books no. 1*, fol. 10v.

¹²² "Meeting of the Council, 4 July 94," *Council minute book no. 1*, 68–70.

¹²³ George Duerden, *Last will and testament*, Nov 25, 1898. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service]

¹²⁴ 'I give to my friend Simon Speelman...my Lupôt violin and bow together with the case in which they are both kept and my flat backed viola and the Tubbs bow together with the leathern [sic] case in which they are both kept and also my six table music stands...'

¹²⁵ 'I give to my friend Samuel Goudman a member of the Hallé Orchestra... my so called Stainer violin and Dodd bow together with the mahogany box in which they are both kept...'
Samuel Goudman (1867–1938), a Dutch born violinist, was the brother-in-law of Simon Speelman. By the mid-1890s he was performing under the name Samuel Speelman, for instance, as a member of Speelman Quartet [Simon Speelman, Samuel Speelman, C. Rawdon Briggs and E. Vieuxtemps]. "Walsall Literary Institute," *Walsall Advertiser*, Oct 12, 1895, 5.

and Henry Smith.¹²⁶ His friendship with a group of musicians with whom he played chamber music (several of whom were either RMCM staff members or players in the Hallé Orchestra), his ownership of instruments and bows made by notable exponents, and the substantial collection of chamber music all suggest that Duerden was a keen and knowledgeable amateur musician for whom the RMCM was a worthy beneficiary.

Notable individual generosity

For almost half a century, members of the Lees family were the most generous supporters of the RMCM. As described in Chapter Two, not only was Charles E. Lees one of the first to commit to giving financial support but also, in February 1893, he paid the £2,000 required to purchase the building for the new College, thus reducing the amount needed for establishment costs. This was not the only example of his generosity. Six organ students were registered in Autumn 1893, but the College had no instrument for them to play. The provision of an organ was discussed at every meeting of the Council between October and December 1893 and offers of loans were received from Dr Charles J. Hall and Sir William Houldsworth, but declined.¹²⁷ At the Council meeting on 25 January 1894 it was announced that ‘it was the intention of Mr Lees to present to the College the organ of Mr Burne Jones’ and he was requested to ‘give the necessary instructions as to the transmission and setting up of the Organ...’.¹²⁸ The gift of the organ was described in more detail by Withers: ‘In January, 1894, Mr Charles Lees, acting on the expert advice of Sir Frederick Bridge, completed the purchase of a small but most serviceable two-manual organ, by Hill, of London, which he presented to the college. The organ, which was placed in the college hall, had been built for Sir Edward Burne-Jones...’.¹²⁹ The cost of the

¹²⁶ ‘I give to my friend Henry Smith...my Kennedy violoncello together with the box in which it is kept and also my Tubbs violoncello bow and the separate case in which it is kept...’ Henry Smith (1848–) was a cellist in the Hallé Orchestra from 1870–71 to 1894–95 (according to Batley). In the census returns for 1881–1901 his occupation is given as ‘Professor of Music’; in Slater’s Directory, 1895, he is listed as ‘teacher of music’. *Slater’s Manchester and Salford Directory for 1895*, (Manchester: Slater’s Directory, Limited, 1895), 574.

¹²⁷ “[XII] Meeting of the Council, 6 Oct 93”; “[XVII] Meeting of the Council, Friday Oct 20th”; “[XVIII] Meeting of the Council, 1 Nov 93”; “Adjourned Meeting, 8 Nov. 93”; “[XIX] Meeting of the Council, 6 Dec. 93,” *Council minute book no. 1*, 36–48.

¹²⁸ “[XXI] Meeting of the Council, 25 Jan 94,” *ibid.*, 51–55.

¹²⁹ Withers, *RMCM*, 22.

Frederick Bridge was Organist of Manchester Cathedral, 1869–1875, and Westminster Abbey, 1882–1918. Guy Warrack and Christopher Kent, “Bridge, Sir (John) Frederick,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed Sep 19, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03978>.

purchase is unknown but Lees also gave a further £100 towards the expenses of setting it up.¹³⁰

Lees was present at a special meeting of the Council on 17 July 1894; a month later he was dead and at its meeting on 25 September the Council resolved the following:

That the Council desires to place on record its profound regret for the death, on Aug 18th last, of Mr Charles Edward Lees, Treasurer of the College and a member of the Council, and to express its sense of the severe calamity experienced by the College in the loss of one of its founders and most devoted friends, to whom it has from the first been indebted for active co-operation and munificent support.¹³¹

His significance to the RMCM was marked permanently in 1904 when it was resolved that 'the name of the large hall of the College be called the Lees Hall, in commemoration of the late Mr Charles E. Lees'.¹³²

In January 1895 the Council agreed that Mrs Lees should be appointed as a member to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband and, subsequently, that she be requested to become a Trustee.¹³³ Meanwhile, discussions had been underway about the necessity of enlarging the College building to provide additional accommodation. The architect, Salomons, had drawn up a plan which was costed at £800 and although the Council recognised the necessity for the extra space, it took the decision to defer further action 'in view of the expenditure involved'.¹³⁴ At its meeting on 24 April 1895 Hallé reported to the Council that he had 'had an interview with Mrs Lees and that she had offered to bear the expenses of the proposed enlargement of the College buildings...'.¹³⁵ In response, it was resolved that the Chairman 'be requested to inform Mrs Lees of the gratification with which the Council has learnt from the Principal that she is prepared to defray the cost of the enlargement of the College buildings deemed necessary by the Council, and to return her the sincere thanks of the Council for her munificent intentions...'. Mrs Lees replied

¹³⁰ "[XXII] Meeting of the Council, 21 Feb. 94," *Council minute book no. 1*, 56–58.

¹³¹ "Special Meeting of Council, Tuesday 25 Sep. 94," *ibid.*, 73–74.

¹³² "Meeting of Council, 19 Oct. 04," *ibid.*, 276–278.

¹³³ "Special Meeting of the Council, 2 Jan 1895," *ibid.*, 87; "Meeting of the Council 20 March 95," *ibid.*, 96–98.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ "Meeting of the Council, 24 April 95," *ibid.*, 99–101.

to the Chairman, Dr Ward, saying that she would be glad to give £1,000.¹³⁶ This was to be the first of many generous donations from her which are detailed below.¹³⁷

Years ending 30 Sep 1898–30 Sep 1900	£250 each year. Annual subscription to Guarantee Fund. Total, £750. ¹³⁸
17 December 1900	£2,000. Endowment Fund. ¹³⁹
Year ending 30 Sep 1901	£250. Annual subscription to Guarantee Fund.
Years ending 30 Sep 1902–30 Sep 1909	£200 each year. Annual subscription to Guarantee Fund. Total, £1,800.
20 July 1910	Sent £200 for the electrification of the organ blowing apparatus and expressed the wish that any portion of the sum not required be given to the Sustentation Fund. ¹⁴⁰
Years ending 30 Sep 1910–30 Sep 1912	£200 each year. Annual subscription to Guarantee Fund. Total, £600.
7 May 1913	£3,000. Endowment Fund. ¹⁴¹
Year ending 30 Sep 1913	£200. Annual subscription to Guarantee Fund.
18 Feb 1914	Treasurer read two letters from Mrs. Lees offering to present to the College, as a Hostel for Women Students and as a memorial to the Gaskells, the house no.84, Plymouth Grove, provided the Council would accept the same and satisfactory conditions of purchase could be obtained. ¹⁴²

In the end the Council was unable to accept this offer as the house was not large enough to accommodate the number of students required to make it self-supporting.¹⁴³

Years ending 30 Sep 1914–30 Sep 1916	£100 each year. Annual subscription to Guarantee Fund. Total, £300.
18 October 1916	£1,000 for the Endowment Fund. ¹⁴⁴

¹³⁶ S. A. Lees, *Letter to Dr Ward*, May 2, 1895, *Appendices to minute books no. 1*, fol.8r.

¹³⁷ At the Council meeting on 15 January 1896, it was minuted that Mrs Lees 'kindly consented that whatever surplus remained over from her thousand pound donation after defraying the cost of the enlargement should be added to the Students Sustentation Fund.' "Meeting of Council, 15 Jan 96," *Council minute book no. 1*, 123–124.

¹³⁸ The amount given is listed in each Annual Report. *1st–10th Annual Reports of the Council*, 1894–1903. RMCM/B/3/1; *11th–20th Annual Reports of the Council*, 1904–1913. RMCM/B/3/2; *21st–30th Annual Reports of the Council*, 1914–1923. RMCM/B/3/3.

¹³⁹ "Meeting of Council, Dec. 17th 1900," *Council minute book no. 1*, 213–215.

¹⁴⁰ "Meeting of Council, 20 July 10," *Council minute book no. 2*, 54.

¹⁴¹ "Meeting of Council, May 7th 1913," *ibid.*, 99–101; S. A. Lees, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Mar 3, 1913, *Appendices to minute books no. 1*, fol.140v.

¹⁴² "Minutes of Council, 18 Feb 14," *Council minute book no. 2*, 116–117.

¹⁴³ *Twenty-First Annual Report of Council*, 1914, 13.

¹⁴⁴ "Meeting of the Council, Oct. 18th 1916," *Council minute book no. 2*, 163–164.

Year ending 30 Sep 1917 £100. Annual subscription to Guarantee Fund.

Annual Report 1917. Dame Sarah has taken a part in the administration of the College for more than twenty years, and has laid the Council under special obligation during the past year by giving £1,500 to complete the endowment of her former annual subscription of £250.¹⁴⁵ This generous subscription, promised at the founding of the College by the late Mr Charles E. Lees (its first Treasurer), has been continued by Dame Sarah since his death.¹⁴⁶

17 October 1917 £500 for the Endowment Fund.¹⁴⁷

16 January 1918 Treasurer reported that Dame Sarah Lees had sent a cheque for £700 to pay for the recent alterations, and reported that the original estimate had been exceeded by £350, the alterations amounting to a total of £1,050. Resolved: That the warmest thanks of the Council be given to Dame Sarah Lees for her gift, the latest of many benefactions.¹⁴⁸

13 November 1918 Dame Sarah Lees presented the Treasurer with a cheque for £380 to defray the additional cost of the alterations over & above the estimated sum of £700 which she had previously given. Resolved: That the warmest thanks of the Council be given to Dame Sarah for her further generous benefaction.¹⁴⁹

25 November 1930 £30 to the Sustentation Fund.¹⁵⁰

1 December 1931 £25 towards the cost of Opera Performances.¹⁵¹

18 July 1933 The best thanks of the Council be given to Dame Sarah Lees for her generosity in defraying the cost of [new curtains for the hall].¹⁵²

The overall total of her donations amounted to about £13,000 and when Dame Sarah died on 14 April 1935, at the next meeting of the Council

The following resolution was passed in silence, the Members of the Council standing. "The Council desires to place on record their deep sense of loss on the death of Dame Sarah Lees, a life member of the College, and a valued member of the Council for over forty years. The Council recalls with profound gratitude not only Dame Sarah's innumerable generous

¹⁴⁵ Mrs Lees was appointed as a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1917 in recognition of her work towards the relief of wartime suffering.

¹⁴⁶ *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of Council*, 1917, *ibid.*, 16.

¹⁴⁷ "Meeting of Council, Oct. 17th 1917," *Council minute book no.2*, 182–183.

¹⁴⁸ "Meeting of Council, Jan. 16th 1918," *ibid.*, 188.

¹⁴⁹ "Meeting of the Council, November 13th 1918," *ibid.*, 197–198.

¹⁵⁰ "Council minutes, Nov. 25th 1930," *Council minute book no.3*, 2.

¹⁵¹ "Council minutes, Dec. 1st 1931," *ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵² "Council minutes, July 18th 1933," *ibid.*, 21.

benefactions, but also her active and unremitting personal interest in the work of the Council and the welfare of the College.”¹⁵³

The Lees’ two daughters, Dorothy and Marjory, were also supporters of the RCM, although not to the same extent as their parents. In May 1897 Mrs Lees announced to the Council that ‘her elder daughter [Dorothy], who would come of age during the present year, proposed to present an Organ to the College in commemoration of the event.’¹⁵⁴ The organ was officially opened in May 1898 and in November that year Dorothy Lees was elected as a life member ‘by virtue of her gift of an organ’;¹⁵⁵ her name was on the list of life members printed in the Annual Report from that year onwards until her death in 1933, but there is no record of her making any further donations.¹⁵⁶ The other daughter, Marjory, donated £100 to the Endowment Fund in 1914, for which she too was made a Life Member, her name appearing in the list in the Annual Report thereafter.

There were several other generous long-term donors and the contributions of those who gave the largest sums (generally in excess of £250) are discussed here. The responses to the original appeal were examined in Chapter Three; what follows is a description of the person’s connection with the College and/or other musical institutions and a summary of the total amounts given, providing an indication of the level of financial support from these people.

Sir William H. Houldsworth (1834–1917) had been amongst the subscribers to Hallé’s concerts in the 1850s, subscribed to the Gentlemen’s Concerts and was, later, a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society. According to his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* he enjoyed organ playing, and he paid for the installation of a new organ in Manchester Cathedral.¹⁵⁷ He was involved in Hallé’s scheme from the outset, chairing the first public meeting, and in November 1893 he was invited to become President of the College. At the

¹⁵³ “Council minutes, May 14th 1935,” *ibid.*, 35.

¹⁵⁴ “Adjourned Meeting, 5 May 97,” *Council minute book no.1*, 153–154.

¹⁵⁵ “Meeting of the Council, November 16th 98,” *ibid.*, 183–184.

¹⁵⁶ Dorothy Lees (1876–1933) married Charles Henry Prodders in 1903 and from that year onwards she is listed as Mrs Prodders.

¹⁵⁷ Howe, “Houldsworth, Sir William Henry.”; Arthur Burns, “From ‘Th’Owd Church’ to Manchester Cathedral, 1830–1914”, in *Manchester Cathedral: a history of the Collegiate Church and Cathedral, 1421 to the present*, ed. Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 212.

meeting on 4 May 1892, over which he also presided, he donated £100 towards the initial expenses and pledged £50 per annum for five years; from 1898 to 1917 he gave a further £914 by annual subscription. His gift of £1,000 to the Endowment Fund was highlighted above; in December 1908 he offered to pay the fee of a new student for three years, and ‘in the event of the student not completing his course, any balance of the £90 not used was to be placed to the credit of the Sustentation Fund’.¹⁵⁸

In addition to her donations of £840 to the Sustentation Fund, Lady Donner subscribed £10 every year from 1892 until her death in 1935, a total of £440 in annual subscriptions and £1,250 overall. Charles J. Heywood, who had been amongst the first to promise his financial support in 1892, with £125 for initial expenses and £100 per annum for five years, subscribed £275 between 1898 and his death in 1905; a total of £900.¹⁵⁹ His wife Anna M. Heywood (1837–1922) was a subscriber in her own right, donating £310 in the thirty-two years from 1892 to 1923.¹⁶⁰ Edward S. Heywood, who promised the same amounts as his brother Charles in 1892, donated £500 in annual subscriptions from 1898 to 1914, making his total £1,175.¹⁶¹ Several members of the Behrens family, siblings or cousins of Gustav, also made valuable contributions.

Name	Years	Amount
Charles Behrens (1848–1925)	1892–1925	£250
Francis “Frank” Behrens (1839–1902)	1892–1898	£398
Gustav Behrens (1846–1936)	1892–1935	£846 6s. 6d. ¹⁶²
Oliver P. Behrens (1863–1953)	1892–1929	£188 8s. 0d.

Table 4.15. Donations from members of the Behrens family.

Thomas Craven was appointed to the initial Committee in 1891 and served as Council member from 1895–1905. He promised £20 per annum for five years in 1892, gave a further £140 and, in 1900, made a donation of £30 15s. 7d. to

¹⁵⁸ “Meeting of Council, 16 Dec. 08,” *Council minute book no.2*, 25–26.

¹⁵⁹ See Chapter Six for biographical information.

¹⁶⁰ The 1923 subscription was listed in the name of the late Mrs C. J. Heywood. *Thirtieth Annual Report of Council*, 1923 (RMCM: Manchester, 1923), 22. RMCM/B/3/3.

¹⁶¹ See Chapter Six for biographical information.

¹⁶² Including £100 for the Endowment Fund.

‘extinguish the deficiency as shown by the last Balance Sheet of the College’.¹⁶³

Thomas Coglan Horsfall (1841–1932) was the founder of the Art Museum in Ancoats and particularly known for his philanthropy.¹⁶⁴ His initial promise was for an annual subscription of £50 for five years, totalling £250 and from 1898 to 1925 he gave a further £417. George R. Murray (1854–1933) was another long-term supporter, having been elected to the first Committee in 1892 and serving as Chairman of Council from 1897 to 1900. His initial promise in 1892 was £5 per annum for five years (£25), after which he gave £204 by annual subscription (1898–1932) plus £100 to the Endowment Fund, and £45 to the Sustentation Fund.

The association of Samuel R. Platt with the RMCM was curtailed by his death but in the ten years from 1892 he donated £1,000, established the scholarship in conjunction with the Oldham Lyceum, and served on the initial Committees and the Council. His death was met with profound regret and the Council’s sense of loss ‘of one of its earliest friends and most liberal supporter’.¹⁶⁵ Mrs [Enriqueta] Rylands followed her gift of £25 for initial expenses and £25 per annum for five years (£150) with a further £115 donated in the years from 1898 to 1908. Mrs Emily Simon (1858–1920) began subscribing in 1900, the year after the death of her husband Henry who was a co-guarantor of the Hallé Orchestra with Behrens and James Forsyth. He had committed to pay £50 per annum for the first five years (£250) and gave £48 in 1898 and 1899. Mrs Simon’s subscriptions over a twenty-year period amounted to £273.

Herbert Hanbury Smith-Carington (1851–1917) was elected as a member of the Council at the Annual General Meeting in November 1902 and commenced subscribing the following year. Between 1903 and 1917 his annual subscription yielded £300, he promised £100 to the Endowment Fund in 1914 and also gave £70 to the Sustentation Fund.¹⁶⁶ James Watts (1845–1926) pledged £10 per annum for five years in 1892 (£50) and gave a further £240 in annual subscriptions.

¹⁶³ “Meeting of Council, Dec. 17th 1900,” *Council minute book no.1*, 213–215. See also the biographical note in Appendix B.

¹⁶⁴ Stuart Eagles, “Horsfall, Thomas Coglan,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, May 21, 2009, accessed Jun 29, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/99792>.

¹⁶⁵ “Meeting of Council, 22 Oct. 1902,” *Council minute book no.1*, 240–241.

¹⁶⁶ See biographical note in Appendix B.

Table 4.16 provides a list showing the involvement by this group of donors with other musical organisations: as subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts, guarantors (after 1898) of the Hallé Concerts Society and those who attended, or were invited to, the Hallé celebration dinner in 1890. The eight who were invited to the dinner had presumably had a personal connection with Hallé which may have been the reason they were particularly generous in their support of the RMCM. All of the donors were linked to the Gentlemen's Concerts by their own subscription or that of a spouse, and all of them (with the exception of Charles E. Lees, who had died in 1894) were guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society. This suggests that, for these individuals, music and loyalty to the city's musical organisations was an important motivating factor in their benevolence.

	Officer / Council	GC	HCS guarantor	Hallé dinner
Abigail Behrens	-	Husband subscribed	X	-
Charles Behrens	-	X	X	-
Edward Behrens	-	X	X	-
Gustav Behrens	X	X	X	X
Oliver P. Behrens	X	X	X	-
Thomas Craven	X	X	X	Invited
Anna Donner	X	Husband subscribed	From 1908; husband from 1899	-
Charles J. Heywood	X	X	X	X
Edward S. Heywood	X	X	X	X
Thomas Horsfall	-	X	X	-
Sir William Houldsworth	X	X	X	Invited
Charles E. Lees	X	X	[d.1894]	X
Sarah A. Lees	X	X	X	-
George R. Murray	X	X	X	-
Samuel R. Platt	X	X	X	X
Emily Simon	-	X	X	-
Henry Simon	X	X	X	X
Herbert H. Smith-Carington	X	X	From 1908	-

	Officer / Council	GC	HCS guarantor	Hallé dinner
James Watts	-	Wife subscribed	X	-

Table 4.16. The most generous donors and their links to other musical organisations.

Other gifts

Whilst financial support was crucial to the functioning of the College, other gifts were gratefully received from its supporters, many of whom had an existing and, in many cases, long-standing relationship with the RMCM and/or Hallé. Several donors gave books and music, which contributed to the establishment, and subsequent development, of a library.¹⁶⁷ Details of these donations were recorded in the Council minutes and the Annual Reports and it is from these records that we learn of the following:

Mrs Edward Hecht, for a valuable gift of music from the library of her late husband;¹⁶⁸

Mr Eller, for his proffered [sic] gift of Grove's Dictionary of Music.¹⁶⁹ Eller was a member of the Executive Committee in 1892 and Council member (1893–1927);¹⁷⁰

Mr Gustav Behrens for his proffered gift of Hadow's "Studies in Music";¹⁷¹

Dr Watson...proposed to send his promised contribution of 50–60 volumes to the College during the present week;¹⁷²

Gifts of Books to the Library from Miss Hallé & Mr Gustav Behrens;¹⁷³

Mr Henry Smith for his gift of music to the College Library;¹⁷⁴

From Dr Watson offering a large paper copy of the edition de Lux of Hipkins & Gibbs' valuable work entitled "Musical Instruments, Historic & Rare";¹⁷⁵

Mrs Arthur Johnstone, offering to give to the College her late husband's musical library.¹⁷⁶ The Council have to express their deep appreciation of the kindness of Mrs Arthur Johnstone in presenting, for the use of the

¹⁶⁷ For a brief history of the establishment of the Library, see Wright, "RNCM Library."

¹⁶⁸ *First Annual Report*, 1893–94, 9. See fn.51 in this chapter for information about Edward Hecht.

¹⁶⁹ "Meeting of the Council, 19 Dec. 94," *Council minute book no.1*, 85–86.

¹⁷⁰ See biographical note in Appendix B.

¹⁷¹ "Meeting of the Council 20 March 95," *Council minute book no.1*, 96–98.

¹⁷² "Meeting of the Council, 16 Oct 95," *ibid.*, 112–114.

¹⁷³ "Meeting of the Council, 17 Feb 97," *ibid.*, 147–149.

¹⁷⁴ "Meeting of the Council, May 23rd 1900," *ibid.*, 204–205. There is no information to identify this donor, but possibly he was the same person named in George Duerden's will (see above), a cellist in Hallé's orchestra.

¹⁷⁵ "Meeting of Council, May 15th 1901," *ibid.*, 222–223.

¹⁷⁶ "Meeting of Council, Jan, 18th 1905," *ibid.*, 283–284. Arthur Johnstone was music critic of the *Manchester Guardian*, 1896–1904.

students, a valuable gift of books and music, which formed the musical library of her late husband, the distinguished critic and writer on music;¹⁷⁷

Dr Richter before leaving Manchester, presented a large number of Musical Scores to the College Library, many of them being presentation and autograph copies;¹⁷⁸

Mr Grommé for his gift of the new edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music.¹⁷⁹

Another category of donations was instruments. Mention has been made of the two organs donated by the Lees family; at the same time that Charles E. Lees purchased and donated Burne Jones' Hill organ, there were also discussions about the need for a practice organ and it was agreed that a sum not exceeding £100 could be spent on such an instrument.¹⁸⁰ This cost was met by a grant for that amount from the residuary legatees of Daniel Procter [sometimes spelled Proctor] who indicated that it was to be applied to the 'practising organ fund'.¹⁸¹ Procter (c.1812–1889) was a silk merchant who had subscribed to Hallé's concerts in the 1850s and also the Gentlemen's Concerts. Under the terms of his will, his trustees were able to give money to educational institutions as they thought fit.¹⁸² Presumably an institution whose purpose was music education was deemed to accord with the testator's own interests. One particularly valuable donation was an Amati violin, formerly belonging to their father, which was bequeathed in his memory by the Misses Leo in 1910.¹⁸³ Sophie Therese Leo (1843–1910) and Juliet Susannah Leo (1847–1910) were the daughters of Hermann Leo, the German-born calico printer who had been responsible for attracting Hallé to Manchester in 1848.

¹⁷⁷ *Twelfth Annual Report of Council*, 1905 (RMC: Manchester, 1905), 13. RMC/B/3/2.

¹⁷⁸ *Eighteenth Annual Report of Council*, 1911 (RMC: Manchester, 1911), 17. RMC/B/3/2.

¹⁷⁹ "Meeting of the Council, Jan. 19th 1916," *Council minute book no.2*, 151–152.

¹⁸⁰ "[XXI] Meeting of the Council, 25 Jan 94," *Council minute book no.1*, 51–55.

¹⁸¹ "[XXII] Meeting of the Council, 21 Feb. 94," *ibid.*, 56–58.

¹⁸² Daniel Procter, *Last will and testament*, Nov 16, 1886. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service]

¹⁸³ 'In memory of my late father Herman [sic] Edward Leo formerly of Manchester aforesaid I bequeath to the trustees for the time being of The Royal Manchester College of Music the Amati violin formerly the property of my said father to be held by the said trustees Upon trust for the benefit of the said students for the time being of the said college to be used by them under the direction and control of the said trustees it being my desire...that the said violin shall be used by the poorer students of the said college who give promise of becoming talented violinists.' Juliet Susannah Leo, *Last will and testament*, Oct 29, 1909. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service]

The other significant donation of instruments was the collection belonging to Dr Henry Watson which he offered to the RMCM in 1900.¹⁸⁴ Henry Watson (1846–1911) was a conductor, composer and organist who had been appointed as Choirmaster to the College at its inception, with choral and musical dictation classes added to his duties in 1897. A keen collector of books and music, he took a pioneering interest in musical instrument studies.¹⁸⁵ The instruments he offered to the College were not for regular use by the students but, as Watson explained:

For some years past I have been gathering together a Collection of old & curious Musical Instruments with a view to presenting them, (when the collection became of sufficient interest) to some public Institution where they would be of service... I now wish to hand them over to the Institution I have decided on, which is the Royal Manchester College of Music... I shall be able to add to the Collection from time to time, & hope eventually to make it of great practical use to the College Students particularly, & to the music public generally...¹⁸⁶

The Collection was named after its donor, with Watson himself serving as Honorary Curator from 1901–1911. The initial donation was supplemented by further items from Watson as well as other donors and by 1906, when a catalogue was published, it numbered 158 instruments.¹⁸⁷ Subsequent additions are noted in the Council minutes and/or the Annual Reports and the following items are highlighted because, in each instance, the donor had a connection with the RMCM.¹⁸⁸

Mr Charles Arning of Brook House, Victoria Park, presented ‘a valuable Zither’.¹⁸⁹

Arning (1853–1918), a shipping merchant, had subscribed to the Gentlemen’s Concerts in 1896, became an annual subscriber to the RMCM in 1908 and a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society in 1909.

Thomas C. Camden presented a Serpent (Old English) 5 keys, and a Keyed Bugle (English).¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ “Meeting of Council, Oct 17th 1900,” *Council minute book no.1*, 210–211.

¹⁸⁵ William Waterhouse, “Henry Watson: musician, collector and benefactor,” *Manchester Sounds* 1 (2000): 1–18; Wright and Waterhouse, *Catalogue*.

¹⁸² Henry Watson, “Letter to Adolph Brodsky”, Oct. 10, 1900, *Appendices to minute books no.1*, fol.44r.

¹⁸⁷ Royal Manchester College of Music, *Descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the Henry Watson Collection of Musical Instruments* (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1906).

¹⁸⁸ For a full history of the Collection and details of the donors, see Wright and Waterhouse, *Catalogue*.

¹⁸⁹ “Meeting of Council, February 27th 1901,” *Council minute book no.1*, 218–219.

¹⁹⁰ *Eighth Annual Report of Council*, 1901 (RMCM: Manchester, 1901), 13; *Ninth Annual Report of Council*, 1902 (RMCM: Manchester, 1902), 13. RMCM/B/3/1.

Camden (1862–1942) was the father of bassoonist Archie Camden [see Scholarships, above] and, from 1901, manager and company secretary of Joseph Higham, instrument makers.¹⁹¹

Letter from Sig. Tartaglione offering a Mandoline [sic] to the College Museum of Musical Instruments.¹⁹²

Italian Giulio Tartaglione (c.1834/5–1910) was employed as a teacher of Solfeggio at the RMCM from 1898 until his death in 1910.

Gunibry. A Tortoiseshell Guitar from Algiers. Presented by John Youatt, Esq.¹⁹³

Chartered accountant John Youatt (1841–1925) gave £1 1s. to the RMCM annually from 1892 until his death. He applied to become a subscriber of the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1900 and was a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society from 1899.¹⁹⁴

The College was also in receipt of several artefacts most of which related to people with whom it had close links, such as staff or benefactors.

Mr George and Mr Lockett Agnew [son and nephew, respectively, of William Agnew] for their generous gift of pictures.¹⁹⁵ Both were on the 1891/92 lists but neither contributed financially to the RMCM.

Mrs Lees offered a photographic portrait of the late Mr Lees.¹⁹⁶

A proposed portrait medallion of the late Principal, to be executed in bronze by Miss Elinor Hallé [Hallé's daughter, who was an artist and sculptor];¹⁹⁷

A gift of a portrait of the late Mr Dayas by his former pupils.¹⁹⁸

Mrs Lees, on behalf of Mrs Goldthorpe, presented a portrait of the late Mr Goldthorpe to the College.¹⁹⁹

William Goldthorpe, a barrister by profession, was honorary organist of St Peter's Church, music critic of the *Manchester Courier*, and served on the RMCM Council from 1898–1904.²⁰⁰

Mr Warwick Brooks [sic] for his gift of a portrait of the late Dr Hiles.²⁰¹

Henry Hiles (1826–1904) had been one of the primary agitators during the 1880s for a conservatoire in Manchester [see Chapter One] and

¹⁹¹ Arnold Myers, "Made in Manchester: instruments of the Higham firm," *The Galpin Society Journal* LXXI (2018): 167.

¹⁹² "Meeting of Council, 22 Oct. 1902," *Council minute book no.1*, 240–241.

¹⁹³ *Twelfth Annual Report of Council*, 1905, *ibid.*, 17.

¹⁹⁴ The Concerts Society Annual General Meeting on Jun 26, 1926, deplored the loss of a guarantor. *Behrens Notebook vol.7*, 1924–1928 (XX Hallé Concerts Society. June 22 1926 to March 16th 1928). BR780.68Me714.

¹⁹⁵ "[XXI] Meeting of the Council, 25 Jan 94," *Council minute book no.1*, 51–55.

¹⁹⁶ "Meeting of the Council, 19 Feb 96," *ibid.*, 125.

¹⁹⁷ "Meeting of the Council, 18 Mar 96," *ibid.*, 126–127.

¹⁹⁸ "Meeting of Council, 17 Feb. 04," *ibid.*, 265–266.

William Dayas, a pupil of Franz Liszt, was principal professor of piano in succession to Hallé, 1896–1903. James Deaville, "Dayas, William Humphreys," *Grove Music Online*, Sep 16, 2010, accessed Dec 12, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2088578>.

¹⁹⁹ "Meeting of Council, Jan, 18th 1905," *Council minute book no.1*, 283–284.

²⁰⁰ See biographical note in Appendix B.

²⁰¹ "Meeting of Council, 15 Feb. 05," *ibid.*, 285–286. Warwick Brookes was a photographer with a business on Oxford Street, Manchester.

was appointed as Professor of Harmony, Counterpoint and History of Music at the RMCM in 1893.

Miss S. F. Scott, offering to give the College the death mask of Chopin; Registrar reported that Miss Scott had presented a model of the hand of Chopin to the College museum.²⁰²

Susan Fisher Scott (1840–1922) was the daughter of Revd A. J. Scott, former Principal of Owen's College.²⁰³ Although there is no evidence of a direct association with the RMCM, there had been a long-standing friendship between Miss Scott's family and that of Hallé;²⁰⁴ the Scott and the Gaskell families were also close friends, suggesting a likely connection through Margaret Gaskell who was on the Council.²⁰⁵

Whilst these donations had no monetary value, they may be seen to represent the acknowledgement of a connection with the College and a desire to commemorate those who were part of its story or, in the case of the Chopin artefacts, to ensure that they went to an appropriate institution.

Support through service

Mention was made in Chapter Three of the length of service of a number of the officers and Council members who served from 1893 onwards.²⁰⁶ Other than the representatives of Lancashire and Cheshire County Councils, Manchester Education Committee and the University, the members were drawn from amongst the network of contacts, as had been the case previously. The table in Appendix 4.7 lists all of the non-representative men elected to the Council after 1893, with details of their occupations, nationality, whether or not they subscribed to the RMCM and the Gentlemen's Concerts, if they were Hallé guarantors, present at the dinner for Hallé, and their membership of organisations and associations. There were fifteen men, of whom five were merchants, two cotton manufacturers and four engineers. All but one gave an annual subscription to the RMCM, some prior to their election, others afterwards; nine subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts, and thirteen were guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society; six had been present at the dinner for Hallé. The affiliations with other organisations show an overlap with the key members of the Council.

²⁰² "Meeting of Council, 16 Mar. 10," *Council minute book no.2*, 47–49; *Appendices to minute books no.1*, fol.116v.; "Meeting of Council, 4 May 1910," *Council minute book no.2*, 50–51.

²⁰³ Wright and Waterhouse, *Catalogue*, 274.

²⁰⁴ Hallé, *Autobiography*, 158, 160.

²⁰⁵ J. Philip Newell, "A. J. Scott and his circle" (PhD dissertation, Edinburgh, 1981), 353.

²⁰⁶ For a complete list of names see Appendix 3.6.

There are several points to be drawn from these numbers: the continuing importance, well into the twentieth century, of personal contacts and thus the knowledge of what those who were being nominated could bring to the institution; a high level of support for, and interest in, music in Manchester; and, perhaps, a loyalty to the memory of Hallé. The women do not fit into the same categories as their male counterparts, although several were subscribers in their own right to the musical bodies.

The appointment of Mrs Lees as a member of the Council in 1894 to replace her husband was referred to earlier, as was her very generous financial support of the College. She was on the Council for forty years, her length of service exceeded amongst her contemporaries only by that of Gustav Behrens; she fulfilled the office of Vice-Chairman from 1914–1926, taking the chair when the Chairman was absent. Amongst other responsibilities Mrs Lees took an active role in discussions with Oldham Council, about its annual grant to the RCMC, and was a member of the deputation appointed to interview Salford Education Committee on behalf of the College.²⁰⁷ She was also appointed to the sub-committees which organised the Brodsky Quartet Concerts, and the coming-of-age celebrations. Mrs Lees was the first woman to be elected as a member of the RCMC Council and was joined subsequently by

Margaret E. Gaskell (1899–1913)²⁰⁸

Lady Donner (1906–1935)

Mrs Mark [Letitia] Ashton (1917–1943)

Mrs Norman [Blanche] Melland (1917–1919)

Miss Mary A. Johnstone, B.Sc. (1918–1938)

Mrs Arthur [Florence] Worthington (1918–1939)

All of them, with the exception of Mary Johnstone, were connected with the RCMC in some way prior to their appointment as Council members. As noted earlier in this chapter Miss Gaskell and Lady Donner were generous financial supporters of the RCMC from the beginning. Letitia Mary Ashton (1863–1943) was the widow of William Mark Ashton (Thomas Ashton's son), and daughter of

²⁰⁷ "Minutes of Council, 14 Oct 07," *Council minute book no.2*, 1–2; "Meeting of Council, 15 Dec 09," *ibid.*, 42.

²⁰⁸ The dates in brackets indicate the years of service as Council members.

William Kessler (one of the early donors); both Letitia and her father were initial guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society. Blanche Melland (née DuVal) was a student at the RMCM from 1894–1899, and the niece of Thomas B. Shimwell, a long-term RMCM supporter and Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor. Florence Worthington was the wife of solicitor Arthur H. Worthington whose brother William Barton Worthington had donated to the RMCM from 1898 to 1905, subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts and was a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society. It has not been possible to find any information to link Mary Anderson Johnstone (1866–1966) with the RMCM prior to her election as Council member in 1919. She was a teacher, sometime headmistress of the Central High School, Manchester, and author of several books on natural history.²⁰⁹

Conclusion

A number of conclusions may be drawn from this chapter. There was a significant group of people who were loyal supporters of the College over many years and several of them, including a number of Council members and officers, were particularly generous. With regard to the wider context, there was a strong correlation between support for the RMCM and links to the Gentlemen's Concerts and Hallé Concerts Society. This is not surprising as the musical interests of the people of Manchester, which it was hoped would underpin the establishment of a conservatoire, had been part of the discussions from the outset. For instance, Lord Derby, in sending his apologies for the meeting in October 1892, wrote that: 'neither money nor musical taste is wanting in Manchester...'²¹⁰ while Hallé, speaking at the Bolton meeting, 'trusted that ... those present would give practical expression to their interest in music...'.²¹¹ Subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts and the Hallé Concerts Society guarantors were likely to be foremost amongst those who had an interest in music.

During the quarter of a century from the mid-1890s to 1920 there were some changes in the types of supporters. Although the membership of the Council

²⁰⁹ "Obituaries. Mary Anderson Johnstone," *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* 179 (1968): 145.

²¹⁰ "The Manchester College of Music. Public meeting," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 11, 1892, 9.

²¹¹ "The College of Music, Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 29, 1892, 12.

continued to be comprised largely of existing business contacts and other similar connections, this was not the same for the subscribers, where the influence of networks which had been evident amongst the list of donors in 1892–93 began to dissipate from 1899 onwards. There were more women and, amongst the men, a wider range of occupations which reflected factors such as the involvement of students' parents.

The nature of the networks in operating in Manchester during the time period covered by this thesis, and how those who supported the RMCM were involved in them, will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

The significance of networks in the lives of the RMCM supporters

...while the individual artist-impresario or entrepreneur remained an important frontman for cultural ventures, he (and it was largely “he” ...) was invariably implicated in wider local networks of financial, social and political support.¹

Central to this thesis is the premise that the networks, both formal and informal, operating in and around Manchester in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were significant in affecting who became involved in supporting the RMCM. In the quote from Gunn at the head of this chapter, the description ‘individual artist-impresario or entrepreneur’ and ‘important frontman’ may be applied to Charles Hallé and the RMCM. As I have demonstrated in the preceding chapters, Hallé, and those who supported him in establishing the College and running it after his death, were reliant on their contacts in a wide range of networks to attract support. In this chapter I explore the networks, and who was part of them, in more detail in order to understand their significance to the story of the RMCM.

The concept of drawing on a network of contacts to support the scheme is in evidence from the beginning. Examples are: Behrens’ list of almost one hundred names on the sheet of paper with his note of the meeting with Hallé (see Chapter Two and Appendix 2.1); Broadfield’s reference to ‘any Schiller Anstalt men we have omitted’ and his suggestion of other names to be added to the list;² the wording of the invitation to the Town Hall meeting in December 1891: ‘I shall be glad if you can make it convenient to meet some friends, interested in music and musical education...’;³ and the list of ladies’ names given to George Murray, his request for more circulars and the compilation of his own list.⁴ There are later instances, such as the 1898 circulars sent specifically to ‘Subscribers of the Gentlemen’s, the Hallé, and the Brodsky Quartet Concerts’, discussed in Chapter Four.⁵ The expectation was that the nascent scheme would be

Note. Throughout this chapter the use of § next to a name indicates that the person concerned was on one of the 1891/92 lists but did not contribute financially.

¹ Gunn, “How Manchester is amused,” 112.

² E. J. Broadfield, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Nov 29, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2, 26.

³ Charles Hallé, *Letter*, Nov 28, 1891. RMCM/A/3/1, [1].

⁴ George Murray, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, [undated but the general chronology of the correspondence suggests c. May 20, 1892]. RMCM/A/1/3/98.

⁵ “Meeting of the Council, April 27th 1898,” *Council minute book no.1*, 173–74.

publicised by individuals making use of their personal contacts, gained through their involvement with the local networks. As Shapely says '...a web of contacts did mean that a potential web of influence existed'.⁶

Networks in general

The importance of networks in nineteenth-century society is remarked on by several commentators. For example, Gordon and Nair suggest that common membership of a matrix of civic, philanthropic, professional and business-related organisations provided opportunities for frequent encounters, and reflected and reinforced shared interests, thereby fostering friendships, greasing the wheels of business transactions and advancing professional careers.⁷ Gunn speaks of the "elites" of large capitalist and professional men being bound into a broader urban social formation 'in a variety of material ways: by ties of business and religion, marriage and kinship, political and economic interest'.⁸ Trainor's description is of the coherence of urban elites being fostered by 'the educational institutions, family ties and social activities that many leaders shared'; he also makes the point that '...leaders of voluntary and public institutions frequently collaborated on key projects...' which is certainly the case amongst the people in this study.⁹

Networks in Manchester

Almost without exception, any work about Manchester in the nineteenth century refers to the networks, connections and relationships between those most closely involved with the establishment of its organisations, institutions and associations. In Gunn's study of the city's middle class in the third quarter of the century he writes that '...it was the interlocking nature of sectoral, economic and social interests, deriving from patterns of investment, business management and kinship among others, that was evident in Victorian Manchester'.¹⁰ Robert Kargon, referring to the history of science, comments that 'all the institutions drew for sustenance on the same group of patrons...for leadership upon the

⁶ Shapely, *Charity and power*, 91.

⁷ Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public lives: women, family and society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 32.

⁸ Simon Gunn, "The failure of the Victorian middle class," in *The culture of capital: art, power and the nineteenth-century middle class*, ed. Janet Wolff and John Seed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 31.

⁹ Trainor, "Urban elites," 7, 8.

¹⁰ Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 30.

same small elite which figured so largely in the cultural life of the city'.¹¹ Janet Wolff, who also writes about science and the connections to manufacturing and culture, notes that '...it is not difficult to record the keen involvement in the arts by many of the bankers, merchants and manufacturers in the city throughout the nineteenth century, as well as their influential role in establishing each of Manchester's important cultural institutions',¹² and the historians of the Portico Library point out that 'throughout [its] history some [proprietors] were members of Manchester's many intellectual and cultural societies as well as the Portico'.¹³

The table in Appendix 5.1 provides a complete list of the people linked with the RMCM and their membership of Manchester's institutions. The picture it portrays is one of a web of interconnectedness; I contend that it was involvement across the whole range of organisations and situations through which most of the people concerned encountered each other multiple times, and this was the key to who might be approached to support new projects such as the establishment of the RMCM. In this chapter I examine the various networks to which the people in this study belonged by providing some context about each category, describing the organisations which comprised them, and then detailing who was involved.

Business and the professions

The two major business organisations in the city were the Royal Exchange and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. An informal cotton exchange had been in operation since the 1720s and 'for two hundred and forty years the centre of the most important aspect of Manchester's life remained the Exchange'.¹⁴ Farnie, quoting W. C. Taylor, describes it being 'generally recognized as "the parliament house of the lords of cotton" and as the real heart of the city rather than the town hall or the cathedral'.¹⁵ The principal function of the Exchange was the buying and selling of cotton goods but it also provided 'an essential medium of communication concerning all aspects of local and international

¹¹ Robert H. Kargon, *Science in Victorian Manchester: enterprise and expertise* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1977), 30.

¹² Wolff, "Calico connections," 19.

¹³ Brooks and Haworth, *Portico*, 37.

¹⁴ D. A. Farnie, "An index of commercial activity: the membership of the Manchester Royal Exchange 1809–1848," *Business History* XXI (1979): 97.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

trade, making it essential that all those involved in the industry should either attend regularly or send representatives...'.¹⁶

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce began life as a “Commercial Society” founded in 1794, consisting of merchants and manufacturers trading with continental Europe. It appears to have become moribund c.1801 and was reconstructed as the Chamber of Commerce in 1820.¹⁷ According to Wilson and Singleton the Chamber of Commerce was a central institution linking the regional business community which, although its membership was dominated by the cotton industry and especially cotton merchants, brought together the elites of most local industries and services,¹⁸ and was one of the most active and influential trade organizations.¹⁹ A significant feature of the Chamber of Commerce is that it encompassed the whole range of Manchester’s economy – manufacturing, engineering, banking and legal services – but ‘the links between cotton and other sectors of the industrial and commercial economy remained close for most of the century, sustained by complex networks of inter-sectoral interest’.²⁰ The total of 139 members of the Royal Exchange and ninety-four of the Chamber of Commerce who were linked with the RMCM demonstrate the central role that the two organisations played in the networks of business men in particular, and to whom the founders might look for support. The names in Table 5.1 below are those who contributed to, or were involved with, the RMCM between 1892 and 1920; a complete list, including the men who were approached for support in 1891–93, is in Appendix 5.1.

¹⁶ John F. Wilson and John Singleton, “The Manchester industrial district, 1750–1939: clustering, network and performance,” in *Industrial clusters and regional business networks in England, 1750–1970*, ed. John F. Wilson and Andrew Popp, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2017), 50.

¹⁷ See Elijah Helm, *Chapters in the history of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, [1902]). [1902].

¹⁸ Wilson and Singleton, “The Manchester industrial district.”

¹⁹ Gwyn Pilkington, “Manchester’s merchants,” in Brindley, *The soul of Manchester*, 216.

²⁰ Gunn, “The Manchester middle class,” 73–74.

	Royal Exchange	Chamber of Commerce
Frank Adam	X	X
William Agnew		X
Bernhard Alexander	X	X
Benjamin Armitage		X
Charles Arning	X	X
Ludwig Aron	X	
Frederick J. Astbury	X	X
Arthur J. Balfour	X	
Ralph Bates	X	
Walter Beer	X	
Cyril H. Beever ^s	X	
Charles Behrens	X	
Emil Behrens	X	X
Gustav Behrens	X	X
Alfred T. Bentley		X
James B. Bindloss	X	
Abraham Bles		X
David S. Bles	X	
Samuel D. Bles		X
James Boyd	X	X
John Boyd	X	
Edward J. Broadfield		X
Edward T. Broadhurst		X
William Brimelow	X	
Thomas Bromley	X	
Richard H. Brooks	X	
William C. Brooks	X	X
Karl Brunnschweiler		X
Walter Butterworth		X
John L. Carr	X	
John B. Close-Brooks	X	
Max E. Cohen	X	
James C. Cross	X	
Juliana Curtis	X	
Herbert Dorning	X	
Thomas Dreydel	X	
Gustav Eckhard	X	X
William Eller	X	
Alfred Emmott	X	X
Frederick J. Faraday	X	X
Walter Flinn	X	
Isidor Frankenburg		X
Joseph Fry	X	
William J. Galloway		X
Andrew A. Gillies		X
Thomas Glaister	X	X
Francis Godlee	X	
William Goldthorpe		X
George Gray	X	
(Ernest) William Grommé	X	
Heinrich Louis Grommé	X	

	Royal Exchange	Chamber of Commerce
Alfred Güterbock	X	
Edwin Guthrie	X	X
Charles Hähnel	X	
John S. Hancock	X	
John Harwood	X	
John P. Haslam	X	
Sigismund Helm	X	X
David Q. Henriques	X	
Frederick M. Hertz	X	X
Frank R. Hesse	X	
Charles J. Heywood	X	
Edward S. Heywood	X	
Thomas E. Higham	X	
Semmy Hinrichsen	X	X
Alfred Hopkinson		X
William H. Houldsworth	X	X
Charles Hughes	X	X
Alexander J. Hunter	X	
William B. Huntington	X	
James Jardine	X	
Edward W. Joynson	X	
Moritz Kalisch	X	
(Jacob P.) William Kessler	X	X
Louis von Knoop	X	
James M. Leake	X	
Bosdin T. Leech	X	X
Emil Liebert	X	X
David Little	X	
John W. Maclure		X
Adolph H. Mahler		X
Goodman C. Mandleberg		X
Charles Marx		X
Rupert Mason	X	
William Mather	X	X
Frank Merriman	X	
Ruben N. Michaelis		X
George Musgrave	X	
Percy Musgrave	X	
Frederick P. Nathan	X	
George H. Newton	X	
Albert Nicholson	X	
Francis J. Norbury	X	
John T. Petrocokino	X	X
Samuel R. Platt	X	X
Herbert Radcliffe	X	
James A. Reiss	X	
Robert F. Riddick	X	
Max E. Robinow	X	
Herman A. Rodhe	X	
Charles A. Roskill	X	X
George H. Scantlebury	X	
Maurice Schlesinger	X	

	Royal Exchange	Chamber of Commerce
James Shepherd	X	
Henry Simon		X
Herbert H. Smith-Carington		X
Edgar F. Steinthal	X	
John E. Taylor	X	
Nicolai P. Thamsen	X	
Alfred Topp	X	
John Voss	X	
George Walthew	X	X
Adolphus W. Ward	X	
Alfred Wenner	X	X
Frank Whitworth		X
Edward Wihl	X	X
Harry Bland Wood	X	
Theodore P. Ziegler		X

Table 5.1. Members of the Royal Exchange and Manchester Chamber of Commerce

The complex networks within business circles are further embodied in examples of cross-investment and directorships on the boards of other companies. One such is described by Berghoff who writes that ‘quite a number of Manchester entrepreneurs additionally sat on the board of one of the local banks, like the cotton manufacturer, merchant, insurance and bank as well as multiple railway director Sir Edward T. Broadhurst’.²¹ This is one example; from the 1830s through to the late nineteenth century, the city’s cotton employers were to have ‘a controlling stake in a large part of Manchester’s banking system’.²² There were other professions which were also part of the networks of industrial capital. Gunn mentions the architects who were responsible for designing warehouses and mills, and the lawyers who relied on manufacturers and merchants for the majority of their business (and often had a direct stake in industrial or commercial concerns themselves).²³

Amongst the names on the contact lists, and those who supported the RMCM, several were shareholders in companies such the Manchester Coffee Tavern Company, the Manchester Crematorium Company, the Manchester Ship Canal and the Public Hall Company. This would have brought them together in shareholders’ and board meetings.

²¹ Hartmut Berghoff, "Regional variations in provincial business biography: the case of Birmingham, Bristol and Manchester, 1870–1914," *Business History* 37 (1995): 73.

²² Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 77.

²³ *Ibid.*, 77–78.

	Coffee Tavern Co.	Crematorium Co.	Ship Canal	Public Hall Co.
Samuel Armitage				X
Charles Behrens			X	
Gustav Behrens	X	X	X	
James Boyd	X			
John F. Cheetham				X
William J. Crossley			X	
Thomas W. Gillibrand				X
Edwin Guthrie			X	
Sigismund Helm	X			
Thomas C. Horsfall		X		
Bosdin T. Leech			X	
Charles E. Lees				X
Anthony Marshall			X	
Samuel R. Platt				X
James B. Shaw		X		
Henry Simon		X		
Frederick Smallman		X		
Joseph Thompson				X
John Youatt				

Table 5.2. Shareholders.

There were also partnerships, employer-employee, and business-customer relationships; an example of the latter was the Agnew family of art dealers whose clients included the Ashton family and Charles Lees. This theme of interconnectedness between business and the professions is explored by Wolff and Seed:

Notions of the professional middle class as an almost watertight social compartment, contiguous with but separate from industrialists and merchants cannot be sustained. Doctors and lawyers were often deeply imbricated in the circuits of industrial capital, investing in local business, involving themselves in the property market, interconnected with local firms by family and marriage, and so on...

The middle class in northern industrial towns was not a group of male 'entrepreneurs', but a complex and variegated social grouping, in which manufacturing, commercial and professional functions were socially articulated in complicated but largely unexplored ways.²⁴

There were other quasi-business and -professional situations which offered opportunities for meeting and socialising. For example, a number were local councillors, while several men were appointed as magistrates and others

²⁴ Janet Wolff and John Seed, "Introduction," in *The culture of capital: art, power and the nineteenth-century middle class*, ed. Janet Wolff and John Seed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 6–7.

served as members of Grand Juries.²⁵ Another facet of the history of nineteenth-century Manchester is that of the development of the posts of consuls to represent the interests of foreign countries. The city's importance as a pioneer of the Industrial Revolution created trade links worldwide and attracted the interest of foreign governments; historically, Manchester has had the largest number of consuls outside London.²⁶ According to Fox, the first consuls were appointed to Manchester in the 1820s, a statement he corroborates with reference to Scholes' *Manchester foreign merchants* and Edward Baines' *History and Directory*.²⁷ A number of the consuls (including Hallé) is in the RMCM lists.²⁸

Walter Beer	Paraguay, Consul, 1898–1929
Charles Behrens	Mexico, Consul, 1891–92
Abraham Bles	Netherlands, Vice-Consul, 1901–1909
David Bles	Netherlands, Vice-Consul, 1880–1899
Marcus S. Bles	Netherlands, Vice-Consul, 1910–20
Edward Brunner	Russia, Consul, 1902–12
Charles Hallé	Venezuela, Consul, 1856–67
William Kessler	Belgium, Consul, 1860–1881
Emil Liebert	Prussia, Vice-Consul, 1866; German Empire, Consul, 1869–1896

Additionally, consuls amongst the subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts and Hallé Concerts Society guarantors were:

Ephraim Ascoli	Guatemala, Consul, 1879–84
Sigmund Baerlein	Sweden and Norway, Vice-Consul, 1883–1906, Norway, Vice-Consul, 1906–7
Charles F. Collmann	Germany, Consul, 1896–1900
Siegmund Oppenheim	Austria and Hungary, Consul, 1893–1912
Salis Simon	Sweden, Consul, 1909–14
Thomas R. Wilkinson	Ottoman Empire, Vice-Consul, 1882–1896

²⁵ For example, the list of those appointed to serve as members of the Grand Jury at Manchester Crown Court in February 1895 includes the names of several associated with the RMCM: Sir W. H. Houldsworth, C. J. Heywood, Fritz Reiss, C. F. Worrall; and others who had been on the original lists of contacts – J. A. Beith, John Galloway. "Manchester Assizes. Crown Court," *Manchester Evening News*, Feb 25, 1895, 3.

²⁶ David John Fox, *Manchester Consuls* (Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2007), vii, 1.

²⁷ Scholes, *Manchester foreign merchants*; Edward Baines, *History, directory, and gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster, vol. II* (Liverpool: Wm. Wales & Co., 1825).

²⁸ All of the information about the Consuls is taken from Fox, *Manchester Consuls*.

A Union of the Consular Body in Manchester, later renamed the Manchester Consular Association, was set up in April 1882, and was the oldest in Britain.²⁹ Its first event was a banquet, held on 24 May that year, after which it became an annual gathering; the first formal Annual General Meeting took place on 18 April 1883. These meetings and dinners, along with business interactions on behalf of the respective consulates, provide another example of an environment for personal interactions.

Members of professions, such as engineers, doctors, architects and lawyers, were involved in societies and associations; local meetings and annual dinners of such groups all offered possibilities for being in contact.³⁰ Examples of such professional organisations include the Manchester and District Society of Incorporated Accountants, Manchester Association of Engineers, Manchester Law Society, Manchester Medical Society, Manchester Society of Architects and the Society of Chemical Industry (Manchester Section). The list of donors in Appendix C includes details of individuals' professions and occupations.

The balance of professions and occupations changed and became more diverse over the thirty years from 1891 to 1920, as shown below in Table 5.3. As discussed in Chapter Four this was owing, in part, to the addition of the parents of RMCM students as subscribers, as well as a move away from the networks which had been significant in the initial phases of the project. Nevertheless, the numbers of cotton manufacturers and merchants, general and shipping merchants remained high throughout, pointing again to the significance of personal contacts as one of the factors in attracting and retaining support for the RMCM.

²⁹ Ibid., 1,

³⁰ "Manchester Incorporated Law Association. Annual dinner," *Manchester Courier*, Feb 7, 1900, 3. The President, Mr C. L. Samson, was a cousin of Gustav Behrens; he subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts and was a Hallé guarantor.

Occupation/Profession	1891/2 lists	Donors 1892/3	Donors 1898	Donors 1899/1920
Accountant	3	5	7	5
Actor		1		
Architect ³¹	1			
Art dealer	3	1	2	1
Banker	6	6	6	4
Bleacher	1	6	7	1
Book-keeper			1	
Bookseller			1	1
Brewer				1
Calico printer	4	1	1	1
Cashier				2
Chemist, industrial	1			
Chiropodist				1
Civil servant		2	1	
Clergy	3	3	2	
Clerk				1
Cloth/yarn agent	1	2	3	1
Coal/colliery	2	1	1	2
Company director				2
Cotton manufacturer/spinner	23	18	24	22
Cotton mill manager				1
Cotton/ cotton yarn merchant	15	4	9	17
Dentist				1
Doctor/surgeon	5	6	9	9
Draper			1	1
Dyer	1			1
Engineer	8	5	9	13
Furniture dealer			1	1
Grocer/drysalter	1			1
Hotel proprietor			1	1
Independent means	6	7	10	7
Insurance/Stockbroker	2	2	4	3
Jeweller/Goldsmith			1	1
Journalist	3	2	4	4
Land agent/property manager/ estate agent	2		1	
Legal: barrister/solicitor	16	7	8	10
M.P.	7	1	1	
Manufacturer (not cotton)	5	5	4	15
Merchant (not cotton)	26	18	26	29
Music seller	1	3	2	1
Musical instrument maker		1	1	1
Musician	7		2	14
Musician (RMCM staff)				3
Newspaper editor/proprietor	3	3	3	2
Painter	1			
Printer		2	3	3
Produce broker		1	1	-

³¹ The architect was Edward Salomons who didn't support the RMCM financially but was its architectural advisor from 1892 until his death in 1906.

Occupation/Profession	1891/2 lists	Donors 1892/3	Donors 1898	Donors 1899/1920
Provision merchant			2	1
Railway director	1			
Restaurant proprietor			1	
School teacher	1	2	1	2
Sewing machine agent			1	1
Shipping merchant	9	9	12	16
Silk manufacturer			1	1
Silk mercer	1	1	2	1
Sugar refiner	1			
University staff	5	3	3	7

Table 5.3. Donors' occupations and professions, 1898–1920.

(The numbers in the 1899/1920 column indicate the total number from that occupation/profession who donated between those years, not that they donated every year.)

Social (formal). Associations, clubs, institutions and societies³²

...club life, philanthropic associations and cultural institutions were important spaces for social association, providing links outside the narrow circles of immediate business associates and family and church.³³

The large number of these organisations which were established in Manchester during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is another phenomenon remarked on by commentators. Clubs and societies were founded for a variety of purposes, including business, cultural and leisure pursuits. They gave men access to business networks and political contacts,³⁴ facilitated the development of personal and professional connections between those who moved at certain social levels,³⁵ and provided them with a way in to the social life of the city.³⁶ Club membership emphasised a set of shared characteristics – sociability, networking collective norms and values.³⁷ It was common for men to be members of multiple clubs, thus increasing the opportunities for networking and a wider group of contacts and this is borne out in the subjects of this study.³⁸ The total number of members of each organisation described here is

³² Political associations and clubs are considered in the section on Politics; those with a specific national foundation, such as the Schiller-Anstalt, are examined in the section on Nationality.

³³ John Seed, "'Commerce and the liberal arts': the political economy of art in Manchester, 1775–1860," in Wolff and Seed, *The culture of capital*, 66.

³⁴ Alexandra Mitchell, "Middle-class masculinity in clubs and associations: Manchester and Liverpool, 1800–1914" (PhD dissertation, Manchester University, 2011), 12, 92.

³⁵ Carole O'Reilly, "Professional identity and social capital: the personal networks of Victorian popular journalists," *The Wilkie Collins Journal* 16 (2019), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26996134>.

³⁶ Gunn, *Public culture*, 93.

³⁷ O'Reilly, "Professional identity."

³⁸ Ibid.

shown in Table 5.x; the names of those who belonged to each are listed in Appendix 5.1.

Athenaeum	10
'Lit and Phil'	29
Literary Club	20
Portico Library	46
Royal Manchester Institution	45
Geographical Society	77
Statistical Society	39

Table 5.4. Donors' membership of institutions and societies.

Although the various organisations operated at different levels, and were established for different purposes, all were based on a membership model of some description which was almost exclusively male. Mitchell suggests there is no evidence that women and the family were excluded from club life – men were able to take family guests to events such as lectures at the Royal Manchester Institution – but for most of the century women did not hold memberships in their own right.³⁹ An exception to this was the Manchester Geographical Society which permitted women to be admitted as members on the same basis as men from the outset. The first lady member of the Lit & Phil was elected in 1900.⁴⁰

The Manchester Athenaeum for the Advancement and Diffusion of Knowledge (the Athenaeum) was founded in 1835 as 'an institution for literary, political and scientific uses...'.⁴¹ However, according to Gunn, by the mid-1860s it was increasingly being depicted as a 'middle-class club' rather than a centre for education and improvement, owing to its billiard room, restaurant and newsroom.⁴² The author of a commemorative booklet about the institution, published in 1903, writes that it

³⁹ Mitchell, "Middle-class masculinity," 89–90.

⁴⁰ D. [Donald] S. L. Cardwell, "Two centuries of the Manchester Lit. and Phil.," *Manchester Memoirs* 1 (New Series) (1980–81): 135.

⁴¹ Stephen J. Milner, "Manufacturing the Renaissance: modern merchant princes and the origins of the Manchester Dante Society," in *Culture in Manchester: institutions and urban change since 1850*, ed. Janet Wolff and Mike Savage (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 64; John J. Parkinson-Bailey, *Manchester an architectural history* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 66.

⁴² Gunn, *Public culture*, 88.

has always been fortunate in securing for itself the hearty and generous sympathies of the ablest and best of Manchester's energetic citizens. It is they who were concerned in founding it, they have been conspicuous in shaping its affairs...; and their names are plentiful in the long roll of its members.⁴³

The Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society (the Lit & Phil) was the oldest of Manchester's intellectual societies, with its first official meeting taking place on 28 February 1781 at the Cross Street Chapel.⁴⁴ It was, by its constitution and governing conception, a society for the cultural elite.⁴⁵ The three leaders of the new Society were all Unitarians, a fact which is frequently referred to by historians of nineteenth-century Manchester as underlining the significant role played by members of the denomination, and the Cross Street chapel in particular, in the intellectual and cultural life of the city.⁴⁶

The Manchester Literary Club was founded in 1862 and, alongside the primary objects of encouraging the pursuit of literature and art, promoting research and protecting the interests of authors in Lancashire, its stated purpose was to provide a place of meeting 'where persons interested in the furtherance of these objects can associate together.'⁴⁷ By the mid-1880s the rules stipulated that membership should be limited to 'authors, journalists, men of letters, painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, musical composers, members of the learned professions and of English and foreign universities, librarians, and generally persons engaged or specially interested in literary or artistic pursuits'.⁴⁸ In common with other associations or societies, a person wishing to join had to be nominated by one or more existing members; another indication of the importance of networks.

The Portico Library was established in 1806, as a combined library, newsroom and reading room, by 400 founding members who each subscribed for a share and was also liable for a yearly subscription. In 1806 the subscribers, or

⁴³ Manchester Athenaeum, *The Manchester Athenaeum* (Manchester: Geo. W. Pilkington, 1903), 9.

⁴⁴ "Our history," *Manchester Lit & Phil*, 2015–2021, accessed July 17, 2024, <https://www.manlitphil.ac.uk/about-us/our-history/>; Cardwell, "Two centuries," 123.

⁴⁵ Kargon, *Science*, 29.

⁴⁶ For an account see Seed, "Unitarianism."

⁴⁷ "Rules," *Transactions of the Manchester Literary Club I* (1874–5): 144.

⁴⁸ "Rules," *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club XI* (1885): 453.

proprietors, consisted mainly of merchants, manufacturers and those whose businesses were in textiles,⁴⁹ but there was also a group drawn from the professions, including a number of lawyers.⁵⁰ Writing in 1877, Axon describes the Portico as 'a social as well as a literary institution, and may perhaps be regarded as an early type of that luxury of civilization, the modern clubhouse'.⁵¹ Its members were of various political persuasions and religious affiliations, although it was known to have a strong Unitarian connection.⁵² Prior to the introduction of the Married Women's Property Act in 1870 there were no female members although women did make use of it through their husband's subscription, the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell being one example.⁵³ By 1903, the list of proprietors included twenty women, comprising five percent of the membership.⁵⁴

The history of the Royal Manchester Institution (R.M.I.) is narrated in several sources.⁵⁵ It was established in 1823 with a membership structure of hereditary governors, some life members and annual subscribers.⁵⁶ The opportunity to become a member/governor was open between 1823 and 1827; after that date membership was conferred either through inheritance or election by a three-quarter majority of the governors present at an annual meeting.⁵⁷ In its early days, the R.M.I. was viewed as a forum for business and social networking at a

⁴⁹ Ann Brooks, "The Portico Library and newsroom: analysis of the membership 1806–1903" (M.A. Thesis, Manchester Polytechnic, 1992), 59.

⁵⁰ Higgins, "The Portico Library."

⁵¹ William E. A. [Edward Armytage] Axon, *Handbook of the Public Libraries of Manchester and Salford* (Manchester: Abel Heywood and Son, 1877), 9.

⁵² Brooks and Haworth, *Portico*, 38.

⁵³ "About the Portico. Our history," The Portico Library, 2021, accessed July 17, 2024, <https://www.theportico.org.uk/about>.

⁵⁴ Brooks and Haworth, *Portico*, 34.

⁵⁵ S. D. Cleveland, *The Royal Manchester Institution* (Manchester: Manchester Corporation Council, 1931); W.G. Sutherland, *The R.M.I. (Royal Manchester Institution): its origin its character and its aims* (Manchester: Royal Manchester Institution, 1945); R. F. Bud, "The Royal Manchester Institution," in *Artisan to graduate: essays to commemorate the foundation in 1824 of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution*, ed. D. [Donald] S. L. Cardwell (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), 119–133; Stuart Macdonald, "The Royal Manchester Institution," in *Art and architecture in Victoria Manchester: ten illustrations of patronage and practice*, ed. John H. G. Archer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 28–45; Moore, *High culture*, 65–94.

⁵⁶ Hereditary governors paid forty guineas on joining, plus one guinea a year (or they could pay a lump sum of sixty guineas); a few life members paid the forty guinea lump sum; annual subscribers paid three guineas a year. In October 2024, forty guineas, as paid in the 1820s, was worth approximately £3,430. <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

⁵⁷ Bud, "The Royal Manchester Institution," 121.

time when there were few other opportunities. Throughout its history there was significant overlap between its membership and that of other city institutions.

Four of the earliest members of the Statistical Society were members of the current committee of the Royal Manchester Institution. The first committee of the Institution contained the president, secretary and treasurer of the chamber of commerce, as well as two of its directors. This link continued until the end of the century.⁵⁸

By the 1890s, when the RMCM was established, the R.M.I. had been taken over by the city council but the pattern of hereditary governorships was still in place and it is these which account for most of the people from the RMCM lists, although there were also several who joined as annual members in 1906.

The other two societies being considered here were a different type of organisation. When the RMCM was founded in the 1890s, the Manchester Geographical Society was one of the newer societies to have been established in the city. It was constituted at a meeting held in October 1884 for that purpose, with the first official meeting taking place on 27 January 1885 when 320 names were enrolled on the list of members.⁵⁹ In his speech to the inaugural meeting Jacob Bright, M.P. emphasised the role that the Society could play in enriching the intellectual life of Manchester.⁶⁰ The significance of the members knowing each other in a variety of fora is underlined by Brown: 'An additional factor is that, being essentially a local body whose members often met in the course of ordinary business, a social side complementary to the geographical, began to grow up and to give the Society a character all of its own.'⁶¹ Other than the Royal Exchange, the Chamber of Commerce and the Gentlemen's Concerts, this is the society with the most people who were either approached to, or did, support the RMCM.

The Manchester Statistical Society was founded in 1833 by 'a group of friends...all men of philanthropic and literary taste, and all connected in some

⁵⁸ Ibid., 124.

⁵⁹ "Proposed Geographical Society for Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 16, 1884, 3.

⁶⁰ "Manchester Geographical Society. Speeches of Lord Aberdare, Mr Jacob Bright, and Mr A. Arnold," *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 28, 1885, 6.

⁶¹ Brown, *Manchester Geographical Society*, 14.

degree with local industry or banking'.⁶² Its purpose, as stated in the first Annual Report, was for 'the discussion of subjects of political and social economy, and for the promotion of statistical inquiries, to the total exclusion of party politics'.⁶³ The occupations of its members were diverse and included the cotton industry, clergy (established church and nonconformist), medicine and banking. Elesh draws attention to the remarkable number of kinship connections between the founders, as well as overlapping membership of various societies.⁶⁴ The difference between these two societies and the others was that they had a practical focus which was of particular interest to the merchants, businessmen and professionals which might explain the relatively high number of members. The total numbers of members of each institution/society described above was as follows:

The foregoing institutions and societies were all concerned with intellectual purposes, although they offered many opportunities for socialising and networking. Gunn uses the term 'Clubland' to refer to the growing number of open clubs and societies whose purpose was to provide an arena for eating, drinking and socialising for middle-class men.⁶⁵ Yet even within that category there were different forms of sociability and diverse cultural styles. For instance, Gunn describes how clubs such as the Brasenose, which combined cultural interests with a jovial and inclusive sociability, distinguished themselves from more elite institutions, like the Union, as well as the professional scientific societies.⁶⁶ The two clubs mentioned here are the most significant for the supporters of the RMCM, with forty-two being members of the Brasenose and ninety of the Union. See Appendix 5.1 for the names of those belonging to these clubs.

The Brasenose Club was founded in 1869 to 'promote the association of gentlemen of Literary, Scientific or Artistic Professions, Pursuits, or Tastes', with

⁶² T. S. [Thomas Southcliffe] Ashton, *Economic and social investigations in Manchester: a centenary history of the Manchester Statistical Society* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1977), 4.

⁶³ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁴ David Elesh, "The Manchester Statistical Society," *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences* VIII (1972): 284–286.

⁶⁵ Gunn, *Public culture*, 84.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

Hallé being one of its founder members.⁶⁷ It was to be a club in which ‘there would not be too much respectability or too much wealth, but in which there would be good fellowship’.⁶⁸ Russell describes it as an all-male club which was ‘a centre of “cultured bohemianism” where actors held court and Hallé members gave informal concerts amidst cigarette smoke and lively drinking, [providing] a distinctively gendered element to elite culture’.⁶⁹ In the context of this thesis it is worth quoting a section from a history of the Club which provides a more detailed insight into the importance of music in its life, as hinted at by Russell.

One of the qualifications for membership is a love of music, or “musical tastes”. As a matter of course, music has played a prominent part in the entertainments; and the hospitality of the Club has frequently been extended to distinguished musicians and composers. It was not until the “eighties” that professional music was introduced as a prominent item in the social gatherings. The string quartet concerts have become very popular under the auspices of a musical committee... On one memorable occasion Sir Charles Hallé delighted his fellow members with a pianoforte recital... he seemed inspired, and played with the knowledge that he was in the presence of an artistic and appreciative audience... This was one of those artistic treats which fulfil the *raison d’être* of the Club, and it constituted an event memorable in its annals.⁷⁰

One such visiting musician was Charles Villiers Stanford, whose presence on February 24 1886 occasioned the attendance at the club of Edward Broadfield and musicians Henry Hiles, Max Mayer and Henry Watson.⁷¹

Rhona Beenstock singles out the Brasenose for its significance in the life of RCM architect, Edward Salomons, who was also one of the founder members of the club with Hallé.⁷² In her article Beenstock highlights the broad network of social and club affiliations which overlapped Salmons’ professional life, but places particular emphasis on this club which Salomons himself acknowledged as a place where he saw many friends, amongst whom Hallé probably featured. Given that the stated purpose of the club was to promote the association of gentlemen of ‘Literary, Scientific or Artistic Professions, Pursuits, or Tastes’, and

⁶⁷ “The Lion” [Alfred Darbyshire], *A chronicle of the Brasenose Club Manchester*, ed. Jackal (Manchester: Guardian Printing Works, 1892), 94.

⁶⁸ Gunn, *Public culture*, 89.

⁶⁹ Russell, “Culture, media and sport,” 266.

⁷⁰ *A chronicle of the Brasenose Club Manchester*, 56–57.

⁷¹ Alfred Darbyshire, *An architect’s experiences: professional, artistic and theatrical* (Manchester: J. E. Cornish, 1897), 101.

⁷² Beenstock, “Edward Salomons — a sociable architect,” 90.

the acknowledged importance of a love of music or musical tastes as a qualification for membership, an insight is gained into why Salomons (a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts) and others were members, and why they could be drawn into supporting the college of music.

Manchester's Union Club was set up in 1825 as a social club; its prospectus stated that 'it is proposed to establish in Manchester a Club-house where Gentlemen may at any time be provided, in a superior manner and at a moderate charge with Provisions, Wines, etc., ... on the plan of similar Establishments in London'.⁷³ According to Gunn, Union Clubs were designed to attract the male elite on the basis of wealth, not political or sectarian affiliation, with a strong emphasis on comfort and privacy in purpose-built clubhouses.⁷⁴ Describing a later era Katherine Chorley recalls that 'when the businessmen reached Manchester [after their train journey from places such as Alderley Edge] they all dispersed to their several offices and factories, but they met again for lunch at the Union Club'.⁷⁵ The members of the Union Club came from a fairly wide range of occupations and professions, but cotton manufacturers, cotton, general and shipping merchants predominated. They were the wealthy male elite businessmen described by Gunn and Chorley, who encountered each other in a variety of places; many were also connected with the Royal Exchange and the Chamber of Commerce. This club was one facet of the multiplicity of networks.

The other type of association in existence was that of Freemasonry. The significance of fraternal and benevolent associations providing some of the most powerful and influential networking systems is highlighted by Roger Burt.⁷⁶ He suggests that 'they have been shown to be capable of bridging the filial, religious, political, and social structures on which other networks were commonly based and to have been highly influential in the promotion of civic engagement and the formation of social capital'. There were a number of lodges

⁷³ "Records of the Union Club Manchester," *National Archives [Discovery]*, accessed July 18, 2024, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/f6015bf4-5cb1-4d31-994d-18113e807b14>.

⁷⁴ Gunn, *Public culture*, 87.

⁷⁵ Chorley, *Manchester made them*, 135.

⁷⁶ Roger Burt, "Freemasonry and business networking during the Victorian period," *Economic History Review* LVI (2003): 658.

in the Manchester area and a search of the records has revealed that several of the men connected with the RCMC were freemasons (listed below in Table 5.3).⁷⁷ It is in the context of Burt's assertion that I suggest membership of a lodge may be viewed as one more element in the network of contacts.

Name of Lodge (Location) ⁷⁸	Name	Year admitted
Affability	Edward Wihl	1883
Antiquity (Bolton)	Thomas Glaister	1856
Architect (Withington)	Cyril Beever [§]	1888
Arthur Sullivan ⁷⁹	William Goldthorpe	1886
	Henry Watson ⁸⁰	1896
Ashton (Withington)	Henry Vollmer	1870
Callender (Rusholme)	John W. Maclure	1866
Cordwainer Ward (London)	Harry C. Hirschhorn	1892
Derby (Cheetham)	John W. Addleshaw [§]	1866
Fortitude	James Heelis [§]	1883
	John Leresche [§]	1863
	John W. Maclure	1889
	Fritz Reiss	1892
	Edward Salomons	1860
Humphrey Chetham	Edward A. Eason	1893
Peace (Stockport)	William Goldthorpe	1865
Social	James Heelis [§]	1875
	Daniel J. Leech [§]	1881
	Fritz Reiss	1887
	Alexander B. Rowley [§]	1875
	Edward Salomons	1858
Star in the East (Calcutta)	John Petrocokino	1888
Travellers	Thomas Craven	1887
	John W. Maclure	1869
	Edward Salomons	1873
	Thomas Sowler, jun. [§]	1892
Unity (Crewe)	Edward Salomons	1861
Worsley Lodge (Worsley)	John S. Burrows ⁸¹	1882
Yarborough	Max Hesse [§]	1865

Table 5.5. Members of masonic lodges.

⁷⁷ "United Grand Lodge of England Freemason Membership Registers, 1751–1921," *Ancestry*, 2015, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/collections/60620/>.

⁷⁸ The location of the lodge is Manchester unless indicated otherwise.

⁷⁹ Martin Thacker, "Sullivan: The Manchester connection," *Manchester Sounds* 2 (2001): 110.

⁸⁰ I am grateful to Professor Barbara L. Kelly for drawing my attention to Watson's membership of the lodge.

⁸¹ Donated in 1914 only.

Burt's assertion, quoted below, that the fraternal relationship should be seen in the wider context of overlapping systems, is an apt summation of the preceding discussion.

It may never be possible clearly to attribute any particular commercial, social, political, or legal arrangement between members, simply and entirely to their fraternal relationship. Such relationships must be seen within the much wider context of overlapping filial, religious, and professional networking systems and local socio-cultural relationships.⁸²

Informal social, family and friends

The middle-class leaders of each organisation were either the same people or were from a network of people who operated in the same social milieu... Links.... were reinforced by the intermixing of patrons at Conversaciones, 'At Homes', soirees, concerts and other social events of Manchester's cultural scene.⁸³

Links through family and close friendships are discussed below but there is plenty of evidence of other types of informal social networks in Manchester, and that those involved with the RMCM were part of them. For instance, the letters of Elizabeth Gaskell and her daughters are full of references to social interactions. Bill Williams describes the house in Plymouth Grove as being 'one social centre for German families, Jewish as well as non-Jewish, although particularly those, like Salis Schwabe, linked with the Cross Street Unitarian Chapel...'.⁸⁴ Although this refers to an earlier time period (Elizabeth Gaskell died in 1865) the hospitality was continued into the twentieth century by the two Miss Gaskells, 'great hostesses and notable ladies of an older day',⁸⁵ who 'kept open house for generations of *Guardian* men'.⁸⁶ '...her [Miss Gaskell's] drawing-room remained the nearest possible approach to an absolute centre of the social life of educated Manchester...'.⁸⁷ Gustav and Fanny Behrens were also noted for entertaining: 'While he was still in his prime their house had been a social centre, and not for musical interests only.'⁸⁸

⁸² Burt, "Freemasonry," 659.

⁸³ Audrey Kay, "Charles Rowley and the Ancoats Recreation Movement, 1876–1914," *Manchester Region History Review* 7 (1993): 47.

⁸⁴ Bill Williams, *The making of Manchester Jewry 1740–1875* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976, 1985), 169.

⁸⁵ Oliver Elton, *C. E. Montague: a memoir* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1929), 32.

⁸⁶ David Ayerst, *Guardian. Biography of a newspaper* (London: Collins, 1971), 190.

⁸⁷ "Miss Gaskell," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 27, 1913, 16.

⁸⁸ "Letter to the Editor. Mr Gustav Behrens. Professor Alexander's tribute," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 1, 1936, 20.

Reference was made in Chapter One to the dinner held in honour of Sir Charles Hallé in 1890. As Kay notes, there were many celebratory dinners, civic functions and ‘at homes’; these, and similar events, were reported regularly in the newspapers and, from the lists of guests, it is possible to see that many of the same people were in attendance on each occasion.⁸⁹ The social networks were also operating when Manchester citizens were on holiday – for instance, the newspapers covering seaside towns published weekly lists of visitors and the hotels at which they were staying, from which it is possible to ascertain that families would have met each other there.⁹⁰ Sporting activities provided another possible arena for networking. For example, Gustav Behrens was Vice-President of the Northern Lawn Tennis Club and Didsbury Golf Club, and newspaper reports mention others being involved with these and other similar clubs.

The comment by Ada Briggs that ‘another omission in the general literature is the “family nexus”... Manchester was not a collection of separate individuals, but a network of families, each with its own history...’,⁹¹ and Kidd’s observation that ‘the early and mid-Victorian social élite of Manchester was a complex and distinctly local network of familial and business relationships’,⁹² are representative of many made about the history of nineteenth-century Manchester, and apply equally to the later years. The network of families is very evident amongst the supporters of the RMCM and the other musical organisations - there are instances of more than one generation of the same family subscribing to Hallé’s 1850s concerts, the Gentlemen’s Concerts, and the RMCM, and becoming guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society. The influence of family members should be viewed as one of the important factors in attracting the support of others.

⁸⁹ “The opening of the Manchester New Town Hall. Reception and Ball,” *Manchester Courier*, Sep 15, 1877, 6; “The Mayor’s Soiree,” *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 13, 1882, 6; “Opening of the Manchester Art Gallery,” *Manchester Courier*, Sep 1, 1883, 5–6; “Marriage of the Duke of York and Princess May. Lord Mayor’s Ball,” *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 7, 1893, 6; “Civic hospitality. Town Hall Reception,” *Manchester Courier*, Dec 8, 1906, 10; “Lady Mayoress ‘At home,’” *Manchester Courier*, Jul 26, 1905, 6.

⁹⁰ See, for example, *The Weekly News and Visitors’ Chronicle for Colwyn Bay Colwyn Llandrillo Conway Deganwy and Neighbourhood. Supplement*, Jun 2, 1892, 2; *Llandudno Advertiser and List of Visitors*, May 28, 1896, 6. *Welsh Newspapers*, accessed Jul 18, 2024, <https://newspapers.library.wales/>.

⁹¹ Briggs, *Victorian cities*, 109, 110.

⁹² Alan J. Kidd, “Charity organization and the unemployed in Manchester, c.1870–1914,” *Social History* 9 (1984): 47.

The importance to the RMCM of members of the Behrens family has been explored in previous chapters. There were two branches of the family who settled in Manchester during the nineteenth century, and the relationship between them is illustrated in Fig. 5.1.⁹³

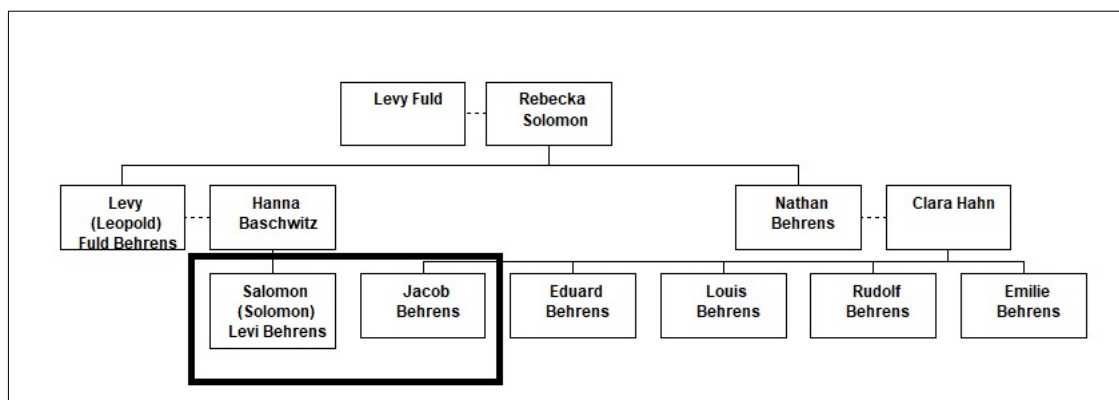


Fig. 5.1. Family tree showing the connection between the two parts of the Behrens family.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3, below, display the family trees of, respectively, Salomon L. Behrens and Jacob Behrens and his siblings.

⁹³ Salomon Levi Behrens, a cotton merchant, arrived in the city in 1814; his cousin Jacob, a textile merchant, established a business in Bradford, where his son Gustav was born. The Manchester office was set up by Jacob's brother, Louis, in 1840.

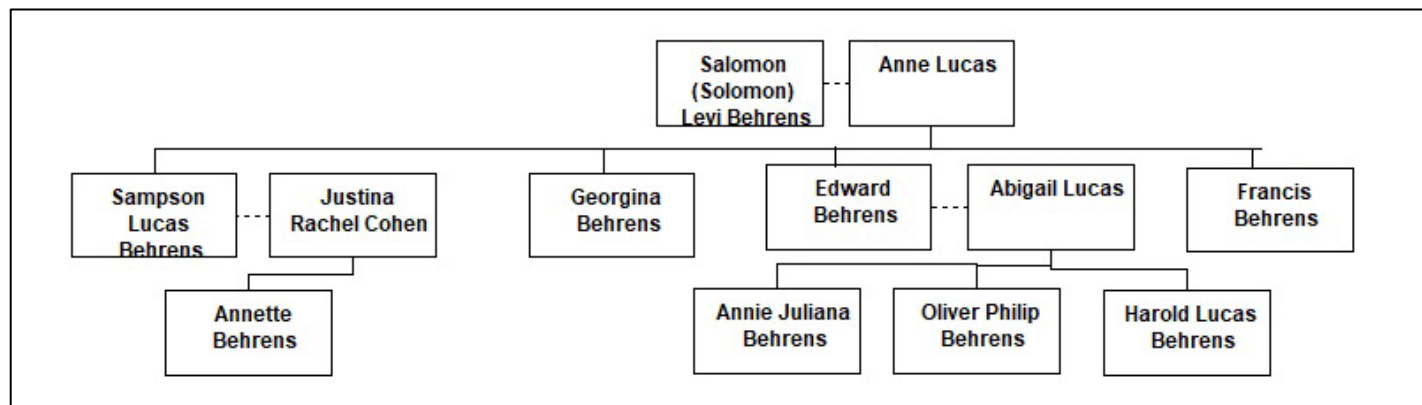


Fig. 5.2. Descendants of S. L. Behrens who were supporters of the RMCM.

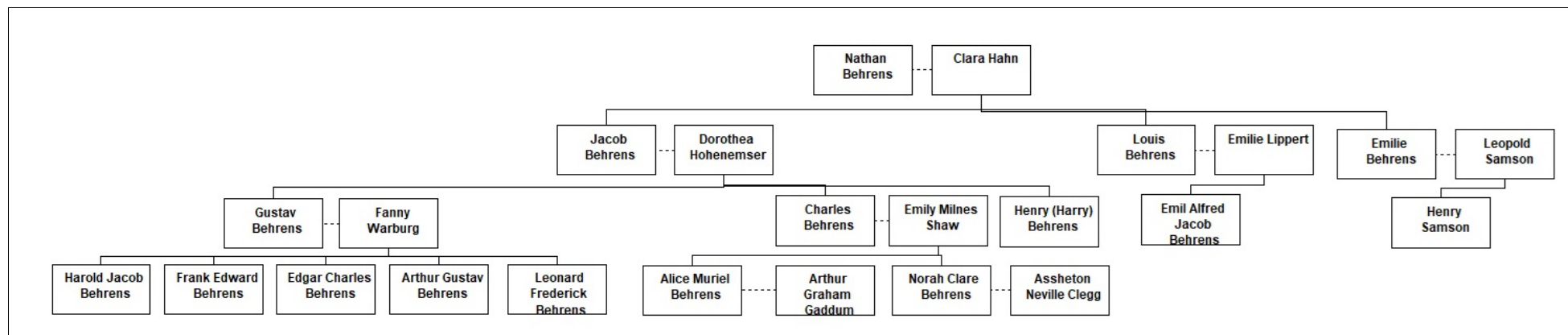


Fig. 5.3. Jacob Behrens' family tree, including members who had an association with the RMCM.

The Behrens family was not unusual in the history of the RMCM, as may be seen in Table 5.6 which lists other families who had a connection with the RMCM.

Surname	First name	Relationship
Agnew	<i>Augusta Isabel</i> ⁹⁴	<i>Wife, William L.</i>
	<i>Charles Swain</i> ⁹⁵	<i>Brother, William</i>
	George William	Son, William
	William	
	William Lockett ⁹¹	Nephew, William
Armitage	Benjamin	
	Samuel	Brother, Benjamin
	<i>Vernon Kirk</i> ⁹⁵	<i>Half-brother, Benjamin</i>
Ashton	Letitia	Wife, William Mark
	<i>Thomas</i> ⁹⁵	
	<i>Thomas Gair</i> ⁹⁵	<i>Son, Thomas</i>
	<i>William Mark</i> ⁹⁵	<i>Son, Thomas</i>
Bles	Abraham	
	David	Brother, Abraham
	Esther	Wife, Abraham
	Samuel	Son, Abraham
Broadfield	Edward J.	
	George	Brother
Donner	Anna	
	<i>Edward</i>	<i>Husband</i>
Galloway	<i>Charles J.</i> ⁹⁵	
	<i>John, jun.</i> ⁹⁵	<i>Cousin, Charles</i>
	William J.	Son, John jun.
	<i>William L.</i> ⁹⁵	<i>Brother, Charles</i>
Grommé	Anna	Widow, Louis
	(Ernest) William	Son, Louis
	(Heinrich) Louis	
Heywood	Anna	Wife, Charles
	Charles J.	
	Edward S.	Brother, Charles
	Mary Monica	Niece, Charles
	Oliver	Brother, Charles
Hopkinson	Alfred	
	<i>John</i> ⁹⁵	<i>Father, Alfred</i>
Lees	Charles E.	
	Dorothy	Daughter
	Marjory	Daughter, Charles
	Sarah	Wife, Charles
Reiss	Alexander (Alec)	Son, Fritz
	Charles	Son, Fritz
	Fritz	

⁹⁴ On the list of names suggested by Miss Ewart and Mrs Kennedy.

⁹⁵ George and W. Lockett Agnew did not contribute financially but donated pictures to the RMCM in 1894 (see Chapter Four).

Surname	First name	Relationship
	<i>(George) Emil</i> [§]	
	Henry	Son, Emil
	James A.	Son, Emil
Simon	Emily	
	Ernest	Son, Henry & Emily
	Henry	Husband, Emily
	Ingo ⁹⁶	Son, Henry
	Margaret	Daughter, Henry & Emily

Table 5.6. Family relationships.

Whilst there were many with family connections who supported the RMCM, it should be noted that there were also some who did not become involved. Those listed in the table above (5.4) whose names are italicised and followed by § were amongst the first ones to be approached for their support. Some responded positively in the first instance, examples being Charles S. Agnew who Hallé noted as having expressed interest;⁹⁷ and Edward Donner, also on Hallé's list, who was appointed to the Committee in January 1892 and signalled his support as a member of the General Committee, but had no further involvement. Donner's wife, Anna, was a subscriber from the beginning and, as described in Chapter Four, later became a Council member. The other notable families listed here, the majority of whose members did not support the RMCM, are the Ashtons - Thomas and his sons, who were connected with many other Manchester institutions - and the Galloways.

Table 5.4 lays out the obvious family connections; what it does not include is the more complicated network of relationships through marriage which were an acknowledged facet of the social structure of the day. Gunn encapsulates this in his comment that 'by means of complex networks of kinship, wealthy urban families enhanced both their economic and social capital...while intermarriage widened the sphere of connections with significant others.'⁹⁸ This too may be found amongst the supporters of the RMCM.

⁹⁶ Henry Simon was married twice. 1. Mary Lane (1871); 2. Emily Stoehr (1878). Ingo was his son from his first marriage.

⁹⁷ '...others have promised support, some in very warm terms.' Charles Hallé, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 7, 1891. RMCM/3/1, 6–7.

⁹⁸ Gunn, *Public culture*, 21.

Person 1	Person 2	Relationship (1 to 2)
William Agnew	Robert Leake	Cousin
Peter Allen [§]	John E. Taylor	Brother-in-law
Charles Arning	Louis Grommé	Son-in-law
William T. Arnold	Adolphus W. Ward	Cousin
Letitia M. Ashton	William Kessler	Daughter
Thomas Ashton [§]	Edward T. Broadhurst Philip W. Kessler [§]	Father-in-law
James A. Bannerman [§]	Mary (Mrs S. A.) Bennett	Father
Alfred Barnes	Alfred Topp	Brother-in-law
Emilie Beer	Alice (Mrs Max) Mayer	Mother
Charles Behrens	Henry T. Gaddum	In-law by marriage
Charles & Gustav Behrens	Henry Samson [§]	Cousin
Edward & George Broadfield	Alfred & Charles Hughes	Uncles
Henry A. G. Brooke	Edward Salomons	Son-in-law (2 nd wife)
William C. Brooks	John B. Close-Brooks	Uncle
William Crum [§]	William H. Houldsworth	Brother-in-law
Thomas Dreydel	Samuel Mandleberg	Father-in-law
Gustav Eckhard	Helene Stoehr	Son-in-law
Marie Eckhard	Emily Simon	Sister
William Eller	Edward Salomons	Nephew
Henry T. Gaddum [§]	Edward W. Joynson	Brother-in-law
Charles J. [§] & William L. Galloway	Robert Riddick	Brothers-in-law
Julia & Margaret Gaskell	Susan Greg	Cousin
Ruth Goodwin	Mary A. Wakefield	Sister
George Gumpert [§]	William Eller Edward Salomons	Stepfather Brother-in-law
Alfred Hopkinson	John D. Milne	Cousin
Alfred & Charles Hughes	William B. Worthington	Brother-in-law
Arthur Lapworth	William H. Perkin	Brother-in-law
Henry Lathbury	Frederick B. Ross [§]	In-law by marriage
William Mather	John T. Petrocokino	Father-in-law
James Riddel	Christopher Rawdon Briggs	Father-in-law
Helen (Mrs H.R.) Phillips	Louis & Anna Grommé	Daughter
Ellen (Mrs H.) Rothband	Goodman C. Mandleberg Samuel L. Mandleberg	Sister
Charles P. Scott	John Edward Taylor	Cousin
Mary H. Sykes	Jane Turner	Daughter
Jane & Susette Warburg	Fanny Behrens	Mother & sister

Table 5.7. Other family connections.

Through autobiographies, biographies, correspondence and obituary notices it is possible to locate information about other connections. For instance, in his

Rochdale reminiscences Henry Brierley provides insights into various of his friendships.⁹⁹ He describes Henry Howorth as a childhood friend, Edward Broadfield, an intimate friend, William C. Lord, a devoted friend and John Hopkinson, a contemporary.¹⁰⁰ RMCM supporters Ashworth Barnes (founder of the Accrington Chamber Concerts) and Richard W. Kenyon (father of student, Ruth), both Swedenborgians, are also described as old friends in an obituary of the former.¹⁰¹

William Agnew's brother, John Henry, who died just as the RMCM scheme was proposed, was said to have been an intimate friend of Charles Hallé.¹⁰² Others noted in obituary notices in this way as being particular friends of Hallé were Thomas W. Gillibrand who 'numbered among his friendships...the late Charles Hallé',¹⁰³ and Mary Ewart who was

one of the most intimate friends of the late Sir Charles Hallé and his family, a friendship that was all the closer for her deep and constant interest in the progress of music in Manchester. She was a frequenter of the Hallé Concerts almost from their foundation, and was one of the first persons to give her name as a guarantor when the new society was formed. She was also much interested in the establishment of the College of Music in Ducie-street.¹⁰⁴

Indications of friendships and other connections may be gleaned from church and legal records. An example of the former is found in the Manchester Cathedral marriage register which records that on 13 August 1861 Charles Hallé was one of the witnesses at the wedding of Sigismund Helm. Thirty years later Helm's name was at the top of the list of names of those who had written to Hallé promising support for the college of music scheme, and he was a subscriber from 1892 until 1910.¹⁰⁵ Wills, and the associated grants of probate, are legal records which also furnish useful information. For instance, Gustav and Charles Behrens were the executors of the afore-mentioned Sigfried

⁹⁹ Henry Brierley, *The Rochdale reminiscences of Henry Brierley* (Rochdale: Rochdale Times, 1923).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 37, 39, 41 respectively.

¹⁰¹ "Loss to new church. Death of Mr Ashworth Barnes," *Accrington Observer and Times*, Jan 24, 1928, 5.

¹⁰² "Memorial notices. Mr J. H. Agnew," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 29, 1891, 8.

¹⁰³ "Death of Mr T. Walton Gillibrand," *Altrincham, Bowdon and Hale Guardian*, Aug 13, 1898, 4.

¹⁰⁴ "Memorial notices. Miss Ewart," *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 11, 1901, 12. The Ewarts were a Unitarian family, well-known in the city. Mary's father Peter had been involved with various societies, including the Lit and Phil and the Statistical Society.

¹⁰⁵ Charles Hallé, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Dec 7, 1891. RMCM/A/3/1, 7.

Helm.¹⁰⁶ In many cases at least one executor was a relative (either by blood or marriage, e.g. son-in-law) but the choice of unrelated executors is another possible indicator of friendship and/or a connection. One such is epitomised by Behrens who describes Edward Hecht and Ludwig Straus as 'our common friends, and frequent guests at my home in Plymouth Grove...',¹⁰⁷ and for both of whom he was an executor.¹⁰⁸ Naming a solicitor as an executor would also be expected, although it could have been as a friend rather than in a professional capacity for 'in the latter part of the century...he [the solicitor] occupied positions of trust. He was not only the trusted family adviser, he was, [sic] in many cases, a personal friend'.¹⁰⁹ In the instances I have found many of the executors are fellow businessmen, merchants and other professionals. Table 5.6 contains the names of those appearing in the RMCM records for whom the evidence of a connection may be adduced through their relationship as executor and testator.

Other connections may be identified through the disposal of property to individuals in wills. One such example is Margaret Gaskell who made bequests to Hallé's sister Anna, Edward J. Broadfield, Mrs [Adolph] Brodsky, Mrs W. T. [Henrietta] Arnold, and Ellen Arthan [piano teacher, RMCM].¹¹⁰ The types of connections outlined add to the evidence of the different networks with which people were involved.

¹⁰⁶ *National Probate Calendar, Wills and Administrations, Ha-Ky*, (Hastings: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), 75.

¹⁰⁷ Behrens, "Sir Charles Hallé " 9.

¹⁰⁸ Hecht, Edward. *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration, Ha-N*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1887), 280; Straus, Ludwig. *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration, S & T*, (Norwich: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), 221.

¹⁰⁹ Vivienne Rose Parrott, "Pettyfogging to respectability. A history of the development of the profession of solicitor in the Manchester area 1800–1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Salford, 1992), 80.

¹¹⁰ Margaret E. Gaskell, *Last will and testament*, Sep 29, 1913. [Copy obtained from HM Courts and Tribunals Service]

Executor	Testator
Cyril H. Beever [§]	Charles J. Heywood
Charles Behrens	Sigismund Helm
Gustav Behrens	Anna Brodsky
	<i>Edward Hecht</i>
	Ida Freund
	Sigismund Helm
	Henry Simon
	<i>Ludwig Straus</i>
Edward T. Broadhurst	Thomas Ashton [§]
Edward Donner	
Gustav Dehn	Julius Dreschfeld
Gustav Eckhard	Henry Simon
H. Louis Grommé	Josephine Silkenstädt
William C. Lord [solicitor]	Thomas W. Gillibrand
	Frederick Unger [§]
George R. Murray	Charles J. Holliday
James Oliver	James Jardine
John Petro (Petrocokino)	Julius Dreschfeld
William M. Philips	Arthur L. Payne
Thomas H. Sidebottom [§]	William C. Brooks
James Watts (renounced)	Charles E. Lees

Table 5.8. Executors and Testators on RMCM lists.

Charitable involvement

‘Nineteenth-century voluntary charities were an integral part of nineteenth-century society’ and involvement in them was another way in which citizens were part of networks.¹¹¹ Prior to the introduction of National Insurance in 1911 and, later, the National Health Service, every hospital and medical institution – and there were many of them in Manchester – relied both on charitable donations for their existence and committees of volunteers to manage them.¹¹²

Victorian medical charities were

a respectable and respected outlet for the public-spirited citizen. The senior officers of Manchester’s charities were invariably members of its social elite, and taking such posts was considered a civic obligation. Professionals,

¹¹¹ Shapely, *Charity and power*, 2.

¹¹² “Medical charities in Manchester,” *JISC Archives Hub*, [n.d.], accessed Jul 19, 2024, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-mm3-16/mmc/8>; “Manchester and Salford District Provident Society,” *JISC Archives Hub*, [n.d.], accessed Jul 19, 2024, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-mm3-16/mmc/8/6>; “Manchester and Salford Provident Dispensaries Association,” *JISC Archives Hub*, [n.d.], accessed Jul 19, 2024, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-mm3-16/mmc/8/7>; “Hospitals and related institutions in the Manchester area,” *JISC Archives Hub*, [n.d.], accessed Jul 19, 2024, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-mm3-16/mmc/9>.

such as lawyers, provided legal and financial skills, while doctors were engaged for their medical expertise.¹¹³

Of particular relevance to this study are the Manchester and Salford Provident Dispensaries Association and the District Provident Society (DPS). The DPS traced its origins to 1833; its original aim was to provide medical assistance for the deserving poor. The Provident Dispensaries Association was established in 1876, through the initiative of the DPS. It set up provident dispensaries, staffed by local doctors, to which working class members (earning less than thirty five shillings a week per household and not in receipt of poor relief) paid subscriptions in order to receive medical and dental treatment. A number of those connected with the RMCM served on the various committees, providing the expertise referred to by Peters.

Name	District Provident Society / Provident Dispensaries Association
George W. Agnew [§]	Pendleton Dispensary Committee, 1889
Benjamin Armitage	Vice-President, 1879–99
W. Mark Ashton [§]	Committee, 1889–1890
Charles Behrens	Medlock Street Dispensary, 1883; Hulme District Dispensary Committee, 1889; Gorton and Openshaw Dispensary Committee, 1893
Gustav Behrens	Medlock Street Dispensary, 1883; Ardwick Green Dispensary, 1883; Hulme District Dispensary Committee, 1889; Gorton and Openshaw Dispensary Committee, 1891
John A. Bennett	Ardwick Dispensary, 1889
Richard C. Christie [§]	Council member, Provident Dispensaries Branch, 1883
John B. Close-Brooks	Provident Dispensaries Branch, Council member representing Children's Hospital, 1889
William J. Crossley	Committee, 1879–1911
William Crum [§]	Vice-President, DPS, 1880–1906
Robert D. Darbishire [§]	Committee, 1855–75
Mary A. Ewart	Vice-President, 1892–1901
George H. Gaddum [§]	Committee, 1874–1907
Francis Godlee	Committee, 1900–02
Sigismund Helm	Committee, 1874–80
William N. Heald	Committee, 1889–1912
Oliver Heywood	Treasurer, 1866–92
Thomas C. Horsfall	Committee, 1879–82
William H. Houldsworth	Pendleton Dispensary, 1883

¹¹³ James N. Peters, “Medical charities in Manchester”, *Special Collections. Teaching and learning resources from The University of Manchester’s Special Collections*, accessed Jul 19, 2024, <https://medium.com/special-collections/medical-charities-in-manchester-f2fd583fc713>.

Name	District Provident Society / Provident Dispensaries Association
Charles Hughes	Lower Broughton Dispensary, 1883
George R. Murray	Ancoats Dispensary Committee, 1893; General Committee, 1893–1902; Vice-President, 1903–31
Arthur L. Payne	Committee, 1895–1910
Herbert Philips	President, 1886–1905
William M. Philips	Committee, 1879–1926; and various individual dispensaries
Alexander (Alec) Reiss	Committee, 1895–1930
Fritz Reiss	Committee, 1874–1926
G. Emil Reiss [§]	Vice-President, 1883, 1889
James A. Reiss	Vice-President, 1883, 1889
Henry Samson [§]	Committee, 1879–1902
Charles P. Scott	Founder member, Hulme Branch, Provident Dispensaries Association
James B. Shaw	Dawson Street Dispensary, 1883
Herbert Smith-Carington	Gorton and Openshaw Dispensary Committee, 1891
Total numbers: 32	

Table 5.9. Involvement with the District Provident Society.

Other charities specific to Manchester with which RMCN supporters were involved included the Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor of Manchester and the Manchester Society for the Relief of Really Deserving Distressed Foreigners. There were other organisations, such the Manchester and Salford Savings Bank [MSSB] and the Penny Savings Bank Association [PSBA], (Table 5.8) on which business and professional men also served as officials.¹¹⁴

This involvement with charitable activity, and thus meeting and working with colleagues and friends, was another area of opportunity for building and strengthening networks alongside existing business relationships and membership of institutions and societies.

¹¹⁴ Penny Savings Banks were set up to encourage the principle of saving, particularly by the poor. See Richard Turnbull, "Local and personal: the principles and practice of saving in Victorian England," ([2021]) <https://theceme.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Local-and-Personal-Revd-Dr-Richard-Turnbull.pdf>.

Name	Organisation, Role
Vernon Armitage [§]	Trustee, MSSB, 1880
Gustav Behrens	Patron and Council, MSSB
David Bles	Present, MSSB AGM
Edward J. Broadfield	Committee, PSBA
Richard C. Christie [§]	Trustee, MSSB, 1880
George H. Gaddum [§]	Present, PSBA AGM
Edward S. Heywood	Trustee, MSSB, 1880
Oliver Heywood	Treasurer, MSSB, 1880
John Hopkinson [§]	Presided, PSBA AGM
James Jardine	Trustee, MSSB, 1880
Edward W. Joynson	Committee, PSBA, 1896
John King [§]	Trustee, MSPSB, 1880
Edward Maclure [§]	Chairman, MSSB, 1892
William Mather	Present, PSBA AGM
Herbert Philips	Present, MSSB AGM
Joseph Thompson	Present, MSSB AGM
Total numbers: 16	

Table 5.10. Involvement with the Savings Banks.

Education and culture

The original governments of civic colleges were composed almost exclusively of laymen.¹¹⁵

Although this quotation refers to the civic colleges, Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds, it is applicable to other educational and cultural institutions which, in the same manner as charities and other associations, were also run by boards of governors, or councils, and on which there was a frequent overlap of personnel. Amongst the bodies on which supporters of the RMCM served were: Manchester Art Museum,¹¹⁶ Manchester High School for Girls (MHSG),¹¹⁷ Manchester School of Art, Owens College, the Whitworth Institute and

¹¹⁵ Jones, *Origins*, 125. 'Laymen. Those not engaged in academic activity for their livelihood.'

¹¹⁶ 'In its early days the Art Museum attracted the support of about one hundred of Manchester's leading philanthropic and cultural elite.' Harrison, "Art and philanthropy," 123.

¹¹⁷ A notable point with both Manchester High School for Girls and Withington Girls School was the number of women committee members whose husbands served on the committees of many other institutions. The women who contributed to the RMCM in their own right are listed in the table; the others were: MGS: Charlotte (Mrs E. T.) Broadhurst, Mary (Mrs R. C.) Christie, Helen (Mrs R.E.) Cunliffe, Harriet (Mrs R. D.) Darbshire, Sophia (Mrs G. H.) Gaddum, Emma (Mrs William) Mather, Ellen (Mrs Herbert) Philips, Elizabeth (Mrs C. E.) Schwann, Rachel (Mrs C. P.) Scott. WGS: Rachel (Mrs C. P.) Scott, Adelaide (Mrs Adolphus) Ward, Anne (Mrs James) Watts. The presence of women on the committees managing girls' schools was clearly of importance.

Withington Girls' School (WGS).¹¹⁸ The fundraising for MHSG, the Manchester School of Art, Owens College and WGS was discussed in Chapter One as part of the context in which the RMCM was founded. A description of the establishment of the Whitworth Institute and Art Gallery a few years prior to that of the RMCM provides a helpful picture of the environment in which such enterprises were undertaken:

Supporters of the Whitworth could draw upon the powerful connections of suburban Manchester's Liberal and educational elite, such as William Agnew, C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* and Sir Henry Roscoe, Liberal MP for South Manchester. It also had the support of many in the Manchester business community, to which [Sir Joseph] Whitworth had so long been connected, most notably Thomas Ashton, Edward Donner, Oliver Heywood and William Mather.¹¹⁹

The numbers of those connected to the RMCM project who were members of the councils, committees and boards of governors of these institutions are listed in Table 5.9.

Manchester Art Museum	14
Manchester High School for Girls	21
Manchester School of Art	28
Owens College	30
Whitworth Institute	33
Withington Girls' School	8

Table 5.11. Numbers of members of councils, committees and boards of cultural and educational institutions.

The overlap is not only with the RMCM but across multiple organisations, thus illustrating that this sector also contributed to the networks. Sixty-nine people were involved with these institutions, of which forty-two were connected with more than one.

Politics

As indicated in earlier chapters, the primary methods of determining political affiliation has been made by reference to details of membership of clubs and associations, biographical information, newspaper reports of attendance at political meetings, and support for a particular candidate. One of the significant political organisations, the Manchester Reform Club, serves as an example of

¹¹⁸ See Appendix 5.1.

¹¹⁹ Moore, *High culture*, 225.

how those who espoused a particular political cause might interact. It was established in 1867, with admittance to its membership being conditional on membership of the Liberal party.¹²⁰ Its purpose-built premises, designed by Edward Salomons, were opened in 1871 and from the outset its membership included all of the prominent Liberals from the area. In Arnold Thompson's contribution to the jubilee history he portrays the Club thus: '...[it] is not a political organization, but it provides a home for Liberals in which they can discuss questions of public interest in a liberal spirit'.¹²¹ C.P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, provides a personal picture of the Club: 'I have shared in its triumphs and its failures and I am proud of my membership. A political club is, after all, a composite institution, and serves other purposes than those of a purely political activity... Its members know not only to how to differ, but also how to sink their differences and to work in all good comradeship for common ends.'¹²² There was a significant social element to the Club with recreational activities, including billiards and chess, and in the history there is mention of Adolph Brodsky (a noted chess player) being amongst the eminent visitors.¹²³

The Liberal Association was founded in the 1860s, with Richard Pankhurst (later husband of the suffragette campaigner Emmeline Pankhurst) amongst its founder members.¹²⁴ Behrens, William Agnew, Broadfield and Mather were all Liberals and therefore the number of others in their circle who shared similar political views, expressed through membership of the Reform Club and/or the Liberal Association, is unsurprising. However, as the numbers of names in the table below show, there was a significant representation of Conservatives. Whilst political allegiance *per se* may not have been a driver for support of the RMCM, membership of clubs and associations is a further indicator of the circles in which the men moved.

¹²⁰ "Manchester Reform Club," *Manchester Guardian*, Feb 5, 1867, 6.

¹²¹ Arnold Thompson, "The Liberal-Unionist secession," in *The Manchester Reform Club, 1871–1921: a survey of fifty years' history*, ed. William Haslam Mills (Manchester: The Manchester Reform Club, 1922), 82.

¹²² Charles Prestwich Scott, "The unity of the Spirit," in Mills, *The Manchester Reform Club*, 49.

¹²³ Mills, *The Manchester Reform Club*, 99–101.

¹²⁴ For details of its activities in the 1880s/1890s see James R. Moore, "The rise of Manchester radicalism," in ed. James R. Moore, *The transformation of urban liberalism*.

Liberal Association / Federation	52
Reform Club	44
Conservative affiliation	45

Table 5.12. Political memberships and affiliations.

Religion

...the centrality of religion to the cultural life of the mid-Victorian classes is readily apparent.¹²⁵

For the urban middle class church-going was a social as well as a religious rite; in the mid- and later nineteenth century, churches and chapels served as important centres for the well-to-do.¹²⁶

In 1851 an Ecclesiastical Census was taken at the same time as the general Census of England and Wales, the purpose of the former being to ‘ascertain the available provision for religious worship, and how many people actually attended’.¹²⁷ There are several problems with the reliability of the data: it was not comprehensive because it relied on the local knowledge of the regular census enumerators to identify each place of worship and deliver a schedule; there are errors in the returns (although these are noted by Horace Mann in the published reports);¹²⁸ there was no penalty for non-compliance; it was not a complete picture of attendance at any one church; and, the numbers were taken at morning, afternoon and evening ‘sittings’, and numbers were adjusted to account for this.¹²⁹ Furthermore, although it captured attendance at church, the attendees were not asked their religious affiliation. Notwithstanding those caveats it provides an indication of church attendance, albeit forty years before the commencement of my study. According to Gunn, 23% and 24% respectively of the population of Manchester and Salford attended church or chapel on the census date, although others have offered different figures and my own calculations, based on Mann’s report, are 33.3% in Manchester and 36.6% in Salford.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 256.

¹²⁶ ———, *Public culture*, 106–107.

¹²⁷ "Home Office: Ecclesiastical Census returns," *The National Archives*, [n.d.], accessed Jun 6, 2025, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C8993>.

¹²⁸

¹²⁹ Gunn, op.cit., 258.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

For those churchgoers of Christian faith, the choice was the Church of England, Roman Catholic, or one of the Nonconformist denominations.¹³¹ Writing about the period from 1850–1875, Gunn states that Anglicanism was ‘the creed of a substantial body of large manufacturers and merchants’,¹³² whereas, according to Berghoff:

52.0 per cent of Manchester’s businessmen belonged to a Nonconformist community (Church of England: 44.0 percent). The leading members of the Unitarian Cross and Moseley Street Chapels... represented the highest echelons of Manchester’s political and social elite... Apart from the Unitarians (11.0 per cent), the Methodists (13.5 per cent....), and Congregationalists (12.0 per cent...) attracted the highest numbers of Manchester’s businessmen outside the Church of England.¹³³

Berghoff compares Manchester with Birmingham (also an area of strong Nonconformism) where, he says, 40 per cent were Anglican and 54.8 per cent were Nonconformist. Of the latter 15.9 per cent were Unitarians, 12.4 per cent Methodist and 8.2 per cent worshipped at Quaker chapels.¹³⁴

In the case of Manchester Berghoff does note that there was a gradual drift of Nonconformist families into the Church of England,¹³⁵ something also observed by Katherine Chorley about her father’s family, the Hopkinsons.¹³⁶ The significance of Unitarians, and the Cross Street Chapel and its members in particular, in the life of Manchester is remarked on by most commentators despite, according to Berghoff’s figures, the Unitarians not being the largest of the Nonconformist denominations in numerical terms. However, in attributing affiliation to the Unitarians it is necessary to take note of points made by Bebbington:

It was possible to be a regular attender of another body and yet possess a self-image as a Unitarian, be regarded by others as a Unitarian and even retain membership at a Unitarian place of worship... Conversely, a

¹³¹ Bebbington describes Nonconformists as Protestants who dissociated themselves from the church recognised by the state. It included Congregationalists, Baptists, Unitarians and Methodists. David W. Bebbington, *Victorian Nonconformity* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2011), 2.

¹³² Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 260.

¹³³ Berghoff, "Regional variations," 78.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 79.

¹³⁶ Chorley, *Manchester made them*, 173.

regular Unitarian worshipper might have impeccable credentials of allegiance to another body.¹³⁷

In the same article he points out that many Unitarians, as they rose in life, conformed to the Church of England and that 'the location of funerals and the officiants there are no safe guide to denominational allegiance'. These latter comments are of particular interest in relation to the people under consideration in this study as there are examples of those with a clear link to Cross Street, e.g. as pew holders, for whom there are also records in Anglican churches. In some cases, a Unitarian officiant at a funeral is the only evidence of any potential link to the denomination.

In total, almost 600 people were approached to, or did, support and become involved with the RMCM between 1891 and 1920; of these it has been possible to establish or make a reasonable assumption about the religious affiliation of 387. The totals of adherents for the Christian denominations are listed in Table 5.11.

Denomination	Number
Anglican	168
Anglican?	32
Catholic	7
Greek Church	1
Nonconformist: Baptist	1
Nonconformist: Congregational	26
Nonconformist: Independent	3
Nonconformist: Methodist	21
Nonconformist: Pentecostal	1
Nonconformist: Quaker	7
Nonconformist: Swedenborgian	6
Nonconformist: Unitarian	42
Nonconformist: Unitarian?	2
Nonconformist: unspecified	12
Nonconformist?	1
Presbyterian	7

Table 5.13. Number of adherents to Christian denominations.

¹³⁷ D. W. Bebbington, "Unitarian Members of Parliament in the Nineteenth Century," *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* 24 (2009). Copy obtained from <http://hdl.handle.net/1893/1647>.

Denomination	Number
Anglican	168
Anglican?	32
Nonconformist	122

Table 5.14. Numbers of Anglicans and Nonconformists.

Churches may have served as important centres for the well-to-do as Gunn says, but, owing to the large numbers of parishes, attendance at an Anglican (or Catholic) church would not have offered the same potential for social contacts as some of the Nonconformist places of worship. Several men were connected with Manchester Cathedral: Thomas Craven, William H. Houldsworth and John W. Maclure were churchwardens; Herbert Philips and Henry Watson were sidesmen.¹³⁸ James Kendrick Pyne was Cathedral Organist and James Jardine, who was said to have been greatly interested in the restoration of the building, paid for the south porch.¹³⁹ Amongst other parish churches whose records mention RMCM supporters are Holy Innocents (Fallowfield) and St James (Birch-in-Rusholme). There are entries in a number of parish records for baptisms, marriages and burials but, heeding the point made by Bebbington, this is not necessarily a definitive indication of religious affiliation. In the centre of Manchester the most significant Unitarian chapel, as mentioned earlier, was Cross Street but some worshipped at Upper Brook Street and Platt Chapels. Amongst the RMCM lists, I have identified sixteen linked to Cross Street, seven to Platt (including Gustav Behrens whose marriage took place there) and two to Upper Brook Street.

The other religion with a strong representation in the city was that of Judaism. Although traditionally associated with the German merchants, as Aronsfeld writes, 'while many of the German immigrants professed the ancient faith, others did not; a great number were indifferent...'.¹⁴⁰ The Behrens family provides an interesting example of this division. The descendants of Salomon Levi Behrens (including Edward and his siblings and children) remained

¹³⁸ Cathedral and Parish Church of Manchester, *List of Churchwardens from 1422 to 1911 and of Sidesmen from 1800 to 1911* (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1911). According to the entry in *ODNB*, in his role as churchwarden Maclure was 'instrumental in collecting large sums of money for a thorough restoration of the cathedral'. Sutton and Matthew, "Maclure, Edward Craig."

¹³⁹ "Memorial notices. Mr James Jardine," *Manchester Guardian*, Sep 4, 1893, 5.

¹⁴⁰ Aronsfeld, "German Jews," 313.

adherents to Judaism, while Jacob Behrens apparently refused to educate his children in any faith.¹⁴¹ Gustav's brother Charles joined the Church of England but, in common with others of Jewish descent, Gustav became involved with the Unitarians. However, not all of those who converted from Judaism became Unitarians,¹⁴² and there were about twenty-four of the RMCM supporters who continued in their Jewish faith. The significance of adherence to a particular denomination or faith, particularly for the Unitarians and Jews, is that it would have been a further forum in which they met and socialised, contributing another facet to their networks of contacts.

Nationality

They [the German industrialists and merchants] ...were central in the creation of much of the city's cultural capital.¹⁴³

This statement by Westaway is one example of many which place great emphasis on the role of the German community in the cultural and, specifically, the musical life of nineteenth-century Manchester. Kennedy, for example, asserts that 'the prosperity and intellectual life of Manchester was founded between 1800 and 1850 by the merchants, many of them of German and Jewish blood...'.¹⁴⁴ This view of the significant role played by Germans in musical life is challenged by Johnson in her thesis in which she notes that 'the German influence within all the organisations and societies explored during this dissertation appears to have been surprisingly limited.'¹⁴⁵ An examination of the lists of Trustees and Officers of the Gentlemen's Concerts for 1848 reveals that only one was born in Germany, but there were at least thirty-three others

¹⁴¹ Todd M. Endelman, "German-Jewish settlement in Victorian England," in *Second chance: two centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, ed. Werner Eugen Mosse (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1991), 47.

¹⁴² The funeral of Julius Dreschfeld, Honorary Physician to the RMCM, took place at Holy Trinity, Southport, with the rector of St. Paul's, Withington, assisting. Peter D. Mohr, "Julius Dreschfeld, 1854–1907," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, May 25, 2006, accessed Mar 29, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32891>; "The late Dr. Dreschfeld," *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 19, 1907, 3. Edward Salomons was brought up as Jewish but 'never identified himself with the Jewish community'. *Jewish Chronicle*, May 18, 1906, quoted in Beenstock, "Edward Salomons — a sociable architect," 95. The children of his second marriage were baptised at Holy Innocents, Fallowfield.

¹⁴³ Westaway, "German community," 571.

¹⁴⁴ Kennedy, *Hallé tradition*, 179.

¹⁴⁵ Johnson, "Musical networks," 246.

amongst the 600 subscribers.¹⁴⁶ Hallé states that he was kindly received by the German colony when he arrived in Manchester that same year,¹⁴⁷ and there are significant numbers of Germans amongst the names of those who subscribed to his concerts in the 1850s.¹⁴⁸ When a Committee was set up in April 1861 to oversee the institution of a new series of Hallé's orchestral concerts it had fifty-one members, of whom sixteen were German.¹⁴⁹ From this history it might be concluded that there was likely to be support from members of the German community for musical enterprises in which Hallé was involved, and therefore the people to whom Behrens and the Committee would turn.

The nationalities of those who were linked with the RMCM between 1891 and 1920 are shown in Tables 5.12 A and B. The figures for 1891 indicate the nationalities of those whose names were on the initial contact lists; those for 1892/3 onwards are for the donors. A complete list of foreign nationals is in Appendix 5.2. Whilst it is clear that the supporters were predominantly British, there was always a significant number of Germans, or those of German descent (first generation born, mostly in Manchester). Furthermore, in terms of numbers their support remained very consistent between 1892 and 1920, despite the decrease in the overall numbers of subscribers.

¹⁴⁶ Gentlemen's Concerts. *Concert Hall, Appendix. List of officers of the institution; List of subscribers, 10th November 1848*. [Concert Hall, *Rules passed at the biennial meeting of the subscribers...* (Manchester: Printed by T. Sowler, 1848)]. BR780.69Me68.

¹⁴⁷ Hallé, *Autobiography*, 121.

¹⁴⁸ Charles Hallé, *Concerts of classical chamber music, list of members, 1853-56*; ———, *Chronological list of subscribers, 1854-59*.

¹⁴⁹ "Mr Charles Halle's [sic] Grand Orchestral and Choral Concerts," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 20, 1861, 1.

Nationality	1891	1892/3	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908
Austrian: naturalised; Austrian parents	2												1
British	138	134	177	129	127	122	122	125	118	121	107	104	101
Cuban: naturalised		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Danish: naturalised		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dutch; Dutch parents	2	1	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
French; French parents		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
German; German: naturalised; German parents	29	19	29	28	27	27	25	24	23	23	25	23	22
Greek: naturalised; Greek parents	1	1	1										
Hungarian: naturalised													
Irish; Irish parents	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Moravian						1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Swiss; Swiss: naturalised; Swiss parents	1	1			1			1	3	2	1	1	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>175</i>	<i>162</i>	<i>215</i>	<i>164</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>156</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>157</i>	<i>151</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>139</i>	<i>134</i>	<i>129</i>
Unable to identify nationality ¹⁵⁰	4	0	10	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1
Percentage of Germans ¹⁵¹	16.6%	11.7%	13.5%	17.1%	16.8%	17.3%	16.2%	15.3%	15.2%	15.1%	18.0%	17.2%	17.1%

Table 5.15A. Nationalities of individuals, 1891–1908.

¹⁵⁰ The names of most of these suggest that they were British.

¹⁵¹ The percentage has been calculated against the total of those whose nationality can be determined.

Nationality	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Austrian: naturalised; Austrian parents	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
British	97	91	90	86	87	116	110	106	101	91	87	81
Danish: naturalised	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dutch; Dutch parents	2	2	2	2	1	1						
French; French parents		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
German; German: naturalised; German parents	23	24	23	23	24	27	24	25	24	25	23	21
Hungarian: naturalised									1	1	1	1
Irish; Irish parents	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Russian parents						1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Swiss; Swiss: naturalised; Swiss parents	1	1	1	1								
<i>Total</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>119</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>149</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>116</i>	<i>109</i>
Unable to identify nationality	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Percentage of Germans	18.3%	19.8%	19.3%	20.2%	21.1%	18.1%	17.1%	18.2%	18.3%	20.3%	19.8%	19.3%

Table 5.15B. Nationalities of individuals, 1909–1920.

There were several fora in which the members of the German community could have fraternised and these are described by Su Coates and Jonathan Westaway.¹⁵² Coates refers to the Albert and Schiller Clubs [the Schiller-Anstalt] and the Society for the Relief of Really Deserving Distressed Foreigners as being initiated by Germans and ‘although open to all, remained or became markedly German in character’.¹⁵³ The Albert, which existed from the 1840s until 1888, was established to provide a social meeting place for young Germans,¹⁵⁴ and, according to Westaway, mixed the cultural with the convivial.¹⁵⁵ It was not intended to have an exclusively German membership and in 1869 the division between foreigners (mostly German) and British was about half and half.¹⁵⁶ I have not been able to locate any records for the Albert Club in order to ascertain who might have been amongst its members.

The Schiller-Anstalt was founded in 1859–1860, by Hallé amongst others, in the wake of centenary celebrations in honour of Friedrich Schiller. Its primary purpose was ‘to make German intellectual culture more easily accessible to Germans and non-Germans’.¹⁵⁷ The Schiller-Anstalt became the cultural and social focus for the Germans in Manchester and was renowned for its music,¹⁵⁸ as illustrated by an article in the *Manchester Courier* in 1905 which stated that ‘no department of its work has spread the reputation of the Schiller-Anstalt so much as has its musical record. That, indeed, is associated with all that is best in the musical history of Manchester’.¹⁵⁹ Twenty-six RCM contacts were amongst its members,¹⁶⁰ including cellist Carl Fuchs who organised the musical programme; another was Henry Simon. ‘Throughout his years in Manchester, Henry had strong ties with families in the German community – Stoehr,

¹⁵² Coates, "Manchester's German gentlemen."; Westaway, "German community."

¹⁵³ Coates, *ibid.*, 21.

¹⁵⁴ "The clubs of Manchester. The Albert," *The Sphinx*, May 1, 1869, 43.

¹⁵⁵ Westaway, *ibid.*, 581.

¹⁵⁶ Coates, *ibid.*, 22. The use of the description 'British' is from Coates.

¹⁵⁷ "...deutsche Geisteskultur im Interesse der hiesigen Deutschen zu fördern und Nicht-Deutschen leichter zugänglich zu machen." Article 1 of the Statutes quoted in Rainer Liedtke, "<<...deutsche Geisteskultur zu fördern>> Deutsch-jüdische Immigranten und die Schiller-Anstalt in Manchester," *Tribune* 116 (1990): 146.

¹⁵⁸ For a description of the chamber music concerts, see Thomason, "Brodsky," 141ff.

¹⁵⁹ "The Schiller-Anstalt. German colony's club," *Manchester Courier*, Apr 21, 1905, 6.

¹⁶⁰ The Schiller-Anstalt records are incomplete and there are no membership lists. From records held by Manchester Libraries and the Bundes-Archiv, together with newspaper reports, it is possible to ascertain some information. The Bundes-Archiv holdings include the papers relating to the Jubilee Dinner in 1909, including a list of the organising Committee members and a table plan with the names of those who attended. I have assumed that the Committee members, at least, had some form of ongoing association.

Steinthal, Behrens, Eckhard and others. Henry was a member of the German Liedertafel music association...and the Schiller-Anstalt.¹⁶¹ The Schiller-Anstalt was wound up in 1911 owing to falling membership numbers.

An institution also frequented by the Germans was the Foreign Library which Coates describes as 'another German stronghold'.¹⁶² Although it was set up to serve the whole community, by the 1850s the Committee was predominantly foreign,¹⁶³ and in 1868, seventy-eight of the 120 proprietors had German names.¹⁶⁴ There were fourteen proprietors of the Foreign Library amongst those who were approached to and/or supported the RMCM, one more institution which formed part of the network.

Although certain parts of the city were known for their particular national populations - Greek merchants in Upper Broughton and Italians in some streets in Ancoats, which became known as 'Little Italy'¹⁶⁵ – and some Italians were involved in setting up the Foreign Library, the general population, and the numbers involved with the RMCM, were smaller than those of German heritage. (See Appendix 5.1a for the table of nationalities.) Thus, it may be argued that while nationality was significant for those who were part of the German network, it had less meaning for other foreign nationals and their involvement resulted more from other connections.

Geography

Another element of the networks to consider is that of geographical proximity, whether of business premises or home. Most businesses were located in and around the city centre; the correspondence between Behrens, Broadfield and others during the early days of founding the RMCM, for instance, demonstrates that it was a common practice to call on others in their offices to discuss matters

¹⁶¹ Janet Wolff, "The appeal of a Buddha: Henry Simon, industrialist and philanthropist (1835–99)," in *The Simons of Manchester. How one family shaped a city and a nation*, ed. John Ayshford, et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2024), 38.

¹⁶² Coates, "Manchester's German gentlemen," 25.

¹⁶³ John Scott, *Historical sketch of the Manchester Foreign Library 1830–1903*, Portico monograph, 19 (Manchester: Portico Library, 1999), 9.

¹⁶⁴ Coates, *ibid.*, 26.

¹⁶⁵ Busteed, "A cosmopolitan city," 225, 235.

of interest.¹⁶⁶ Earlier in the century many merchants and manufacturers had lived in, or near to, their business premises but gradually there had been a move out to the suburbs, as Kidd describes:

Many sought to escape from the city's environs as the industrial grime spread outwards... Those who did not depart the world of business entirely sometimes sought refuge along the rail routes into Cheshire or Lancashire... Still greater numbers bought fine villas in the tree-lined suburbs... or escaped to the exclusiveness of a residential estate like Victoria Park.¹⁶⁷

It is valid to consider this as a contributor to the networks because the inhabitants would, in most instances, have been well-known to each other within the locality thus affording to opportunity to socialise and bring their influence to bear on their fellow neighbours.

In his history of Victoria Park, Maurice Spiers singles out several residents for mention, of whom a number were connected with the RMCM; the names of others are listed in the centenary history of the area.¹⁶⁸ Gunn suggests that between 1850 and 1880 the residents were predominantly merchants and manufacturers, whilst Spiers draws attention to the increasing numbers of professionals connected with the emerging educational institutions, who moved in during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁹ Victoria Park, established in 1837, was surrounded by fences with controlled access through toll-gates, thus providing a clearly defined neighbourhood where, despite the 'private mansions',¹⁷⁰ it might be assumed there was a measure of socialising, which is borne out in a sentence contained in a tribute to Gustav Behrens: 'He belonged to one of the many cultured German families that came to Manchester and mingled Beethoven and Brahms with business in the period when... Victoria Park in the evening was an island of many twanging instruments.'¹⁷¹ When

¹⁶⁶ 'I will try to call on you tomorrow morning at 11.30 as I fear I should be kept here too late to see you this afternoon.' Edward J. Broadfield, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Oct 7, 1891.

RMCM/A/1/2, 1; 'On my way to town this morning I called at your office...', Edward Salomons, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, May 5, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 74.

¹⁶⁷ Kidd, *Manchester*, 143.

¹⁶⁸ Maurice Spiers, *Victoria Park Manchester: a nineteenth-century suburb in its social and administrative context*, Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Third series, vol.23 (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the Chetham Society, 1976); *A short account of the Victoria Park, Manchester* (Manchester: Victoria Park Trust Committee, [1937]).

¹⁶⁹ Gunn, "The Manchester middle class," 192; Spiers, *Victoria Park*, 51.

¹⁷⁰ Kidd, *Manchester*, 145.

¹⁷¹ "Gustav Behrens," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 30, 1936, 10.

Hallé and his family arrived in Manchester in 1848 they lived in Victoria Park, at 3 Addison Terrace, Daisy Bank Road, a rented house found for them by Hermann Leo;¹⁷² in 1850 Hallé was able to buy his own house in Greenheys.¹⁷³

In a location such as Victoria Park, the connections between the women as well as the men might be considered. Wolff offers the thought that 'an exploration of its geographical structure and its patterns of residence would provide the ...access to the intersections of work and family life'.¹⁷⁴ The details of the more than thirty families who lived in Victoria Park during the period under consideration and were linked with the RMCM are listed in Table 5.13, and the location of the properties shown in Fig. 5.4.

Charles Marx, a German merchant who was a supporter of all three musical organisations, was living in Victoria Park in 1884. However, he was at 58, Greenheys Lane from at least 1882, when he applied for naturalisation, to 1883, when he was listed at the same address in a commercial directory.¹⁷⁵ This was immediately next to Hallé's house and it may be assumed that he interacted with the conductor, although Marx didn't subscribe to the Gentlemen's Concerts until 1895 (just prior to the conductor's death) and his support for the RMCM began in 1899.¹⁷⁶ His support for the musical institutions could have been motivated by the personal connection with Hallé.

¹⁷² Beale, *Charles Hallé*, 53, fn.59. According to the entries in the Rate Book for 1848, the houses on Addison Terrace were owned by William B. [Broome] Parker. *Manchester Rate Books, 1706–1900*, Find my Past, accessed Aug 13, 2024, https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=GBPRS%2FMAN%2F4471083%2F00557&parentid=GBOR%2FMANCHESTER_RATEBOO%2F7694686%2F1.

¹⁷³ Beale, *Charles Hallé*, 67.

¹⁷⁴ Janet Wolff, "Manchester, capital of the nineteenth-century," *Journal of Classical Sociology* 13, no. 1 (2013): 83.

¹⁷⁵ *Nationality and Naturalisation: Marx, Charles, from Germany. Resident in Manchester. Certificate A3831 issued 28 December 1882*. The National Archives, HO 144/107/A22878. Accessed on www.ancestry.co.uk/search; Slater's *Royal National Commercial Directory of Manchester and Salford...* (Manchester: Isaac Slater, 1883), 257.

¹⁷⁶ Marx's application to the Gentlemen's Concerts was supported by Fred. J. Astbury, the Secretary, as were all of the other entries on the page; therefore there is no indication through the name of his proposers as to whether he had a particular link.

Address	Name	Notes
Anson Road	George Walthew	
-----, Clarence Lodge	Alice Briggs	To 1895. Shown on map
-----, Milverton Lodge	Edwin Guthrie	Shown on map
-----, no.4	Dr Graham Steell	
-----, Olga Villa	Rudolph Dehn [§]	
-----, Ravensbourne House	Charles Marx	Resided c.1884–bef. 1891
-----, The Elms	David and Marian Little	
Conygham Road, Wood Lea	Augustus Wilkins [§]	Shown on map
-----, Sunnyside	Semmy Hinrichsen	Shown on map
Daisy Bank Road, Addison House	Henry A.G. Brooke	Shown on map
-----, Addison Terrace, no.4	Max Mayer	Professor of piano. Shown on map
-----, Buckingham Crescent, no.1	James Kendrick Pyne	Professor of organ. Shown on map
-----, Daisy Mount	James H. Thewlis	Shown on map
-----, Fairfield	Alfred Hopkinson	Shown on map
-----, Summerville	William Kessler	Shown on map
Denison Road, South Villa	Ludwig Aron	
-----, Uplands	James Niven	
Dickenson Road, Clarence Lodge	Ernest and Edith Frank	
Kent Road, Manor House	Moritz Kalisch	
-----, Redland Villa	Charles Dunderdale	
Lower Park Road	Henry Roscoe [§]	To mid-1880s
-----, Firwood	Ernest and Edith Frank	
-----, Lily Villa	Theodore P. Ziegler	Shown on map
-----, Redclyffe	Goodman Mandleberg	Shown on map
-----, Regent House	E. William Grommé	Shown on map
-----, Regent House	Louis Grommé	Shown on map
-----, Regent House	Helen M. (Mrs H. R.) Phillips (née Grommé)	Shown on map
Oxford Place, Ashburne House	Bernhard Alexander	Shown on map

Address	Name	Notes
-----, Brooke House	Charles H. Arning	Shown on map
-----, Kensington House	Emilie Beer	
-----, Mayfield	Annabella (Mrs Robert) Heywood	Shown on map
-----, Oxford Lodge	Alice Briggs	1895 to bef. 1911
-----, The Lodge	Charles Marx	c.1891–1920. Shown on map
-----, Victoria Villa	John M. Koecher [§] and Helene Koecher	Shown on map
-----, Woodthorpe	Noah Kolp [§]	Shown on map
Park Crescent	Norman Melland	
-----, The Roundwood	Henry Wood	
Upper Park Road	Robert D. Darbshire [§]	
-----, Ivy Villa	Emil Liebert	Shown on map
-----, West View	Louis Grommé	Shown on map
-----, West View	Charles H. Arning	Arning was Grommé's son-in-law. Shown on map

Table 5.16. Residents of Victoria Park.

Fig. 5.5, below, is a section from the Ordnance Survey map, 1893, which includes Victoria Park.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ *Ordnance Survey 1:2500 county series. Lancashire. Sheet CIV.15. 1893, JRL1300036. Reproduced with permission ©CC-BY.*

Not all of the houses are named on the map and some have been identified by reference to the Greater Manchester Rate Books and a plan in Spiers' book *Victoria Park*. Where it has not been possible to identify the exact house, the roads have been marked.



In the streets in the vicinity of Victoria Park, it is possible to locate other near neighbours amongst those being studied, of which the following are of interest:

Plymouth Grove. The Gaskell family lived at no.84; Gustav Behrens and his wife, Fanny, lived at no.122 from after their marriage in 1879 until 1886/7. According to Kennedy, and supported by census returns and trade directories, this was next door to the Gaskells.¹⁷⁸ Other neighbours included George F. Watts, a merchant, who was on the 1891 lists and Charles Nördlinger (no.120), another merchant, who was not involved with the RMCM but subscribed to the Gentlemen' Concerts and was a founding guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society. By the time of the 1891 census, the Nördlinger family had moved to Oak Drive, Fallowfield, where they lived next to Otho Horkheimer (see below). Banker, Maurice Schlesinger, whose daughter Regina was to register as a student at the RMCM when it opened, was living at no.173 Plymouth Grove in 1882, remaining there until his death in 1924.

Nelson Street. From 1885 the premises of the Schiller-Anstalt were at no.66, when the other inhabitants of the street included: (no.30) Mary A. Ewart, a friend of the Hallé's and the Gaskells, referred to in Chapter Four; (no.79) George Gunton, who had taught piano to Hallé's children and was one of the first piano teachers appointed to the RMCM in 1893; his immediate neighbour (to whom he was also connected through the marriage of their children) at no.81, Revd Samuel Steinthal, a Unitarian minister, who was not an RMCM subscriber but was involved with many societies, associations and charities. From 1887/88, Gunton's next-door-but-one neighbours on the other side, at no.75, were William T. Arnold, a chief leader writer for the *Manchester Guardian*, and his wife Henrietta who, between them, supported the RMCM from 1892 to 1907.¹⁷⁹ By 1891 Walter Carroll (a teacher of harmony and counterpoint from 1893), together with his widowed mother and siblings, were living in no.59.

¹⁷⁸ Kennedy, *Hallé tradition*, 99.

¹⁷⁹ His name was suggested by Broadfield who was a colleague at the *Manchester Guardian*. E. J. Broadfield, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Nov 29, 1891. RMCM/A/1/2/26.

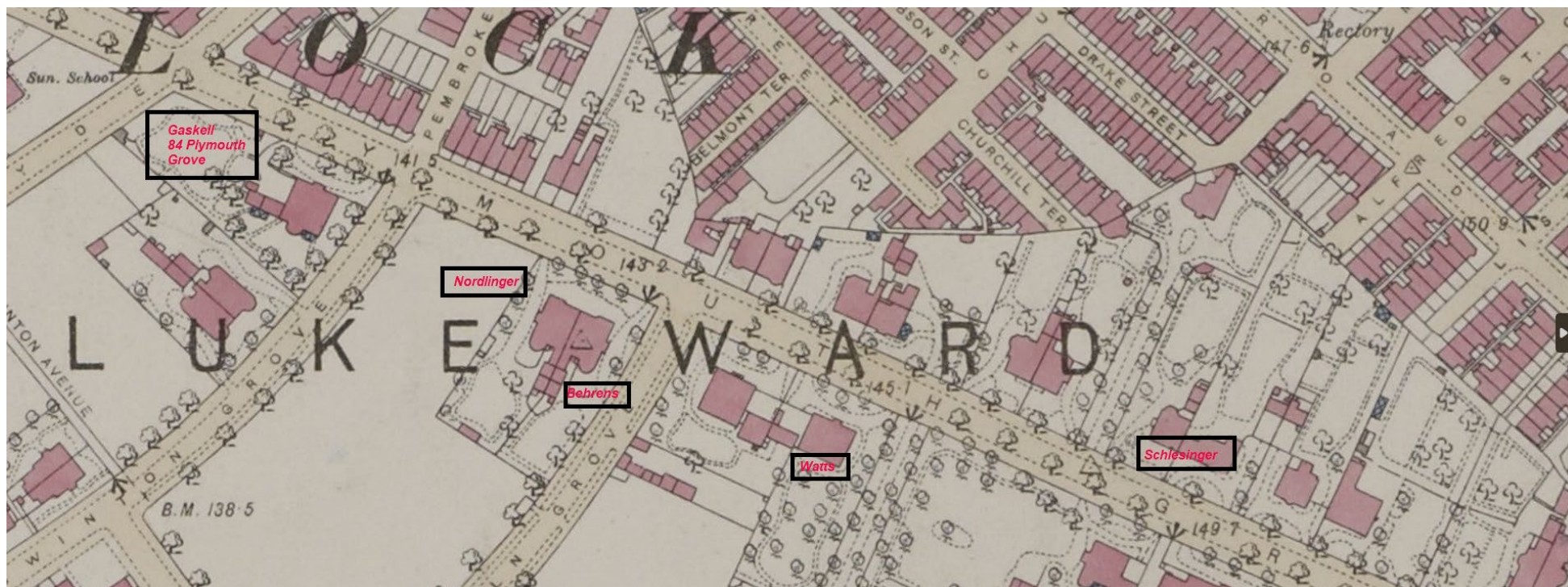


Fig. 5.6. Plymouth Grove, showing the location of the houses referred to above.



Fig. 5.7. Map showing position of the Gaskell's house on Plymouth Grove, Nelson Street (with the Schiller Anstalt), the RMCM on Ducie Street and Owens College. Ordnance Survey 1:2500 county series. Lancashire. Sheet CIV.15. 1893

The 1891 census for Fallowfield, particularly Oak Drive, (see Fig. 5.6) includes several families who had RMCM connections: Edward Donner and his wife, Anna, at Oak Mount; Edward and Abigail Behrens and their family, including son Oliver P. (The Oaks); Charles Nördlinger (Mayfair); and Otho Horkheimer (The Hollies). Nearby was Charles P. Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian* (The Firs). Also living in Fallowfield were Frances Aitken, Alfred T. Bentley (Registrar, Victoria University), Walter Flinn, Charles Lord, Edith Toller, Jane and Susette Warburg (Gustav Behrens' mother- and sister-in-law) and Professor Adolph Ward.¹⁸⁰

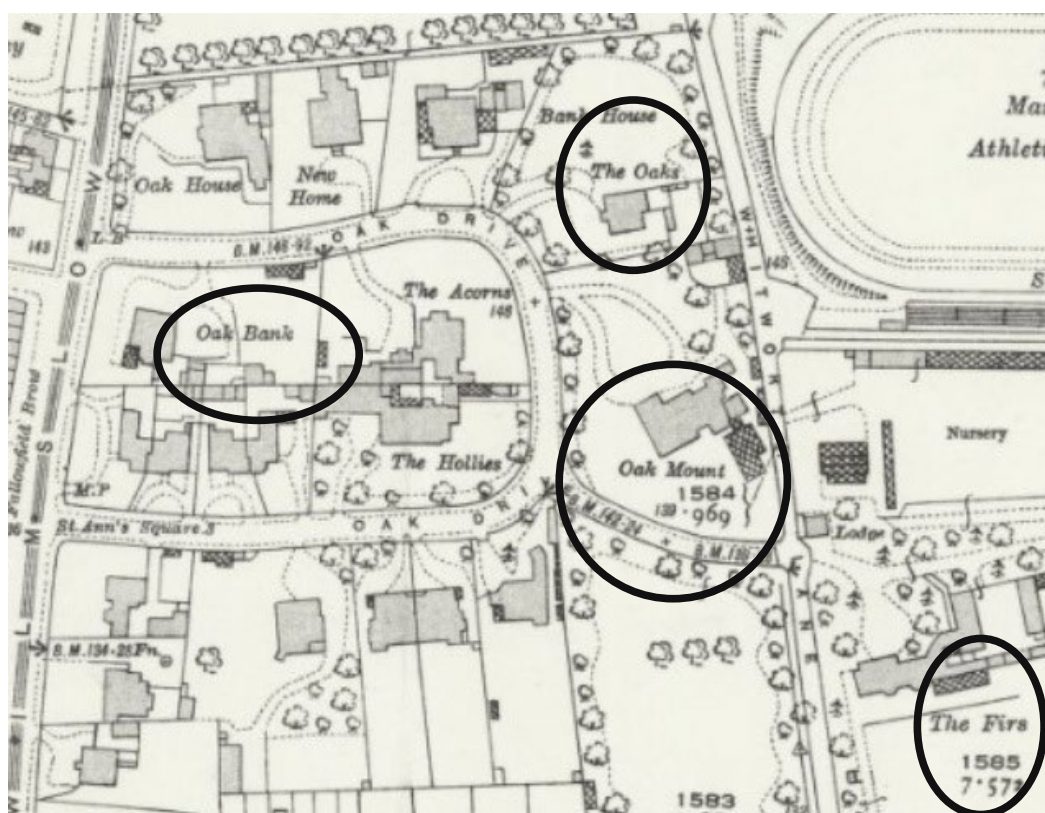


Fig. 5.8. Oak Drive, Fallowfield.
Ordnance Survey 1:2500 county series. Lancashire. Sheet CXI 3, 1893 © CC-BY
Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Didsbury, West Didsbury and Withington were amongst other locations for a number of supporters. 'A few business men of the old Manchester culture still lived in Didsbury, along with the barristers at the Manchester bar, the medical specialists and the professors from the university. There was also a contingent of the ex-Germans who added considerably to its more intellectual and

¹⁸⁰ In the 1901 census Flinn and Lord were next-door-but-one neighbours, living at nos.14 and 10 Wilbraham Road respectively.

cultivated atmosphere.’¹⁸¹ There are other examples in the suburbs, both south and north of the city, where the homes of the manufacturers, merchants and professional men were located in estates similar to Victoria Park, such as Ellesmere Park in Eccles and Sedgley Park, Prestwich.¹⁸² All of these areas are represented in the addresses of those who became involved with the RMCM (and also the Gentlemen’s Concerts and Hallé Concerts Society). Beyond Manchester and its immediate environs were the various Lancashire towns to whom recourse was had in appealing for support. Particular reference was made in Chapter Three to Oldham and Bolton where special local meetings were arranged. Many of those named below owned businesses in the towns, whilst some were aldermen and councillors.

Bolton ¹⁸³	Alfred Barnes, Joseph R. Bridson, William Brimelow, Edward Deakin, Thomas Glaister, S. Herbert Greg, John Harwood, John P. Haslam, William Haslam, Charles Macfie, George Musgrave, Mrs William (Mary J.) Slater, John P. Thomasson, Alfred Topp, Edwin Woollard.
Oldham	Alfred Emmott, Samuel Ingham, The Lees family – Charles E., Dorothy, Marjory and Sarah A.; George Newton, Edith Platt, Samuel R. Platt, Thomas Platt.

Table 5.17. RMCM supporters in Bolton and Oldham.

Music

When Hallé proposed his scheme to Behrens, not only was he putting forward the idea of a conservatoire, but he also wished to protect the future of his concerts and build a new hall which, he suggested, could help the Gentlemen’s Concerts. Therefore, the network of those interested in music, primarily as subscribers and concertgoers, was likely to be particularly significant for attracting supporters. This could be mutually beneficial across the organisations - some of the RMCM supporters later became subscribers to the Gentlemen’s Concerts, but in those cases it has to be concluded that the musical network was probably not the primary influence in making the approach. There are some

¹⁸¹ Chorley, *Manchester made them*, 222.

¹⁸² ‘From 1860 onwards and until the end of the century Sedgley Park was indeed a select area in which to reside. From Heaton Park to Singleton Brook and between Bury Old and Bury New Roads there were fewer than a dozen residences, some of them owned by men whose names remained famous for generations...Sir W. Mather of Mather and Platt and Sir William Holland M.P.’ Monty Dobkin, *Tales of Manchester Jewry and Manchester in the Thirties* (Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1986), 16.

¹⁸³ See, for example, the report of a Civic Banquet held in honour of the Queen’s birthday. ‘The Civic Banquet,’ *Bolton Journal and Guardian*, May 25, 1899, 3.

instances where the person named had been a Gentlemen's Concerts subscriber for several years prior to 1891 but did not support the RMCM until 1898 or later. As noted in Chapter Four, when the appeal circular was sent out in 1898 it was targeted at subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts, the Brodsky Quartet concerts and the Hallé Orchestra Concerts. This accounts for several who had begun subscribing to the former after 1892/3 but did not support the RMCM until 1898. There was also a significant number who later became guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society. For a separate table listing those who were connected with the RMCM, Gentlemen's Concerts, the 1861 concerts' Committee and the Hallé Concerts Society, see Appendix 5.3.

Performances of classical music in Manchester also included the concerts which were part of the Ancoats Recreation Committee's weekly schedule of Sunday lectures. Their significance to this study is because they provided another musical environment in which many of the same people had the opportunity to meet, and thus contributed networking opportunities. The purpose of the Ancoats Recreation movement, and the content of the lecture programme, are set out by Charles Rowley in his memoir.¹⁸⁴ Having described how the movement came into existence, he lists the names of some of the high-profile speakers and refers to the kind and voluntary helpers, including Sir Charles and Lady Hallé, who supplied the music. In order to fulfil its object of taking art and culture to the working class, and poor, inhabitants of Ancoats, the Recreation Committee was dependent on its middle class supporters for the finance:

Some of the most influential citizens of the Manchester region were among those who supported [its] work. These included Herbert Philips and T. R. Wilkinson.... William Mather...Gustav Behrens...the daughters of Elizabeth Gaskell; and C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian*. Together with Charles Rowley and Thomas Coglean Horsfall... these worthies provided the nucleus of the Ancoats subscription lists during the last quarter of the century.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Charles Rowley, *Fifty years of work without wages (Laborare est orare)*, Second ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1911?]), 195–206. For a discussion of the Manchester institutions which, in earlier decades, used music as part of their programmes that sought to improve the 'lower orders', see Rachel M. Johnson, "The agency of music in industrial society: a comparative study of the Royal Manchester Institution, Manchester Athenaeum and Manchester Mechanics' Institution, 1834–1860," *Journal of Victorian Culture* XX (2021): 1–24.

¹⁸⁵ Kay, op.cit.

These names were not the only ones to be found amongst the RMCM supporters; there was a considerable number of others to be found on the Ancoats subscription lists. Whether or not the subscribers attended the lectures and concerts is not known – several, including E. J. Broadfield, RMCM and university staff gave lectures – and therefore its significance as a potential meeting place cannot be determined. However, Kay and Thomason point out that concerts, including those by the Brodsky Quartet, began to attract a different audience from that which had been intended when they were established, i.e. not just the inhabitants of Ancoats, and therefore it might be assumed that it included some of the subscribers.¹⁸⁶

Although the Brodsky Quartet gave an annual concert, and RMCM students and staff also performed, many of the other musicians who performed in the Ancoats Concerts were gifted amateurs.¹⁸⁷ 'On Sundays the Behrens [sic] would take parties of singers and players to the working-class meetings in Ancoats...'.¹⁸⁸ Fanny Behrens and her sister Susette Warburg made frequent appearances, as did Emil Liebert's daughter, Juliet,¹⁸⁹ and Frances Dreydel (daughter of Thomas, and who was to marry Samuel Mandleberg). Others who took part included Gustav and Fanny Behrens' son Leonard; members of the Bles family - David S., Frances, Philip and Samuel D.; E. J. Broadfield's brother George (who was 'one of those men whose music seem to be in their very bones');¹⁹⁰ brothers Frederick and Martin Hertz; Marian Little (wife of Dr David Little); Maurice Schlesinger; Eleanor, Emily, Ingo and Margaret Simon, and Frank Whitworth.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 50; Thomason, "Brodsky," 175; ———, "Chamber concerts for champagne socialists: quartets and contradictions at Manchester's Ancoats Brotherhood at the end of the long nineteenth century," in *Chamber music in Europe (1850–1918): composition, mediation and reception*, ed. Catherine Flint de Médicis and François de Médicis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2024), 317–335.

¹⁸⁷ ———, "Brodsky," 355.

Gillett defines amateur musicians as those who pursue music-making for intrinsic gratification rather than as a primary source of income. Paula Gillett, "Ambivalent friendships: music-lovers, amateurs, and professional musicians in the late nineteenth century," in *Music and British culture, 1785–1914: Essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 321.

¹⁸⁸ Kennedy, *Hallé tradition*, 99.

¹⁸⁹ Juliet Liebert sang a solo role in a performance of Weber's opera *Abu Hassan*, put on by the Manchester Liedertafel; Sette Warburg and Carl Fuchs played in the orchestra. Apr 26, 1890. Programme in the Bundesarchiv, R 57/5060/30.

¹⁹⁰ "Memorial notices. Mr George Broadfield," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 7, 1905, 6.

¹⁹¹ For a discussion of the role of amateur musicians in relation to that of professionals in the late nineteenth century, see Gillett, "Ambivalent friendships."

In addition to those who played in the Ancoats concerts there are several other individuals whose personal interest in music has been specifically noted, many being described as accomplished amateur musicians. These include: Henry A. G. Brooke;¹⁹² William Johnson Galloway, who ‘devoted considerable time to the study of music, and is an accomplished performer on the organ, his favourite instrument’,¹⁹³ and was the author both of *The Operatic Problem*,¹⁹⁴ in which he called for a subsidised English National Opera House,¹⁹⁵ and *Musical England*;¹⁹⁶ Thomas Walton Gillibrand;¹⁹⁷ William Goldthorpe;¹⁹⁸ Charles J. Hall ‘who for many years has been associated with the higher musical life of the city’;¹⁹⁹ and Joseph W. Sidebotham.²⁰⁰ Those who enjoyed playing music themselves were likely to be interested in the training of young musicians and therefore willing to support the RMCM.

The Manchester factor

One of my research questions is whether the way in which the RMCM was founded and supported was a peculiarly Manchester occurrence, with local pride and identity playing a part in recruiting supporters. As I demonstrated in earlier chapters, the importance of having such an institution in the city was evident, underlining the significance of local identity.

Was it a peculiarly Manchester occurrence? There were other towns and cities undertaking similar activities at the same time. For instance, Jones compares the foundation of the civic universities of Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool during the nineteenth century - Manchester was not the only city raising money for educational institutions,²⁰¹ and Moore discusses the foundation of various art institutions, including the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool and the Harris

¹⁹² Malcolm Morris, “In memoriam. H. G. Brooke,” *British Journal of Dermatology and Syphilis*, 31/1 (Jan 1, 1919), 42–43.

¹⁹³ “Mr W. J. Galloway, M.P.,” *Manchester Faces and Places* X (1899): 133.

¹⁹⁴ William Johnson Galloway, *The operatic problem* (London: J. Long, 1902).

¹⁹⁵ Simon McVeigh, *Music in Edwardian London* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2024), 140, 173.

¹⁹⁶ William Johnson Galloway, *Musical England* (London: Christophers, 1910).

¹⁹⁷ “Memorial notices. Mr T. Walton Gillibrand,” *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 10, 1898, 7.

¹⁹⁸ “Memorial notices. Mr William Goldthorpe,” *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 19, 1904, 7.

¹⁹⁹ “Death of Dr C. J. Hall. A local musical celebrity,” *Manchester Evening News*, May 14, 1901, 2.

²⁰⁰ “Mr Joseph Sidebotham,” *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 13, 1925, 9.

²⁰¹ Jones, *Origins*.

Museum, Library and Art Gallery in Preston, which also depended on philanthropic support.²⁰² Gorsky provides a study of charity and philanthropy in Bristol which has similarities to Shapely's, referred to in earlier chapters;²⁰³ and the publication of lists of donations, highlighted by Checkland,²⁰⁴ was common.²⁰⁵ What distinguishes Manchester, firstly, is its role as an important centre of commerce and banking during the nineteenth century: 'The Royal Exchange was the economic heart of Manchester, and the central business district was dominated by warehouses, banks, hotels, railway stations, shops and markets'.²⁰⁶ Not only did this result in it being a meeting place for business purposes, but the plethora of institutions, associations and societies, as described in this chapter, provided many other opportunities for socialising.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, there was a group of very able men, who were part of those networks, had a strong sense of civic pride and a personal interest in music.²⁰⁸

Secondly, the status of music in the city is the other element which makes this a peculiarly Manchester occurrence. I have shown that by late 1891 there was a strong appetite for a school of music in Manchester, arising initially out of the campaign for a national conservatoire and following on from, and possibly prompted by, the establishment of the Whitworth Institute. Furthermore, the musical environment in the city was flourishing. The Gentlemen's Concerts had been in existence since the 1770s and there was a strong history of music-making throughout the century as discussed particularly by Gick, Johnson and Thomason.²⁰⁹ Hallé had been part of the city's musical life for more than forty

²⁰² Moore, *High culture*.

²⁰³ Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of philanthropy: charity and society in nineteenth-century Bristol*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History. New Series (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999); Shapely, *Charity and power*.

²⁰⁴ Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland*, 5.

²⁰⁵ E.g. 'The Committee were also directed to advertise the present list of subscribers and to take such other means as they thought would procure additional subscriptions.' "Worcester Infirmary," *Worcestershire Chronicle*, Jan 2, 1850, 6.

²⁰⁶ Kidd, *Manchester*, 101.

²⁰⁷ See, for example, the painting in Manchester Art Gallery by Frederick Sargent and H. L. Sargent, *Interior of the Manchester Royal Exchange* (1877), which depicts the traders on the main floor of the Exchange. "Interior of the Manchester Royal Exchange," *ArtUK*, [n.d.], accessed Oct 30, 2024, <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/interior-of-the-manchester-royal-exchange-205982>. It is reproduced in Kidd and Wyke, *Manchester: making the modern city*, 88–89.

²⁰⁸ 'indeed I would not raise a finger unless I see my way to provide our City with an educational institution second to none in the Country'. Gustav Behrens, *Letter to William Agnew*, Feb 25, 1892 [carbon copy]. RCMC/A/1/3, 32–33.

²⁰⁹ Gick, "Concert life."; Johnson, "Musical networks."; Thomason, "Brotsky and his circle."

years and his orchestral concerts, which had been running for just over thirty, had good attendances. Hallé was popular and, as the instigator of the scheme, commanded significant support, but it also relied on others who were either involved in the musical organisations in the city or supporters of music.

Conclusion

In the Introduction I referred to the use of prosopography as a method for studying people's social milieu and contacts, and quoted Stone's proposition that 'the individual is moved by a convergence of constantly shifting forces, a cluster of influences such as kinship, friendship, economic interest, class prejudice, political principle, religious conviction and so on, which all play their varying parts...'.²¹⁰ This chapter has demonstrated that many of the individuals were subject to this set of influences by virtue of their membership of the whole gamut of networks: business and professional institutions and associations, societies and clubs; management of charitable, educational and cultural organisations; religious and political affiliations; friends, family and informal social encounters; and interest in music. The recurrence of the same names, with connections to multiple organisations and involvement in a variety of social circles, are proof of Gunn's statement quoted at the beginning of the chapter. Hallé and his supporters were clearly implicated in wider local networks of financial, social and political support.

It is difficult to assess if any one network played a more important role than the others. The large numbers of subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts suggest this may have been a primary one, but the numbers of members of the Royal Exchange and Chamber of Commerce also point towards the significance of business links. What has been demonstrated in this chapter is that the majority of the people were members of multiple networks and were known to each other in and through a variety of situations. This answers the research questions about the significance of networks and personal contacts in garnering support for the RMCM. Involvement in any one network may not, of itself, have been significant, but the cumulative effect of belonging to several offered the likelihood of being brought into the sphere and influence of others.

²¹⁰ Stone, "Prosopography," 65.

In the next chapter I focus on the people, other than Charles Hallé, who played a significant role in the establishment of the RMCM and/or the first thirty years of its existence, providing biographical information, evidence of their links with each other and wider Manchester society, and their particular contributions to the RMCM and other musical organisations.

Chapter Six

People, Patronage and Philanthropy

The College was indeed fortunate in its friends; to read through the names of the early subscribers is to discover many names that have played so large and beneficent a part in the history of Manchester's civic, commercial and cultural life: Mather, Platt, Simon, Behrens, Taylor, Scott, Lees, Rylands, Grommé, Heywood, Armitage, Horsfall, Donner, Tootal Broadhurst, Gaskell, Eckhard, Godlee, Forsyth, Harwood, Hecht, Charles Rowley and the Ancoats Brotherhood, Worthington, Dehn, Broadfield, Crossley, Kendal Milne and Company, Hime and Addison, Houldsworth, and Sidebotham.¹

This paragraph from Kennedy's history of the RMCM provides an excellent summary of the importance of particular people to its foundation and subsequent story. Their involvement, and contributions to the institution, together with their place in networks have been described in the preceding chapters, but there are some about whom it is necessary to provide more information. The first two sections of this chapter are an examination of the lives of the most significant contributors in order to address the research question 'who were the supporters and benefactors?' and to understand how philanthropy and patronage may be viewed in relation to institutions such as the RMCM.

The third section outlines the connections with recent research into Manchester's links with the slave trade and enslavement. I commenced work on this project in 2019; the following year, in the wake of protests in support of race equality and a concern for Britain's role in the slave trade and enslavement, several Manchester organisations began to undertake research into their own histories. Amongst these were the Scott Trust (owners of the *Guardian* newspaper),² the Lit and Phil,³ the Science and Industry Museum,⁴ and the

¹ Kennedy, *History of the RMCM*, 21.

² The Guardian, *Cotton capital. How slavery shaped the Guardian, Britain and the world* (The Guardian, 2023); "Cotton Capital," *Guardian*, April 2023, accessed Sep 4, 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/series/cotton-capital>.

³ The Manchester Literary & Philosophical Society and the Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1780–1865," *Manchester Lit and Phil*, Jun 8, 2023, accessed Sep 4, 2024, <https://www.manlitphil.ac.uk/read-watch-listen/the-manchester-literary-philosophical-society-and-the-transatlantic-slave-trade-1780-1865/>; https://www.manlitphil.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/UCLan-RESEARCH-REPORT_june23.pdf.

⁴ Katie Belshaw, "Global threads: revealing Manchester's cotton connections," *Science and Industry Museum*, Nov 30, 2021, accessed Sep 4, 2024, <https://blog.scienceandindustrymuseum.org.uk/global-threads/>.

University of Manchester.⁵ They are of particular relevance to this thesis because some of the people identified therein were also part of the RMCM's history; I considered it important to include this information because it contributes to the understanding of who they were.

People

In this section I am drawing on the elements of prosopography described in the Introduction, using biographical information to inform a study of the key players as a group. The focus here is the main protagonists - those who worked with Hallé to bring his scheme to fruition and then worked on behalf of the College - and others who made a significant contribution later in its development. In Chapter Two I drew attention to the links between Hallé, Behrens, Broadfield, Agnew and Lees; here I offer a more detailed study of their respective lives, highlighting the connections between them, their individual involvement with the musical organisations, their status in the city and how their significance was recognised by contemporaries. A similar approach is taken with the Heywood brothers and Mrs Lees.⁶

Gustav Behrens (1846–1936)

Gustav Nathan Behrens was born in Bradford on 23 February 1846, the second child and eldest son of German textile merchant Jacob Behrens and his wife Dorothea née Hohenemser.⁷ In 1862 he joined the family firm in Bradford and two years later, aged eighteen, was sent to the Manchester office where he worked for the rest of his life, succeeding his father as head of the company in 1889. In 1879, at Platt Unitarian Chapel, he married Fanny Richoud Warburg, daughter of German shipping merchant Moritz Gumprecht Warburg and his English-born wife Jane, née Franks.⁸

When Behrens died in 1936 a substantial notice was published in the *Manchester Guardian*, with the sub-title 'A leader of Manchester's life in

⁵ "Founders and funders: slavery and the building of a university," *John Rylands Research Institute and Library*, Sep 18, 2023, accessed Sep 4, 2024, <https://rylandscollections.com/2023/09/18/founders-and-funders/>.

⁶ The decision has been taken to list them in order of their involvement with the RMCM, rather than alphabetically by surname.

⁷ See the family tree on p.256. Jacob Behrens was naturalised British in 1870. National Archives, HO 334/70/13.

⁸ Moritz Warburg was naturalised in 1867. National Archives, HO 1/142/5523.

business and in music'.⁹ This provides a perfect, succinct, description of the man as he was a significant figure in the business life of the city. In addition to heading the family firm he held positions of responsibility in its business organisations, was an officer of several charitable institutions, and served as a director of the Midland Railway Company for forty-five years. His involvement with many organisations in Manchester (excluding the specifically musical ones which are considered separately) has been discussed throughout earlier chapters, but is restated in Table 6.1, to demonstrate the extent of his participation in the life of the city.

	Organisation	Involvement
Business	Chamber of Commerce	Director; member of various committees
	Coffee Tavern Co.	Director
	Labour Exchanges. Manchester and District Advisory Committee	Committee member
	Manchester Crematorium Co.	Shareholder
	Royal Exchange	Subscriber
Charity	Delamere Sanatorium	Trustee
	Hospital for Consumption and Diseases of the Throat	Management Committee member
	Manchester and District Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union	Founder member
	Penny Savings Bank; Savings Bank	Council member
	Provident Dispensaries and Society	Various
Cultural	Ancoats Recreation	Subscriber; organised concerts
	English-Speaking Union. Manchester Branch	General Committee member
	Foreign Library	Committee member
	Hallé Memorial Fund	Committee Chairman
	Literary Club	Member
Education	Guild of Play for Poor Children. Manchester Provincial Association.	Treasurer

⁹ "Death of Mr Gustav Behrens. A leader of Manchester's life in business and in music," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 30, 1936, 14.

	Organisation	Involvement
	Manchester and Salford Practical and Recreative Evening Classes Committee	Hon. Treasurer
	Manchester Grammar Preparatory School	Management Committee member
	School Board	General Committee member
Public service	Courts	Magistrate; Grand Jury member
Societies, Clubs and Associations	Queen's Commemoration Fund	Committee member
	Didsbury Golf Club	Vice President
	Geographical Society	Council member
	Northern Lawn Tennis Club	Vice President
	Schiller-Anstalt	Committee, Jubilee dinner
	Statistical Society	Council member

Table 6.1. List of organisations with which Gustav Behrens was involved.

Politically Behrens was a Liberal, as evidenced by his membership of Bright and Slagg's Election Committee, the Reform Club and the North-West Manchester Liberal Association, and the description of him as 'a consistent Free Trade Liberal of the old school'.¹⁰ He was the archetypal businessman, providing his expertise in the service of other institutions and thereby following in the footsteps of his father who had been known for his support of the local community and philanthropic causes in Bradford.¹¹

'To Behrens more than to any man Manchester owes those occasions which have done so much to dignify both the social and artistic life of the city and have associated the name of Manchester with music of the highest class wherever people care for it.'¹² This quotation, taken from the notice announcing Behrens' death, summarises his significance within Manchester society and his contribution to its musical life in particular.

¹⁰ "Death of Mr Gustav Behrens."

¹¹ D. T. Jenkins, "Behrens, Sir Jacob (1806–1889), textile merchant," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed May 11, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/46616>.

¹² Ibid.

Behrens' connection with Charles Hallé commenced a year after the former's arrival in Manchester; his own description of the beginning of their relationship is reproduced below (Fig. 6.1).¹³ According to the article published at the time of his death, and referred to above, Gustav was not himself a musician - perhaps by this the writer meant a professional musician, as there are newspaper reports of him playing the piano in a concert in Hulme Town Hall, along with his sister-in-law, Sette Warburg (violin), and Ludwig Straus (viola), and directing a programme of music at the New Islington Hall in Ancoats¹⁴ – but it was 'music which filled the leisure hours of his life'.¹⁵

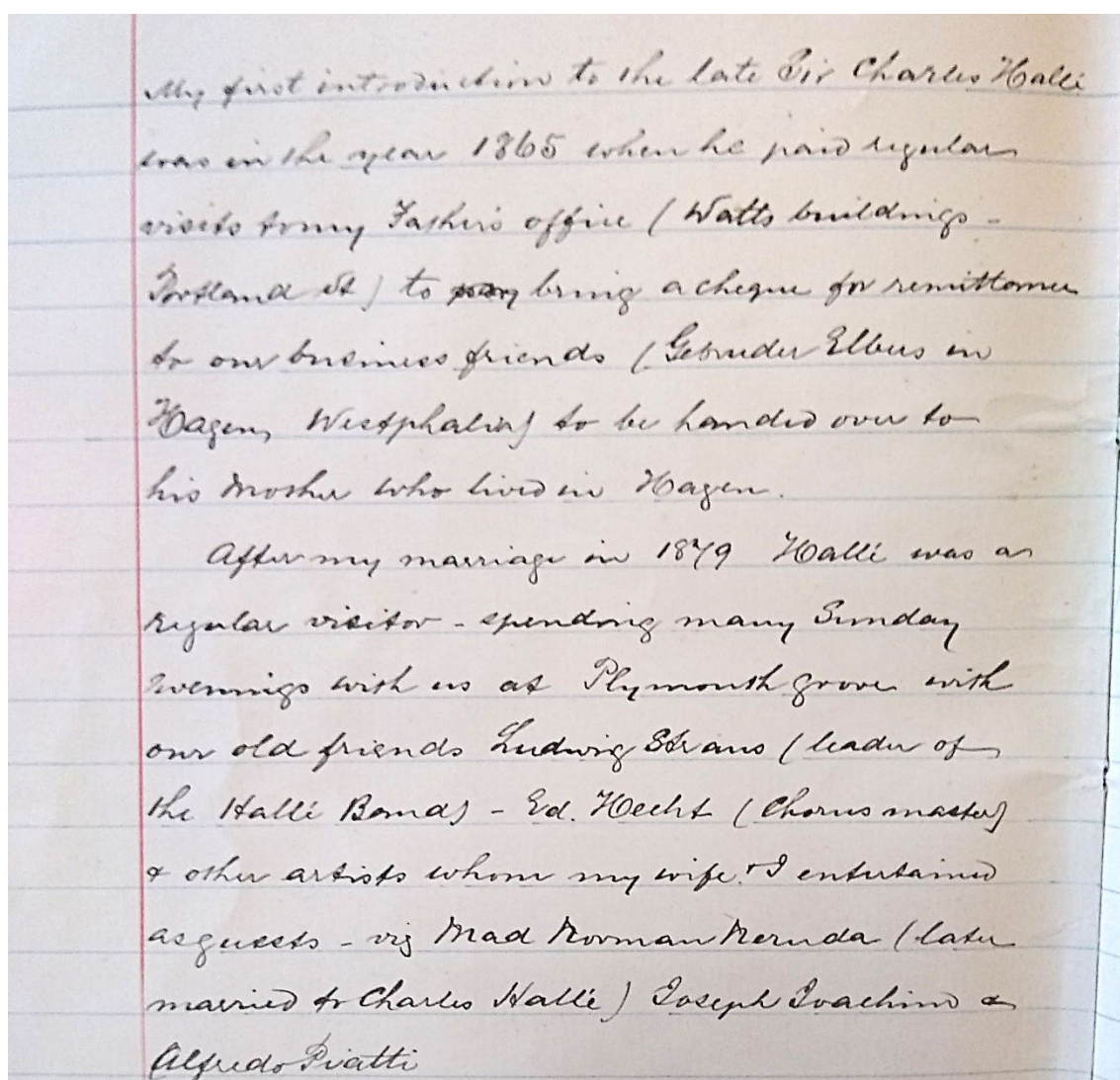


Fig.6.1. First page of Behrens' notebook. RNCM, Man-Mus 41.

¹³ Behrens, *Personal notes*.

¹⁴ "Concerts for Workpeople," *Manchester Courier*, Dec 15, 1879, 3; "The Sunday lectures at Ancoats," *Manchester Courier*, Jan 9, 1888, 6.

¹⁵ Kennedy, *Hallé tradition*, 98.

As to how his musical leadership was manifested, Behrens was involved with four of the major musical institutions in Manchester. He first subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1872, was appointed as a member of a Committee to consider the future of the society in 1883, and elected as a Director a few months later. He remained a Director from then until 1920 when the society was wound up, also serving as Honorary Treasurer from 1905. His last act for the Gentlemen's Concerts was to chair the meeting of former members of the Committee held in December 1929 which was called to 'discuss and decide as to the disposal of the various books, documents & records of the Society'.¹⁶

His pivotal role in the establishment and life of the RMCM, and his involvement in its organisation and management have already been described in the preceding chapters; as well as giving the College the benefit of his business expertise and acumen, he made a significant financial contribution. Both of these elements were acknowledged by the Council when his resignation from the post of Honorary Treasurer was accepted.

The Council receives with great regret the request of Mr Gustav Behrens to be relieved of the duties of Honorary Treasurer, and desires to place on record its profound gratitude to Mr Behrens not only for the time and thought he has so generously given to the financial interests of the College during the 28 years he has occupied that position, but also for his unfailing devotion to the College, in the foundation of which he played such an important part.¹⁷

The Annual Report for 1936, published after his death, includes a fulsome tribute recognising his importance to the RMCM:

In presenting the 43rd Annual Report on the work of the College, the Council deeply deplores the death of Mr Gustav Behrens, the last of the original founders of the College and one to whose enthusiasm, wise counsel and business sagacity it has been unceasingly indebted during the whole of its existence. As an intimate and trusted friend of Sir Charles Hallé, Mr Behrens was very largely responsible for carrying into effect Sir Charles's plan for the establishment, in the North, of a College of Music to be conducted on the lines of the best continental Conservatoires, and he shouldered much of the burden of the initial propaganda and organisation. From 1906 to 1934, Mr Behrens acted as Hon. Treasurer to the College, a task to which he unstintingly devoted both time and thought, and this office he only relinquished after increasing age and failing health had compelled him to give up many other interests. Even after that time, and indeed up to

¹⁶ "Meeting of the former members of the Committee of the Gentlemen's Concerts, 11 Decr 1929," Gentlemen's Concerts. *Minutes*, 1911–1920.

¹⁷ "[Council meeting] Jan. 23rd 1934," *Council minute book no.3*, 26.

the very end of his life, he continued to take a lively interest in the welfare of the College, its staff and its students, and the Council desires to place on record its deep sense of obligation and gratitude for the part he played in guiding the destinies of the Institution.¹⁸

The third musical institution with which Behrens was associated and for which, arguably, he is best known, was the Hallé Concerts Society. In his *Personal Notes* Behrens describes in detail how he, together with James Forsyth and Henry Simon, came to take over responsibility for the Hallé concerts after the conductor's death in 1895.¹⁹ The narrative is also related by Kennedy who calls Behrens 'the moving spirit behind these arrangements' on whose wisdom and courage the future of the Hallé Concerts solely depended.²⁰ The initial arrangement, whereby Behrens, Forsyth and Simon underwrote the concerts (any profits were to go the Hallé's executors, any losses would be picked up by the guarantors) was for three years; after that time the concerts would become the property of the guarantors. In July 1898 a meeting was held at which it was proposed to put the concerts under the control of a properly constituted society, the plans for which were outlined by Behrens. The Hallé Concerts Society was incorporated on 28 June 1899 with Behrens as one of its founding directors and guarantors.

Behrens became Chairman of the Society in 1913, following the death of E. J. Broadfield, and remained in that post until 1924. When he stepped down, tributes were paid to him for 'the signal work he has done for Manchester music during the many years he has occupied that position'.²¹ However, that was not the end of his service to the Concerts Society. In 1933 Behrens was appointed as Honorary Treasurer at a time when the Society was again experiencing financial difficulties, but he resigned a year later from that post and also the Executive Committee. The resignation was reluctantly accepted.

He was 88, one of the last great private patrons of music in Britain. His love for the Hallé was a prime motive of his life. Twice when financial scandal threatened he wrote a cheque on his own account rather than have the

¹⁸ *Forty-Third Annual Report of Council*, 1936 (Heaton Mersey: The Cloister Press), 6. RMCM/B/3/5.

¹⁹ Behrens, *Personal notes*.

²⁰ Kennedy, *Hallé tradition*, 97–98.

²¹ "Retirement from chair of Mr Behrens," *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 10, 1924, 11.

Society's fair name dragged into court for the misdemeanours of those who did not respect its aims as he did.²²

The other musical organisation with which Behrens was involved was the Tuesday Midday Concerts.²³ These concerts were initially called the Tuesday Popular Concerts when they began under the auspices of the Manchester Committee for Music in War Time; its existence was announced in a letter in the *Manchester Guardian* on 15 April 1915, to which Behrens was a signatory in his capacity as Honorary Treasurer.²⁴ The Committee was disbanded in 1919 but the concerts continued independently, with Behrens still in post as Treasurer of the new Committee of Management. 'It was characteristic of him that during the dark days of the war music should seem to him a fitting consolation and appeasement to offer the people and he with others then set going the Tuesday Midday Concerts.'²⁵

A tribute from Professor Samuel Alexander, published as a letter in the *Manchester Guardian* just after Behrens' death, provides an insight into who Gustav Behrens was, from someone who knew him well:

People like myself who have been privileged to possess the friendship of Mr Gustav Behrens have reason to be grateful to you for your tributes to his public life. For a public man he was in the best and fullest sense of those words, in which they include not only political or municipal work but all impersonal service rendered to the community. Shy as he was of publicity, his work for music alone, entitles him to be remembered as one of the chief elements in the public life and public institutions of this place during the last fifty years.

....to speak of him on a more private and personal note...He had the singlemindedness and fair judgement and simplicity of character which big men have, and even if I had not known of his public activities I should have known him for a big man.²⁶

It is clear from the tributes paid to him on his retirement from the RMCM and the Hallé Concerts Society, as well as those offered after his death, that Behrens' role in those organisations was crucial and was widely recognised as such. It

²² Kennedy, *Hallé tradition*, 269.

²³ For an overview of the Tuesday Mid-day concerts see Thomason, "Brotsky," 271ff.

²⁴ "Committee for Music in War Time. Letter to the Editor," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 15. 1915, 3.

²⁵ "Death of Mr Gustav Behrens..."

²⁶ "Letter to the Editor. Mr Gustav Behrens. Professor Alexander's tribute," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 1, 1936, 20.

would not be an exaggeration to say that without him, his wise counsel, business acumen and wide circle of contacts, the RMCM might not have come into existence and the Hallé Orchestra probably would not have continued after the conductor's death.

Edward John Broadfield (1831–1913)

We greatly regret to announce the death ... of Mr E. J. Broadfield, a name as familiar as it is honoured in the public and social life of Manchester.²⁷

The second person who became involved in the discussions about the scheme suggested by Hallé in November 1891, was E. J. Broadfield. Edward John Broadfield, who was born in Manchester, was one of the first students at Owens College of which he became a governor in 1871, a life governor ten years later, and served on the Court and Council of the Victoria University, with a period of office as Treasurer. His life-long passion was education. His roles and accomplishments in the field of education are too numerous to list here, but many of them arose out of his membership of the Manchester School Board, to which he was elected in 1878.²⁸ He was a governor of the Whitworth Institute, Manchester High School for Girls and Manchester Grammar School, and served as chairman of the latter's board. Like Behrens he was involved with many societies, associations and charitable organisations in a life of 'ungrudging service to the community and of devotion to civic duty'.²⁹

	Organisation	Involvement
Business	Chamber of Commerce	Education Committee member
	Manchester and Salford Savings Bank Association	Committee member; Vice-President
Cultural	Ancoats Recreation	Lecturer
	Jubilee Exhibition	Sub-committee member
	Literary Club	Member
Public service	Courts	Magistrate
Societies, Clubs and Associations	Chetham Society	Member
	Geographical Society	Council member
	Statistical Society	Member

Table 6.2. List of organisations with which E. J. Broadfield was involved.

²⁷ "Mr E. J. Broadfield," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 4, 1913, 8.

²⁸ "Mr E. J. Broadfield," *Manchester Faces and Places*, IX (1898), 227–231.

²⁹ "Mr E. J. Broadfield. Bishop Weldon's tribute," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 4, 1913, 8.

The long list of those who attended his funeral, many representing the public institutions with which he was connected, gives an indication of his place in the life of the city.³⁰ Broadfield also had an association with the newspaper business. He was a contributor to the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, subsequently becoming involved, with Alexander Ireland (father of the composer, John Ireland), in its management, and he was on the staff of the *Manchester Guardian* for some years. His politics were also Liberal; with Behrens he was a member of Bright and Slagg's Committee and a Vice-President of the North-West Manchester Liberal Association; he also served on the Committee of the Manchester Liberal Association and the Political Committee of the Reform Club. He was a member of the Swedenborgian Church (see Chapter Two fn.36), and stood as an Unsectarian candidate for elections to the Manchester School Board.³¹

According to the *Manchester Guardian* obituary Broadfield had 'but two conspicuous recreations – music and travel. Having a natural gift for music and sufficient knowledge of his technique to make him a competent judge, he was constant in his attendance at the Hallé concerts...'.³² Similarly to Behrens, he played a significant part in the management of the Gentlemen's Concerts, the RMC and the Hallé Concerts Society. He was elected as a subscriber of the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1886, nominated as a Director the following year and then served as Deputy Chairman from 1891 until 1913. The level of esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries is illustrated by the resolution made at the Directors' meeting after his death:

That the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts place on record their sense of the grievous loss to the Society by the death of their friend and colleague, Mr E.J. Broadfield. They remember with profound gratitude his long and valuable services as a Director & Deputy Chairman. By his uniform courtesy and unfailing interest he has won the esteem of his Co-Directors, who will always cherish his memory with affectionate regard.³³

As mentioned previously, when Hallé shared the ideas for his scheme with Behrens it was Broadfield with whom Behrens wished to consult. Between that

³⁰ "The late Mr E. J. Broadfield," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 7, 1913, 10

³¹ See, for example, "Manchester School Board Election. Declaration of the poll," *Manchester Courier*, Nov 17, 1879, 6.

³² "Mr E. J. Broadfield," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 4, 1913, 8.

³³ "Meeting of Directors, 23rd September 1913," Gentlemen's Concerts. *Minutes*, 1911–1920.

event and the Town Hall meeting three weeks later, several letters were exchanged between Behrens and Broadfield discussing the arrangements and the details of who might be invited. There is little extant correspondence between them after 3 December 1891, but Broadfield was much involved in the initial discussions and subsequent planning for the new conservatoire. He was a member of the Committees set up in December 1891 and May 1892, and then of the first Council in February 1893. He was elected as Vice-Chairman in 1898, remaining in that office until his death in 1913, and his contribution to the RMCM was commemorated thus:

That the Council desires to express its profound regret at the death of its Vice-Chairman, Mr Edward John Broadfield, who was one of those by whose enthusiasm & labours, in conjunction with its first Principal, Sir Charles Halle [sic], the College was called into existence, from its foundation one of the most active members of the Council, and in every subsequent stage of its history and phase of its activity the warm supporter, the wise counsellor and the willing helper.

The Council desires further to place on record its sense of the invaluable services rendered by him, not alone to the College of Music, but to the general advancement and cultivation of the art of Music, in whose elevating & refining influence he was a convinced believer, and its admiration of his long life of public usefulness, the dominant note of which was disinterested devotion to the highest interests of the community.³⁴

His service to the art of music also included his involvement with the Hallé Concerts Society. Broadfield was present at the meeting in 1898 called to discuss the future of the Hallé concerts; subsequently he became a founding director, chairman of the Management Committee and a trustee of the Pension Fund. His significant contribution to this organisation was reflected in the comments made by his successor, Gustav Behrens, at the Annual General Meeting in 1914:

...the chairman referred to the great loss that the Society had sustained by the death of their old and esteemed chairman, Mr Edward John Broadfield, who had a lifelong close and intimate relationship with Sir Charles Halle [sic], and with most of the foremost artists and amateurs in the musical world. Mr Broadfield's earnest desire to keep alive and spread the refining influence of art in its highest form, eminently fitted him for his position as head of the Society.³⁵

³⁴ "Meeting of Council, 24 Sep. 1913," *Council minute book no.2*, 106–108.

³⁵ "Halle [sic] Concerts," *Manchester Evening News*, May 28, 1914, 4.

The fulsome praise, and sense of loss, expressed by all three of the musical organisations are testament to his importance, not only to them, but also the musical life of the city.

William Agnew (1825–1910)

William Agnew was the third of the men who were part of the initial discussions about establishing a school of music in Manchester. He was born in Salford, the son of Thomas Agnew who had established the firm of art dealers in Manchester in 1817 and of which he, William, became a partner in 1850. He served as the Liberal M.P. for South East Lancashire, 1880–85, then Stretford in 1885–86, and was a personal friend of William E. Gladstone.³⁶ Farr describes him as being deeply involved in philanthropic enterprises, especially in Manchester, and also a music patron, with a wide circle of friends which included Hallé and other musicians (referred to in Chapter Two).³⁷ The combination of these attributes, together with Ratcliffe's reference in his letters to Behrens, Nicholson and Hallé of a scheme for a school of music, potentially as part of the Whitworth Institute, made Agnew an obvious candidate to be involved at an early stage. Furthermore, Agnew and Broadfield were contemporaries who knew each other for more than sixty years and had shared a religious upbringing in the Swedenborgian Church. Agnew was also a member of Bright and Slagg's Election Committee, the Liberal Association Committee and the Reform Club.

Agnew's name was on Behrens' first list in November 1891 and he was part of the correspondence which preceded the December meeting. His contribution thereafter was as a member of the initial Committee; he took part in the discussions with Hallé about the future of the latter's concerts, as well as working through potential plans with Behrens. Although he was appointed to the second Committee in May 1892 there is no reference to him attending meetings and, subsequently, the only mentions are of his (generous) promise of donating

³⁶ In one of Agnew's letters to Behrens discussing ideas for the new conservatoire he writes about the imminent arrival of the Gladstone family in Nice to stay at the same hotel. He describes Gladstone as 'my leader, my idol!'. William Agnew, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Feb 4, 1892. RMCM/A/1/3, 29.

³⁷ Dennis Farr, "Agnew family," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2010, accessed Jan 30, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65633>.

£100 per annum for five years, a further subscription in 1898, and his inclusion on the list of Life Members of the General Committee from 1898 to 1909.

Agnew was said to have been ‘one of the best sons Manchester has ever possessed – large-hearted, generous and kindly with all whom he came into touch and of a courtesy and genial friendliness that dwell pleasantly in the minds of all who were privileged to have his acquaintance’.³⁸ Of this group of four who were part of the original discussions, he was to have the least involvement with the RMCM in the long-term. It is probable that his long-standing friendship with Broadfield, his liking for music and connection with Hallé, his involvement with the Whitworth Institute, and his position as a former M.P. were the main factors for consulting with him.

	Organisation	Involvement
Business	Chamber of Commerce	Member
Charity	Manchester Royal Infirmary	Member, Committee for removal
	Manchester and Salford Hospital for Skin Diseases	Vice-President
	Manchester Children's Hospital, Pendlebury	President
	NSPCC. Manchester, Salford and District Branch	Vice-President
Culture	Manchester Art Museum	Committee member
	Royal Jubilee Exhibition	Executive Committee member; Chairman, Fine Arts Sectional Committee

Table 6.3. List of organisations with which William Agnew was involved.

Charles Edward Lees (1840–1894)

How Lees became involved in the early stages of the plans for the RMCM is not easy to determine; it could have been as a consequence of his friendship with both William Agnew and Behrens, and his name was on the latter's list. As outlined in Chapter Two, following his appointment to the first Committee in December 1891, there are several letters from Lees to Behrens in which the various options for the new conservatoire are discussed. Lees was obviously interested in the project and Behrens valued his input. Alongside his

³⁸ Ibid.

involvement in the planning for the RMCM his major contribution was as a most generous supporter, as described in Chapters Three and Four, whose purchase of the building was key in enabling the plans for the RMCM to proceed.

Lees was born in Oldham, the son of velvet manufacturer, Eli Lees. When he died, he was described in most memorial notices as 'a wealthy cotton manufacturer and spinner and one of the greatest benefactors of the neighbourhood [Oldham]';³⁹ in other sources, it was as a millionaire.⁴⁰ His friendship with William Agnew was noted in Chapter Two and, like his friend, Lees' main involvement was with art institutions. Lees was a member of Agnew's Fine Arts Committee, as well as a guarantor, for the 1887 Royal Jubilee Exhibition. In 1889 he was elected as a member of the Manchester School of Art Committee and appointed as one of the first governors of the Whitworth Institute. Subsequently Lees, along with Agnew and Edward Donner, formed the new Building Committee of the Institute. Together with his wife Sarah, Lees was central to the establishment of Oldham Library and Art Gallery which opened in 1883 and to which, five years later, he donated a significant collection of watercolours.⁴¹ Moore cites the Lees gift as an example amongst regional art galleries of a major private donation which provided the core of a permanent collection and shaped future collecting activities.⁴² This emphasises his philanthropic nature, which is reinforced by the description of him as one of Oldham's 'most esteemed citizens and most [sic] generous benefactors'.⁴³ Historically the Lees family were Congregationalists (Independent) and his marriage to Sarah took place at Heaton Norris Congregational Church;⁴⁴ no information has been found about his political standpoint.

³⁹ "Memorial notices. Mr C. E. Lees, J.P.," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 13, 1894, 8.

⁴⁰ "Death of an Oldham millionaire," *The Umpire*, Aug 12, 1894, 6. When his will was proved, the net value was just under £850,000. It was re-sworn three times and on the third occasion the value was £913,974.

⁴¹ "The Oldham Art Gallery," *Manchester Guardian*, Jul 30, 1888, 8.

⁴² Moore, *High culture*, 252.

⁴³ [Untitled], *Heywood Advertiser*, Aug 17, 1894, 4.

⁴⁴ His father Eli was baptised at Greenacre Chapel, Oldham. *Oldham, Greenacre's Chapel (Independent), 1763-1817*, National Archives, RG4/978; Charlotte Wildman, "Lees [née Buckley], Dame Sarah Anne (1842–1935), local politician, philanthropist, and suffragist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Aug 8, 2019, accessed Sep 3, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.41212>

The friendship between Lees and Behrens (and their wives), intimations of which appear in letters held in the RNCM archives, might have been the reason why Charles Lees was drawn into the early stages of the scheme for the new school of music.⁴⁵ Unlike the other men discussed in this chapter it seems that he did not belong to any of the societies and institutions in the city, although he served on several committees. He was a company director and magistrate, offices which would have brought him in contact with others in the community. In addition to the positions he held in the art organisations, outlined above, he was a life governor of Owens College, a director of the Public Hall Company and subscribed to the Ancoats Recreation Committee. General biographical information about him is sparse and nothing is known of his interest in music, other than his involvement with the Gentlemen's Concerts, his presence at the dinner for Hallé, and a brief reference in the quotation from Broadfield below. It is from the tributes paid to him when a memorial tablet in the RMCM was unveiled in 1905 that a picture of Lees as a person is gained. Broadfield 'acknowledged the peculiar claims of the late Mr Lees upon their reverence and respect. He was an exceptional man in every sense of the word, and the personal charm was the outcome of the sweetness and gentleness of his disposition. He was one who delighted in the beautiful in music and in painting and in sculpture', while Charles J. Heywood spoke of 'his enthusiasm, as well as generosity...'.⁴⁶ Lees' generosity to the RMCM locates him as one of the significant benefactors during its history and whose untimely death was described as 'a severe calamity' to the College.⁴⁷

Charles James Heywood (1835–1905) and Edward Stanley Heywood (1829–1914)

The Heywood brothers also became involved at an early stage of the new scheme and were to remain significant in the life of the RMCM from that point until their respective deaths. Charles James and Edward Stanley Heywood were two of banker Sir Benjamin Heywood's many children and together with their older brothers, Arthur and Oliver, they became partners in Heywood's Bank. Both Charles and Edward were recognised for the active parts they took

⁴⁵ See Chapter Two.

⁴⁶ "Manchester College of Music. Memorial to the late Mr C. Lees," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 16, 1905, 4.

⁴⁷ "Special Meeting of Council, Tuesday 25 Sep. 94," *Council minute book no.1*, 73–74. The full text of the Council resolution is quoted in Chapter Four, p.198.

in the public life of Manchester, supporting charitable and other institutions. The Heywoods were a Unitarian family and Charles and Edward were both baptised at the Cross Street Chapel but later became firmly part of the Church of England.⁴⁸ As to their politics there is little explicit detail, but Edward supported the nomination of a Liberal candidate for the 1874 General Election and Charles, likewise, in 1877.⁴⁹

The notice of Edward's death in the *Manchester Guardian* highlights his service as a member, and then chairman, of the Board of Management of the Manchester Royal Infirmary and his support, in particular, of the Penny Savings Bank Association, of which Behrens and Broadfield were also Committee members.⁵⁰ It describes him as an old friend of Sir Charles Hallé - he subscribed to Hallé's concerts in 1857, was appointed to the Committee for Hallé's Subscription Concerts in 1861, attended the dinner for the conductor in 1890, was Treasurer of the Hallé Memorial Fund and later became one of the founding guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society - and points out that he helped to found the RMCM. It was the names of Edward and Charles which were announced, along with that of Charles Lees, at the public meeting in May 1892 in order to encourage others to offer their support to the scheme, having been approached expressly by Behrens.

Edward was appointed to the Executive Committee in October 1892 and the new Council in February 1893, remaining a member until 1913. His death was noted with the following resolution:

- I. That the Council desires to express its deep regret at the death of Mr Edward Stanley Heywood, one of the founders of the College, a generous subscriber at all times to its funds, and a member of its Council from the opening of the College, and wishes to place on record its warm sense of the value of his services to the College, especially in the early years of its history before the infirmities of age had put a check upon his more active interest in its affairs
- II. That the Council desires to convey to.... members of the family its sincere sympathy with them in their loss and its regret at the severance of

⁴⁸ *Manchester, Cross Street (Presbyterian), 1770–1838*. National Archives, RG4/2009; 'His churchmanship was of the liberal Anglican type.' W. G. Edwards Rees, "The late Mr C. J. Heywood," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 6, 1905, 12; 'An ardent Churchman...', 'A devout member of the National Church and a liberal supporter of its enterprises...'. "Mr E. S. Heywood", *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 20, 1914, 11.

⁴⁹ "Salford election," *Manchester Times*, Feb 7, 1874, 3; "Salford election," *Manchester Courier*, Apr 21, 1877, 10.

⁵⁰ "Mr E. S. Heywood."

this last link with a generation of Heywoods whose public services and private virtues conferred lustre upon their city.⁵¹

The notice in the *Manchester Guardian* includes a personal recollection from “One who knew him”:

He had a full share of the liberality which honourably distinguished his brothers...His benefactions were munificent...Where he gave his money he was generally ready to give his personal service. The offices of chairman of the Manchester Royal Infirmary, treasurer of the Penny Savings Bank Association, and a member of the Council of the Royal Manchester College of Music by no means measure the extent of his philanthropic interest...⁵²

Although Edward was a Council member, and his service to the College was recognised in glowing terms, Charles was the one who was more actively involved in the RMCM. Having been appointed to the first Committee, it was he with whom Behrens corresponded about the initial plans and who conveyed the offer of the donation from the brothers. He was elected as the Vice-Chairman of the Council in March 1893 and succeeded Lees as Treasurer in 1894, serving in that office until his own death in 1905 when his loss was marked thus:

...the Council desires to record its profound regret for the death of Mr Charles James Heywood who was for the past eleven years Treasurer of the College and since its formation a member of the Council, and to express its sense of the great loss sustained by the College in the removal of one of its founders and most devoted friends, to whom it has from the first been indebted for unremitting personal services and generous material support.⁵³

Charles also subscribed to Hallé's concerts in 1857 (on the same date as his brother according to Hallé's own records), became a founding guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society and was elected as a Director in 1899 in place of Henry Simon.⁵⁴ He was particularly involved with the Gentlemen's Concerts, serving as the Treasurer from 1883 to 1905. Furthermore, he helped the society out of severe financial difficulties by purchasing its Concert Hall.⁵⁵ When the hall was sold on to the Midland Railway Company, 'in keeping with his scrupulous sense

⁵¹ “Minutes of Council, 28 Jan. 1914,” *Council minute book no.2*, 114–115.

⁵² “Mr E. S. Heywood.”

⁵³ “Meeting of Council, 13 Dec. 05,” *Council minute book no.1*, 297–98.

⁵⁴ Charles Hallé, *Chronological list of subscribers, 1854–59*.

⁵⁵ The Directors reported to the annual meeting of subscribers on 27 July 1894: ‘when the sale is completed, the balance of the purchase money (after paying all liabilities) will be such that the financial position of the Gentlemen's Concerts will, it is anticipated, be most satisfactory.’ “Annual General Meeting of subscribers, 27th July 1894,” *Minutes, 1893–1911*.

of honour, he declined to make any profit out of the transaction...'.⁵⁶ This generosity was also remarked on by his fellow directors in their own tribute:

That the Directors desire to place on record their sense of the grievous loss to the Society by the death of their friend and colleague Mr Charles J. Heywood. They remember with profound gratitude his long and valuable services as their Treasurer for 26 years and Director for 37 years. By his spontaneous generosity he enabled the Society to overcome serious financial difficulties by the purchase of the Concert Hall and at a later period, rather than derive any pecuniary benefit, he preferred to secure the provision of the present Midland Hall and so contribute to the present prosperous position of this Society.⁵⁷

Charles made donations to, and served as a member and officer on the committees of, several other organisations. The notice of his death in the *Manchester Evening News* is headed 'Manchester Philanthropist. Death of Mr C. J. Heywood' and the article concludes 'this morning flags were flown at half-mast on numerous buildings in Manchester and Salford'.⁵⁸ The RMCM was only one of many organisations in the city that Charles and Edward Heywood supported both financially and with their 'personal services', but their contributions on both counts were invaluable.

Sarah Anne Lees (1842–1935)

In this set of biographies of the people who were particularly significant in the life of the RMCM, only two have entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. One is William Agnew, as part of an entry on the Agnew family;⁵⁹ the other is Dame Sarah Anne Lees, who is described as 'local politician, philanthropist, and suffragist'.⁶⁰

Sarah Ann(e) Buckley, daughter of John Buckley, a cotton manufacturer, and his wife Sarah Anne (née Seel) was born in Carrhill, Mossley, on the Lancashire/Yorkshire border and the edge of Ashton-under-Lyne, where she was baptised at Albion Congregational Church. Sarah was educated at Wincobank Hall, Sheffield, a small boarding school for middle-class girls from

⁵⁶ "Mr C. J. Heywood," *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 2, 1905, 9.

⁵⁷ "Meeting of Directors, 7th of December 1905," *Minutes, 1893–1911*.

⁵⁸ "Manchester Philanthropist. Death of Mr C. J. Heywood," *Manchester Evening News*, Dec 2, 1905, 4.

⁵⁹ Farr, "Agnew family."

⁶⁰ Wildman, "Lees [née Buckley], Dame Sarah Anne."

Nonconformist families, run by the philanthropist and slavery abolitionist Mary Anne Rawson (née Read).⁶¹ According to the notice of her death in the *Manchester Guardian* she also attended some lectures at Owens College.⁶² There is little mention of her undertaking any public activities prior to the death of her husband – the aforementioned notice in the *Manchester Guardian* states that her ‘public work did not begin till she had reached middle life’ and that in 1892 [Wildman gives 1891] she helped to form the Oldham Nursing Association.⁶³ After Charles’ death in August 1894 she became increasingly involved with organisations in Oldham and Manchester, both philanthropically and as an active participant on committees. Wildman quotes Sarah’s comment on the responsibility she felt to use the wealth she had inherited from her husband for the good of Oldham.⁶⁴ It seems she also felt she could offer herself; Patricia Hollis suggests that she was ‘renouncing the self-indulgence of personal philanthropy for the discipline of elected and accountable public office’.⁶⁵

Sarah Lees was a passionate advocate for women’s rights and a suffragist, founding the Oldham Women’s Suffrage Society with her daughter Marjory. Having attended lectures at Owens College she supported women’s access to university education and made generous donations to Manchester University, one of which was to facilitate the role of Ashburne Hall as a centre of women’s collegiate life, and another to finance entrance scholarships for women.⁶⁶

Sarah served on various committees, including the RMCM Council, before her move into politics, initially as a co-opted member of Oldham Education Committee in 1903 and then, in November 1907, as a councillor in her own right, standing for the Liberals in the Hollinwood ward. This meant that she was

⁶¹ Alison Twells, "Rawson [née Read], Mary Anne (1801–1887), philanthropist and slavery abolitionist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oct 11, 2018, accessed Jun 25, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780198614128.013.112194>.

⁶² "Dame Sarah Lees dead," *Manchester Guardian*, Apr 15, 1935, 5.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Wildman, op.cit.

⁶⁵ Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: women in English local government 1865–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 28.

⁶⁶ Wildman, op. cit.; "Ashburne Hall Archive," *Jisc Archives Hub*, [2019], accessed Jun 25, 2025, <http://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-aha>.

the first woman councillor in Lancashire and, when appointed to the office of mayor of Oldham in 1910, only the second woman mayor in England.

Sarah's considerable involvement with, and commitment to, the RCMC has been fully documented in Chapter Four. It was not only her 'innumerable generous benefactions' (which far exceeded those of any other donor) that were recalled with profound gratitude, but also 'her active and unremitting personal interest in the work of the Council and the welfare of the College'.⁶⁷ She supported the Hallé Concerts, attending the meeting to discuss their future of in 1898 and becoming a guarantor of the Concerts Society the next year. When it ran into financial difficulties in January 1913 she was one of the guarantors to respond to the request to pay the full balance (£88) of her guarantee; it was refunded a month later.⁶⁸

When Sarah Lees died, her loss was mourned widely in the area. The *Manchester Evening News* declared 'Lancashire's Grand Old Lady is dead', and reported that 'flags on public buildings flew at half-mast and there seemed to be a reverential hush over Oldham today – Dame Sarah Lees was dead.'⁶⁹

These seven people have been singled out because they were the most significant of the supporters and benefactors of the RCMC during the years from 1891 to 1920. William Agnew was less involved after the early stages, and not as generous financially, but his support and advice at the beginning were important to the development of the scheme. Of the others, Charles and Sarah Lees and the Heywood brothers were significant because of their generous and vital financial support, as well as their services as officers and Council members. Broadfield brought a wealth of experience from his service to other educational bodies and his involvement with the other musical organisations. That the RCMC considered itself to be 'unceasingly indebted' to Behrens for his outstanding contribution to its life is an appropriate encomium.

⁶⁷ "Council minutes, May 14th 1935," *Council minute book no.3*, 35. The full resolution is quoted in Chapter Four, p.201.

⁶⁸ Hallé Concerts Society, *Guarantors' Ledger* (1), 209–210, HCS. HS/5/4/1

⁶⁹ "Dame Sarah Lees," *Manchester Evening News*, Apr 15, 1935, 8, 11.

Patronage and Philanthropy

These concepts were discussed in the Introduction and in this section I am highlighting the supporters of the RMCM to whose lives the terms were specifically applied, either contemporaneously or retrospectively. A description which occurs in some in the preceding biographies is that of philanthropist or a similar word, such as benefactor. I have not found the term used explicitly to describe Gustav Behrens, but his many activities would qualify him for this epithet, and he was noted as attending a funeral as one of many 'who have been associated with Mr Zimmern in one or another of his philanthropic works'.⁷⁰

There are, however, others amongst the RMCM donors who were publicly noted for their philanthropy:

Charles Behrens, Gustav's brother, of whom it was written 'many philanthropic enterprises owed much to his quick human sympathies';⁷¹

Edward Tootal Broadhurst, whose death 'removes a figure widely known and respected in commerce and philanthropy';⁷²

Julius Dreschfeld, honorary physician to the RMCM, who 'took a prominent part in many local medical, scientific, and philanthropic societies';⁷³

Sigismund Helm – 'it would be difficult to name any philanthropic institution in and around the city which did not benefit from his sincere and constant and yet unobtrusive aid';⁷⁴

Thomas Coglean Horsfall, founder of the Manchester Art Museum. His entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* describes him as a philanthropist stating that: 'By 1919 the level of his personal philanthropy had grown to include 187 donations and subscriptions to different charities and institutions, and he particularly advocated musical education';⁷⁵

⁷⁰ "The late Mr F. Zimmern," *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 11, 1919, 12. Others in the list of those present at the funeral who also supported the RMCM include William Eller, Mrs [Bertha] Robinow and C. P. Scott.

⁷¹ "Sir Charles Behrens," *Manchester Guardian*, Sep 28, 1925, 10.

⁷² "Sir Edward Tootal Broadhurst," *Manchester Guardian*, Feb 4, 1922, 11.

⁷³ Mohr, "Dreschfeld, Julius."

⁷⁴ "Mr S. L. Helm," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 21, 1910, 16.

⁷⁵ Eagles, "Horsfall, Thomas Coglean."

William Mather, much of whose life was 'given to the cause of education and to works of philanthropy';⁷⁶

Herbert Philips, 'Manchester businessman and philanthropist'; 'a remarkably vigorous philanthropist in his home town';⁷⁷

Enriqueta Rylands, 'a significant figure in the history of Nonconformist philanthropy';⁷⁸

Emily Simon. 'The impact of Emily's philanthropy and support for the local community was long felt after her death and is still recognised today';⁷⁹

Herbert H. Smith-Carington 'found time to take part and assist with many commercial, political and philanthropic organisations';⁸⁰

Mary (Mrs James) Worthington. 'The peace that pervaded the house was yet instinct [sic] with activities and interests, intellectual, artistic, social, philanthropic, and educational...Any appeal to her on behalf of a desirable educational work was sure to meet with the most liberal response'.⁸¹

Although the word 'philanthropist' was not used in reference to some of the other donors, there was frequent acknowledgement of 'public work'. This was usually in connection with educational institutions and hospitals, through generous financial support and serving as an officer or committee member. Amongst the RMCM supporters to whom this applies are:

Benjamin Armitage, at whose funeral were representatives of the 'numerous institutions for public welfare in which he took a life-long interest and on which he bestowed a large amount of money, time and active work';⁸²

Sir William J. Crossley: 'There are few institutions in and around Manchester devoted to social and moral advance that have not

⁷⁶ "Sir W. Mather," *Manchester Guardian*, Sep 20, 1920, 7.

⁷⁷ Astrid Swenson, "Founders of the National Trust (act. 1894–1895)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, May 24, 2008, accessed Sep 4, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/95571>; Kidd, *Manchester*, 149.

⁷⁸ Gow, "Not slothful in business," 207.

⁷⁹ Diana Leitch, "'Her compass always pointed to service': the life of Emily Simon (1858–1920)," in *The Simons of Manchester. How one family shaped a city and a nation*, ed. John Ayshford, et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2024), 83.

⁸⁰ "Mr H. H. Smith-Carington," *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 5, 1917, 3.

⁸¹ "Memorial notices. Mrs James Worthington," *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 2, 1905, 6.

⁸² William Mather, "Benjamin Armitage," [Letter to the Editor,] *Manchester Guardian*, Dec 11, 1899, 12.

benefited largely through his counsel and financial aid. He spared neither time nor money in the promotion of good causes';⁸³

Lady Donner, who was 'well known in Manchester and district as a supporter of work for charities';⁸⁴

Margaret E. Gaskell who 'worked hard for... good causes. She made a great many gifts of great value to the Owens College, the University of Manchester, the Whitworth Gallery and to many schools and public collections';⁸⁵

John Dewhurst Milne who 'found time to devote himself to various works for the public good';⁸⁶

Henry Simon who 'has won general esteem by the cordial interest he has manifested in various local institutions';⁸⁷

John E. Taylor, who 'engaged in educational charities'.⁸⁸

Most of the descriptions quoted above are taken from memorial notices and obituaries published at the time of the subject's death; the contemporary view of them was as a philanthropist. Those who have been mentioned tended to be prominent local citizens who had both the financial means and expertise to offer. Did they consider themselves to be patrons 'using money or influence to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.'?⁸⁹ It is not a term which appears in the many obituaries and tributes, other than in reference to William Agnew, where it occurs contemporaneously in his obituary and retrospectively in the entry in the *ODNB*.

There are many others who were not prominent citizens and whose life, or passing, did not merit mention in the newspapers, other than in the classified notices, but their contributions were, nevertheless, important. In the early days of the campaign to raise money Hallé, Withers and the other Committee members emphasised that donations of one guinea per annum were welcome.

⁸³ "Sir W. J. Crossley," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 13, 1911, 7.

⁸⁴ "Death of Lady Donner. A loss to Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 2, 1935, 10.

⁸⁵ "Miss Gaskell," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 27, 1913, 16.

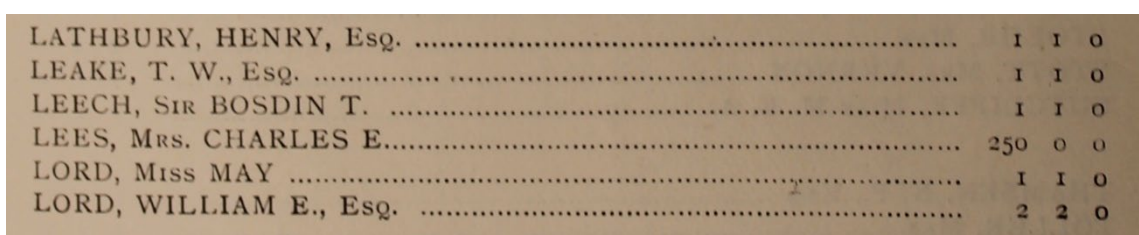
⁸⁶ "Memorial notices. Mr J. D. Milne," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 22, 1910, 6.

⁸⁷ "Death of Mr Henry Simon," *Manchester Evening News*, Jul 24, 1899, 4.

⁸⁸ Geoffrey Taylor, "Taylor, John Edward (1830–1905)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, May 25, 2006, accessed Jun 29, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36436>

⁸⁹ "patronage, n." *OED Online*, March 2023, accessed May 3, 2023, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/138931>.

When the lists of subscribers were published in the Annual Reports they were in alphabetical order, unlike the newspaper lists which, following the accepted convention, were in order of the amount donated. For example, in the excerpt from the Annual Report reproduced in Fig. 6.1 below, there is no differentiation between the £250 given by Mrs Lees and the £1 1s and £2 2s from the others in the same part of the list as her. Given that the term ‘philanthropist’ is employed to describe several of the donors and that all of them used their money or influence to advance the cause of a conservatoire in Manchester, I propose that being a supporter and benefactor of the RMCM was an act of musical patronage and philanthropy.



LATHBURY, HENRY, Esq.	1	1	0
LEAKE, T. W., Esq.	1	1	0
LEECH, SIR BOSDIN T.	1	1	0
LEES, MRS. CHARLES E.	250	0	0
LORD, Miss MAY	1	1	0
LORD, WILLIAM E., Esq.	2	2	0

Fig. 6.2. Extract from list of subscribers. *Eighth Annual Report of Council*, 1901, 17.

Sources of wealth

Although the process to begin the establishment of the RMCM did not begin until 1891/2 the inclusion amongst the list of RMCM supporters of so many cotton merchants and manufacturers, or men whose businesses were connected to cotton, suggests that there were likely to be links, historically, with the slave trade itself or through the import of slave-produced cotton. As the report for the Lit and Phil points out:

cotton interests in the city of Manchester were a very powerful force. As its nickname of Cottonopolis suggests, the city was built on money made from cotton: both directly, by its mill owners and merchants; and indirectly, through all the engineering, supply and service industries that grew up to support the main business of spinning and weaving.

Wealth accumulated from these sources trickled down to fund philanthropic, educational and cultural developments in the city, and was translated into cultural capital and political influence.⁹⁰

From the research published by the *Guardian* and the John Rylands Research Institute there are some names which stand out. John Edward Taylor (1830–

⁹⁰ Andrea Sillis et al., *The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and the transatlantic slave trade, 1780–1865. An insight into key historical members benefitting from transatlantic slavery* ([Manchester]: Institute for Black Atlantic Research, University of Central Lancashire; Manchester Lit & Phil, 2023), 36.

1905), who donated £125 to the RMCM, was the son of the *Manchester Guardian's* founding editor. The latter's links to the cotton and slave trade were revealed by Cassandra Gooptar, who demonstrates that the evidence is not necessarily obvious and requires complex research to unearth the various links.⁹¹

The Heywood family's links with the slave trade during the eighteenth century were pointed out in 1970 when the author of an article in the *Three Banks Review* described the trade in which the family was involved.⁹² The *Founders and Funders* project also showed those historic links, dating from Charles James and Edward Stanley's great-grandfather to their father Benjamin and also the family of their mother Sophia (née Robinson); the researcher Nancy Adams notes that 'the "eminence" of the Heywood family was a legacy of five generations of investment in Transatlantic slavery'.⁹³ The research for the Lit and Phil also highlights the Heywood family, including Charles who was the last of seven of them to become a member of the society. Moreover, it draws particular attention to the ongoing involvement of Benjamin Heywood and his son Oliver (elder brother of Charles and Edward), pointing out that they would still have been providing financial services to Manchester's cotton and West India elite right up to abolition of slavery in the US in the 1860s. Consequently, the family wealth and social standing that allowed them to engage in philanthropy was derived from their own as well as previous generations' dealings in slave-based economies.⁹⁴

George Murray, who was the owner, with his brother, of cotton mills in Ancoats, joined the Lit & Phil in 1815. The Lit and Phil report suggests that the Murrays were using Sea Island cotton, 'a luxury product with a high human cost'.⁹⁵ His grandson George Rigby Murray was a supporter of the RMCM from its inception and served as Chairman of the Council for two years. Mary (Mrs James) Worthington was descended on both sides of her family from the owners of the

⁹¹ Cassandra Gooptar, "How research uncovered the links to slavery," *Cotton Capital*, April 2023, 10–16.

⁹² "The Heywood story," *The Three Banks Review* 85 (1970): 53.

⁹³ Nancy Adams, "The Heywood family," *John Rylands Research Institute and Library*, Sep 18, 2023, accessed Sep 4, 2024, <https://rylandscollections.com/2023/09/18/the-heywoods/>.

⁹⁴ Sillis et al., "Transatlantic slave trade," 89, 93.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

firm of McConnel and Kennedy, as well as being connected to the Murrays through her father's second marriage. Her grandfathers were owners of the eponymous cotton spinning mills and 'as key pioneers of Manchester's cotton industry, they drew much of their wealth from slave-produced commodities,' and she was a beneficiary of her father's estate.⁹⁶ Members of the Philips family, to which Herbert and William Morton were related, feature in the *Cotton Capital* and Lit and Phil research, as do the Gregs.⁹⁷ (Samuel) Herbert Greg and his brother Walter (whose wife Susan, a cousin of the Gaskells, subscribed for a number of years from 1912) were the grandsons of Samuel Greg, the founder of Quarry Bank Mill.

An earlier project, *Revealing Histories, Remembering Slavery*, was a partnership of eight museums and galleries in Greater Manchester who came together in 2007 to commemorate the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade and to explore its legacy.⁹⁸ As the focus is on the collections held by the galleries and museums, the inclusion of a page about the Lees family of Oldham, and Charles in particular, is not surprising:

Although the Lees family were commercially successful largely after the British abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, and the ending of slavery itself in British colonies in 1833, they continued to profit from slave grown American cotton throughout the nineteenth century. Some of the wealth they made was bequeathed for the benefit of all by the donation of art works to the collections of Gallery Oldham and Manchester's Whitworth Art Gallery.⁹⁹

This section of the chapter has drawn solely on research by others which was undertaken as part of the various projects; there has not been time for me to investigate, beyond that work, how many other people included in this study owed their wealth to links with slavery and enslavement. As my own description, in Chapter Five, of the networks in family ties and business partnerships and Gooptar's work have shown, the process is a complex one. It is quite likely that

⁹⁶ Courtney Jones, "McConnel and Kennedy," *John Rylands Research Institute and Library*, Sep 18, 2023, accessed Sep 5, 2024, <https://rylandscollections.com/2023/09/18/mcconnel-and-kennedy/>.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 67–81.

⁹⁸ *Revealing Histories, Remembering Slavery*, [2007], accessed Sep 4, 2024, <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/home.html>.

⁹⁹ "The Lees family of Oldham. A fortune made from cotton," *Revealing Histories, Remembering Slavery*, [2007], accessed Sep 4, 2024, <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/people/the-lees-family-of-oldham.html>.

there are others who could be added to the list. These projects have shown that all of the educational and cultural institutions, as well as charitable and religious ones, in nineteenth-century Manchester were the beneficiaries of the proceeds of the slave trade and enslavement, whether directly or indirectly. The RMCM is no exception.

When I began work on this thesis I wanted to draw attention to the men and women who played a vital role in the foundation of the College; to understand who they were and how they fitted into the story of the RMCM and Manchester's wider cultural networks. Some of them were mentioned from time-to-time in histories of the College, the quotation from Kennedy at the beginning of this chapter being an example, but many were not. Charles E. Lees and his wife, Sarah, were the most generous benefactors and they were recognised both at the time and posthumously, the former in the naming of the hall in the then College building. It is not an overstatement to say that, without them, firstly, the RMCM might not have come into existence, and secondly, it could have failed. The Heywoods too were generous with their money, time and expertise and made a significant contribution to the RMCM. When they died they were fêted for their philanthropy. Unlike Owens College and the Victoria University of Manchester, most of the money donated to the RMCM was not in the form of endowments but for revenue expenditure and capital/building costs. The subscriptions and donations either contributed to annual running costs or, in the case of the Lees, paid for the purchase of the building and subsequent improvements. Nevertheless, the wealth obtained or inherited through involvement with the cotton trade was implicated and needs to be acknowledged as it forms part of the story of how those who became supporters and benefactors were able so to do.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have singled out those whose contribution to the RMCM was most significant. I have shown that they were well-known to each other through personal contact and their involvement not only with a variety of networks but also, particularly, the other musical organisations in the city. Their important contribution to civic life as leaders, and through their financial support of many organisations contributes to the narrative of local identity playing a role in the

establishment of the RMCM. The recognition of a number of supporters for their philanthropy in the context of similar institutions demonstrates that the description in the second part of the title of this thesis 'musical patronage and philanthropy in Manchester, 1890–1920' is appropriate.

Another of the research questions I asked: 'was the way in which the RMCM was founded and supported a peculiarly Manchester occurrence?'. I refer to it here because it is apposite to the discussion about the sources of wealth, although I had not expected to deal with it in that context when I embarked on the research. The findings in the recent projects, outlined above, have demonstrated that many of the city's institutions were founded using money earned from businesses which depended in some measure on the slave trade and enslavement. For those which were established earlier in the century the link is direct; for others, such as the RMCM, it is mostly at a remove of one generation, but nevertheless there was some inherited wealth gained in this way which contributed to the funding of the RMCM.

Conclusion

The establishment of the RMCM has significance as part of the narrative of the development of conservatoire education in Britain – it was only the third conservatoire in the country after the RAM and the RCM, and the first outside of London. Whilst the RCM was conceived as the national conservatoire, located in the capital, the RMCM was envisioned as serving Manchester and the North of England (in reality, the North-West). It would train performers without the need for them to travel to London, or abroad, for their musical education, a point emphasised by Hallé and others. The RCM had the patronage of royal princes, with George Grove, the organising secretary, travelling to meetings across the country to raise money; Sir Charles Hallé was the figurehead for the Manchester scheme with a committee, spearheaded by Gustav Behrens, which appealed to the people of Manchester and the neighbouring towns for support.

As I describe in “The funding of conservatoires”, the founders of the RMCM were operating on a much smaller scale than had been the case for the RCM a few years earlier.¹ Not only was the amount of money required less but the constituency from which it was being sought was more localised, with Manchester, ‘a great regional capital’,² as the locus. As I have illustrated throughout this thesis, the support for the establishment of the RMCM came about because it was situated in Manchester. The city and its region had a history of musical performance and concert-going dating from the eighteenth century and, for the second half of the nineteenth century the presence and leadership of Charles Hallé. It was a centre of manufacturing, with the attendant merchants and businessmen who comprised the membership of the two main business organisations, the Royal Exchange and the Chamber of Commerce, and a hub for banking and finance. Significantly it was home to a plethora of institutions, associations, clubs and societies. All of these factors contributed to the societal structure in place in the city which was, I have argued, pivotal to setting up and maintaining the RMCM.

In Chapter One I explored three key contextual elements, the first of which was that of philanthropic support. The founding of the RMCM was not unique in

¹ Wright, “Funding.”

² Briggs, “Victorian cities,” 108.

Manchester, it followed the pattern of other institutions which were established, or for which money was raised, in the decades immediately prior. From those case studies we learned not only about the established practices for fundraising, but also gained an understanding of where the RMCM stood in relation to the other institutions with regard to the level of finance required. The second element was music in the form of the Gentlemen's Concerts, and the importance of Sir Charles Hallé's leadership to the musical life of the city, including his scheme to establish a conservatoire. The final element was a review of the events in the 1880s when the subject of a school of music was being discussed. Although the launch of the campaign for the new national conservatoire at the Free Trade Hall features in histories of the RCM, it has not been considered anywhere in connection with the RMCM or even linked to the desire for a school of music in Manchester. Likewise newspaper articles, correspondence, and the minutes of the Gentlemen's Concerts have not been explored heretofore, hence I provide an important contribution to the story of music in Manchester in general and the RMCM in particular.

As described in Chapter Two, these are not the only archival documents to go unremarked by previous writers and the exposure in this thesis of previously undisclosed information reveals new insights. Of particular significance are the lists of names of people to be approached as potential donors; these provide the basis for answering my primary research question 'Who were the supporters and benefactors of the RMCM?'. Also in this category is the correspondence which, in the months from November 1891 to May 1892 in particular, provides an indication of the connections between the writers, and the extent of their personal networks.

At these initial stages of announcing the proposal and establishing the viability of the scheme, the focus for assembling support was entirely on the men who were either known personally to Behrens and his colleagues, or were persons of standing in Manchester society. This is evidenced by the analyses here which show the extent of membership of, or involvement in, the various institutions and societies, with the Gentlemen's Concerts, connections with Hallé, and the two business organisations being particularly important.

After May 1892, when the fundraising began in earnest, a much larger group of people was approached. Initially it was for their names to be added to the General Committee, signifying their support for the scheme; later it was for donations and subscriptions. As was remarked in Chapter Three, the notable difference between the 1891 lists and that of the General Committee is the inclusion of several noblemen (most of whom did have a link to Manchester or the region), more local M.P.s, mayors of neighbouring towns and thirty-eight women. When the appeal went public, new people responded, but the majority of them were still part of the existing networks.

As discussed in Chapter Four, an impressive number of people supported the RMCM for many years, some of them very generously. There was a gradual shift in the profile and demographic of the annual subscribers after 1898 which may be explained by several factors, including the death of Hallé in 1895, the death of other faithful supporters and the recruitment of new ones such as former students, the parents of students and members of teaching staff. It is also symptomatic of societal changes and, as I emphasised, the decline in philanthropic giving leading up to 1914.

Earlier I referred to the differences in scale between the schemes for establishing the RCM and the RMCM. Another distinction between them was how the funds raised were to be structured. The RCM's public appeal was for a large capital sum, generally consisting of substantial single donations, to endow scholarships which, with maintenance grants, would enable gifted but poor students to study there; those with good financial means would be fee-payers.³ In contrast, from the outset the Manchester call was for one-off donations to support the set-up costs and guaranteed annual subscriptions to pay the revenue costs; the students' fees would cover the professors' pay. The early initiation of the Sustentation Fund, however, shows that there was already an understanding of the need to support poorer students at the RMCM, as did the repeated pleas for money to be donated for scholarships.

³ Wright, "RCM," 3–4, 55.

Assembling the names of the RMCM supporters, and then consulting the records of a considerable number of other Manchester institutions and organisations to ascertain whether those people were members or had some form of involvement, has made it possible to construct a picture of the multiplicity of connections across many different types of networks. This was demonstrated in Chapter Five where I established that common interests, like-minded views, and regular social interactions, all combined to provide opportunities to draw people into supporting the RMCM. The conclusion was that membership of the networks, and the cumulative effect thereof, was in and of itself the key factor.

I referred to the other musical organisations in Manchester, questioning whether there was an overlap between them and the supporters of the RMCM, and any evidence of particular loyalty. An examination of the archives of the Gentlemen's Concerts and the Hallé Concerts Society, as well as information pertaining to Hallé's earlier concerts and details of his piano pupils, has shown that a significant number were connected with these organisations. This is evident both from the comparison of the names of the subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts with those on the RMCM lists of 1891/2, the members of the General Committee and the initial donors, and with the guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society.

In his history of the RCM, David Wright includes a brief prosopography in which he highlights a small number of the instrumental teachers who have been particularly significant, while the focus of Brightwell's thesis about the institution is on the contribution of Sir George Grove, his role in its establishment and administration, and his legacy.⁴ The purpose of my research has been to understand who the supporters and benefactors of the RMCM were. The names of some were, and are, well-known in the history of Manchester, but possibly not for their connection with the RMCM; others have not been 'recognised' at all in any public sense. In Chapter Six I have drawn particular attention to the relatively small group who played a major role in the RMCM, whether as a financial benefactor or through dedicated service as an officer or Committee

⁴ Ibid., 340–352; Brightwell, "One equal music."

member. Others who were noted for their philanthropy by their contemporaries are also included in the same chapter, and very brief notes on all of the donors are included in the table in Appendix C.

Scope for future research

In my original research proposal one of the stated outcomes was to ‘produce an online database of, as a minimum, RMCN supporters, together with digitised images of the subscription pledges and relevant pages of the RMCN reports, to be linked to the RNCN archives website’. It became apparent part way through the project that it was not going to be possible to achieve this within the timeframe. I intend to pursue this in some form so that the data can be made available more widely than this thesis and in a searchable form. There is also scope to undertake similar work on the lists of subscribers to the Gentlemen’s Concerts and the Hallé Concerts Society guarantors, thus providing a comprehensive resource relating to these organisations and their supporters which would be of great benefit to anyone researching these organisations.

In Chapter Six I referred to the fact that very few of the significant people I studied have their own entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (or other published biographical information), amongst them Charles E. Lees and Gustav Behrens. Further research could be undertaken with the aim of submitting entries for publication in order to rectify this omission.

Having raised the issue of the supporters’ sources of wealth, but not investigated it other than by reference to the work of others, I suggest that this subject needs further study to assess the extent to which the proceeds of the slave trade and enslavement contributed to the funding of the RMCN. In 2020, when many institutions were questioning, and being questioned about, the history of their donors this issue was raised within the RNCN. At the time a preliminary search of the Legacies of British Slavery database did not reveal any connections;⁵ however the research about several Manchester institutions published more recently, and described in Chapter Six, has drawn attention to a number of families who were implicated and this requires further attention.

⁵ Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, [Database], [n.d.], accessed Sep 26, 2024. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/>.

The main argument of this thesis is that, heretofore, most of the supporters and benefactors of the RMCM have received very little attention; the aim has to been to rectify that situation and highlight the whole range of people without whose support the RMCM would not have come into being, or continued as a viable concern. It has been important to situate them in the context of what was happening in Manchester at the time, including links to other musical organisations, the many and various networks of which they might have been part and why they might have responded to appeals. My intention was to expose hitherto hidden information about the early years of the RMCM and emphasise the important role played by the supporters during that period. This research contributes new insights not only to the history of the RMCM, but also music in Manchester, the study of institutions and networks in Manchester, and the history of conservatoires in Britain.

'Hallé also founded the Royal Manchester College of Music, of which he was the first principal.'⁶ This statement concludes the opening paragraph of the entry for Manchester in *Grove Music Online*, but I have argued that this is not correct as it stands. Hallé was the founding (i.e. first) Principal but the RMCM was established as a result of the efforts of Behrens and his colleagues, together with the many supporters who provided finance or gave their services in other ways. To reflect this, I propose the following amendment to Kennedy's statement: 'The Royal Manchester College of Music was founded by a group of people, led by Gustav Behrens, who worked with Sir Charles Hallé to realise the desire for a conservatoire in the city'.

⁶ Kennedy, "Manchester."

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APPENDICES

Appendix A
RMCM Archives

Reference	Description
RMCM/A	Records relating to the foundation of a College of Music in Manchester
RMCM/A/1	College of Music general correspondence
RMCM/A/1/1	College of Music general correspondence, 1888–1889
RMCM/A/1/2	College of Music general correspondence, 7 Oct 1891–31 Dec 1891
RMCM/A/1/3	College of Music general correspondence, 1892
RMCM/A/1/4	Committee invitations: letters of consent, May–June 1892
RMCM/A/1/5	Committee invitations: doubtful, May–June 1892
RMCM/A/1/6	Committee invitations: refusals, May–June 1892
RMCM/A/1/7	College of Music general correspondence, Jan–Sep 1893
RMCM/A/1/8	Letters from Sir Charles Hallé to Gustav Behrens, 11 Aug 1892–11 Apr 1895
RMCM/A/2	College of Music committee papers, 1891–1892
RMCM/A/2/1	Committee papers, December 1891–January 1892
RMCM/A/2/2	Correspondence and papers for committee meeting, 4 May 1892
RMCM/A/2/3	Correspondence and papers for committee meeting, 11 May 1892
RMCM/A/3	College of Music minute books, 1891–1893
RMCM/A/3/1	Preliminary minute book, 1891–1892
RMCM/A/3/2	Minute book, 1892–1893
RMCM/A/4	Subscribers' pledges, 1892–1914
RMCM/A/5	Papers relating to the appointment of the [organising secretary to the Committee]
RMCM/B	Records of the General Committee of subscribers and College members, 1893–1973
RMCM/B/1	General Committee Annual General Meeting minute book, 1893–1972
RMCM/B/2	General Committee AGM notices with agenda, 1950–1960
RMCM/B/3	Annual Reports of the Council [to the General Committee]
RMCM/B/3/1	1st–10th Annual Reports of the Council, 1893–1905
RMCM/B/3/2	11th–20th Annual Reports of the Council, 1904–1913
RMCM/B/3/3	21st–30th Annual Reports of the Council, 1914–1923
RMCM/B/3/4	31st–40th Annual Reports of the Council, 1924–1933
RMCM/B/3/5	41st–51st Annual Reports of the Council, 1934–1944

Reference	Description
RMCM/B/3/6	52nd–62nd Annual Reports of the Council, 1945–1955
RMCM/B/3/7	63rd–72nd Annual Reports of the Council, 1956–1965
RMCM/B/3/8	73rd–80th Annual Reports of the Council, 1966–1973
RMCM/C	Records of the Council, 1893–1973
RMCM/C/1	Council Minute Books
RMCM/C/1/1	Council minute book no.1, 1 Mar 1893–26 Jun 1907
RMCM/C/1/2	Council minute book no.2, 16 Oct 1907–18 Mar 1930
RMCM/C/1/3	Council minute book no.3, 27 May 1930–20 Jul 1954
RMCM/C/1/4	Council minute book no.4, 15 Nov 1954–23 Oct 1968
RMCM/C/1/5	Council minute book no.5, 1968–1972
RMCM/C/2	Appendices to minute books of Council, 1893–1937
RMCM/C/2/1	Appendices to minute books no. 1, 1893–1915
RMCM/C/2/2	Appendices to minute books no. 2, 1915–1937
RMCM/C/3	Royal Charter
RMCM/C/4	Seal Register
RMCM/C/5	Register of Honorary Fellows, 7 Dec 1923–Dec 1973
RMCM/C/6	History of The Royal Manchester College of Music [to 1918] (Withers)
RMCM/C/7	Visitors' Book, 1893–1971
RMCM/C/8	The history of the Royal Manchester College of Music [1893-1970] (Kennedy)
RMCM/D	Records of the Board of Professors
RMCM/D/1	Minutes of meetings of the Board of Professors, 1894–1973
RMCM/D/2	Diploma Regulations
RMCM/D/3	Students Open Practices proposals
RMCM/D/4	Library catalogue, c.1895
RMCM/D/5	Examination papers, 1897-1972
RMCM/D/6	Professors' Attendance Books
RMCM/D/7	Audio recordings
RMCM/D/8	Synopsis of the new organ
RMCM/E	Records of the Registrar
RMCM/E/1	Programmes (13 vols.)
RMCM/E/2	Student Registers (5 vols.)
RMCM/E/3	Student files (selected)
RMCM/E/4	General correspondence, 1893–1973
RMCM/E/5	Press notices, 1940–1963 (2 vols.)
RMCM/E/6	Prospectuses, 1949/50–1971/72
RMCM/E/7	Press cuttings, 1913–1938; 1958–1972

Reference	Description
RMCM/E/8	Diploma Registers, 1896–1973 (5 vols.)
RMCM/E/9	Department for the Training of Music Teachers Register of Results, 1909–1919
RMCM/E/10	Correspondence and papers on the Northern College of Music, 1961–1973
RMCM/E/11	Photographs and drawings of buildings, staff and students, c.1898–1971
RMCM/E/12	Student record cards, 1948 onwards
RMCM/E/13	Commemorative items given to the RMCM, c.1890–1971
RMCM/E/14	Plans, Ducie street building alterations, 1917
RMCM/F	Financial records
RMCM/F/1	Private ledgers, 1893–1946
RMCM/F/1/1	Private (finance) ledger, 1893–1915
RMCM/F/1/2	Private (finance) ledger, 1915–1927
RMCM/F/1/3	Private (finance) ledger, 1928–1936
RMCM/F/1/4	Private (finance) ledger, 1937–1946
RMCM/F/2	Fee income books, 1893–1939
RMCM/F/2/1	Fee income book, 1893–1927
RMCM/F/2/2	Fee income book, 1923–1939
RMCM/F/3	Subscription income book, 1914–1950
RMCM/F/4	Professors' Fees Books, 1951–1967

Appendix B

Brief biographies of other key supporters

Ludwig Aron (1850/51–1925)

Ludwig Aron began subscribing to the RMCM in 1900; he was appointed as a member of the Council in 1907 and remained so until his death. In addition to his annual subscription, he was also a regular donor to the Sustentation Fund. Aron was a founder guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society and subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1904.

Born in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Germany, Jewish shipping merchant Aron was naturalized British in August 1873.¹ He was a subscriber to the Royal Exchange, and member of the Reform Club and the Schiller-Anstalt. In 1915 he was among the signatories to a declaration of loyalty to George V from naturalized British Subjects of Austrian or German birth, published in the *Manchester Guardian*.² At his death, his estate was valued at £213,000.³

Oliver Philip Behrens (1863–1953)

Oliver Behrens was appointed to the Committee set up in May 1892 and then as a member of the Executive Committee. He served as Council member from its inception in March 1893, resigning after 20 years' service in 1914 'owing to his infrequent visits to Manchester'. Behrens continued to support the RMCM with an annual subscription until 1929. He subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts and was one of the early additional guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society.

Oliver, a shipping merchant, was the son of Edward and Abigail Behrens (see the family tree on p.237) - the branch of the family which continued to practise the Jewish faith. Politically he was Conservative.

¹ This is the first record of him being in England or Manchester that I have been able to find.

² "Naturalised Germans. Declaration of loyalty," *Manchester Guardian*, May 15, 1915, 5.

³ *Calendar of all grants of probate and letters of administration, A. B. C.*, (Hereford: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), 78. In October 2024 this was equivalent to almost £11m. *Bank of England Inflation Calculator*, <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

Alfred Thomas Bentley (1839–1917)

Bentley's name was on Behrens' first list and he was present at the Town Hall meeting in December 1891. In June 1892 he responded thus to the invitation to join the General Committee: 'I shall be very glad to act on the General Committee in connexion with the proposed College of Music, Manchester, and to do all I can to further the objects of the movement of which it will be the outcome.'⁴ He began subscribing in February 1893 and continued until his death, also making donations to the Sustentation and Endowment Funds. He was appointed to the Council in 1904 as the representative of the Victoria University of Manchester (of which he was Registrar, 1882–1895) and served until 1917.

Bentley was one of the original members of the Brasenose Club in 1870 and a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts. He was on the Council of the Association for Promoting the Education of Women.⁵

Thomas Craven (1850–1933)

Thomas Craven was a member of the first committee appointed to consider Hallé's scheme in December 1891. He contributed £20 per annum for five years from 1893 and an annual subscription of £10 thereafter until 1906; he was a member of the Council, 1895–1906. In December 1900 he paid off the deficit of £30 15s. 7d. on the balance sheet. Craven was a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts and a Director from 1889–94; he was a founding guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society.

Manchester-born Thomas, son of master mason James Craven, was a mechanical engineer. From 1875 he was a partner in the firm of Gresham and Craven and, later, a director of Beyer, Peacock & Co. He was one of the guarantors of the Royal Jubilee Exhibition in 1887. Craven was appointed as a J.P. and Deputy Lieutenant. Although at the time of his death he was living in London, he left money to several Manchester hospitals, including £1,000 to the Manchester Royal Infirmary.

⁴ Alfred T. Bentley, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, Jun 2, 1892. RMCM/A/1/4, 17.

⁵ "Mr Alfred T. Bentley, M.A.," *Manchester Faces and Places*, VII (1895): 43.

(Martin) Gustav Dehn (c.1847/8–1926)

Gustav Dehn was present at the Town Hall meeting in December 1891 and appointed to the Committee in May 1892, subsequently becoming a member of the Executive committee. He was part of the sub-committee which, in July 1892, was charged with inspecting Ardwick Hall, along with the architect Salomons, to report on its suitability as a College of Music.⁶ He also worked with Dr Ward to draft the initial constitution. Dehn served on the Council from 1893 until 1909 and was a member of the House & Finance Committee, the Library Committee, and the sub-committee which was responsible for appointing the first teaching staff. When his resignation was reported and accepted, it was minuted that ‘the Council desires to express its appreciation of his warm interest in the College from its foundation and its regret upon losing him’.⁷ Dehn was a subscriber to the Gentlemen’s Concerts from 1895 and became a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society in 1905.

Born in Hamburg, Germany, and naturalized British in 1897, Gustav Dehn was a shipping merchant. He was a member of the Schiller-Anstalt Committee at the time of the Jubilee Celebration in 1909 and in 1915 he signed the declaration of loyalty to the King, referred to above. Dehn’s daughter Bertha studied violin at the RMCM from October 1899–July 1901.⁸

Anna Maria Donner (1843–1935)

Mrs (later Lady) Donner was named as a member of the General Committee in the circular issued in September 1892, and promised £10 per annum for five years from that October. She continued to subscribe annually from 1898 onwards and was also a generous donor to the Students’ Sustentation Fund, giving £30 every year. In October 1906 she was elected as a member of the Council, serving from then until her death in 1935. In 1912 she was appointed to the sub-committee established to ‘consider the question of suitably commemorating the coming of age of the College in 1914’,⁹ and was on the House & Finance Committee from 1916. The Annual Report published in 1935 commented that not only was she a generous financial supporter of the College

⁶ “Meeting of Executive Committee on Monday July 4th [1892],” *Council minute book no.1*, 7-9.

⁷ “Meeting of Council, 16 Mar. 10,” *Council minute book no.2*, 47–49.

⁸ *Student registers*, 1893–1902. Entry no. 412. RMCM/E/2/1.

⁹ “Meeting of the Council, 14 Feb. 1912,” *ibid.*, 82–83.

but she 'took an active personal interest in its work and the welfare of the students. She was one of the most regular attenders at the meetings of the Council, and, until it became a physical impossibility to her, rarely failed to be present at Students' Concerts and Open Practices'.¹⁰ She left £200 to the RMCM in her will, together with the offer of her Bechstein grand piano.¹¹

Anna Maria Cunningham was born in Manchester, the daughter of Scottish banker William Alexander Cunningham, and married merchant Edward Donner at St James, Birch-in-Rusholme, in April 1866. Her husband was a subscriber to the Gentlemen's Concerts and she was a member of its short-lived Ladies' Committee, set up in 1893. Edward was a founder guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society and she became a guarantor in her own right in 1908; according to her obituary she continued to attend the concerts until a few years before her death.¹² Anna Donner was created a D.B.E. in the King's Birthday Honours in June 1918, for her work as Vice-President of the Fallowfield Division of the Red Cross and organiser of the Fairview Auxiliary Hospital;¹³ she was well-known in the Manchester area for her charitable work.

Charles Dunderdale (1864–1922)

Solicitor Charles Dunderdale wrote to Gustav Behrens in May 1892 to offer his services, in lieu of a subscription, for any legal work required in setting up a college of music.¹⁴ By October that year he was attending meetings of the Executive Committee and in February 1893 was appointed to the new Council. Although there seems to be no record of his being appointed officially as the College's solicitor, he acted on its behalf in all legal matters with effect from that time, being empowered to 'take the necessary steps to procure a Royal Charter' and reporting that 'arrangements for the completion of the purchase of the College building were proceeding satisfactorily...' at the Council meeting on 28 March 1893.¹⁵ Dunderdale was requested to become a Trustee of the RMCM in March 1895. He remained in position as the Honorary Solicitor until 1922 when his death was marked thus:

¹⁰ *Forty-Second Annual Report of Council*, 1935, 6. RMCM/B/3/5.

¹¹ "Council meeting, Dec. 10th 1935," *Council minute book no.3*, 43.

¹² "Death of Lady Donner. Loss to Manchester," *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 2, 1935, 10.

¹³ "Order of the British Empire. Birthday Honours List," *The Times*, Jun 8, 1918, 4.

¹⁴ For full transcription of the letter, see Chapter Two, p.112.

¹⁵ "[III] Meeting of the Council, Tuesday 28 March 93," *Council minute book no.1*, 9–10.

...the Council deeply deplores the death of Mr Charles Dunderdale, one of the original members of the College Council, who for a period of nearly thirty years had served upon its body and had also acted as hon. solicitor to the College, and desires to place on record its warm appreciation of his long & valuable services in both capacities.

The Council remembers with gratitude his great helpfulness at the opening of the College in the drafting of the constitution and also his willing services as legal adviser throughout the whole of its existence...¹⁶

Dunderdale began subscribing to the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1895 and was another of the founder guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society, for which he helped to draw up the Articles of Association.¹⁷

Born in Manchester, the son of commission agent Albert Newmarch Dunderdale, he married Marjory, daughter of Edward Napier Galloway (a member of the Galloway family which owned Knott Mill Iron Works). He acted as solicitor for the Victoria Park Trust (where he lived for a time), was a member of the Brasenose Club and a freemason, belonging to the King Edward VII Lodge.

Gustav Jacob Conrad Eckhard (1851/2–1929)

Gustav Eckhard promised £5 per annum for five years in 1892 and subscribed annually from 1898 onwards. He was elected to the Council in July 1906 and remained a member until his death in 1929. In 1909 he was appointed to the committee set up to manage the Brodsky Quartet concerts, and in 1913 he joined the House Committee. His service as a valuable member of the Council and a devoted and faithful friend of the College was noted when his death, within days of that of Brodsky, was recorded in the minutes.¹⁸ Eckhard was in the second tranche of guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society and began subscribing to the Gentlemen's Concerts a year later in 1900. His obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* began with the comment that he was 'highly esteemed for the valuable service he gave over a long span of years, to commerce and music in the city'.¹⁹ Later in the piece it noted that he was 'among the most regular and enthusiastic attenders at all concerts and musical occasions'.

¹⁶ "Meeting of Council, May 25th 1922," *Council minute book no.2*, 246–247.

¹⁷ Kennedy, *Hallé tradition*, 113.

¹⁸ "Emergency meeting of Council, Jan. 31st / 29," *Council minute book no.2*, 322.

¹⁹ "Obituary. Mr Gustav Eckhard," *Manchester Guardian*, Jan 26, 1929, 15.

Eckhard was born in Germany and moved to Manchester in the 1870s where he worked as a shipping merchant.²⁰ He was naturalized British in March 1883 and a month later married Marie Christine Stoehr, the sister of Emily Simon. Along with Gustav Behrens he was an executor of Henry Simon's will. He was a founder and, subsequently, Chairman of the Manchester Crematorium Company, a J.P., and member of the Chamber of Commerce, the Royal Exchange, the Manchester Geographical Society, the Reform Club, the Statistical Society and the Union Club. In politics he was Liberal and served on the Liberal Federation general committee. Eckhard was another of the signatories to the 1915 letter declaring loyalty to the King.

William Eller (1852–1927)

William Eller was on the list of people to whom invitations were sent in November 1891. He was appointed to the Committee established in May 1892 and subsequently to the Executive, and a member of the subcommittee, with Behrens, Dehn and Lees, which was invited to work with Salomons to assess the suitability of Ardwick Hall as premises for the new college. He was one of the signatories to the requisition for a public meeting in October 1892 and it appears that he was active in soliciting support, as evidenced by a minute of the meeting on 22 November 1892 when he 'handed into the meeting several signed subscription forms including one from Mr Kessler for £10 per an....'.²¹ He was elected to the Council in February 1893 and served on the committee charged with overseeing necessary alterations to the recently purchased building and the appointment of teaching staff. He was appointed as one of the Trustees in 1895 and, in 1899, as a member of the House & Finance and Library Committees. Other positions included Chairman of the Opera Committee (1909), member of the committee overseeing the coming of age celebrations (estd 1912) and, on occasions, as Chairman of Council meetings. Following his death, the Council minutes recorded the following:

Through the sudden death of William Eller one of the founders of the Royal Manchester College of Music, and from its commencement in 1893 a member of its Governing Council, this Institution has lost a valuable and enthusiastic colleague. As Chairman of the House and

²⁰ He is listed as a cotton agent living in Bradford on the 1871 census, and was on the Schiller-Anstalt Committee in April 1876

²¹ "Meeting of the Executive Committee held on Tuesday Nov. 22nd [1892]," *Council minute book no.1*, 57–58.

Finance Committee he devoted unremitting attention to its varied interests and thereby contributed in no small measure to the steady and increasing success of our College. His loss is deeply deplored not only by his Colleagues on the Council but also by the Members of the Staff as well as by the Students, old and new, in whose career he took a personal and friendly interest.²²

Eller subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts but, although he attended the meeting to discuss the future of the Hallé Concerts in 1898, he did not become a guarantor. His obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* opens thus: 'By the death of William Eller... Manchester loses a citizen who has been a very conspicuous figure in the musical world for at least fifty years'.²³ Having referred to his connection with the RMCM the writer continues: 'By the general public his services to Manchester music were perhaps more closely identified with the Tuesday Midday Concerts Society, of which for many years he was the musical director'.²⁴ He was also involved with the Ancoats Recreation Committee events, providing programme notes for its concerts and giving lectures. For example, in 1908 he 'made remarks to aid the appreciation of music' at a series of five recitals of Beethoven's Piano sonatas given by Egon Petri.²⁵ His important contribution to educating others about music was acknowledged by Neville Cardus in an appreciation which was published alongside the obituary.²⁶

William Eller was born in Manchester, the son of Joseph Eller and Louisa, née Salomons, and nephew of architect Edward Salomons. Following Joseph's death in 1860, Louisa married George Eduard C. Gumpert, a German physician and member of the Schiller Anstalt and Albert Club, who was described 'well-known and highly respected amongst the German residents in the city'.²⁷ William was a shipping merchant and subscriber to the Royal Exchange. According to a report in the *Manchester Evening News* he played a role in obtaining Adolph Brodsky's release from internment in Austria in 1915.²⁸

²² "Meeting of Council, Oct. 20th 1927," *Council minute book no.2*, 310–311.

²³ "Death of Mr William Eller. Services to Manchester Music," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 18, 1927, 14.

²⁴ For more information about the history of the Tuesday Midday Concerts see Antony Sluce, "The Manchester Tuesday Mid-day Concerts Society, 1923–1972," *Manchester Sounds* 4 (2003–4): 185–192; Thomason, "Brodsky," 271ff.

²⁵ *Ancoats Recreation Committee proceedings, 1908–9*, MLA. 374.5M1.

²⁶ N.C. [Neville Cardus] "An appreciation," *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 18, 1927, 14.

²⁷ "Death of Dr Gumpert," *Manchester Evening News*, Apr 24, 1893, 2.

²⁸ "Dr Brodsky. Released by the Austrian government," *Manchester Evening News*, Mar 12, 1915, 3.

Harold Elverston (1866–1941)

Harold Elverston, a Manchester City Councillor, was elected to the RMCM Council in January 1907 initially as the representative of the Education Committee. In 1911 he was elected as a member in his own right and served until his death in 1941. Following his election as an MP in 1910 he was called upon on several occasions to intercede with the government and Board of Education on behalf of the College. Sir Harold (he was knighted in the 1911 Coronation Honours) owned the Policy-Holder Journal Company and he offered to print Withers' history of the College in 1918.²⁹ He became a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society in 1908 and his obituary described him as 'a pianist and organist of ability [with] an extensive knowledge of music'.³⁰

Elverston was born in Fairfield, Manchester, the son of a merchant, and worked in insurance. He was the Liberal M.P. for Gateshead from 1910–1918 but retained his links with the Manchester area, including as a member of the Reform Club.

Thomas Walton Gillibrand (1836–1898)

T. W. Gillibrand was on the list of those to whom letters were sent in November 1891 and was present at the Town Hall meeting. He was elected as member of the committee at its January meeting, served on the next iteration of the Committee, and the Executive from May 1892; he was a signatory to the requisition for a public meeting calling for the establishment of a School of Music and was elected to the Council in February 1893. He was a member of the sub-committee charged with looking into the alterations necessary for the newly-purchased building, and the House & Finance and Library Committees. He resigned from the Council owing to ill-health a few months before his death. Gillibrand had subscribed to Hallé's concerts in the 1850s (aged 21) and, later, the Gentlemen's Concerts, of which he became a Director in 1890. According to the memorial notice in the *Manchester Guardian* he was an accomplished

²⁹ "Meeting of Council, Feb. 20th 1918," *Council minute book no.2*, 189.

³⁰ "Obituary. Sir Harold Elverston," *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 12, 1941, 2. In the 1891 census his occupation was given as 'Professor of Music'.

amateur musician, and another tribute described him as ‘a generous patron to rising artists and musical aspirants’.³¹

Born in Manchester to a Unitarian family, Gillibrand was an accountant by profession and some-time President of the Manchester Society of Accountants. He was much involved in the business and social life of Manchester – he was a governor of the Royal Manchester Institution and served as its representative on the Art Gallery Committee; a proprietor (and Treasurer) of the Portico Library; founder member of the Brasenose Club, and member of the Literary Club. Politically he was a Liberal Unionist.

William Goldthorpe (1839–1904)

The name of William Goldthorpe was on the address lists in November 1891 and Hallé noted him as having responded positively to the invitation. He was invited to become a member of the General Committee in May 1892, and indicated that he would be pleased to have his name added, but there is no indication that he had any further involvement or promised a donation at that juncture. He was elected to the Council in 1897 and immediately became a member of the House & Finance Committee. When he died in 1904, the Council desired ‘to record its profound regret at the death of Mr William Goldthorpe, Chairman of the House & Finance Committee of the College, and for six years a member of the Council & to express its deep sense of the loss to the College of one of its most devoted friends & active supporters.’³² Goldthorpe was one of the initial guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society and his obituary referred to him as ‘one of the most accomplished amateur musicians in the city’.³³ In February 1886 he performed in a concert in Ancoats, organised by Gustav Behrens. He was honorary organist of St Peter’s Church, a member and some-time President of the Manchester Gentlemen’s Glee Club, music critic of the *Manchester Courier*, and a member of the Executive Committee of the memorial fund for Hallé.

³¹ “Memorial notices. Mr T. Walton Gillibrand,” *Manchester Guardian*, Aug 10, 1898, 7; “Death of Mr T. Walton Gillibrand,” *Altrincham, Bowdon and Hale Guardian*, Aug 13, 1898, 4.

³² “Meeting of the Council, May 18th 1904,” *Council minute book no.1*, 270–272.

³³ “Memorial notices. Mr W. Goldthorpe,” *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 19, 1904, 7.

Goldthorpe (originally spelled Gouldthorp) was born in Stockport and called to the bar in 1867. At the time of his death he was Chairman of the Salford Hundred Court of Quarter Sessions. He was a freemason - the aforementioned obituary described him as an ardent freemason who held several important offices - and his memberships included the Lodge of Peace (Stockport) and Arthur Sullivan Lodge. He was a Liberal – he served on the Liberal Association Council and was a member of the Reform Club – and the description of him being well-known in the public life of Manchester was exemplified in his membership of the Chamber of Commerce, as well as the Brasenose and Union Clubs, and his participation in the Manchester Literary Club.

(Heinrich) Louis Grommé (c.1841–1907)

Louis Grommé (as it appears he was generally known) was on the lists for November 1891 and April 1892. In November 1892 he promised £25 per annum for five years and contributed annually from 1898 until 1907, as well as making donations of £100 to the Students' Sustentation Fund in 1901, 1903, 1905 and 1907. He was elected to the Council in 1899 and joined the House & Finance Committee the following year. When he died in 1907 the Council recorded 'its profound regret at the death of Mr Louis Grommé who for the past eight years was a member of the Council and to express its deep sense of the loss of one of the most active and liberal supporters of the College'.³⁴ Grommé subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts and served as a Director and member of the Musical Committee. He was a founding guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society and appointed as Director in 1899.

Heinrich Louis Grommé, a shipping merchant who worked for the firm of De Jersey & Co., was born in Bremen, Germany; he was living in Manchester by the time of the 1861 census (boarding in the same house as Max Hesse) and was naturalized in 1869. He was a subscriber to the Royal Exchange, member of the Brasenose Club, Foreign Library and Union Club and, for many years, a resident of Victoria Park.

³⁴ "Minutes of the Council, 20 March 07," *Council minute book no.1*, 322–323.

Ernest William Grommé (1873–1940)

E. W. Grommé began subscribing to the RMCM in 1903 and was invited to stand for election in 1907, following the death of his father.³⁵ He remained on the Council until 1940, serving as Vice-Chairman from 1926. In 1909 he was appointed to the committee to undertake the arrangements for the Brodsky Quartet concerts and also the House & Finance Committee. Alongside his service as a member of council he made regular donations to the Students' Sustentation Fund. After this death the Council paid tribute to his valued service.³⁶ Grommé subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1907 and became a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society in 1908, in both instances after the death of his father. In 1913 he became a Director of the latter, in succession to E. J. Broadfield, and replaced Behrens as Chairman in 1924. His obituary noted that he would be remembered particularly for his service to music – the art which he loved best and of which his knowledge was extensive.³⁷

Grommé was born in Manchester, the son of H. Louis Grommé (see above) and, like his father, was a shipping merchant in the firm of De Jersey & Co. He was a subscriber to the Royal Exchange, director of the Victoria Park Trust and member of the Union Club.

Charles John Hall (1849–1901)

Dr Charles John Hall, D.Mus. (London), was on Behrens' first list and that detailing to whom invitations were sent; Hallé included him in his list of those who had responded positively. In May 1892 he was invited to join the General Committee and responded thus:

I have taken a few days to consider your letter inviting me to join the Committee of the proposed Music School in Manchester. As I have not been able to attend any meetings I have only been able to gather from newspaper reports what the scheme is, and I am not quite sure that my views are altogether in harmony with those of the committee neither am I quite sure whether my position as Hon. Local Representative of the Associated Board of the Royal College and Royal Academy of Music might not become a little inconsistent with my holding a seat as a

³⁵ The Council minute reads: 'That Mrs Grommé be invited to allow herself to be nominated for election to the Council or, failing her, that Mr E.W. Grommé be invited.' "Meeting of Council, 6 Nov 07," *Council minute book no.2*, 3–4.

³⁶ "Council minutes, June 11th 1940," *Council minute book no.3*, 132–134.

³⁷ "Obituary, Mr E. W. Grommé," *Manchester Guardian*, May 23, 1940, 10.

member of your committee. However, for the present at any rate I shall be glad to co-operate with you, and to accept your invitation.³⁸

Hall signed the requisition for a public meeting and in November 1892 he was invited to join the Executive Committee. In February 1893 he was appointed as a member of the Council and the sub-committee making the arrangements to engage teaching staff. When the College was looking for an organ he offered his own to the Council but it was not accepted. Hall was appointed to the House & Finance Committee in 1896 and the Library Committee in 1899. Following his death, the Council expressed 'express its deep sense of the loss of one of its most devoted friends and active supporters'.³⁹ He subscribed to the Gentlemen's Concerts, becoming a director in 1900; he was Honorary Secretary of the Hallé Memorial Fund and a founding guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society. A newspaper report of his death described him as 'a man of high standing in local musical circles [who] took deep interest in the various various societies in the city which have for their object the cultivation of musical taste'.⁴⁰ Following the example of Henry Watson he gave his music library to the city. Hall was President of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club in 1880, a member of the local committee for the proposed national conservatoire of music, a conductor of several local societies and music critic of the *Manchester Evening News*.

Charles J. Hall was born in Manchester and a solicitor by profession, following his father. He was a member of the Lit & Phil and the Brasenose Club – he was a Vice Chairman of the latter and, according to the *Chronicle*, played the piano at the thirtieth anniversary dinner.⁴¹

³⁸ C. J. Hall, *Letter to Gustav Behrens*, May 18, 1892. RMCM/A/1/4, 10.

³⁹ "Meeting of Council, May 15th 1901," *Council minute book no.1*, 222–223.

⁴⁰ "Obituary. Dr Charles J. Hall," *Manchester Courier*, May 18, 1901, 8.

⁴¹ *A chronicle of the Brasenose Club Manchester*, vol.II, 51.

George Rigby Murray (1854–1933)

The name of George R. Murray was on the list of those to whom invitations were sent in November 1891; he did not attend the Town Hall meeting but he was elected to the new committee in January 1892. He was appointed to the Committee elected in May 1892, to its Executive and the sub-committee which was to agree terms with Hallé and he signed the requisition for the public meeting. He was elected to the Council in February 1893 and the new House Committee which was established in October that year. In 1895 he was appointed as one of the Trustees and also Vice-Chairman of the Council, a position he held until 1897 when he became Chairman. Murray resigned from the latter post in 1899, when the Council thanked him for his valuable services and ‘the admirable way in which he has conducted its deliberations and of the courtesy of his administration’.⁴² He remained a member until 1933, according to the lists published in the Annual Reports, but there is no evidence of his participation in meetings after 1903, and the reason for his resignation from the Chairmanship had been because he was moving to London. Murray began subscribing to the Gentlemen’s Concerts in 1893; he was nominated as a Director the same year and became Honorary Secretary in 1897 but also resigned from that position in 1905. He was a founding guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society.

George R. Murray was born in Manchester, son of Benjamin Rigby Murray; his grandfather, George Murray, was the owner of Ancoats Hall and partner in A. & G. Murray cotton mills. George (junior) was educated at Eton and Trinity, Cambridge.⁴³ He was a governor of the Whitworth Institute and involved with a number of charitable organisations, including the District Provident Society and Henshaw’s Society for the Blind. It appears that he had little involvement in other associations in the city, other than Union Club, from which he resigned in 1905.

⁴² “Meeting of the Council, July 18th 1900,” *Council minute book no.1*, 208–209.

⁴³ Ancestry.com., *Cambridge University Alumni, 1261–1900* [database on-line], (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1999).

Herbert Hanbury Smith-Carington (1851–1917)

H. H. Smith-Carington was elected to the Council in 1902 and was appointed immediately to the House & Finance Committee. He began an annual subscription at around the same time and was also a regular donor to the Students' Sustentation Fund. When he died, the Council recorded 'its profound regret for the death of Mr Herbert Hanbury Smith-Carington, who was for fifteen years an active member of the Council and at all times a warm friend of the College and a generous contributor to its funds'.⁴⁴ Smith-Carington began subscribing to the Gentlemen's Concerts in 1888 and became a guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society in 1908.

H. H. Smith-Carington was born in Worcestershire; a mechanical engineer by profession, in 1874, he was appointed as Assistant Secretary to Sir Joseph Whitworth & Co Ltd., later becoming its Secretary and then Director. He was Chairman of the Manchester Southern Hospital for Women, a member of the Board of the University of Manchester, a Director of the Chamber of Commerce and involved with the District Provident Society. He had a particular interest in history and was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society; locally he was a member of the Chetham Society and a proprietor of the Portico Library. He was a member of the Brasenose, Union and South Manchester Unionist Clubs.

⁴⁴ "Meeting of Council, March 21st 1917," *Council minute book no.2*, 172–173.

Appendix C

Complete list of donors and subscribers

Notes

1. Donors to the 1914 appeals are listed in Appendix 4.3. The people who did not donate otherwise are omitted from the list here.
2. The amounts listed in the description are for the Annual Subscription unless stated otherwise.
3. The narrative '5 years' indicates a promise made in 1892/3.
4. Details of annual subscriptions after 1899 are taken from the lists published in the Annual Reports. There are discrepancies between the lists of Subscribing Members and the Annual Subscriptions, where a name appears in the former but is not in the latter with the amount given. The names of Subscribing Members have been omitted from the table below where there is no corroborating detail of an annual subscription.

SSF = Students' Sustentation Fund

For reference the following table gives the approximate value of £1 in October 2024 for every ten years from 1890–1940:

Year	Value in October 2024 ¹	Wages of skilled tradesman that year ²
1890	£108.59	3 days
1900	£103.87	3 days
1910	£99.54	3 days
1920	£37.77	3 days
1930	£55.24	3 days
1940	£47.31	0 days

¹ Information obtained from <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>.

² Information obtained from <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#>.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Acton, (Mrs) Alice Hestermann (1866–1944)	1904–1909	£2 2s. p.a.	Wife of John Acton (singer, RMCM staff)
Adam, Frank Forbes (1846–1926)	1893–1898	£5 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years	Bank chairman
Agnew, William (1825–1910)	1893–1898	£100 p.a., 5 years	Art dealer, M.P. See biography, Chapter Six
Aitken, (Mrs) Frances Mary (c.1832–1911)	1900–1911	£5 p.a.	Widow of Thomas Aitken (d.1891) - textile business; bank chairman; subscriber to Gentlemen's Concerts
Alexander, Bernhard Calman (1842–1910)	1893–1898	£10 10s. initial expenses; £5 5s. p.a., 5 years	Shipping merchant
Allen, George	1903	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Andrew, (Miss) Sarah (1876–1924)	1914–1923 1914	£1 1s. p.a. Endowment. £10	RMCM student, 1895–1900; RMCM staff (singing), 1911–1924; FRMCM, 1923
Angelis Johnson, (Miss) Hilda de (1880–1968)	1904–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1901–1904; RMCM staff (singing), 1913–1914
Armitage, Benjamin (1823–1899)	1893–1898 1899	£50 p.a., 5 years £25	Cotton merchant & manufacturer
Armitage, Samuel (1828–1906)	1893–1904 1905–1906	£25 p.a. £10 10s p.a.	Cotton manufacturer; brother of Benjamin
Arning, Charles Henry (1853–1918)	1908–1918	£2 2s. p.a.	Shipping merchant
Arnold, (Mrs) Henrietta Mary Louisa (1852–1923)	1899–1907	£1 1s p.a.; SSF £1 1s p.a.	Wife of William T. Arnold

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Arnold, Richard Penrose (1855–1908)	1893–1898	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Factory inspector; son of poet, Matthew Arnold; ‘the friend pictured within’ Elgar’s Enigma Variation V (R.P.A.) ³
Arnold, William Thomas (1852–1904)	1893–1899	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Journalist and assistant editor, <i>Manchester Guardian</i>
Aron, Ludwig (1851–1925)	1900–1901; 1907–1915 1903–1906; 1916–1924 1909–1913 1916–1920 1914	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a. SSF. £5 5s p.a. £10 10s p.a. Endowment. £50	Shipping merchant. See Appendix B.
Arthan, (Miss) Ellen (1876–1940)	1915–1937 1922, 1924 1936	£1 1s. p.a. SSF. £5 p.a. SSF. £2 2s.	RMCM student, 1896–1907; RMCM staff (piano), 1913–1938
Ashton, (Mrs) Letitia Mary (1863–1943)	1918–1944 1938	£5 p.a. SSF. £5	Daughter of William Kessler; widow of William Mark Ashton, East India merchant
Baerlein, (Mrs) Emily (1858–1929)	1914–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Maximilian Baerlein, merchant
Balfour, Arthur James (1848–1930)	1893	£5	M.P., Manchester East (1885–1906)
Bardsley, Samuel (1850–1926)	1901–1920	£1 1s. p.a.	Bank manager; father of RMCM student Edith Bardsley
Barnes, Alfred (c.1832–1893)	1892	£10 initial expenses	J.P.

³ *My friends pictured within: the subjects of the Enigma Variations as portrayed in contemporary photographs and Elgar's manuscript*, (London: Novello and Company Limited, [n.d.]); Julian Rushton, *Elgar: 'Enigma' Variations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
In 1891 Arnold, who was H.M. Inspector of Factories, was living in Audenshaw, a district of Ashton-under-Lyne.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Barnes, Ashworth (1846–1928)	1908–1928	£1 1s. p.a.	Retired drysalter; founder of Accrington Chambers Concerts; longstanding friend of Richard W. Kenyon
Barnes, Charles Lightfoot (1858–1940)	1898–1923	£1 1s. p.a.	Schoolmaster, Manchester Grammar School
Bates, Ralph (1831–1903)	1898 1900–1903	£1 1s. £2 p.a.	Cotton spinner; J.P.; Mayor of Stalybridge, 1871–1873
Bayley, (Miss) Winifred	1899, 1901	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Bective, Alice Maria, Countess of (1842–1928)	1893–1898	£5 p.a., 5 years	See Chapter Three
Beer, (Mrs) Emilie (c.1838–1923)	1909–1923 1914 1923	£2 2s p.a. Endowment. £10 10s. SSF. £25 given in her memory	Wife of Adolphus Beer, shipping merchant
Beer, Walter Michael (1861–1927)	1911–1927 1928	£2 2s. p.a. SSF. £50 given by executors	Shipping merchant; son of Adolphus and Emilie Beer
Behrens, (Mrs) Abigail (1842–1900)	1892–1898 1899 1900	£10 initial expenses; £10 p.a., 5 years £20 £10	Wife of Edward Behrens, shipping merchant
Behrens, (Miss) Annette (Netty) (1854–1935)	1892	£3 3s. initial expenses	Niece of Edward Behrens; granddaughter of S. L. Behrens
Behrens, (Miss) Annie Juliana (1862–1945)	1900–1907	£2 p.a.	Daughter of Edward & Abigail Behrens
Behrens, Charles (1848–1925)	1893–1898 1899	£10 p.a., 5 years £20	Merchant; brother of Gustav Behrens

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
	1900–1908 1909–1925	£10 p.a. £5 p.a.	
Behrens, Emil Alfred (c.1850–1931)	1893–1898 1899–1901; 1904– 1907; 1911; 1913–1914 1902 1910	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a. £1 1s £3 3s	Merchant; cousin of Gustav Behrens
Behrens, Francis (Frank) (1839–1902)	1893–1898	£100 initial expenses; £50 p.a., 5 years	Calico printer; second cousin of Gustav Behrens; brother of Edward Behrens
Behrens, Gustav Nathan (1846–1936)	1893–1898 1899–1900 1901–1919; 1921–1935 1920 1914 1920 1927–1931 1933	£50 initial expenses; £50 p.a., 5 years £25 p.a. £10 p.a. £5 Endowment. £100 SSF. £5 SSF. £10 p.a. SSF. £1 1s.	Merchant. See biography, Chapter Six
Behrens, Leonard Frederick (1890–1978)	1912–1948	£1 1s. p.a.	Son of Gustav & Fanny Behrens
Behrens, Oliver Philip (1863–1953)	1893–1898 1899–1928 1929	£10 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a. £2	Shipping merchant; son of Edward & Abigail Behrens. See Appendix B.
Bellis, Laurence	1908–1909	10s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Bennett, (Mrs) Mary Isabella (1859–1927)	1893–1898	£3 3s p.a., 5 years	Wife of Samuel Armitage Bennett; daughter of James A. Bannerman

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Bentley, Alfred Thomas (1839–1917)	1893–1898 1899–1904 1905–1915 1917 1911 1912–1914 1914	£3 3s p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a. £5 p.a. £3 SSF. £50 SSF. £25 Endowment. £100	Registrar, Victoria University. See Appendix B.
Bindloss, James Backhouse (1840–1917)	1898 1899–1911	£2 2s. £1 1s. p.a.	Merchant
Bishop, (Miss) Elsie Hargrave (1877–1952)	1914–1917 1918–1922 1927–1936 1937–1944 1945–1949 1950 1951–1953 1916–1926 1927 1928 1929–1935 1936–1938 1939 1945, 1947 1950 1951–1952	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a. £5 5s. p.a. £10 10s. p.a. £5 5s. p.a. £2 £5 SSF. £5 5s. p.a. SSF. £25 SSF. £10 SSF. £5 5s. p.a. SSF. £10 Organ fund. £20 SSF. £5 5s. SSF. £7 10s. SSF. £5	Joint donor of Candlin scholarship (see Chapter Four), later Council member
Blair, (Mrs) Annie Gertrude (1850–1923)	1898–1898	£2 2s. p.a.	Mother of RMCM student Beatrice H. Blair
Bles, Abraham Jeremiah Samuel (c.1838–1909)	1898–1909	£10 10s p.a.	Shipping merchant

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Bles, David Samuel (1834–1899)	1893–1898	£10 10s p.a., 5 years	Merchant; brother of Abraham Bles
Bles, (Mrs) Esther (1843–1912)	1911–1912	£5 5s. p.a.	Wife of Abraham Bles
Bles, Samuel David (1874–1940)	1898 1914	£10 10s. (annual) Endowment. £5 5s.	Son of Abraham & Esther Bles
Blydt, (Mrs) Emily (Emilie) Blanche (1846–1934)	1904–1934	£1 1s p.a.	Mother of RMCM student [Ada] Muriel Meyer Blydt; widow of Johan J. Meyer Blydt, merchant
Bolton, (Mrs) Catherine Ellen (1858–1954)	1914–1922	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of John Bolton, merchant shipper
Booth, J. R.	1905	SSF. £2 2s.	Unable to trace
Booth, William Grounds (1850–1913)	1900–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Surgeon
Bowden, Harry (1876–1941)	1919–1920	£1 1s. p.a.	Foreman dyer; father of RMCM student Marjorie Bowden
Boyd, James (1842–1916)	1893–1898 1899–1916	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Cotton yarn merchant
Boyd, John (1852–?1929)	1898–1915	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton yarn agent; father of RMCM student Harold Tod Boyd; brother of James Boyd
Bretey, (Miss) Jeanne (1867–1941)	1914 1914–1941	Endowment. £5 5s. £1 1s. p.a.	RMCM staff (piano), 1893–1933. She left a legacy, of which £3,000 was used for a scholarship
Bridgford, (Mrs) Caroline Fountaine (1839–1924)	1899–1901	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Col. Robert Bridgford; mother of RMCM student Mary G. Bridgford
Bridson, Joseph Ridgway (1831–1901)	1898–1898	£5 p.a., 5 years	Bolton resident; President of Bolton Philharmonic Society

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Briggs, (Mrs) Alice Sophia (1841–1931)	1898–1905; 1915–1931 1906–1914 1898, 1904 1901, 1903 1902	£5 p.a. £10 p.a. SSF. £20 p.a. SSF. £30 p.a. SSF. £40	Mother of violinist, Christopher Rawdon Briggs
Brimelow, (Mrs) Susan (1838–1923)	1914–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of William Brimelow
Brimelow, William (1837–1913)	1893–1898 1899–1913	£2 2s initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years. £1 1s. p. a.	Newspaper proprietor, Bolton Evening News; father of RMCM students Annie and Susan Brimelow
Brittain, Doris Louise (1890–1970)	1917–1927	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Robert A. Brittain, director Monarch Laundry
Broadfield, Edward John (1831–1913)	1893–1898; 1903–1913 1899–1902	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a.	See biography, Chapter Six
Broadfield, George (1834–1905)	1899–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Merchant and cotton spinner; brother of E. J. Broadfield;
Broadhurst, Edward Tootal (1858–1922)	1898–1922	£3 3s. p.a.	Cotton manufacturer
Brodsky, Anna (1853–1929)	1905	SSF. £25 ⁴	Wife of Adolph Brodsky.
Bromley, Thomas (1825–1928)	1893–1898	£2 2s for initial expenses £2 2s. p.a., 5 years	Manufacturer. He was ‘possessed of a fine deep baritone voice’ and was ‘a frequent singer’. ⁵

⁴ The donation was the from the proceeds of the sales of her book of reminiscences. Anna Brodsky, *Recollections of a Russian home: a musician's experience* (Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1904).

⁵ “Death of Mr Thos. Bromley, J.P.”, *Bolton Evening News*, Aug 31, 1898, 2.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Brooke, Henry A. G. (1854–1919) & Mrs Brooke	1893–1898 1899–1907 1898	£3 3s. p.a., 5 years £3 3s. p.a. Endowment. £3 3s.	Physician
Brooks, Richard Henry (1848–1917)	1898–1905	£1 1s p.a.	Dry goods merchant; father of RMCM student Mary W. Brooks
Brooks, William Cunliffe (1819–1900)	1893–1898	£50 for initial expenses; £50 p.a., 5 years	M. P., Altrincham; barrister
Brown, (Mrs) M.	1915	SSF £3	Unable to trace
Brunner, Edward (1865–1922)	1904–1912	£1 1s. p.a.	Shipping merchant
Brunnschweiler, Karl Arnold (c.1849–1932)	1903, 1906	£1 1s. p.a.	Manufacturer; father of RMCM student Susette M. Brunnschweiler
Brunnschweiler, Miss	1903–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Assumed to be a daughter of Karl Brunnschweiler
Burnett, (Miss) Winifred	1910	SSF. 10s.	Unable to trace
Burra, Mrs	1898	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Butler, (Mrs) Bertha Evina	1898–1898	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Wife of John Butler, master cotton spinner.
Butler, (Mrs) M. E.	1898	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Butterworth, Walter (1862–1935)	1902–1929	£1 1s. p.a.	Glass manufacturer. He was interned at Ruhleben camp in Germany alongside Carl Fuchs, having been caught in Germany attending the Bayreuth Festival when the First

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
			World War broke out. He counted music as one of his main interests. ⁶
Cairns, (Miss) Catherine Maria (1840–1908)	1893–1899	£1 1s p.a.	Windermere resident
Campion, George Goring (1862–1946)	1914–1916	£1 1s. p.a.	Dental surgeon
Carr, John Lindley (1850–1918)	1893–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	Smallware manufacture
Carroll, Walter (1869–1955)	1900; 1907–1908; 1914–1918 1901–1906; 1909–1913 1914 1914–1919	SSF. £1 1s. p.a. SSF. £2 2s. p.a. Endowment. £10 10s. £1 1s p.a.	RMCM staff (harmony, composition and history of music; art of teaching), 1893–1920
Catling, Robert Sharman (1839–1927)	1898	£1 1s.	Furniture dealer
Cavendish, Spencer Compton, 8th Duke of Devonshire (1833–1908)	1893–1898	£100 for initial expenses; £50 p.a., 5 years	Born in Lancashire and described as ‘a Lancashire Liberal’. ⁷
Chanot, George Adolphus (1855–1923)	1893–1898 1899–1905	£1 initial expenses; £1 p.a., 5 years £1 p.a.	Violin maker; appointed as violin maker and restorer to the College, 8 November 1893. ⁸
Cheetham, J. M. [? Joshua Milne]	1898	£10	[M.P., Oldham]

⁶ Harry Andrew Higgo Stopes, "Provincial modernity: Manchester and Lille in transnational perspective, 1860–1914" (PhD dissertation, University College London, [2017]), 83–85.

⁷ Parry, Jonathan, "Cavendish, Spencer Compton, marquess of Hartington and eighth duke of Devonshire (1833–1908), politician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed May 21, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32331>.

⁸ "Adjourned meeting [of the Council], 8 Nov. 93", *Council minute book no. 1*, 43–45.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Cheetham, John Frederick (1835–1916)	1893–1898 1899–1901	£5 5s initial expenses; £3 3s. p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a.	Cotton manufacturer
Clapham, George Herbert (1863–1931)	1914	£1 1s.	Goldsmith
Clark, Charles Henry (1881–1952)	1909–1910	£1 1s.	Mining engineer
Close-Books, John Brooks (1850–1914)	1893–1898	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years	Banker
Cohen, Max Edward (1867–1939)	1898–1912	£1 1s. p.a.	Shipping merchant
Cole, John	1907–1911	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Coleman, (Miss) Ellen [Ellen Rose Kullmann] (1884–1973)	1914–1915	£1 1s. p.a.	Daughter of Julius Kullmann, shipping merchant. Surname changed in 1915. ⁹ On the 1911 census, her occupation was listed as ‘Composer of music’.
Collins, George Lissant (1858–1936)	1914–1924	£1 1s. p.a.	Solicitor; father of RMCM students Cicely and Phyllis Collins; founder, Rochdale Chamber Music Society
Conder, (Mrs) Susanna (1833–1931)	1893–1898	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Wife of Edward Conder, Kirby Lonsdale
Coppock, (Miss) Annie Hall (1863–1935)	1899–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Daughter of Robert Coppock, estate agent
Cornish, James Edward (1831–1903)	1893–1898	£5 5s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Bookseller

⁹ In common with many Germans and those with German-sounding names, Ellen (and her brother) changed their surname to an anglicised version in 1915. “Legal notices”, *The Times*, Jun 5, 1915, 2; “Lost in the Lusitania: Germanic surnames that sunk in her surf”, *The Graphic*, May 6, 1916, 22 and 26.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Cox, George Robb (1831–1915)	1893–1898	£5 5s. p.a. for 5 years	Produce broker
Craven, Thomas (1850–1933)	1898–1898 1899–1901 1901 1902–1906	£20 p.a., 5 years £10 p.a. £30 15s. 7d. (to cover deficit) £20 p.a.	Mechanical engineer. See Appendix B.
Cross, James Carlton (1864–1959)	1896–1906	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton spinner
Crossley, William John (1844–1911)	1893–1898 1899–1911	£20 p.a., 5 years £10 p.a.	Engineer
Curtis, Miss Alice (1864–1924) (later Mrs Omodei-Curtis)	1893–1898 1899 1900–1924	£4 4s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. £1 p.a.	Donor of Curtis Gold Medal
Curtis, (Mrs) Juliana Jane (c.1837–1933)	1914–1917	£1 1s. p.a.	Mother of Alice Curtis (above)
Dauntesey, Robert (1839–1904)	1893–1898	£10 initial expenses; £5 5s. p.a., 5 years	Owner of Agecroft Hall
Davison, (Mrs) Marianna (1838–1928)	1916–1928	£1 1s. p.a.	Mother of RMCM student Rose M. Davison
Dawson, William	1901	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Day, (Miss) Elizabeth (1844–1917)	1893	£5 initial expenses	Headmistress, Manchester High School for Girls
Deakin, Edward (1854–1935)	1893–1898	£5 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years	Cotton bleacher. Bolton resident
Deakin, Henry Taylor (1853–1916)	1893	£5 initial expenses	Bleacher and dyer; brother of Edward Deakin

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Dehn, (Martin) Gustav (c.1848–1926)	1893–1898 1899–1914	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a.	Shipping merchant. See Appendix B.
Dixon, (Mrs) Fanny (1863–1935)	1914–1935	£1 1s. p.a.	Widow of Alfred Dixon, cotton merchant
Donner, (Mrs) Anna Maria (1843–1935)	1893–1898 1899–1935 1902–1927, 1931–1933	£10 p.a., 5 years £10 p.a. SSF. £30 p.a.	Wife of Edward Donner, merchant. See Appendix B
Dorning, Herbert (1854–1903)	1898	£1 1s.	Mining engineer
Dreschfeld, Julius (1845–1907)	1893–1898 1902 1903–1907	£3 p.a., 5 years £2 2s. £1 1s. p.a.	Hon. Physician; Professor
Dreydel, Thomas (c.1836–1911)	1893–1898	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years	Stockbroker
Dunderdale, Charles (1864–1922)	1893–1898 1899–1922 1913	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a. SSF. £10	Hon. Solicitor, RMCM. See Appendix B.
Dunn, John (1843–1904)	1899–1900	£1 1s. p.a.	Chemical merchant; father of RMCM student J. Ethel Dunn
Eason, Edward Adolph (1848–1930)	1893–1898 1899–1905 1906–1923	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a. £5 5s p.a.	Cotton broker
Eckhard, Gustav Jacob Conrad (c.1852–1929)	1893–1898 1899–1924 1909 1914 1918 1925–1926	£5 p.a., 5 years £5 5s. p.a. SSF. £5 5s. Endowment. £100 SSF. £25 SSF. £2 2s. p.a.	Shipping merchant. See Appendix B.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
	1927 1928–1929	SSF. £5 5s. SSF. £2 2s.	
Eller, William (1852–1927)	1893–1898 1899–1902 1903–1923 1913, 1915 1914, 1916	£1 p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a. SSF. £3 3s. SSF. £2 2s.	Shipping merchant. See Appendix B.
Elverston, Harold (1866–1941)	1914–1940	£5 p.a.	Printer and publisher. See Appendix B.
Emmott, Alfred (1858–1926)	1893–1898 1899–1926	£5 p.a., 5 years £3 3s. p.a.	M.P., Oldham (1899–1911); cotton manufacturer
Evans, Richard (1871–after 1945)	1914 1915	Endowment. £10 10s £2 2s.	RMCM student, 1905–1909; RMCM staff (singing), 1913–1945; FRMCM, 1923
Ewart, (Miss) Mary Alicia (1822–1901)	1893–1898 1899–1900	£5 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a.	See Chapter Five.
Faraday, Frederick James (1845–1914)	1899–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Journalist, <i>Manchester Guardian</i>
Farrer, James Anson (1849–1925)	1893	£5 donation	Barrister
Fielden, (Mrs) Sarah Jane (1819–1910)	1905 1907	SSF. £100 SSF. £60	Widow of Samuel Fielden, merchant
Flinn, Walter (1856–1942)	1900–1920	£1 1s. p.a.	Shipping merchant
Forbes, Robert Jaffrey (1878–1958)	1908, 1909 1914–1918	SSF. £2 2s. £3 3s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1897–1900; RMCM staff (piano), 1909–; later Principal (1928–1953)
Forshaw, Thomas (c.1856–1922)	1900–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Costume manufacturer; father of RMCM student Jennie Forshaw

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Forsyth, James ¹⁰ (1832–1907)	1893–1898	£20 p.a., 5 years	Music shop owner; Hallé's agent
Frank, (Mrs) Edith Artingstall (1856–1931)	1893–1898 1900–1903	£5 p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Ernest Frank
Frank, Ernest (1849–1919)	1893–1898 1899–1919	£10, initial expenses; £5 p.a. 5 years £2 2s. p.a.	Merchant
Fraser, (Mrs) Agnes Ellen Frances (1831–1895)	1892	£25	Widow of James Fraser, Bishop of Manchester
Fry, Joseph (1838–1903)	1893–1898	£1 p.a., 5 years	Keeper, Trademarks' Registry
Fuchs, Carl (1865–1951)	1898, 1899 1901 1914	SSF. £15 5s. SSF. £1 1s. Endowment. £10	RMCM staff (cello), 1893–1942 ¹¹ ; member of Brodsky Quartet
Galloway, William Johnson (1868–1931)	1905–1906	£10 p.a.	M.P., South-west Manchester (1895–1906); engineer
Garnett, (Mrs) Caroline Sugden (1854–1936)	1893–1898 1899–1936	£ 3s. p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a.	Wife of Stewart Garnett; niece of Benjamin and Samuel Armitage
Gaskell, (Miss) Julia Bradford (1846–1908)	1898, 1901, 1904, 1909 1900 1899–1913	SSF. £10 SSF. £20 £1 1s. p.a.	Sister of Margaret E. Gaskell
Gaskell, (Miss) Margaret Emily (1837–1913)	1893 1898–1913 1899–1900; 1910–1913 1901–1909	£25 SSF. £20 p.a. £1 1s p.a. £2 2s p.a.	See Chapter Four

¹⁰ The company, Forsyth Bros. subscribed £1 1s. p.a.

¹¹ There was a break in his service, 1914–1919, while he was interned in Germany for the duration of the war. *Council minute book no.2*, 126–127, 204–205.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Gaskell, (Miss) Mary	1914	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Gibson, Robert (1832–1911)	1905–1911	£1 1s. p.a.	Manufacturer; Lord Mayor, 1897–98
Gillibrand, Thomas Walton (1836–1898)	1893–1898	£3 3s. p.a., 5 years	Accountant. See Appendix B.
Gillies, Andrew Archer (1851–1928)	1893–1898 1899–1905	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Accountant
Glaister, (Mrs) Elizabeth Hannah (1859–1938)	1914–1923 1924–1938 1914 1916–1930, 1932–1938	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a. Endowment. £1 1s. SSF. £1 1s. p.a.	Widow of Robert Stanton Glaister, bleacher.
Glaister, Thomas (1828–1901)	1893–1898	£5 p.a., 5 years	Bleacher; father-in-law of E. H. Glaister (above)
Godlee, Francis (1854–1928)	1893–1898 1899–1903 1905	£3 3s. p.a., 5 years £3 3s. p.a. £1 1s.	Cotton manufacturer
Goldthorpe, William (1839–1904)	1898–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Barrister; organist. See Appendix B.
Goodwin, (Mrs) Ruth (1856–1935)	1893–1898	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years	Sister of Mary Wakefield (see Chapter Three)
Gray, George (c.1835–1898)	1893–1898	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years	Cotton merchant
Green, (Miss) Jessie Georgina (1862–1954)	1893–1898	£5 initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Independent means
Greenwood, Joseph Gouge (1821–1894)	1893–?	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years (promised)	Professor, Owens College
Greg, (Samuel) Herbert (1846–1929)	1893–1898	£5 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years	Cotton manufacturer

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Greg, (Mrs) Susan Elizabeth (1854–1932)	1911–1932 1917	£2 2s. p.a. SSF. £10	Widow of Walter Greg; cousin of Margaret and Julia Gaskell
Gresham, James (1836–1914)	1899–1912 1913–1914	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a.	Engineer
Grey, (Miss) Madge Morden ¹² (1868–1931)	1908–1930 1919	£1 1s. p.a. SSF. £2 2s.	RMCM staff (elocution), 1908–1931
Grommé, (Mrs) Anna Rebecca Helene (1849–1930)	1908–1930	£2 2s. p.a.	Widow of Louis Grommé; dedicatee of piano piece by William Dayas
Grommé, (Ernest) William (1873–1914)	1903–1907 1908–1913 1914–1931 1908–1911, 1913, 1914, 1920 1912, 1917 1914	£1 1s. p.a. £5 5s p.a. £10 10s. p.a. SSF. £25 p.a. SSF. £50 Endowment. £100	Shipping merchant. See Appendix B.
Grommé, (Heinrich) Louis (1841–1907)	1893–1898 1899–1907 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907	£25 p.a., 5 years £5 5s. p.a. SSF. £100	Shipping merchant. See Appendix B.
Grundy, (Miss) Ethel (1887–1958)	1915–1921	£1 1s. p.a.	Daughter of John R. G. Grundy
Gruner, Mrs	1900, 1902, 1904–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Güterbock, Alfred Ludwig Adolf (1845–1929)	1912	SSF. £1 3s.	Shipping merchant
Guthrie, (Miss) Alice Bertha (1875–1953)	1905–1908 1909	£1 1s. p.a. SSF. £1 1s.	Singer. 1911 census 'Professional vocalist and teacher of singing (Stockport Education

¹² Madge Morden Grey was her professional name; she was born Mary King Griffin.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
			Dept)'. Performed at Ancoats Recreation events and Schiller-Anstalt
Guthrie, Edwin (1841–1904)	1899–1902	£2 p.a.	Accountant
Hähnel, Charles (1841–1912)	1905–1908	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton yarn agent
Hailstone, Samuel (1851–1926)	1893–1898	£5 5s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Vicar, St Saviour, Cheetham
Hall, Charles John (1849–1901)	1898–1900	£3 3s. p.a.	Solicitor. See Appendix B.
Hallé, Lady Wilma (1838–1911) [Wilma Norman-Neruda]	1901–1902	£1 1s. p.a.	Widow of Sir Charles Hallé
Hancock, John Smallman (1848–1919)	1910–1916	£1 1s. p.a.	Cashier; father of RMCM student Susie Hancock
Hankinson, Mrs	1909	10s.	Unable to trace
Harford, Jack Francis (?1867–1948)	1912	SSF. £15	RMCM staff (singing), 1910–1920 ¹³
Harrison, F. Esq.	1906	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Harrison, George (c.1839–?)	1899–1908 1910–1915	£5 p.a. £1 1s. p.a.	Cotton manufacturer
Harrison, George William ¹⁴ (1857–1920)	1916 –1920	£1 1s. p.a.	Draper
Harrison, Joseph (1870–?)	1898–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Insurance manager

¹³ Harford was absent on war service, 1915–1919. *Appendices to minute books no.2.*

¹⁴ Harrison's wife began subscribing from 1921.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Harwood, John (1838–1924)	1893–1898 1899–1916	£10 initial expenses; £10 p.a., 5 years £3 3s. p.a.	Cotton spinner
Haslam, John Percival (1847–1923)	1898–1920	£2 p.a.	Cotton manufacturer
Haslam, William (1845–1917)	1898 1899–1917	£5 £2 p.a.	Cotton manufacturer; brother of J. P. Haslam
Heape, Joseph Robert (1845–1933)	1898–1908	£1 1s. p.a.	Merchant; alderman; mayor of Rochdale, 1885–87
Heatherley, Mrs	1915	SSF. £1 1s.	Unable to trace
Helm, Sigismund Loewen (1830–1910)	1893–1898 1899–1910	£5 p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a.	Merchant
Henriques, David Leopold Quixano (1866–1932)	1913–1918 1920–1932	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a.	Stockbroker
Hertz, Frederick Thomas Moxon ¹⁵ (1858–1918)	1913–1918/19	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton shipping merchant
Hesse, Frank Ralph (1870–1953)	1899–1904	£1 1s. p.a.	Shipping merchant
Hewitt, (Miss) Charlotte Annie (1871–1954)	1914–1940 1930, 1934	£1 1s. p.a. Sustentation Capital Fund. £100 p.a.	Daughter of William Henry Hewitt, shipping merchant, cotton goods
Hewitt, Thomas (c.1840–1905)	1899–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Boot merchant. 'He took considerable interest in art and musical recreations'. ¹⁶

¹⁵ Surname changed to Hurst in 1917. His wife subscribed from 1921.

¹⁶ "Death of a Bolton tradesman," *Bolton Evening News*, Oct 5, 1905, 3.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Heywood, (Mrs) Anna Margaret (1837–1922)	1893–1898 1899–1922	£10 p.a., 5 years £10 p.a.	Wife of Charles J. Heywood
Heywood, (Mrs) Annabella (1861–1943)	1899–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Robert Heywood, bleacher
Heywood, Charles James (1835–1905)	1893–1898 1899–1905	£125 initial expenses; £100 p.a., 5 years £25 p.a.	See biography, Chapter Six
Heywood, Edward Stanley (1829–1914)	1893–1898 1899–1914	£125 initial expenses; £100 p.a., 5 years £25 p.a.	See biography, Chapter Six
Heywood, (Miss) Mary Monica (1862–1951)	1898–1920 1921–1925	£1 1s. p.a. 10s. 6d. p.a.	Niece of Charles and Edward Heywood
Hicks, Edward Lee (1843–1919)	1893	£1 initial expenses	Dean of Manchester Cathedral
Higham, Thomas Edward (1866–1947)	1914–1927	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton merchant
Hiles, Henry (1826–1904)	1901	SSF. £1 1s.	RMCM staff (harmony, composition and history of music), 1893–1904
Hilton, Robert (c.1821–1902)	1893	£1 1s. initial expenses	Shipping house buyer
Hinrichsen, Semmy (c.1842–1921)	1914–1921	£2 2s. p.a.	Merchant
Hirschhorn, Harry Charles ¹⁷ (1864–1937)	1909–1924	£1 1s. p.a.	Shipping merchant
Hodgkinson, Frederick Karslake (1861–1936)	1898–1898	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Vicar of Worsley

¹⁷ Surname changed to Horne in 1915.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Holdsworth, (Mrs) Margaret (1858–1920)	1898–1900	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of John Holdsworth, cotton manufacturer
Holliday, Charles James (c.1847–1901)	1898 1899	£3 3s. £1 1s.	Merchant
Hopkinson, Alfred (1851–1939)	1898–1910 1916–1917 1911–1915	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a.	Principal, Owens College
Hornby, Edmund Geoffrey Stanley (1839–1923)	1893 ¹⁸	£1 1s.	Deputy Lieutenant, Lancashire
Horsfall, Thomas Cogan (1841–1932)	1893–1898 1899–1907 1908–1921 1922–1925	£50 p.a., 5 years £25 p.a. £10 p.a. £1 1s. p.a.	Cotton spinner; philanthropist
Houldsworth, William Henry (1834–1917)	1893–1898 1899–1917 1898 1903 1914	£100 initial expenses; £50 p.a., 5 years £48 p.a. SSF. £50 SSF. £10 Endowment. £1,000	M.P., North-west Manchester (1885–1906); cotton industrialist
Howarth, (Miss) Lucy ¹⁹ (1873–?)	1914–1932	£5 p.a.	Daughter of Joseph Howarth, director of bleaching co.
Howe, Charles Edward (1866–1931)	1912–1918	£2 2s. p.a.	Solicitor

¹⁸ It is unclear whether the amount is a single donation or a subscription for five years. He was a contact of Lady Bective's.

¹⁹ Surname also spelled Haworth and Howorth

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
H.R.H. Princess Victoria (1868–1935)	1901–1902, 1909 1904 1906	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. £3 3s.	Daughter of King Edward VII
Hudson, (Mrs) Alice May (1875–1962)	1916–1929	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Henry Hudson, cotton manufacturer
Hughes, Charles (1851–1917)	1893–1898 1899–1917	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Yarn agent; music critic of the <i>Manchester Examiner and Times</i> ; nephew of E. J. & George Broadfield
Hunter, Alexander John (1828–1921)	1893–1898	£5 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years	East India merchant
Huntington, William Balle (1841–1911)	1893–1898	£10 10s p.a., 5 years	Paper maker
Hutchinson, (Mrs) Cecilia Mary ²⁰ (1851–1925)	1901 1904–1908	SSF. £5 £1 1s. p.a.	RMCM staff (singing), 1898–1904
Ingham, Samuel (c.1835–1909)	1893–1898	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Accountant
Isaacs, Edward Maurice (1881–1953)	1913–1920	£1 1s.	RMCM student, 1894–1903; FRMCM, 1923
Jackson, (Miss) Harriet	1899–1904	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Jardine, James ²¹ (1818–1893)	1893–1898	£50 initial expenses; £50 p.a., 5 years	Cotton spinner
Johnson, (Miss) Edith Mary (1896–1962)	1918	SSF. £1 1s.	RMCM student, 1915–1918

²⁰ Gave proceeds of concerts in 1900 (£32 6s. 6d.) and 1902 ('upwards of £35'), to the Students' Sustentation Fund.

²¹ Jardine died in 1893 but records show that his executors paid as per his promise.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Johnson, (Miss) Ethel Madeline (1884–1959)	1919–1926	SSF. £1 1s. p.a.	Friend of singing teacher, Sarah Andrew ²²
Johnson, J.	1910–1914, 1918	SSF. £1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Johnstone, (Miss) Mary Anderson (1866–1966)	1919–1944, 1946–1954 1927	£1 1s. p.a. SSF. £5	Council member; Headmistress, Manchester Central School
Jordan, (Miss) Margaret (1866–1947)	1906–1926	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM staff (German), 1907–1926; sister-in-law of Carl Fuchs
Joynson, Edward Walter (1841–1904)	1893–1898 1899–1904	£5 5s. p.a., 5 years £5 5s. p.a.	Silk manufacturer
Joynson, (Mrs) Mary Dorothea (1856–1905)	1905	£5 5s.	Widow of Edward W. Joynson
Julius, (Miss) Johanna (1848–1929)	1908–1914 1912–1914, 1916–1920	£1 1s. p.a. SSF. £1 1s. p.a.	RMCM staff (piano), 1899–1913
Kalisch, (Mrs) Clara (1852–1938)	1918–1921	£1 1s. p.a.	Widow of Moritz Kalisch
Kalisch, Moritz (1846–1917)	1909–1917	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton goods merchant
Keevney, Peter (1833–1895)	1893–?	£10 initial expenses; £2 2s. p.a., 5 years	Tea and coffee merchant; Mayor of Salford
Keighley, Thomas (1869–1935)	1914–1935 1914 1922–1927 1929–1930 1931	£2 2s. p.a. Endowment. £2 2s. SSF. £2 2s. p.a. SSF. £1 1s. p.a. SSF. £25 15s.	RMCM student, 1895–1897; RMCM staff (harmony, composition and history of music) 1898–1935; FRMCM, 1923

²² In 1925 Ethel Johnson gave £850 to endow a scholarship 'in the name of her late friend Miss Sarah Andrew'.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Kennedy, John Murray (1841–1928)	1898	Endowment. £100	Grandson of George Murray; cousin of George R. Murray
Kenyon, Richard Walton (1850–1942)	1914–1941	£1 1s. p.a.	Machinery maker; father of RMCM student Ruth M. Kenyon. 'He loved his music...' ²³
Kessler, (Jacob Philip) William (1819–1901)	1893–1898 1899–1901	£10 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a.	Merchant
King, John Edward (1858–1939)	1893–1898 1899–1903	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	High Master, Manchester Grammar school
Knoop, Louis von (1863–?)	1899–1906	£3 3s. p.a.	Cotton merchant
Koecher, (Mrs) Helene Johanne (1836–1904)	1899	£1 1s.	Widow of John M. Koecher, cotton merchant
Lapworth, Arthur (1872–1941)	1914–1940	£1 1s. p.a.	Council member; Professor, University of Manchester
Laski, (Miss) Mabel Frances (1894–1967)	1917	£1 1s.	Daughter of Nathan Laski, shipping merchant
Lathbury, Henry (c.1835–1916)	1893–1898 1899–1905	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Merchant
Lawton, John (1838–1930)	1913–1921	£1 1s. p.a.	Retired cashier
Leake, James Medley (c.1856–1912)	1901	£1 1s.	Grey cloth agent
Lee, Lennox Bertram (1864–1949)	1914–1917 1914	£1 1s. p.a. Endowment. £5 5s.	Calico printer; father of RMCM student Dorothy Lee; son of Sir Joseph C. Lee

²³ "Two new freemen of Accrington," *Lancashire Evening Post*, Apr 8, 1935.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Leech, Bosdin Thomas (1836–1912)	1899–1912	£1 1s. p.a.	Mayor; Cotton yarn merchant
Lees, Charles Edward (1840–1894)	1893–1898 ²⁴	£250 initial expenses; £250 p.a., 5 years	See biography, Chapter Six
Lees, (Mrs) Dora	1909	SSF. £5	Unable to trace
Lees, (Miss) Maud (1881–1907)	1902–1907	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1905–1907
Lees, Sarah Anne (1842–1935)	See Chapter Four p.218ff. for full list		See Chapter Six
Lemmens-Sherrington, (Miss) Mary (1859–1909)	1899, 1901 1908	SSF. £2 2s. p.a. £1 1s.	Daughter of Helen Lemmens-Sherrington; RMCM staff (singing), 1894–1908
Liebert, Emil (1816–1898)	1899	£1 1s.	Cotton merchant
Little, (Mrs) Marion (1858–1946)	1893–1898	£5 p.a., 5 years	Wife of David Little, ophthalmic surgeon
Lord, Charles (1849–1932)	1902–1922 1923–1924 1925–1932 1923	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a. £3 3s. p.a. SSF. £2 2s.	Solicitor; Council member
Lord, James (c.1845–1916)	1914–1915	£2 2s. p.a.	Colliery proprietor
Lord, (Miss) May [Mary Janet] (1875–1940)	1899–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1894–1897
Lord, William Cluley (1845–1924)	1893–1898 1899–1909	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Solicitor
Loyd, (Miss) Margaret Foster ²⁵ (1859–1936)	1898	Endowment. 10s. 6d.	No information

²⁴ Payment continued by his wife after his death in 1894. See Chapter Three.

²⁵ She had written to Withers in 1893 about the entrance requirements, saying she had been in touch with Hallé.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Lunn, Joseph (c.1844–1914)	1914	£1 1s. Endowment. £10	
Lunn, Robert Howard (1873–?)	1914 1915 1916 1917–1919	Endowment. £10 £1 1s. £5 5s. £5 p.a.	Retired mill manager; son of Joseph Lunn
Macfie, Charles (1849–1915)	1893–1898 1898 1899–1914	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years Endowment. £5 £1 1s. p.a.	Physician
Maclure, John William (1835–1901)	1893–1898	£10 10s. p.a., 5 years	M.P., Stretford (1886–1901)
Macpherson, (Mrs) Mabel (1877–1950)	1914–1921	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of James Thornton MacPherson, doctor and surgeon (d.1916). 1921 census her occupation was 'Professional musician'
Mahler, Adolph Herman (c.1857–1917)	1899–1900	£1 1s. p.a.	Insurance agent
Maitland, (Mrs) Jane [Jenny] Rutherford	1915–1916	£1 1s. p.a.	Professional musician; ²⁶ wife of James Maitland, book-keeper
Mandleberg, Goodman Charles (1861–1932)	1908–1930	£2 2s. p.a.	Director, waterproofing company
Mandleberg, Samuel Lawrence (1863–1934)	1914–1927 1914	£1 1s. p.a. Endowment. £10 10s.	Manufacturer; brother of G. C. Mandleberg

²⁶ "Jane Rutherford Maitland," *Guitar News*, no.79 (1964): 19.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Mann, John Dixon (1840–1912)	1908–1912	£1 1s. p.a.	Professor, University of Manchester.' ...an accomplished church organist and composer of several anthems.' ²⁷
Marshall, Anthony (1825–1911)	1893–1898	£10 initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Merchant; mayor
Marx, Charles (1851–1929)	1900–1929	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton goods merchant
Mason, Rupert (1859–1931)	1893–1898 1899–1902	£3 3s. p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a.	Cotton manufacturer
Massey, Edward Stocks (1850–1909)	1903–1908 1909	£3 3s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a.	Brewery owner
Massey, (Mrs) Eleanor Eugenia Stocks (c.1857–1921)	1903–1919	£2 2s. p.a.	Wife of Edward Stocks Massey
Massiah, (Mrs) Jessie (1861–1947)	1900–1948	£1 1s. p.a.	Widow of Benjamin Jones Massiah, physician
Mather, William (1838–1920)	1893–1898 1899–1920 1914	£10 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a. Endowment. £20	M.P., Salford South (1885–1886); Gorton (1889–1895); Rossendale (1900–1904)
Mayer, Max Michael (c.1859–1931)	1914 1920	Endowment. £10 10s. SSF. £5	RMCM staff (piano), 1908–1924
Mayhew, Augustus (1879–?)	1907–1910	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1898–1902
Mehl, Frederick (1831–1908)	1899–1908	£1 1s. p.a.	Hotel proprietor (Queen's Hotel), location of Consular Association dinners (see Chapter Five)

²⁷ G. H. Brown, "John Dixon Mann," *Royal College of Physicians*, 2019, accessed Jul 9, 2025, <https://history.rcp.ac.uk/inspiring-physicians/john-dixon-mann>.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Melland, (Mrs) Blanche (1874–1957)	1914–1919	£3 3s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1894–1899. Née Du Val
Melland, William (1868–1950)	1913–1921 1929–1944	£5 5s p.a. £2 2s p.a.	Council member
Merrick, Frank (1886–1981)	1920	SSF. £20	RMCM staff (piano), 1911–1929
Merriman, Frank (1852–1920)	1893–1898	£5 5s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Agent
Michaelis, Ruben Nicholas (1849–1910)	1899	£1 1s.	Merchant
Midgley, David (1821–1894)	1893–?	£10 p.a., 5 years	Shipping merchant
Miers, Henry Alexander (1858–1942)	1916–1917 1918–1926 1918	£1 1s. p.a. 3 3s. p.a. SSF. £5	Vice-Chancellor, University of Manchester; Chairman of RMCM Council
Millar, Webster (1872–1924)	1906 1907–1908 1909	SSF. £3 SSF. £3 3s. p.a. SSF. £3 6s.	RMCM student, 1902–1905
Milner, (Mrs) W. H. [Elizabeth] (1838–1905)	1893–1898	£2 2s initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Wife of William Henry Milner, wine and spirit merchant
Minton, Louis ²⁸ (1889–1962)	1914–1916 1918, 1920–1925	10s. 6d. p.a. £1 1s. p.a.	Rubber manufacturer
Moorhouse, Benjamin	1920	SSF. £10 10s.	Unable to trace
Morris, (Miss) Jessie Dearden (1879–1953)	1905	SSF. £10	RMCM student, 1897–1905

²⁸ Surname changed by deed poll in 1912 from Mistovski to Minton.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Moseley, (Mrs) Adelaide Jane (1861–1936)	1893	£5 initial expenses	On list of names sent to Behrens by Murray; widow of Charles Moseley, India rubber manufacturer
Moseley, (Mrs) Agnes Gwen (1865–1951)	1914–1919 1927–1928	£2 2s. p.a. SSF. £2 2s. p.a.	Wife of David Moseley, India rubber manufacturer
Moss, Richard Arthur (1865–after 1921)	1914–1915	£1 1s. p.a.	Organist and music teacher; father of RMCM student, Madge Chester Moss
Murray, Benjamin Rigby (1822–1901)	1898	Endowment. £100	Cotton manufacturer
Murray, George Rigby (1854–1933)	1893–1898 1899–1910 1911–1915 1916–1932 1933 1898 1914 1902, 1904 1903	£5 p.a., 5 years £10 p.a. £5 p.a. £2 10s. p.a. £1 1s. p.a. Endowment. £100 Endowment. £10 10s. SSF. £10 SSF. £20	Cotton manufacturer. See Appendix B.
Musgrave, George (1868–1911)	1899–1904	£2 2s. p.a.	Engineer
Musgrave, Percy (1862–1934)	1915–1916	£1 1s. p.a.	Director, cotton spinning association
Nasmith, (Mrs) Marie Emilie Mathilda (c.1858–?1931)	1903–1926	£2 2s. p.a.	Mother of RMCM student George Nasmith; wife of John W. Nasmith, engineer
Nathan, Frederick Percy (1863–1956)	1893	£5 initial expenses	Merchant

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Newton, George Henry (1862–1909)	1893–1898 1899–1909 1898	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a. Endowment. £1 1s.	Cotton manufacturer
Nicholson, Albert (1845–1927)	1893–1898	£2 p.a., 5 years	Cloth agent
Nicholson, William (1825–1915)	1893–1898	£10 initial expenses; £2 2s. p.a., 5 years	Silk mercer; Mayor of Bolton
Niven, James (1851–1925)	1914–1919	£1 1s. p.a.	Physician
Norbury, Francis James (1855–1929)	1893–1898	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Printer
Norris, John (1840–?)	1893–1898 1899–1902	£1 1s. initial expenses; 10s 6d. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Smallware manufacturer
Ogden, H. G.	1899–1901	£5 p.a.	Unable to trace; might be Henry Joseph Ogden (below)
Ogden, Henry Joseph (1849–1932)	1893–1898 1902–1903	£10 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a.	Upholsterer
Paget-Tomlinson, William Smith (1848–1937)	1893–1898	£5 5s. p.a., 5 years	Physician
Paley, (Mrs) Kate (1851–1924)	1903–1907	£1 1s. p.a.	Widow
Parke, (Mrs) Elizabeth (1860–1940)	1914	£1 1s.	Wife of Ernest Parke, paper manufacturer
Parr, (Mrs) Amy Ursula (1857–1917)	1893	£1 1s.	Daughter of Robert, Baron Dimsdale

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Payne, Arthur Lavington (1860–1917)	1899–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Merchant
Payne, Charles (c.1858–after 1921)	1904–1906	£1 1s. p.a.	Company director; father of RMCM student Mary Orr Payne
Perkin, William Henry (1860–1929)	1902–1906 1907–1913	SSF. £2 2s. p.a. £3 3s. p.a.	Professor of Organic Chemistry, University of Manchester; Council member, RMCM. An accomplished pianist, he played duets with Brodsky. ²⁹
Petrocokino, John Themistocles (1866–1937)	1893–1898	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Merchant; married to Alice, daughter of William Mather
Petty, Alfred Martin (1848–1910)	1904–1910	£1 1s. p.a.	Printer
Philips, Herbert (1834–1905)	1893–1898 1899–1907	£50 initial expenses; £20 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a.	Merchant; philanthropist
Philips, William Morton (1852–1940)	1893–1898 1899–1925	£5 p.a., 5 years £2 2s. p.a.	Merchant
Phillips, (Mrs) Helen Minnie (1879–1949)	1909–1923	£1 1s. p.a.	Daughter of Louis Grommé
Pierce, (Miss) Annie Gertrude (1868–1938)	1914–1938	£1 1s. p.a.	Sister of Lucy Pierce, RMCM staff
Pierce, Frederick Morrish (1845–1922)	1893–1898	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Physician

²⁹ Jack Morrell, "Perkin, William Henry (1860–1929), organic chemist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sep 23, 2004, accessed Oct 2, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35478>.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Pierce, (Miss) Lucy Eleanor (1885–1968)	1914–1939 1940–1951 1915, 1946 1922 1923, 1926 1948 1950 1951 1952 1953–1956 1957–1967	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a. SSF. £2 2s. SSF. £6 6s. SSF. £3 3s. p.a. SSF. £4 4s. SSF. £3 3s. SSF. £5 SSF. £7 7s. £5 5s. p.a. £3 3s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1901–1909; RMCM staff (piano), 1913–1964; FRMCM 1925
Platt, (Miss) Edith (1868–?)	1893–1898	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Daughter of Thomas Platt, surgeon, Oldham
	1899–1910	£1 1s. p.a.	
Platt, Samuel Radcliffe (1845–1902)	1893–1898 1899–1902	£100 p.a., 5 years £100 p.a.	Mechanical engineer
Platt, Thomas (c.1834–1905)	1893–1898	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Surgeon, Oldham
Pollitt, Arthur Wormald (1879–1933)	1914	£1 1s.	RMCM student, 1896–1898
Porter, Alexander (1854–1926)	1914–1918 1919–1926	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a.	Solicitor; Lord Mayor
Porter, (Mrs) Bertha Mary (1846–1920)	1893	£1 1s. initial expenses	Wife of Hayward Porter, export merchant
Porter, James	1918–1933	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Potter, Miss	1915–1917	£1 1s. p.a.	May be Mary Louisa Potter (see below).

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Potter, (Miss) Edith	1910	£2 2s.	Unable to trace
Potter, (Miss) Mary Louisa (1839–1916)	1914–1917	£1 1s. p.a.	Daughter of Sydney Potter, merchant (Unitarian family)
Poulter, Thomas William (1877–1959)	1914–1927	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1898–1903; RMCM staff (violin), 1903–1907
Pownall, Alfred Herbert (1854–1914)	1893–1898 1899–1911	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Accountant
Radcliffe, Clifford Herbert (1878–1915)	1905–1909 1910 1911 1912 1913 1914 1915	£10 p.a. £9 £8 £7 £6 £5 £4	Motor manufacturer; son of Herbert Radcliffe
Radcliffe, Herbert (1846–1904)	1893–1898 1900–1902 1903–1904 1903	£5 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a. £10 p.a. SSF. £10	Cotton manufacturer, Rochdale
Ramm, Alfred (1861–1924)	1906	£1 1s.	Manufacturer
Ratcliffe, George (1848–1919)	1892	Donation	Coal agent
Rathbone, (Mrs) P. H.	1903–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace [possibly Jane Stringer Rathbone; widow of Philip Henry Rathbone of Liverpool].

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Rayner, (Mrs) Isabella Charlotte (1846–1934)	1899–1921	£2 2s. p.a.	Wife of Edwin Rayner, surgeon
Reiss, Alexander (Alec) (1871–1932)	1899–1902	£2 p.a.	Merchant; son of Fritz Reiss
Reiss, Charles Julius (1873–1949)	1899–1906	£1 1s. p.a.	Merchant; son of Fritz Reiss
Reiss, Fritz (Friedrich) (1842–1926)	1893–1898 1898	£50 initial expenses; £50 p.a., 5 years Endowment. £25	Merchant
Reiss, (James) Arthur (1870–1942)	1899–1902	£2 p.a.	Merchant; son of Emil Reiss
Richter, Hans (1843–1916)	1904 1905–1907, 1909 1911 1903–1906	SSF. £5 5s. SSF. £5 SSF. £10 Bassoon scholarship. £30 p.a.	Conductor, Hallé Orchestra
Riddel, James (1849–1921)	1899–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton merchant
Riddick, Robert Falkner (1847–1931)	1899–1920 1921	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s.	Cotton manufacturer
Ridyard, Robert (1850–1919)	1893	£1 initial expenses	Loan office manager
Riley, (Mrs) Sarah Annie ³⁰ (1854–1902)	1899–1904(?)	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Joseph Edward Riley, chemical manufacturer
Roberts, F. A.	1898	£2 2s.	Unable to trace

³⁰ Mrs Riley died on 24 September 1902 and her inclusion in the lists for 1903 and 1904 is therefore puzzling, although her husband may have honoured her promise.

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Roberts, Samuel	1908–1913	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace definitively, but could be the father of RMCM student (1908–1911) Mary E. Roberts
Robinow, (Mrs) Bertha Fanny (1854–1938)	1904 1904 1905–1906	£2 2s. SSF. £1 1s. SSF. £2 2s.	Widow of Max Robinow
Robinow, Max Emil (1845–1900)	1898 1899–1900	SSF. £20 £2 2s. p.a.	Merchant
Robinson, (Miss) Edith (1867–1940)	1914–1940	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM staff (violin), 1908–1929; had studied with Brodsky in Leipzig
Robinson, (Miss) (Helen) Muriel (1882–1969)	1914–1926	£1 1s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1899–1900; 1915–1916
Robinson, Jonathan (1834–1912)	1899–1912	£1 1s. p.a.	Silk manufacturer; father of RMCM student, H. Muriel Robinson (see above)
Rohde, Herman Augustus (1850–1919)	1893	£5 initial expenses	Cotton merchant
Roskill, Charles Albert Bernard (1857–1937)	1902–1904 1914	£1 1s. p.a. Endowment. £10	Cotton merchant; later associated with Tuesday mid-day concerts
Rowley, Charles (1839–1933)	1899–1910	£1 1s. p.a.	Founder, Ancoats Recreation and Brotherhood
Rushton, Thomas Henry	1901	SSF. £15	Unable to trace
Rylands, (Mrs) Enriqueta Augustina (1843–1908)	1893–1898 1899–1908	£25 initial expenses; £25 p.a., 5 years £10 p.a.	Philanthropist; widow of John Rylands

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Sandbach, (Miss) Emma Rachel (1851–1932)	1899–1926	£1 1s. p.a.	Independent means
Saul, (Miss) Frances Elsie (1879–1962)	1904–1911	10s 6d. p.a.	RMCM student, 1900–1903
Scantlebury, George Henry (1851–1916)	1899–1916	£1 1s. p.a.	Salesman, cotton textiles
Schlesinger, Maurice (1835–1924)	1893–1898 1899–1923	£5 5s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Banker; father of RMCM student Regina Schlesinger
Scott, Charles Prestwich (1846–1932)	1893–1898 1899–1904	£5 initial expenses; £20 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a.	Newspaper editor (<i>Manchester Guardian</i>)
Sever, (Mrs) Isabel Constance (1873–1956)	1904–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of John Sever, printer
Shaw, James Begg (1837–1898)	1893–1898	£5 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years	Estate agent
Shaw, Susanna Jeanette (1844–1908)	1899–1908	£1 1s. p.a.	Mother of RMCM student Margaret Joyce Shaw; widow of James Shaw, silk manufacturer
Sheaves, Henry Augustus (1853–1920)	1899–1900	£2 2s. p.a.	Provision merchant; father of RMCM student Harry Mozart Sheaves
Shepherd, James (1831–1908)	1899–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Cotton manufacturer; President, Irwell Springs (Bacup) Band
Shepherd, Mrs	1898	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Sherratt, Charles (1865–1923)	1914–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	Clerk; father of RMCM student Annie Sherratt

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Shimwell, Thomas Bartram (1850–1922)	1893–1898 1904–1916 1899–1900 1902 1904	£5 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a. SSF. £5 p.a. SSF. £2 SSF. £4	Export merchant
Shore, Joseph	1919	SSF. £30	Unable to trace, but could be the father of RMCM student (1911–1916) Mary Shore
Shorrocks, (Miss) Grace E. (1882–1936)	1904	SSF. £3 13s. 6d	RMCM student, 1899–1906
Sidebotham, Joseph Watson (1857–1925)	1893–1898 1899–1925	£2 2s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Colliery proprietor; amateur musician and organist
Silkenstädt, (Mrs) Josephine Helene (1844–1904)	1904	£3 3s.	Widow of John George [Johann Georg] Silkenstädt, merchant
Simon, (Mrs) Emily Anne (1858–1920)	1900 1901 1902–1920	£30 £25 £10 p.a.	Widow of Henry Simon
Simon, Ernest Emil Darwin (1879–1960)	1914–1915 1915–1948	£1 p.a. £1 1s. p.a.	Engineer; son of Henry and Emily Simon
Simon, Henry (1835–1899)	1893–1898 1899	£50 p.a., 5 years £48	Engineer; co-guarantor of the Hallé Concerts Society
Simon, Ingo Heinrich Julius William Gustav (1875–1964)	1901 1902	£25 £15	Musician; son of Henry and Emily Simon
Simon, Margaret Antonia (1883–1956)	1914–1916	£5 5s. p.a.	Daughter of Henry and Emily Simon; RMCM student, 1901–1903
Slater, (Mrs) Mary Jane Slater (1846–1926)	1899–1901 1902–1904	£1 p.a. £1 1s. p.a.	Widow of William Slater

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Slater, William (1845–1896)	1893	£10 initial expenses	Master bleacher
Smallman, Frederick (1845–1911)	1893–1898	£10 initial expenses; £10 p.a., 5 years	Restaurant owner
Smith, Frederic (c.1850–1914)	1911–1914	£2 2s. p.a.	Wire manufacturer
Smith, James (1836–?)	1899	£1 1s.	Sewing machine agent
Smith, (Mrs) Margaret Barton (1839–1918)	1899–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Samuel Smith, button manufacturer
Smith-Carington, Herbert Hanbury (1851–1917)	1904–1917 1905, 1908, 1909, 1911–1915 1914	£20 p.a. £10 p.a. Endowment. £100	Engineer. See Appendix B.
Somers, Edward O'Reilly (1863–1930)	1914–1930	£1 1s. p.a.	Surgeon
Spencer, John Poyntz, 5th Earl Spencer (1835–1910)	1893–1898	£10 p.a., 5 years	
Squire, (Miss) Evelyn Hope (1878–1936)	1920	SSF. £5	Wife of RMCM staff member, Frank Merrick; temporary RMCM staff (piano), 1917–1919
Stanley, Edward Henry, 15th Earl of Derby (1826–1893)	1893–?	£100 p.a., 5 years	
Stanley, Frederick Arthur, 16th Earl of Derby (1841–1908)	1898	£100	
Stanley, Harold	1899–1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Steell, Graham (1851–1942)	1913–1914	£1 1s. p.a.	Doctor; Hon. Physician, RMCM

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Steinthal, Edgar Frederic (1847–1921)	1899–1914	£1 1s. p.a.	Merchant
Stephenson, James	1914	Endowment. £1 1s.	Unable to trace
Stephenson, Mrs	1914	Endowment. £1	May be wife of John Stephenson, surgeon-dentist
Stern, William (1866–1950?)	1917–1919 1920	£2 p.a. £1	Merchant; RMCM Council member, Lancs. Education Committee
Stoehr, (Mrs) Helene Margarethe (1832–1908)	1899 1900–1908	£1 1s. £2 2s. p.a.	Mother of Emily Simon
Stott, George	1909–1933	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace definitively
Stott, (Mrs) Matilda (1861–1937)	1899–1904	£1 1s. p.a.	Wife of Vernon Stott, cotton manufacturer
Stubbs, (Mrs) Mary Ellen (1872–1934)	1904 1908, 1910–1921	SSF. £1 1s. £1 1s.	RMCM student, 1900–1907; wife of William T. Stubbs, engineer
Sutcliffe, (Miss) Mary Eliza Agnes (1866–1936)	1898 1914 1899–1936	Endowment. £1 1s. Endowment. £5 £1 1s. p.a.	RMCM student, 1894–1895
Swindells, Harry Bertram (1874–1933)	1914	£1 1s.	Chiropodist; amateur musician
Sykes, (Mrs) Mary Hardcastle (1844–1925)	1893 1899–1900	£5 initial expenses £2 2s.	Wife of Thomas H. Sykes, bleacher; daughter of Jane Turner
Taylor, John Edward (1830–1905)	1893–1898	£25 initial expenses; £20 p.a., 5 years	Owner and editor, <i>Manchester Guardian</i>
Thamsen, Nicolai Peter (1858–1946)	1893–1898 1899–1919	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Shipping manager

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Thewlis, James Herbert (1855–1917)	1907–1916	£2 2s. p.a.	Umbrella manufacturer; RMCM Council member; Lord Mayor, 1905–06
Thomasson, John Pennington (1841–1904)	1893–1898	£5 5. p.a., 5 years	M.P., Bolton (1880–1885); Cotton spinner
Thompson, Joseph (1833–1909)	1893–1898	£1 initial expenses; £4 p.a., 5 years	Alderman; Treasurer, Owens College
Toller, (Mrs) Edith (1854–1935)	1898–1932	£2 2s. p.a.	Wife of Thomas N. Toller, Professor
Topp, Alfred (1835–1922)	1893 1898 1901	£5 initial expenses Endowment. £10 SSF. £10	Cotton spinner
Turner, Charles	1909–1913, 1915–1916	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Turner, (Mrs) Jane (1817–1898)	1893	£5 5s. initial expenses	Widow of James Turner, woollen manufacturer. On list of names sent to Behrens by Murray
Turner, Mrs	1907	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Turner, Percy W.	1920	SSF. £2 2s.	Unable to trace
Valgimigli, Azeglio (1861–1950)	1912	SSF. £1 1s.	RMCM staff (Italian), 1894–1939
Vallon, Paul L. (c.1863–1943)	1915	SSF. £1 1s.	RMCM staff (singing), 1915–1943
Vollmer, George Peter Henry (1846–1913)	1899–1913	£1 1s. p.a.	Trimmings and button merchant
Voss, John [Johann] (1849–1930)	1893–1898 1899–1923	£1 initial expenses; £2 p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Shipping merchant

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Waddell, William (1862–1933)	1899–1901, 1903	£1 1s. p.a.	Physician
Wakefield, (Miss) Mary Augusta (1853–1910)	1893	£1 1s.	Joint organiser of Kendal meeting
Walch, (Mrs) Margaret (1844–1932)	1914–1915	£5 5s. p.a.	Wife of James Walch, music dealer
Walker, (Miss) Lilian	1914–1918	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Walthew, George (c.1833–1905)	1893–1898 1899–1905	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Cotton spinner
Warburg, (Mrs) Jane (1831–1909)	1899–1901 1902–1910?	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s. p.a.	Mother-in-law of Gustav Behrens
Warburg, (Miss) Susette Jane (1860–1938)	1898 1899 1900–1911 1903, 1912 1913–1933 1934–1938 1901 1911–1938	SSF. £20 SSF. £5 5s. SSF. £5 p.a. SSF. £10 p.a. SSF. £5 p.a. SSF. £2 2s. p.a. £1 1s. £2 2s. p.a.	Sister-in-law of Gustav Behrens
Warburton, William (1886–?)	1916	SSF. 10s. 6d.	RMCM student, 1899–1905
Ward, Adolphus William (1837–1924)	1893–1898	£3 3s. p.a., 5 years	Principal, Owens College; Chairman of RMCM Council
Watson, Henry (1846–1911)	1909 1909 1910	SSF. £1 1s. £1 1s. £2 2s.	RMCM staff (choral and musical dictation), 1893–1911
Watson, Miss M.	1907	£1 1s.	Unable to trace

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Watts, James (1845–1926)	1893–1898 1899 1900–1920	£10 p.a., 5 years £20 £10 p.a.	Merchant
Webster, (Miss) Edith Laura (1876–1957)	1904–after 1939 1914	£1 1s. p.a. Endowment, £5 5s.	RMCM student, 1893–1900; RMCM staff (piano), 1900–1930
Webster, John	1898	£1 1s.	May be the person in whose name the Webster scholarship was given. See Chapter Four
Weiss, Frederick Ernest (1865–1953)	1915–1930	£1 1s. p.a.	Vice-Chancellor, University of Manchester, 1913–1915; Chairman of RMCM Council
Wenner, Alfred (c.1840–1907)	1893–1898	£3 3s. for initial expenses; £3 3s. p.a., 5 years	Shipping merchant
Whitworth, Frank (1863–1909)	1899–1903 1904	£1 1s. p.a. £2 2s.	Accountant
Wihl, Edward (c.1836–1900)	1899–1900	£1 1s. p.a.	Shipping merchant
Wihl, (Mrs) Victoria (1846–?)	1901	£1 1s.	Widow of Edward Wihl
Wilde, Reginald William (1862–1943)	1893–1898 1899–1900	£1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Solicitor
Wilkinson, James Frederick (1829–1912)	1899–1912	£2 2s. p.a.	Printer and stationer
Wilkinson, William	1899–1935	£1 1s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Withers, (Mrs) Hannah Mary (1856–1918)	1899–1901	£1 1s. p.a.	Sister-in-law of Stanley Withers (Registrar); wife of John S. Withers, doctor
Withers, Percy (1867–1945)	1899–1929	£1 1s. p.a.	Doctor; brother of Stanley Withers

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Wood, G.	1906	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Wood, Harry Bland (1853–1913)	1893–1898	£1 1s. p.a. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years	Chemical merchant
Wood, Henry (1833–1905)	1893–1898 1899–1905	£3 3s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Solicitor
Wood, Henry B.	1898	£1 1s.	Unable to trace
Wood, (Miss) Hilda May	1911–1913 1914–1920	£1 1s. p.a. £3 3s. p.a.	Unable to trace
Woollard, Edwin (1831–1903)	1893–1898	£1 p.a., 5 years	Bank manager
Wormald, (Miss) Lillie (1872–1957)	1904–1911 1911	£1 1s. p.a. SSF. £1 10s	RMCM student, 1895–1904; RMCM staff (singing), 1901–1910
Worrall, Charles Francis (1862–1945)	1893–1898	£4 p.a., 5 years	Bleacher
Worrall, Henry (1851–1939)	1898	£10	Bleacher; brother of Charles F. Worrall
Worrall, (Mrs) Louisa (1856–?)	1893–1898	£10 p.a., 5 years	Wife of Henry Worrall; on list of names sent to Behrens by Murray
Worthington, (Mrs) Florence (1872–1939)	1919–1939 1922–1923, 1926 1927–1928	£1 1s p.a. SSF. £2 2s. p.a. £5 p.a.	Council member; wife of Arthur H. Worthington, architect
Worthington, (Mrs) Mary (1830–1904)	1893–1898 1899–1904	£20 initial expenses; £5 p.a., 5 years £5 p.a.	Widow of James Worthington, merchant
Worthington, Mary	1920	SSF. £2 2s.	Unable to trace

Name	Dates of payments	Description	Biographical notes
Worthington, William Barton (1854–1939)	1899–1902, 1904–1905	£1 1s. p.a.	Engineer
Youatt, John (1841–1925)	1893–1898 1899–1925	£1 1s. initial expenses; £1 1s. p.a., 5 years £1 1s. p.a.	Accountant
Ziegler, (Theodore) Philip (1864–1943)	1900	£1 1s.	Merchant

Appendix 1.1

Dinner in honour of Hallé

The information is taken from a notebook belonging to Gustav Behrens, which contains details of the arrangements for the dinner,¹ and a report of the dinner in the *Manchester Guardian*.²

Name	Involvement
Mr T. C. Abbott	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr J. W. Addleshaw	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; did not attend
Mr William Agnew	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr B. Armitage	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr S. Armitage	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr V. K. Armitage	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr T. Ashton	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr T. G. Ashton	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr F. J. Astbury	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P.	Member of the General Committee. Applied for ticket; mark next to name
Mr C. H. Beever	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr Gustav Behrens	Hon. Sec. of organising committee. Present at dinner
Mr J. Armitage Bennett	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr A. T. Bentley	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr D. S. Bles	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr C. H. Bowker	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr James Boyd	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P.	Member of the General Committee

¹ Correspondence addressed to the Chairman of the Halle Society, 1888–1923, MLA. MSRf780.68Me71c & Me71d

² “Dinner to Sir Charles Halle [sic],” *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 31, 1890, 6.

Name	Involvement
Mr E. J. Broadfield	Hon. Sec. of organising committee. Present at dinner
Mr G. Broadfield	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Sir W. C. Brooks, Bart., M.P., D.L.	Member of the General Committee
Mr Neville Clegg	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; did not attend
Henry Cooke	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket
Mr Craven	Dinner in honour of Sir Charles Hallé at the Queen's Hotel. Present
Mr T. Craven	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr Edward de Jong	Present at dinner
Mr R. Dehn	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr E. Donner	Member of Executive Committee. Applied for ticket
Mr G. Erckhardt [sic]	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
The Lord Egerton of Tatton	Member of General Committee. Sent apologies for dinner
W. Eller	Applied for ticket; withdrawn
Mr C. H. Fogg	Present at dinner
Mr J. Forsyth	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Geo. Freemantle	Member of Executive Committee. Present at dinner
Mr Walton Gillibrand	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr W. Goldthorpe	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr G. Gray	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Dr Greenwood	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr A. Greg	Present at dinner
Mr L. Grommé	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr G. Gunton	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr Edwin Guthrie	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Sir C. Hallé	Present at dinner

Name	Involvement
Mr C. E. Hallé	Present at dinner
Mr F. Hampson	Member of Executive Committee. Present at dinner
Mr F. Hertz	Member of the General Committee
Charles J. Heywood	Member of Executive Committee. Present at dinner
Mr E. S. Heywood	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
O. Heywood, Esq., D.L.	Member of General Committee
Mr G. Hicks	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Dr Hiles	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr T. C. Horsfall	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Sir William Houldsworth, M.P.	Member of General Committee. Sent apologies for dinner
Isaac Hoyle	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; did not attend
Mr Campbell Hulton	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr James Jardine	Member of the General Committee
Mr Thewlis Johnson	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
J. M. Koecher	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; did not attend
R. Leake, Esq., M.P.	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; mark next to name
Sir J. C. Lee	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; did not attend
Dr Leech	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr C. E. Lees	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr Emil Liebert	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
W. C. Lord	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; did not attend
J. W. Maclure, Esq., M.P., D.L.	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr T. W. Makin	Present at dinner.
The Mayor of Manchester (Ald. J. Mark)	Chairman of Executive Committee. Present at dinner
Prof. A. M. Marshall	Member of the General Committee

Name	Involvement
Mr W. Mather, M.P.	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr John Mills	Present at dinner
Mr Alb. Nicholson	Present at meeting to organise
Mr L. Norman	Present at dinner
Mr James Oliver	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Herbert Philips	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket
Mr S. R. Platt	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr J. Kendrick Pyne	Member of the General Committee
Mr Fritz Reiss	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr Emil Reiss	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Sir H. Roscoe, M.P.	Member of General Committee. Sent apologies for dinner
Mr F. B. Ross	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr Chas. Rowley	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr E. Salomons	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Mr E. S. Schwabe	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Col. Schwabe	Member of General Committee
Mr Louis Schwabe	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
C. P. Scott	Member of General Committee. Applied for ticket; did not attend
Mr Henry Simon	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
Sir Thomas Sowler	Member of General Committee. Present at dinner
The Lord Bishop of Salford	Member of the General Committee
Professor A. W. Ward	Member of General Committee. Sent apologies for dinner
Dr H. Watson	Member of General Committee
Professor Wilkins	Member of General Committee
Mr T. R. Wilkinson	Member of Executive Committee. Present at dinner
Mr R. Wilson	Present at dinner
James Worrall Jr.	Offered apologies for being unable to attend meeting to organise

Appendix 1.2

Donors to the Royal College of Music¹

Name	Description
Benjamin Armitage	£10-0-0 (Salford, Borough of)
Samuel Armitage	£10-0-0 (Salford, Borough of)
A. J. Balfour	£30-0-0
Thomas Bazley	£25-0-0
Henry Brierley	£5-0-0 (Rochdale, Borough of)
John A. Bright	£1-1-0 (Rochdale, Borough of)
William Cunliffe Brooks	Donation £500-0-0
Forsyth Bros, Ltd.	£100-0-0
Thomas Glaister	£20-0-0 (Bolton, Borough of)
Charles Hallé	£25-0-0
Joseph R. Heape	£1-1-0 (Rochdale, Borough of)
Oliver Heywood	£10-0-0 (Salford, Borough of)
Samuel Radcliffe Platt	£100-0-0 (Oldham, Borough of)
Spencer, John Poyntz, 5th Earl Spencer	£300-0-0
Earl of Derby	£200-0-0
John P. Thomasson	£20-0-0 (Bolton, Borough of)
Herbert Vaughan, Bishop of Salford	£10-10-0 (Salford, Borough of)

¹ *RCM Donations*, 2 volumes, 1882–1896. RCM01422.

Appendix 2.1

Combined contact lists, November 1891–May 1892

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
Sir F. Forbes Adam		Y	Y			Y	
J.W. [John William] Addleshaw		Y	Y			Y	
Charles S. Agnew	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Geo. [George W.] Agnew	Y	Y	Y			Y	
W. [William] Agnew	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
W. L. [William Lockett] Agnew	Y	Y	Y			Y	
B. [Bernard C.] Alexander		Y	Y		Y	Y	
Peter Allen			Y? ¹			?	
Ben Armitage (Chomlea)	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Vernon Armitage	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Willy (W. T.) Arnold			Y			Y	
Thomas Ashton	Y	Y	Y			Y	
[Thomas] Gair Ashton	Y	Y	Y			Y	
[William] Mark Ashton		Y	Y			Y	
F. J. [Frederick James] Astbury			Y?			?	Y
A. J. [Arthur James] Balfour, M.P.			Y?			?	Apologies
David Bannerman	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
James Bannerman	Y	Y	Y		Not interested	Y	
C. H. [Cyril Howard] Beever			Y		Y	Y	
Charles Behrens	Y	Y	Y	Present			
Ed. [Edward] Behrens	Y	Y	Y			Y	
G. [Gustav] Behrens			Y	Present			Y
Oliver P. Behrens			Y			Y	Y

The names of those who expressed interest in December 1891 were noted as apologies.

¹ Y? indicates that the person's name is on the third sheet of this list but it is unclear if it is a continuation of the previous sheets. It appears that the sheets are from the same source and were attached together at some point, but are now separate.

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
J. A. [John Alexander] Beith	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Dr [Frederick Baden] Benger			Y			Y	
J. [John] Armitage Bennett			Y			Y	Y
[Alfred Thomas] Bentley	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
H. C. [Hugh Cecil] Birley					Y		
David Bles			Y?			?	
C. H. [Charles Hardy] Bowker			Y	Present		Y	
James Boyd			Y			Y	
Col. [Robert] Bridgford			Y?			?	
Hy. [Henry] Brierley		Y	Y				
Jacob Bright, M.P.			Y?			?	
E. J. [Edward John] Broadfield	Y		Y	Present		Y	Y
G. [George] Broadfield	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Ed. [Edward T.] Broadhurst	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Sir W. C. [William Cunliffe] Brooks			Y?			?	
J. T. [John Tomlinson] Brunner			Y			Y	
Abel Buckley			Y			Y	
J. K. [John Kenworthy] Bythell		Y	Y			Y	
Benj. Carver	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Chadwick	Y					Y	
J. F. [John Frederick] Cheetham	Y	Y	Y	Present			
R. C. [Richard Copley] Christie		Y	Y?			?	
Neville Clegg			Y?			?	
Henry Cooke			Y			Y	
Thomas Craven		[crossed out]	Y		Y	Y	Apologies

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
W. J. [William John] Crossley	Y	Y	Y			Y	
W. [William G.] Crum			Y			Y	
R. E. [Robert Ellis] Cunliffe			Y?			?	
R. D. [Robert Dukinfield] Darbshire	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Gustav Dehn			Y	Present		Y	Y
Rudolph Dehn			Y			Y	
[Edward] Donner	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
[Julius] Dreschfeld	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Hon. Alfred Egerton			Y?			?	
Wilbraham, Lord Egerton			Y?			?	
William Eller			Y			Y	
Sir James Fergusson, M.P.			Y?			?	
James Forsyth		Y	Y	Present		Y	
[George] Freemantle	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	Apologies
G. H. [George Henry] Gaddum	Y	Y	Y			Y	
H. T. [Henry Theodore] Gaddum	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Charles J. Galloway		Y	Y			Y	
John Galloway, jr.		Y	Y			Y	
Wm Lewis Galloway		Y	Y			Y	
T. W. [Thomas Walton] Gillibrand			Y	Present		Y	
Wm Goldthorpe		Y	Y		Y	Y	
George Gray	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	Y
Francis Greg	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Louis Grommé		[crossed out]	Y			Y	
Dr [George E. C.] Gumpert		Y	Y	Present		Y	Y
[Edwin] Guthrie	Y	Y	Y			Y	Apologies
C. J. [Charles John] Hall	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Sir Charles Hallé			Y	Present		Y	Y
Francis Hampson		Y	Y	Present		Y	Y

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
Edward Hardcastle, M.P.			Y?			?	
Sir John Harwood	Y	Y	Y			Y	
A. [Abraham] Haworth	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Jesse Haworth		Y	Y			Y	
Rev. J. G. [John Gorell] Haworth		Y	Y			Y	
W H [William Norris] Heald	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Heap	Y						
Benj. Heape					Not interested		
W. T. [William Tweedale] Heap(e)			Y			Y	
Jos. [Joseph] Heape. J.P. Rochdale	Y	Y	Y			Y	
James Heelis			Y?			?	
S. L. [Sigismund Loewen] Helm		Y	Y		Y	Y	
F. [Frederick M.] Hertz			Y	Present		Y	
Willy Hess			Y			Y	Y
Max Hesse			Y			Y	
C. J. [Charles James] Heywood	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Apologies
E. S. [Edward Stanley] Heywood	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	Apologies
Oliver Heywood	Y	Y	Y	Present			
Geo. [George] Hicks	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Dr [Henry] Hiles	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
W. H. [William Henry] Holland		Y	Y			Y	
Ald [Alderman John] Hopkinson	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Ernest Horkheimer			Y			Y	
T. C. [Thomas Coghlan] Horsfall		Y	Y	Present		Y	Y
Sir William H. Houldsworth, Bart	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	Y

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
H. H. [Henry Hoyle] Howorth, M.P.			Y?			?	
Isaac Hoyle, M.P.	Y	Y	Y			Y	
A. G. Campbell Hulton			Y?			?	
W. [William B.] Huntington		Y	Y	Present		Y	
James Jardine	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
J. [John] Thewlis Johnson			Y?			?	
[Edward] Walter Joynson	Y	Y	Y				
Philipp Kessler		Y	Y			Y	
W. [Jacob Philip William] Kessler	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Ald. [Alderman John] King	Y	Y	Y			Y	
J. E. [John Edward] King	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
J. M. [John Michael] Koecher	Y	Y	Y			Y	
N. [Noah] Kolp		Y	Y		Y	Y	
Leach	Y						
Robt Leake	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Sir J. C. [Joseph Cocksey] Lee	Y	Y	Y		Y		
[Bosdin Leech] Mayor of Manchester	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Apologies.
Dr [Daniel J.] Leech		Y	Y			Y	
Charles E. Lees	Y	Y	Y	Present			
Joseph Leigh	Y	Y	Y			Y	
J. H. P. [John Henry Proctor] Leresche			Y?			?	
E [Emil] Liebert			Y?			?	
[David] Little	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
W. C. [William Cluley] Lord			Y	Present		Y	
[Edward C. Maclure] Dean of Manchester	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	Apologies
J. W. [John William] Maclure	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
John Mark	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
Prof. Milnes Marshall			Y		Y	Y	
Rupert Mason	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Wm. Mather, M.P.	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	Apologies
Col. John Mellor		Y	Y		Y	Y	
John Mills			Y?			?	
J. D. [John Dewhurst] Milne	Y	Y	Y			Y	
R. G. C. [Robert Gray Cornish] Mowbray, M.P.			Y?			?	
Prof. [Joseph E. C.] Munro	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Geo. [George R.] Murray			Y			Y	Y
A. [Albert] Nicholson			Y	Present		Y	Y
S. [Selmar] Nordlinger		[crossed out]					
James Oliver	Y	Y	Y			Y	
[T. P.] Petrocockino	Y		Y			Y	
Herbert Philips	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
[William] Morton Philips	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
S. R. [Samuel Ratcliffe] Platt	Y	Y	Y			Y	
C. J. [Charles James] Pooley			Y?			?	
J. K. [James Kendrick] Pyne			Y?			?	
[George] Ratcliffe		Y	Y			Y	Y
Emil Reiss		[crossed out]	Y				
Fritz Reiss	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
Arthur Reyner	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Dr [David] Lloyd Roberts		Y	Y			Y	
Sir Henry Roscoe, M.P.			Y?			?	
F. B. [Frederick Bourne] Ross		Y	Y			Y	
Alex. Rowley	Y	Y					
Charles Rowley		Y	Y	Present		Y	Y
Edward Salomons			Y?			?	Y
Henry Samson	Y	Y	Y			Y	

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
Charles Santley			Y			Y	Apologies
C. E. [Charles Ernest] Schwann, M.P.			Y?			?	
Fred. Schwabe	Y	Y					
Col. [George Salis] Schwabe	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Louis Schwabe	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
C.P. [Charles Prestwich] Scott	Y	Y	Y			Y	
J. W. [Joseph Watson] Sidebotham	Y		Y		Y	Y	
T. [Thomas Harrop] Sidebottom, M.P.	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Henry Simon	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	Y
Tom Sowler	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Edward Stanley, Lord Derby			Y?			?	
Sir H. [Humphrey] de Trafford			Y?			?	
F. [Frederick] Unger			Y?			?	
A. P. Vaughan			Y?			?	
[Herbert Vaughan] Bishop of Salford	Y	Y	Y		Y		
O. O. [Oliver Ormerod] Walker	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Professor [Adolphus W.] Ward	Y	Y	Y	Present		Y	
Sir Ed. [Edward] Watkin		Y	Y			Y	
Dr [Henry] Watson			Y?			?	Y
G. F. [George Francis] Watts			Y			Y	
James Watts	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Prof. [Augustus S.] Wilkins		Y	Y			Y	
S.W. [Samuel Wright] Wilkinson	Y	Y	Y?			?	

	Nov. 15 list	Address list	Nov. 28 list (sent)	Dec. 3 Meeting	Expressed interest Dec. 1891	Apr. 28 1892 list	May 4 Meeting
T. R. [Thomas Read] Wilkinson	Y	Y	Y			Y	
Jas. [James] Worrall, jun., J.P.			Y?			?	
Wrigley	Y						

Appendix 2.2
Committee members, May 1892

	Occupation	Location
The Mayor of Manchester [Bosdin T. Leech]	Mayor	Manchester
The Mayor of Salford [Peter Keevney]	Mayor	Salford
The Mayor of Oldham [Alfred Emmott]	Mayor	Oldham
J. W. Maclure M.P.	M.P.	Stretford
J. W. Sidebotham M.P.	M.P.	Hyde
W. Mather M.P., J.P.	M.P.	Salford / Prestwich
W. Agnew J.P.	J.P. (former M.P.)	Pendleton
Dr A. W. Ward LL.D.	University Principal	Manchester
C. J. Heywood	Banker	Pendleton
Charles E. Lees	Cotton manufacturer	Werneth/ Oldham/ Ashton-under-Lyne
S. R. Platt	Mechanical engineer	Werneth/ Oldham
Herbert Philips J.P.	Philanthropist	Macclesfield
E. J. Broadfield	Journalist; educationist	Prestwich
Oliver P. Behrens	Merchant	Manchester
W. Eller [#]	Shipping merchant	Manchester
A. Nicholson	Cloth agent	Manchester / Sale
J. A. Bennett	Hon. Sec. Gentlemen's Concerts	Ardwick
T. W. Gillibrand	Accountant	Manchester
Gustav Dehn	Merchant	Greenheys / Manchester
Geo. Murray	Cotton manufacturer	Ancoats
Rupert Mason J.P.	Cotton manufacturer	Audenshaw
Gustav Behrens	Merchant	Manchester

Appendix 3.1

Further noblemen and gentlemen

The archives hold some of the replies to the invitations, as indicated in the second column.¹

Noblemen:

Name	Response
Duke of Westminster	Refused
Duke of Devonshire	
Earl Spencer	
Earl Crawford	
Lords Ellesmere	
de Tabley	Refused
Sefton	
Egerton	Refused
Derby	Uncertain

Gentlemen:

Name	Response
Bishop of Manchester [James Moorhouse]	Refused
Dean of Manchester [Edward C. Maclure]	Consented
Archdeacon [James Maurice] Wilson	Refused
Messrs Darbishire	Refused
Chanc. Christie	
Geo. Freemantle	Consented
W. Goldthorpe	Consented
Thomas Sowler	Consented
C. P. Scott	Consented
W. T. Arnold	Consented
C. J. Hall	Consented
W. C. Lord	Consented
Fritz Reiss	Wished to discuss
E. Horckheimer [sic]	Refused
F. Hampson	Consented
Dr Hiles	Consented
Wm Kessler	

The names of further representatives - the Chairmen & Vice Chairmen of the Technical Instruction Committees of the County Councils of Lancashire, Cheshire and adjacent districts - were also suggested.

Amongst the responses to the invitation to join the General Committee there are some from people whose names were not listed in the minutes, but who must have received a letter and responded to Behrens:

¹ Invitations: consent. RMCM/A/1/4. Invitations: refusals. RMCM/A/1/6.

Name	Response
James Jardine	Consented
Charles Legard	Consented
(Samuel) Herbert Greg	Consented
Alfred T. Bentley	Consented
John T. Hibbert	Refused
Francis Markham	Refused
Ed. Crossley	Refused
Robert Barclay	Refused

Appendix 3.2
Circulars

1. July 1892
RMCM/A/3/1/26

PROPOSED CIRCULAR

Dear Sir

At a public meeting held at the Mayor's Parlour on May 4th, it was unanimously resolved to proceed with the establishment of a College of Music in Manchester. A carefully prepared estimate of expenditure shows that at least £4000 per annum will be required to cover the expenditure, and it has been resolved that an appeal should be made to the public to raise the necessary funds in the shape of a guarantee fund spread over five years. In addition to the guarantee fund it is desirable to raise a sum of at least £1500 to cover the initial expenditure arising from cost of furniture, musical instruments and other expenses which would necessarily be incurred during the first year.

A number of gentlemen have already signified their approval of the scheme and have promised substantial help in the shape of donations towards the preliminary expenses and subscriptions towards the guarantee fund.

We trust that you will kindly allow us to add your name to the list of contributors, and for this purpose we beg to send you the enclosed slip, which kindly return at your convenience.

The committee hope that this appeal will meet with the necessary support, in which case arrangements can probably be made to open the College of Music in October this year.

We are dear Sir

Yours faithfully

.....

Chairman

.....

Treasurer

.....

Hon, Secretary.

The following contributions have been promised:-

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

PRINTERS' PROOF.

THE COLLEGE OF MUSIC.
MANCHESTER.

~~~~~

Dear Sir

At a public Meeting held in the Mayor's Parlour at the Town Hall, Manchester, on May 4th, under the presidency of Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P., it was unanimously resolved to proceed with the establishment of a College of Music in Manchester, and a Committee was appointed to consider and promote the best method of founding such an institution. This Committee believes that the time has arrived for a confident appeal to the public for its support.

The object of the College is to supply what at present is non-existent in the North of England, namely, a complete school of higher education in Music, where students may receive instruction in all branches of the musical art, in no sense inferior to that obtainable at any institution of the kind at home or abroad.

If on becoming generally known, this project meets with the amount of support necessary to carry it into execution within the next few months, Sir Charles Hallé has undertaken to become the first Principal of the College and its chief Professor of Pianoforte. In this expectation negotiations have been already opened with some of the most eminent teachers of the day in their various departments, including Miss Olga Neruda, to assist Sir Charles at the Pianoforte; Madame Sherrington,<sup>1</sup> Miss Anna Williams, and Mr Andrew Black as the leading Professors of Singing; Mr Willy Hess as chief Professor of the Violin, and Mr Whitehouse of the Violoncello; Mr J. Kendrick Pyne as Professor of the Organ, Mr Paersch as Professor of the Horn and Trumpet, Mr Charles Reynolds as Professor of the Oboe, and Mons. Brossa as Professor of the Flute. Arrangements with other teachers of high distinction are in contemplation, so that the Committee is justified in considering that, conditionally, the nucleus of a teaching staff of the highest excellence has already been secured.

The cost of supplying an educational staff of this character will necessitate the provision of an ample revenue. It is not to be expected that under the most favourable circumstances a new College of Music can for some years become self-supporting. Subscriptions to the amount of at least £4,000 per annum will be required to cover the expenditure, and it has accordingly been resolved that an appeal should be made to the public to raise the requisite funds in the form of a guarantee spread over five years. In addition to this guarantee fund it is desirable to raise a sum of at least £1,500, to cover the initial expenditure arising from the cost of furniture, musical instruments, and other expenses that would necessarily be incurred during the first year. Should this appeal meet with the necessary support, the Committee hopes that

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<sup>1</sup> Helen Lemmens Sherrington

arrangements may be made to open the College early next year, more especially should it be decided not to erect a new building, but to acquire suitable premises already in existence.

A number of gentlemen have already promised substantial help in the shape of donations towards the preliminary expenses and subscriptions towards the guarantee fund. We trust that you will kindly allow us to add your name to the list of contributors,

We remain, Sir...



3. September 1892  
*RMCM/A/3/2/33*

THE COLLEGE OF MUSIC.  
MANCHESTER.  
~~~~~

SIR,

At a public Meeting held in the Mayor's Parlour at the Town Hall, Manchester, on May 4th, under the presidency of Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P., it was unanimously resolved to proceed with the establishment of a College of Music in Manchester, and a Committee was appointed to consider and promote the best method of founding such an institution. This Committee believes that the time has arrived for a confident appeal to the public for its support.

The object of the College is to supply what at present is non-existent in the North of England, namely, a complete school of higher education in Music, where students may receive instruction in all branches of the musical art, in no sense inferior to that obtainable at any institution of the kind at home or abroad.

If on becoming generally known, this project meets with the amount of support necessary to carry it into execution within the next few months, Sir Charles Hallé has undertaken to become the first Principal of the College and its chief Professor of Pianoforte. In this expectation negotiations have been already opened with some of the most eminent teachers of the day in their various departments, including Madame Sherrington, Miss Anna Williams, and Mr Andrew Black, as the leading Professors of Singing; Mr Willy Hess as chief Professor of the Violin, Mr Whitehouse of the Violoncello, and Mr J. Kendrick Pyne of the Organ. Arrangements with other teachers of high distinction are in contemplation, so that the Committee is justified in considering that, conditionally, the nucleus of a teaching staff of the highest excellence has already been secured.

[p.2]

The cost of supplying an educational staff of this character will necessitate the provision of an ample revenue. It is not to be expected that under the most favourable circumstances a new College of Music can for some years become self-supporting. Subscriptions to the amount of at least £4,000 per annum will be required to cover the expenditure, and it has accordingly been resolved that an appeal should be made to the public to raise the requisite funds in the form of a guarantee spread over five years. In addition to this guarantee fund it is desirable to raise a sum of at least £1,500, to cover the initial expenditure arising from the cost of furniture, musical instruments, and other expenses that would necessarily be incurred during the first year. Should this appeal meet with the necessary support, the Committee hopes that arrangements may be made to open the College early next year. The Directors of the Concert Hall have been approached with a view to the use, should it prove expedient, of this well-known building for the purposes of the College.

A number of gentlemen have already promised substantial help in the shape of donations towards the preliminary expenses and subscriptions

towards the guarantee fund. We trust that you will kindly allow us to add your name to the list of contributors.

We remain, Sir....

Appendix 3.3

Members of the General Committee, as at September 30, 1892

RMCM/A/3/2/33

THE FOLLOWING LADIES AND GENTLEMEN HAVE JOINED

The General Committee

** The gentlemen marked thus form the Executive Committee*

[Editorial. The layout is as it appears in the circular. The names in italics are additions in this version of the list; the use of § next to a name indicates that they did not offer any further support to the project.]

* The Mayor of Manchester.
The Mayor of Salford.
The Mayor of Accrington.
The Mayor of Altrincham.
The Mayor of Ashton-under-Lyne.
The Mayor of Bacup.
The Mayor of Barrow-in-Furness.
The Mayor of Blackburn.
The Mayor of Bolton.
The Mayor of Burnley.
The Mayor of Bury.
The Mayor of Chester.
The Mayor of Clitheroe.
The Mayor of Chorley.
The Mayor of Darwen.

The Mayor of Haslingden.
The Mayor of Hyde.
The Mayor of Lancaster.
The Mayor of Macclesfield.
The Mayor of Middleton.
The Mayor of Nelson.
The Mayor of Oldham.
The Mayor of Preston.
The Mayor of Rawtenstall.
The Mayor of Rochdale.
The Mayor of St. Helen's.
The Mayor of Southport.
The Mayor of Stockport.
The Mayor of Wigan.

The Duke of Rutland, K.G. §
The Rev. Canon the Marquis of Normanby. §
The Earl of Derby, K.G.
The Lord Bishop of Chester
[Francis Jayne] §
The Most Rev. the Archbishop of Westminster. §
The Right Rev. the Bishop of Salford
[John Bilsborrow] §
The Countess of Bective.
The Lady Sinclair. §
Lady Brooke. §
Lady Elphinstone. §
Lady Stirling. §
The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P.
[Manchester East, 1885–1906]
The Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson,
Bart., M.P. [Manchester North East,
1885–1906] §
The Dean of Manchester.
The Ven. Archdeacon Anson. §
The Principal of Owens College.
The High Master of the Grammar School.

Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart.,
M.P. [Manchester North West,
1883–1906]
J. W. Maclure, Esq., M.P.
[Stretford, 1886–1901]
William Mather, Esq., M.P.
[Salford South, 1885–6; Gorton,
1889–95]
Sir H. E. Roscoe, M.P. [Manchester
South, 1885–1895] §
J. W. Sidebotham, Esq., M.P. [Hyde,
1886–1900]
Thomas Snape, Esq., M.P. [Heywood,
1892–1900] §
Mrs W. Lockett Agnew. §
William Agnew, Esq.
Benjamin Armitage, Esq.
R. Arnold, Esq.
William T. Arnold, Esq.
T. A. Bazley, Esq. §
C. H. Beever. §
Mrs Edward Behrens.
Gustav Behrens, Esq.
Oliver P. Behrens, Esq.
Mrs S. A. Bennett.

Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P. [Manchester South West, 1886–1895][§]
William D. Coddington, Esq., M.P. [Blackburn, 1880–1906][§]
The Hon. George Curzon, M.P. [Southport, 1886–1898][§]
Coningsby Disraeli, Esq., M.P. [Altrincham, 1892–1906][§]
W. H. Holland, Esq., M.P. [Salford North, 1892–1895][§]
Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Bart.[§]
 Mrs Edward Donner.
 Edward Donner, Esq.
 Mrs Eckersley.[§]
 William Eller, Esq.
 Miss Ewart.
 W. E. Fairlie, Esq.[§]
 Miss Emily Faithfull.[§]
 Mrs Ernest Frank.
 George Freemantle, Esq.
 Mrs Theodore Gaddum.[§]
 Mrs Stewart Garnett.
 Miss Gaskell.
 T. W. Gillibrand, Esq.
 Wm. Goldthorpe, Esq.
 Mrs Harvey Goodwin.
 Herbert Greg, Esq.
 Chas. J. Hall, Esq.
 Sir Charles Hallé.
 Miss [Marie] Hallé.[§]
 Fred. Hampson, Esq.^{1 §}
 Mrs Heaton.[§]
 C. J. Heywood, Esq.
 E. S. Heywood, Esq.
 The Rev. Canon Hicks.
 Henry Hiles, Esq., Mus. Doc.
 The Rev. F. K. Hodgkinson.
 Miss Holliday.[§]
 T. C. Horsfall, Esq.
 James Jardine, Esq.
 Mrs Kennedy.[§]
 William Kessler, Esq.
 H. Lathbury, Esq.
Sir Joseph C. Lee.[§]
 Charles E. Lees, Esq.
 Sir Charles Legard, Bart.[§]

David Bles, Esq.
 J. Armitage Bennett, Esq.[§]
 Alfred T. Bentley, Esq.
 Mrs A. Macdonald Blair.
 E. J. Broadfield, Esq.
 Henry Cooke, Esq.
 Thomas Craven, Esq.
 Mrs Davies.[§]
 Mrs G. R. Davies.[§]
 Gustav Dehn, Esq.
David Little, Esq., M.D.
 Wm. C. Lord, Esq.
Mr Councillor Marshall
 Mrs W. V. B. McGrath.[§]
 Rupert Mason, Esq.
F. Merriman, Esq.
 Mrs Charles Moseley
W. Ed. Musson, Esq., M.D.[§]
 Mrs Murray.[§]
 George R. Murray, Esq.
 J. H. Murray, Esq.[§]
 Albert Nicholson, Esq.
 Mrs Cecil Parr.
 Mrs Gerald Peel.[§]
 Rev. J. T. Penrose.[§]
 Herbert Philips, Esq.
 S. R. Platt, Esq.
 J. Kendrick Pyne, Esq.[§]
 George Ratcliffe, Esq.
 Fritz Reiss, Esq.
 Mrs Carne Ross.[§]
 C. P. Scott, Esq.
 Henry Simon, Esq., C.E.
 Thomas Sowler, Esq.[§]
 Mrs Hardcastle Sykes.
 Mrs W. Thompson.[§]
Mr Alderman Thompson
 Mrs Turner.[§]
 Mrs James Turner.
 W. Turner, Esq.[§]
 Mrs A. P. Vaughan.[§]
 Miss Wakefield.
Francis Wiswall, Esq.[§]
 The Rev. Canon Woodhouse.[§]
 Mrs H. Worrall.
 Mrs D. Wynter.[§]

¹ Assumed to be typographical error carried over from previous version and should read Francis Hampson.

Appendix 3.4

Pledge forms and letters, 1892–1893

The list is arranged in order of the number on the pledge form.

No.	Date	Name	Amount promised
1	1 Oct 1892	M. E. Gaskell	£25 either for initial expenses or as £5 per annum for 5 years. ¹
2	3 Oct 1892	C. P. Scott	£5 for Initial expenses and £20 per annum for 5 years.
3	3 Oct 1892	Harry B. Wood	£1.1/- for Initial expenses and £1.1/- per annum for 5 years.
4	1 Oct 1892	F. Smallman	£10 for Initial expenses and £10 per annum for 5 years.
5	1 Oct 1892	Jessie G. Green	£5 for Initial expenses and £1.1-0 per annum for 5 years.
6	1 Oct 1892	Frank Merriman	£5=5=0 for Initial expenses and £1=1=0 per annum for 5 years.
7	1 Oct 1892	Samuel Hailstone	£5.5.0 for Initial expenses and £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
8	1 Oct 1892	G.A. Chanot	£1.1.0 for Initial expenses and £1.0.0 per annum for 5 years.
9	1 Oct 1892	John Norris	£1.1.0 for Initial expenses and 10/6 per annum for 5 years.
10	3 Oct 1892	Alf. Wenner	£3.3.0 for Initial expenses and £3.3.0 per annum for 5 years.
11	3 Oct 1892	Reginald W. Wilde	£1-1-0 per annum for 5 years.
12	4 Oct 1892	Herbert Radcliffe	£5 for Initial expenses and £5 per annum for 5 years.
13	3 Oct 1892	W. Eller	£Five per annum for 5 years.
14	Oct 1892	John Youatt	£One guinea for Initial expenses and £1-one guinea per annum for 5 years.
15	4 Oct 1892	Robert Ridyard	£1-1-0 for Initial expenses.
17	5 Oct 1892	E. L. Hicks	£1- for Initial expenses.
18	5 Oct 1892	Herbert Greg	£5-0-0 for Initial expenses and £5-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
19	5 Oct 1892	W. T. Arnold	£1-1-0 Per annum for 5 years.
20	6 Oct 1892	H. A. Rohde	£5.- Initial expenses.
21	6 Oct 1892	J. G. Greenwood	£One guinea per annum for 5 years.
22	6 Oct 1892	Albert Nicholson	£2-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
23	7 Oct 1892	Jas. Begg Shaw	£5 for initial expenses & £5 per annum for 5 years.

¹ The amounts are transcribed as written on the pledge forms.

No.	Date	Name	Amount promised
24	5 Nov 1892	James Forsyth	£20-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
25	6 Oct 1892	Peter Keevney	£10-0-0 for initial expenses & £2-2-0 per annum for 5 years.
26	6 Oct 1892	Charles Behrens	£10-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
28	9 Oct 1892	Alice Curtis	£4-4 for initial expenses & £1.1 per annum for 5 years.
29	6 Oct 1892	Joseph Thompson	£1 for initial expenses & £4 per annum for 5 years.
30	10 Oct 1892	F. M. Pierce, M.D.	£1.1.0 for initial expenses & £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
31	10 Oct 1892	J. Voss	£One pound for initial expenses & £Two pounds per annum for 5 years.
32	12 Oct 1892	F. J. Norbury	£1-1-0 for initial expenses & £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
33	17 Oct 1892	S. R. Platt	£100-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
34	12 Oct 1892	Alfred H. Pownall	£1-1-0 for initial expenses & £1-1-0 per annum for 5 years.
35	12 Oct 1892	James Jardine	£50 for initial expenses & £50 per annum for 5 years.
36	12 Oct 1892	A. M. Donner (Mrs Donner)	£10 per annum for 5 years.
37	15 Oct 1892	Mary A. Ewart	£5 for 5 years sent as one cheque of £25.
38	14 Oct 1892	A. W. Ward	£3-3 per annum for 5 years
39	14 Oct 1892	George R. Murray	£5- per annum for 5 years.
40	15 Oct 1892	Elizth Day	£5 for initial expenses.
41	14 Oct 1892	(Mrs) Enriqueta Rylands	£25.0.0 for initial expenses & £25.0.0 per annum for 5 years.
42	14 Oct 1892	J. E. Cornish	£5-5-0 for initial expenses and £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
43	14 Oct 1892	M. I. Bennett	£3-3 per annum for 5 years.
44	14 Oct 1892	L. Worrall	£10-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
45	15 Oct 1892	John L. Carr	£1/1/0 per annum for 5 years.
46	11 Oct 1892	W. H. Kendal	£5-5-0 for initial expenses.
47	16 Oct [1892]	W. Mather	Ten pounds per annum.
48	15 Oct 1892	John Broadwood & Sons	One Hundred guineas donation.
49	18 Oct 1892	S. L. Helm	£5 per annum for 5 years.
51	18 Oct 1892	James Watts	£ten pounds per annum for 5 years.
52	4 May 1892	Gustav Behrens	£50.-.- for initial expenses and £50.-.- per annum for 5 years.
53	[undated]	Amy Parr	Donation £1.1.0
54	20 Oct 1892	F. Forbes Adam	£5 for initial expenses and £5 per annum for 5 years.

No.	Date	Name	Amount promised
55	20 Oct 1892	A. J. Hunter	£5- for initial expenses and £5 per annum for 5 years.
56	20 Oct 1892	Charles F. Worrall	£four per annum for 5 years.
57	20 Oct 1892	Alfred Emmott	£5 per annum for 5 years.
58	21 Oct 1892	Charles E. Lees	£250- for initial expenses and £250- per annum for 5 years.
59	21 Oct 1892	Geo. Walthew	£1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
60	21 Oct 1892	Anna M. Heywood (Mrs Charles Heywood)	£10 per annum for 5 years.
61	20 Oct 1892	[Earl] Spencer	£10 per annum for 5 years.
62	21 Oct 1892	Mrs Stewart Garnett	£3=3=0 per annum for 5 years.
63	21 Oct 1892	Thos Craven	£20.0.0 per annum for 5 years.
64	22 Oct 1892	[The Duke of] Devonshire	£100.0.0 for initial expenses and £50-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
65	22 Oct 1892	Palmer & Howe	£2.2.0 per annum for 5 years.
66	24 Oct 1892	Thomas Platt, Surgeon	£1-1-0 for initial expenses & £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
67	24 Oct 1892	(Miss) Edith Platt	£1-1-0 for initial expenses & £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
68	25 Oct 1892	N. P. Thamsen	£1-1-0 for initial expenses and £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
69	25 Oct 1892	Henry Simon	£fifty per annum for 5 years.
71	8 Aug 1892	A E F Fraser [Mrs]	£25 to the guarantee fund
72	26 May 1892	B Armitage	£50 each for 5 years.
73	1 Oct 1892	Herbert Philips	£50 donation and £20 per annum for 5 years.
75	29 Aug 1892	J. E. Taylor	£25 donation and 5 years subscription of £20.
76	27 Oct 1892	Wm. Batty & Sons	£1.0.0 for initial expenses and £1.0.0 per annum for 5 years. 9 Market St.
77	27 Oct 1892	Ernest Frank	£10.-.0 for initial expenses and £5.-.- per annum for 5 years for self and £5.-.- per annum for 5 years for Mrs Ernest Frank.
78	28 Oct 1892	Mary Worthington	£20 for initial expenses and £5 per annum for 5 years.
79	31 Oct 1892	Samuel Ingham	£1.1.0 for initial expenses and £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
80	4 Nov 1892	T.W. Gillibrand	Three guineas annual subscription.
81	7 Nov 1892	John T. Petrocokino	£1.1.- per annum for 5 years.
82	7 Nov 1892	E. J. Broadfield	£1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
83	5 Nov 1892	Julius Dreschfeld, MD	£ Three pounds per annum for 5 years.

No.	Date	Name	Amount promised
84	5 Nov 1892	Willm C. Brooks	£50-0-0 for initial expenses and £50-.- per annum for 5 years.
85	9 Nov 1892	John W. Maclure	£10-10-0 per annum for 5 years.
86	8 Nov 1892	Geo. R. Cox	£5.5.0 per annum for 5 years.
87	10 Nov 1892	David S. Bles	£10=10/= per annum for 5 years.
88	11 Nov 1892	L. Grommé	Twenty-five pounds per annum for 5 years.
91	12 Nov 1892	Gustav Eckhard	£5.- per annum for 5 years.
92	12 Nov 1892	R. P. Arnold	One guinea per annum for 5 years.
93	16 Nov 1892	Chas. Hughes	£2.2.0 per annum for 5 years.
94	16 Nov 1892	Hy. J. Ogden	£Ten pounds per annum for 5 years.
95	17 Nov 1892	George Hy. Newton	£1-1-0 per annum for 5 years.
96	17 Nov 1892	Kendal, Milne & Co.	£5-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
97	17 Nov 1892	F. K. Hodgkinson	£1-1-0 for initial expenses and £1:1:0 per annum for 5 years.
99	21 Nov 1892	J.W. Sidebotham	£2-2-0 per annum for 5 years.
101	15 Nov 1892	Rob Hilton	£1-1-0 for initial expenses.
102	16 Nov 1892	William Kessler	£10.- per annum for 5 years.
103	18 Nov 1892	A. A. Gillies (Andrew A. Gillies)	£1.1/- per annum for 5 years.
104	21 Nov 1892	Francis Godlee	£3-3-0 per annum for 5 years.
105	21 Nov 1892	John B C Brooks	£2-2/ per annum for 5 years.
106	22 Nov 1892	O P Behrens	£Ten pounds for initial expenses and £five pounds per annum for 5 years.
107	22 Nov 1892	Mrs Ed. Behrens	£Ten pounds for initial expenses and £ten per annum for 5 years.
108	14 Nov 1892	Frank Behrens	£One Hundred pounds for initial expenses and £Fifty Pounds per annum for 5 years.
109	14 Nov 1892	Netty Behrens	£3.3 for initial expenses.
110	23 Nov 1892	Hime & Addison	£20/- per annum for 5 years.
111	23 Nov 1892	Joseph Fry	£one per annum for 5 years.
112	22 Nov 1892	Robert Dauntsey	£10.0.0 for initial expenses and £5.5.0 per annum for 5 years.
113	24 Nov 1892	Jane Turner	£5.5.0 for initial expenses.
114	25 Nov 1892	Geo. Gray	£2.2.0 per annum for 5 years.
115	05 Dec 1892	Alfred Barnes	£10- for initial expenses.
116	26 Nov 1892	Mrs David Little	£5-0-0 per annum for 5 years.

No.	Date	Name	Amount promised
117	28 Nov 1892	Thomas Bromley	£2-2-0 for initial expenses and £2.2.0 per annum for 5 years.
118	28 Nov 1892	W. Nicholson	£10-0-0 for initial expenses and £2.2.0 per annum for 5 years.
119	30 Nov 1892	Edw. A. Eason	£1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
120	29 Nov 1892	Henry Wood	£3-3- for initial expenses and £1.1 per annum for 5 years.
121	30 Nov 1892	J. E. King	£1-1-0 per annum for 5 years.
122	1 Dec 1892	Samuel Armitage	£25-0-0 per annum for 5 years if I live so long
123	3 Dec 1892	Adelaide J. Moseley	£5-0-0 for initial expenses.
124	6 Dec 1892	Charles Dunderdale	£1-1-0 per annum for 5 years.
125	2 Dec 1892	Bernhard Alexander	£10-10-0 for initial expenses and £5.5 per annum for 5 years.
126	6 Dec 1892	W. Morton Philips	£5-0-0 per annum for 5 years.
127	8 Dec 1892	Th. Dreydel	£2.2/- per annum for 5 years.
128	12 Dec 1892	Thomas Glaister	£5 per annum for 5 years.
129	12 Dec 1892	David Midgley	£10 per annum for 5 years.
131	16 Dec 1892	T. B. Shimwell	£5.-.- per annum for 5 years.
132	20 Dec 1892	Dr. & Mrs H. G. Brooke	£3.3.0 per annum for 5 years.
133	20 Dec 1892	Bertha M. Porter	£1-1-0 for initial expenses.
135	3 Jan 1893	E. G. S. Hornby	£1.1.0 (subscription)
136	7 Dec 1893	Frederick P. Nathan	£5.0.0 for initial expenses. (? Date)
139	9 Jan 1893	Wm S Paget-Tomlinson	5 guineas annually for 5 years.
140	13 Jan 1893	E. Walter Joynson	£5-5-0 Per annum for 5 years.
141	16 Jan 1893	Miss Cairns	£1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
145	18 Jan 1893	A. Marshall	£10.0.0 for initial expenses and £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
146	4 May 1892	Charles J. Heywood	£125 for initial expenses and £100 per annum for 5 years.
148	18 Jan 1893	J. {B.} A. Farrer	£5 Donation.
149	01 Feb 1893	S. Conder	£1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
151	10 Feb 1893	Lieut.-Col. E.A. Behrens	£2-2-0 per annum for 5 years.
152	10 Feb 1893	William Balle Huntington	£10-10-0 per annum for 5 years.
153	14 Feb 1893	Alfred T. Bentley	£3.3.0 per annum for 5 years.
154	15 Feb 1893	James Boyd	£2.2/- per annum for 5 years.

No.	Date	Name	Amount promised
155	23 Feb 1893	M. Schlesinger	£5.5.- per annum for 5 years.
157	4 Feb 1893	John P. Thomasson	£5.5.0 per annum for 5 years.
158	3 Feb 1893	Edwin Woollard	£1.-.- per annum for 5 years.
159	29 Jan 1893	Charles Macfie, M.D. & C	£1-1-0 per annum for 5 years (conditional on being alive).
160	30 Jan 1893	William Slater	£10 for initial expenses.
161	30 Jan 1893	E. Deakin, Jnr.	£5- for initial expenses and £5- per annum for 5 years.
162	2 Feb 1893	William Brimelow	£2.2.0 for initial expenses and £1.1.0 per annum for 5 years.
163	1 Feb 1893	B. E. Butler	£1/1/0 per annum for 5 years.
164	7 Feb 1893.	Alfred Topp	£5 for initial expenses.
165	[no date]	H. T. Deakin	£5.0.0 for initial expenses.
166	[no date]	J. R. Bridson	£5 per annum for 5 years
167	19 Jun 1893	John Harwood	£10.0.0 for initial expenses and £10.0.0 per annum for 5 years.
168	24 Sep 1893	Mary Hardcastle Sykes	£5 for initial expenses.
169	1893	Ruth Goodwin	£2.2/- per annum for 5 years.
170	26 Sep 189-.	Wm. C. Lord	£2.2.0 per annum for 5 years.
171	28 Sep [1893]	Annie G. Blair	£2.2.0 subscription per year.
172	30 Sep 1893	J. Frederick Cheetham	£5:5:0 for initial expenses and £3:3:0 per annum for 5 years.
173	6 Oct 1893	Henry Lathbury	Two guineas per annum for 5 years.

Appendix 3.5

Tables of donations

Table 1

Contributions promised, as listed in the *Manchester Guardian*, Nov 12, 1892,1.

1. Pledge form numbers (see Appendix 3.4) have been added for reference; those names without pledge numbers had promised a donation but it was not recorded in a pledge form. These are noted in a list at the end of the table.
2. The column 'Total annual subs promised' is the annual subscription multiplied by 5; it should be noted that this is what was promised but not necessarily given (particularly if the donor died before 1898, the end of the five-year period)
3. The totals at the bottom of the table do not agree with those published in the newspaper, as shown. The figures have been checked using a £.s. d. calculator and it appears that the error was in the original figures.¹

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
58	C. E. Lees [d. Aug. 1894]	250.00	1250.00	250.00	1500.00
146	C. J. Heywood	100.00	500.00	125.00	625.00
	E. S. Heywood	100.00	500.00	125.00	625.00
	The Earl of Derby [d. Apr. 1893]	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
	William Agnew	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
33	S. R. Platt	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
64	The Duke of Devonshire	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
	Sir W. H. Houldsworth, M.P.	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
84	Sir W. C. Brooks	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
52	Gustav Behrens	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
35	James Jardine [d. Sep. 1893] ²	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
	Fritz Reiss	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00

¹ <https://www.ajhw.co.uk/downloads/ltd-calculator.xls>

² Payments continued by his executors.

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
72	Benjamin Armitage	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
	T. C. Horsfall	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
69	Henry Simon	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
41	Mrs Rylands	25.00	125.00	25.00	150.00
73	Herbert Philips	20.00	100.00	50.00	150.00
88	L. Grommé	25.00	125.00	0.00	125.00
75	J. E. Taylor	20.00	100.00	25.00	125.00
48	Messrs Broadwood	0.00	0.00	105.00	105.00
2	C. P. Scott	20.00	100.00	5.00	105.00
63	Thomas Craven	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
	W. J. Crossley	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
24	James Forsyth	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
77	Ernest & Mrs Frank	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
4	F. Smallman	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
87	David S. Bles	10.50	52.50	0.00	52.50
85	J. W. Maclure, M.P.	10.50	52.50	0.00	52.50
36	Mrs E. [Anna] Donner	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
60	Mrs C. J. [Anna M.] Heywood	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
44	Mrs Henry [Louisa] Worrall	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
61	Earl Spencer	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
26	Charles Behrens	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
47	William Mather, M.P.	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
51	James Watts	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
78	Mrs [Mary] Worthington	5.00	25.00	20.00	45.00
54	Sir F. Forbes Adam	5.25	26.25	5.25	31.50
55	A. J. Hunter	5.25	26.25	5.25	31.50
18	Herbert Greg	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00
12	Herbert Radcliffe	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00
23	J. B. Shand [Shaw]	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
	Countess of Bective	5.25	26.25	0.00	26.25
86	Geo. R Cox	5.25	26.25	0.00	26.25
71	Mrs [Agnes E. F.] Fraser	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
1	Miss [Margaret] Gaskell	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
37	Miss [Mary A.] Ewart	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
13	William Eller	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
49	S. L. Helm	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
57	The Mayor of Oldham [A. Emmott]	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
39	G. R. Murray	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
29	Alderman [Joseph] Thompson	4.00	20.00	1.00	21.00
25	Mayor of Salford [P. Keevney] [d. Jun. 1895]	2.10	10.50	10.00	20.50
56	C. F. Worrall	4.00	20.00	0.00	20.00
10	Alfred Wenner	3.15	15.75	3.15	18.90
43	Mrs S. A. [Mary I.] Bennett	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
62	Mrs Stewart [Caroline] Garnett	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
80	T. W. Gillibrand [d. Aug. 1898]	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
	Rupert Mason	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
38	Principal [A. W.] Ward, LL.D	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
83	Dr Julius Dreschfeld	3.00	15.00	0.00	15.00
31	J. Voss	2.00	10.00	1.00	11.00
	Gustav Dehn	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
65	Messrs Palmer & Howe	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
42	J. E. Cornish	1.05	5.25	5.25	10.50
7	Rev. S. Hailstone	1.05	5.25	5.25	10.50
6	Frank Merriman	1.05	5.25	5.25	10.50
5	Miss J. [Jessie Green]	1.05	5.25	5.00	10.25
22	Albert Nicholson	2.00	10.00	0.00	10.00
28	Miss [Alice] Curtis	1.05	5.25	4.20	9.45

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
	Mrs W. H. Milner	1.05	5.25	2.10	7.35
67	Edith Platt	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
76	Messrs W. Batty	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
79	Samuel Ingham	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
32	F. J. Norbury	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
30	Dr F. M. Pierce	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
66	Dr [Thomas] Platt	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
34	A. H. Pownall	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
68	N. P. Thamsen	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
3	H. B. Wood	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
14	John Youatt	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
8	S. [G.] A. Chanot	1.00	5.00	1.00	6.00
46	W. H. Kendal	0.00	0.00	5.25	5.25
19	W. T. Arnold	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
82	E. J. Broadfield	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
45	J. L. Carr	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
21	Prof. J. G. Greenwood, LL.D. [d. Sep. 1894]	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
81	J. T. Petrocokino	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
59	George Walthew	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
11	R. W. Wilde	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
40	Miss [Elizabeth] Day	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
	George Ratcliffe	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
20	H. N. Rohde	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
9	John Norris	0.53	2.63	1.05	3.68
53	Mrs Cecil [Amy] Parr	0.00	0.00	1.05	1.05
17	Rev Canon Hicks	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
15	R. Ridyard	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
	TOTAL	£1612.88	£8064.38	£1303.55	£9367.93
		£1,612 17s. 6d.	£8,064 7s. 6d.	£1,303 11s.	£9,367 18s. 8d.
	<i>Manchester Guardian totals</i>	<i>£1,611 16s. 6d.</i>		<i>£1,297 0s. 0d.</i>	

Table 2

Names not on pledge forms

E. S. Heywood	Letter, 1 May 1892 to Behrens, announced at public meeting on 4 May 1892.
The Earl of Derby	Reported to Executive Committee on 9 August 1892.
William Agnew	Reported to Executive Committee on 7 November 1892.
Sir W. H. Houldsworth, M.P.	Announced at public meeting on 4 May 1892.
Fritz Reiss	No correspondence or report; in list of promises recorded in RMCM/A/3/1.
T. C. Horsfall	No correspondence or report; in list of promises recorded in RMCM/A/3/1.
W. J. Crossley	No correspondence or report; in list of promises recorded <i>Manchester Guardian</i> .
Countess of Bective	No correspondence or report; in list of promises recorded <i>Manchester Guardian</i> .
Rupert Mason	No correspondence or report; in list of promises recorded <i>Manchester Guardian</i> .
Gustav Dehn	No correspondence or report; in list of promises recorded <i>Manchester Guardian</i> .
Mrs W. H. Milner	No correspondence or report; in list of promises recorded <i>Manchester Guardian</i> .
George Ratcliffe	Letter, 7 May 1892 to Behrens, read at Committee meeting, 11 May 1892.

Table 3

Donations promised after publication of list.

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
108	Frank Behrens	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
122	Samuel Armitage	25.00	125.00	0.00	125.00
110	Hime & Addison	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
107	Mrs Ed. [Abigail] Behrens	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
167	John Harwood	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
152	William Balle Huntington	10.50	52.50	0.00	52.50
94	Hy. [Henry] J. Ogden	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
102	William Kessler	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
129	David Midgley	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
125	Bernhard Alexander	5.25	26.25	10.50	36.75
112	Robert Dautesey	5.25	26.25	10.00	36.25
106	O. P. [Oliver Philip Behrens]	5.00	25.00	10.00	35.00
161	E. [Edward] Deakin, Jnr.	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00
155	M. [Maurice] Schlesinger	5.25	26.25	0.00	27.50
157	John P. Thomasson	5.25	26.25	0.00	27.50
91	Gustav Eckhard	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
96	Kendal, Milne & Co.	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
116	Mrs David [Marion] Little	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
126	W. Morton Philips	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
128	Thomas Glaister	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
131	T. B. [Thomas Bartram] Shimwell	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
166	J. R. [Joseph Ridgway] Bridson	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
172	J. [John] Frederick Cheetham	3.15	15.75	5.25	21.00
118	W. Nicholson	2.10	10.50	10.00	20.50
139	Wm S. Paget-Tomlinson	5.25	16.25	0.00	16.25
140	E. Walter Joynson	5.25	16.25	0.00	16.25

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
104	Francis Godlee	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
132	Dr & Mrs H. G. [Henry Grundy] Brooke	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
153	Alfred T. Bentley	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
145	A. [Anthony] Marshall (Lord Mayor)	1.05	5.25	10.00	15.25
117	Thomas Bromley	2.10	10.50	2.10	12.60
99	J. W. [Joseph Watson] Sidebotham	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
105	John B. C. Brooks	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
114	Geo. Gray	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
127	Th. [Thomas] Dreydel	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
151	Lieut.-Col. E.A. [Emil Alfred] Behrens	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
154	James Boyd	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
169	Ruth Goodwin	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
170	Wm C. Lord	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
171	Annie G. Blair	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
173	Henry Lathbury	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
115	Alfred Barnes	0.00	0.00	10.00	10.00
160	William Slater	0.00	0.00	10.00	10.00
120	Henry Wood	1.05	5.25	3.15	8.40
162	William Brimelow	1.05	5.25	2.10	7.35
97	F. K. [Frederick Kerslake] Hodgkinson	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
93	Chas. Hughes	2.10	5.50	0.00	5.50
92	R. (P.?) Arnold	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
95	George Hy. Newton	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
103	A. A. [Andrew A. Gillies]	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
113	Jane Turner	0.00	0.00	5.25	5.25
119	Edw. A. Eason	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
121	J. E. [John Edward King]	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
124	Charles Dunderdale	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
134	E. G. S. Hornby	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
141	Miss [Catherine M.] Cairns	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
159	Charles Macfie, M.D.	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
163	B. E. [Bertha Evina] Butler	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
111	Joseph Fry	1.00	5.00	0.00	5.00
123	Adelaide J. Moseley	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
136	Frederick P. Nathan	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
148	J. A. [James Anson] Farrer	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
158	Edwin Woollard	1.00	5.00	0.00	5.00
164	Alfred Topp	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
165	H. T. [Henry Taylor] Deakin	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
168	Mary Hardcastle Sykes	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
109	Netty [Annette] Behrens	0.00	0.00	3.15	3.15
101	Rob. Hilton	0.00	0.00	1.05	1.05
133	Bertha M. Porter	0.00	0.00	1.05	1.05
149	S. [Susanna] Conder	1.05	5.25	0.00	1.05
	TOTAL	£289.65	£1,423.25	£249.65	£1,671.20

Table 4

Amalgamated table of Guardian list and later pledge forms (Arranged by totals promised)

Note. Full names have been added in square brackets

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
58	C. E. [Charles Edward] Lees [d. Aug. 1894]	250.00	1250.00	250.00	1500.00
146	C. J. [Charles James] Heywood	100.00	500.00	125.00	625.00
	E. S. [Edward Stanley] Heywood	100.00	500.00	125.00	625.00
	The Earl of Derby [d. Apr. 1893]	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
	William Agnew	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
33	S. R. [Samuel Radcliffe] Platt	100.00	500.00	0.00	500.00
64	The Duke of Devonshire	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
	Sir W. H. [William Henry] Houldsworth, M.P.	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
108	Frank Behrens	50.00	250.00	100.00	350.00
84	Sir W. C. [William Cunliffe] Brooks	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
52	Gustav Behrens	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
35	James Jardine [d. Sep. 1893] ³	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
	Fritz Reiss	50.00	250.00	50.00	300.00
72	Benjamin Armitage	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
	T. C. [Thomas Cogan] Horsfall	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
69	Henry Simon	50.00	250.00	0.00	250.00
41	Mrs Rylands	25.00	125.00	25.00	150.00
73	Herbert Philips	20.00	100.00	50.00	150.00
88	L. [Louis] Grommé	25.00	125.00	0.00	125.00
75	J. E. [John Edward] Taylor	20.00	100.00	25.00	125.00
122	Samuel Armitage	25.00	125.00	0.00	125.00
48	Messrs Broadwood	0.00	0.00	105.00	105.00
2	C. P. [Charles Prestwich] Scott	20.00	100.00	5.00	105.00

³ Payments continued until 1898 by his executors.

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
63	Thomas Craven	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
	W. J. [William John] Crossley	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
24	James Forsyth	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
110	Hime & Addison [music shop]	20.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
77	Ernest & Mrs Frank	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
4	F. [Frederick] Smallman	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
107	Mrs Ed. [Abigail] Behrens	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
167	John Harwood	10.00	50.00	10.00	60.00
87	David S. Bles	10.50	52.50	0.00	52.50
85	J. W. [John William] Maclure, M.P.	10.50	52.50	0.00	52.50
152	William Balle Huntington	10.50	52.50	0.00	52.50
36	Mrs E. [Anna] Donner	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
60	Mrs C. J. [Anna M.] Heywood	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
44	Mrs Henry [Louisa] Worrall	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
61	Earl Spencer	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
26	Charles Behrens	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
47	William Mather, M.P.	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
51	James Watts	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
94	Hy. [Henry] J. Ogden	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
102	William Kessler	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
129	David Midgley	10.00	50.00	0.00	50.00
78	Mrs [Mary] Worthington	5.00	25.00	20.00	45.00
125	Bernhard Alexander	5.25	26.25	10.50	36.75
112	Robert Dautesey	5.25	26.25	10.00	36.25
106	O. P. [Oliver Philip] Behrens	5.00	25.00	10.00	35.00
54	Sir F. Forbes Adam	5.25	26.25	5.25	31.50
55	A. J. Hunter	5.25	26.25	5.25	31.50
18	Herbert Greg	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00
12	Herbert Radcliffe	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
23	J. B. Shand [Shaw]	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00
161	E. [Edward] Deakin, Jnr.	5.00	25.00	5.00	30.00
155	M. [Maurice] Schlesinger	5.25	26.25	0.00	27.50
157	John P. Thomasson	5.25	26.25	0.00	27.50
	Countess of Bective	5.25	26.25	0.00	26.25
86	Geo. R Cox	5.25	26.25	0.00	26.25
91	Gustav Eckhard	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
71	Mrs [Agnes E. F.] Fraser	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
1	Miss [Margaret] Gaskell	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
37	Miss [Mary A.] Ewart	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
13	William Eller	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
49	S. L. [Sigismund Loewen] Helm	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
57	The Mayor of Oldham [A. Emmott]	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
39	G. R. [George Rigby] Murray	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
96	Kendal, Milne & Co.	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
116	Mrs David [Marion] Little	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
126	W. Morton Philips	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
128	Thomas Glaister	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
131	T. B. [Thomas Bartram] Shimwell	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
166	J. R. [Joseph Ridgway] Bridson	5.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
29	Alderman [Joseph] Thompson	4.00	20.00	1.00	21.00
172	J. [John] Frederick Cheetham	3.15	15.75	5.25	21.00
25	Mayor of Salford [P. Keevney] [d. Jun. 1895]	2.10	10.50	10.00	20.50
118	W. [William] Nicholson	2.10	10.50	10.00	20.50
56	C. F. [Charles Francis] Worrall	4.00	20.00	0.00	20.00
10	Alfred Wenner	3.15	15.75	3.15	18.90
139	Wm S. Paget-Tomlinson	5.25	16.25	0.00	16.25
140	E. Walter Joynson	5.25	16.25	0.00	16.25
43	Mrs S. A. [Mary I.] Bennett	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
62	Mrs Stewart [Caroline] Garnett	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
80	T. W. [Thomas Walton] Gillibrand [d. Aug.1898]	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
	Rupert Mason	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
38	Principal [A. W.] Ward, LL.D	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
104	Francis Godlee	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
132	Dr & Mrs H. G. [Henry Grundy] Brooke	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
153	Alfred T. Bentley	3.15	15.75	0.00	15.75
145	A. [Anthony] Marshall (Lord Mayor)	1.05	5.25	10.00	15.25
83	Dr Julius Dreschfeld	3.00	15.00	0.00	15.00
117	Thomas Bromley	2.10	10.50	2.10	12.60
31	J. [John] Voss	2.00	10.00	1.00	11.00
	Gustav Dehn	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
65	Messrs Palmer & Howe	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
42	J. E. [James Edward] Cornish	1.05	5.25	5.25	10.50
7	Rev. S. [Samuel] Hailstone	1.05	5.25	5.25	10.50
6	Frank Merriman	1.05	5.25	5.25	10.50
99	J. W. [Joseph Watson] Sidebotham	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
105	John B. C. Brooks	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
114	Geo. Gray	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
127	Th. [Thomas] Dreydel	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
151	Lieut.-Col. E.A. [Emil Alfred] Behrens	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
154	James Boyd	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
169	Ruth Goodwin	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
170	Wm C. Lord	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
171	Annie G. Blair	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
173	Henry Lathbury	2.10	10.50	0.00	10.50
5	Miss J. [Jessie] Green	1.05	5.25	5.00	10.25
22	Albert Nicholson	2.00	10.00	0.00	10.00
115	Alfred Barnes	0.00	0.00	10.00	10.00

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
160	William Slater	0.00	0.00	10.00	10.00
28	Miss [Alice] Curtis	1.05	5.25	4.20	9.45
120	Henry Wood	1.05	5.25	3.15	8.40
	Mrs W. H. [Elizabeth A.] Milner	1.05	5.25	2.10	7.35
162	William Brimelow	1.05	5.25	2.10	7.35
67	Edith Platt	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
76	Messrs W. Batty	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
79	Samuel Ingham	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
32	F. J. [Francis James] Norbury	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
30	Dr F. M. [Frederick Morrish] Pierce	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
66	Dr [Thomas] Platt	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
34	A. H. [Alfred Herbert] Pownall	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
68	N. P. [Nicolai Peter] Thamsen	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
3	H. B. [Harry Bland] Wood	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
14	John Youatt	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
97	F. K. [Frederick Kerslake] Hodgkinson	1.05	5.25	1.05	6.30
8	S. [G.] A. [George Adolphus] Chanot	1.00	5.00	1.00	6.00
93	Chas. Hughes	2.10	5.50	0.00	5.50
46	W. H. [William Hunter] Kendal	0.00	0.00	5.25	5.25
19	W. T. [William Thomas] Arnold	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
82	E. J. [Edward John] Broadfield	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
45	J. L. [John Lindley] Carr	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
	Prof. J. G. [Joseph Gouge] Greenwood, LL.D.	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
21	[d. Sep. 1894]				
81	J. T. [John Themistocles] Petrocokino	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
59	George Walthew	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
11	R. W. [Reginald William] Wilde	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
92	R. [P.] Arnold [probably Richard Penrose]	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
95	George Hy. Newton	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
103	A. A. [Andrew A.] Gillies	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
113	Jane Turner	0.00	0.00	5.25	5.25
119	Edw. A. Eason	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
121	J. E. [John Edward] King	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
124	Charles Dunderdale	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
134	E. G. S. [Edmund Geoffrey Stanley] Hornby	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
141	Miss [Catherine M.] Cairns	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
149	S. [Susanna] Conder	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
159	Charles Macfie, M.D.	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
163	B. E. [Bertha Evina] Butler	1.05	5.25	0.00	5.25
40	Miss [Elizabeth] Day	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
	George Ratcliffe	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
20	H. N. [Herman Augustus] Rohde	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
111	Joseph Fry	1.00	5.00	0.00	5.00
123	Adelaide J. Moseley	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
136	Frederick P. Nathan	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
148	J. A. [James Anson] Farrer	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
158	Edwin Woollard	1.00	5.00	0.00	5.00
164	Alfred Topp	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
165	H. T. [Henry Taylor] Deakin	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
168	Mary Hardcastle Sykes	0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00
9	John Norris	0.53	2.63	1.05	3.68
109	Netty [Annette] Behrens	0.00	0.00	3.15	3.15
53	Mrs Cecil [Amy] Parr	0.00	0.00	1.05	1.05
101	Rob. Hilton	0.00	0.00	1.05	1.05
133	Bertha M. Porter	0.00	0.00	1.05	1.05
15	R. [Robert] Ridyard	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
17	Rev Canon [Edward] Hicks [Dean]	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00

Pledge no.	Name	Annual subs (for 5 years) (£)	Total annual subs promised (£)	Donation to initial expenses (£)	TOTAL PROMISED (£)
	TOTALS	£1,902.53	£9,487.63	£1,553.20	£11,039.13
	<i>TOTALS IN £.s. d.</i>	<i>£1,902 10s. 6d.</i>	<i>£9,487 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>£1,553 3s. 11d.</i>	<i>£11,039 2s. 6d.</i>

Other donations promised

Date	Name	Amount (£)
14 Mar 1893	Miss Kennedy of Knutsford	25.00
25 Jul 1893	Mrs Edward Hecht (for Scholarship Fund)	50.00

Appendix 3.6

Officers and Council members

Table One

Officers (arranged by post)

Post	Name	Dates of service
Chairman	Dr Ward	1893–1897
Chairman	George R. Murray	1897–1900
Chairman	Alfred Hopkinson	1900–1914
Chairman	Frederick E. Weiss (Vice-Chancellor, University of Manchester)	1914–1916
Chairman	Sir Henry A. Miers (Vice-Chancellor, University of Manchester)	1916–1926
Deputy Treasurer	Gustav Behrens	1895–1905
Hon. Secretary	Gustav Behrens	1893.
Treasurer	Charles E. Lees	1893–1894
Treasurer	Charles J. Heywood	1894–1905
Treasurer	Gustav Behrens	1905–1934
Vice-Chairman	Charles J. Heywood	1893–1895
Vice-Chairman	Gustav Behrens	1895.
Vice-Chairman	George R. Murray	1895–1897
Vice-Chairman	Edward J. Broadfield	1897–1913
Vice-Chairman	Mrs Charles E. [Sarah A.] Lees	1913–1926

Table Two

Officers (arranged by order of surname)

Name	Post	Dates of service
Gustav Behrens	Hon. Secretary	1893.
Gustav Behrens	Vice-Chairman	1895.
Gustav Behrens	Deputy Treasurer	1895–1905
Gustav Behrens	Treasurer	1905–1934
Edward J. Broadfield	Vice-Chairman	1897–1913
Charles J. Heywood	Vice-Chairman	1893–1895
Charles J. Heywood	Treasurer	1894–1905
Alfred Hopkinson	Chairman	1900–1914
Charles E. Lees	Treasurer	1893–1894
Mrs Charles E. [Sarah A.] Lees	Vice-Chairman	1913–1926
Sir Henry A. Miers (Vice-Chancellor, University of Manchester)	Chairman	1916–1926
George R. Murray	Vice-Chairman	1895–1897
George R. Murray	Chairman	1897–1900
Dr Adolphus Ward	Chairman	1893–1897
Frederick E. Weiss (Vice-Chancellor, University of Manchester)	Chairman	1914–1916

Table Three

Council members (arranged in order of year of election or appointment)

Name	Dates of membership
Gustav Behrens	1893–1935
Oliver P. Behrens	1893–1914
Edward J. Broadfield	1893–1913
Gustav Dehn	1893–1910
Charles Dunderdale	1893–1922
William Eller	1893–1926
Thomas W. Gillibrand	1893–1898
Charles J. Hall	1893–1901
Charles J. Heywood	1893–1905
Edward S. Heywood	1893–1914
Charles E. Lees	1893–1894
George R. Murray	1893–1933
Samuel R. Platt	1893–1902
Adolpus W. Ward	1893–1897
Thomas Snape [County Councillor]	1894–1895
Mrs Sarah A. Lees	1895–1935
Thomas Craven	1895–1898
William Goldthorpe	1897–1904
James C. Cross	1895–1896
Charles J. Holliday	1897–1899
Alfred Hopkinson	1897–1916
Henry Simon	1897–1899
Miss Margaret E. Gaskell	1899–1913
Louis Grommé	1899–1907
Alfred Hughes [University]	1901–1903
William H. Perkin [University]	1901–1913
Herbert H. Smith-Carington	1902–1917
Herbert Radcliffe	1902–1904
Alfred T. Bentley [University]	1903–1917
J. H. Swallow (County Councillor)	1904–1908
J. Herbert Thewlis	1904–1917
William J. Galloway, M.P.	1905–1906
Anna, Lady Donner	1906–1935
Gustav Eckhard	1906–1929
Harold Elverston, M.P. ¹	1908–1941
Ernest W. Grommé	1907–1940
Ludwig Aron	1908–1925
Archdeacon Robert Fletcher [County Councillor]	1908–1916
Walter Butterworth [Manchester Higher Education]	1911–1912
Will Melland [Manchester Education]	1912–1945
Arthur Lapworth [University]	1913–1935
Charles Lord	1913–1932
Carl Fuchs [Staff]	1914–1915
Max Mayer [Staff]	1914–1917
Frederick E. Weiss	1914–1930
Walter Carroll [Staff]	1915–1919
Henry A. Miers [University]	1916–1926

¹ See biographical note in Appendix B.

Name	Dates of membership
William Stern [County Councillor]	1916–1919
Sir Alexander Porter	1916–1921
Thomas Keighley [Staff]	1917–1920
Mrs Mark [Letitia] Ashton	1917–1943
Mrs Norman [Blanche] Melland	1917–1919
Miss Mary A. Johnstone, B.Sc.	1918–1938
Mrs Arthur [Florence] Worthington	1918–1939

Appendix 4.1

Pledge forms and donors, 1898

Table 1

1898 pledge forms (arranged in alphabetical order by surname). The forms were numbered by Withers.

Names have been transcribed as they appear in the source; the full names of new donors have been added in square brackets.

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
101	Benjamin Armitage		Annual
29	Saml Armitage		Donation
3	Mr & Mrs W. T. Arnold		Annual
133	C. L. [Charles Lightfoot] Barnes	New	Annual
104	Ralph Bates	New	Annual
7	Wm. Batty & Sons	New	Annual
128	[Mrs E Behrens] [unsigned]		-
27	Charles Behrens		Annual
76	E.A. Behrens, Lt. Col. V.D.		-
10	Gustav Behrens		Annual
131	O. P. Behrens		Annual
103	Alfred T. Bentley		Annual
70	Jas. B. [James Backhouse] Bindloss	New	Annual
77	A. J. S. [Abraham Jeremiah Samuel] Bles	New	Annual
136	David S. Bles		Annual
81	James Boyd		Annual
82	John Boyd	New	Annual
86	Mrs A. [Alice] Briggs	New	Annual
111	William Brimelow		Annual
52	E. J. Broadfield		Annual
140	E. [Edward] Tootal Broadhurst	New	Annual
13	Dr. & Mrs H. G. Brooke		Annual
71	Richard Henry Brooks	New	Annual
78	[Miss] K. M. Cairns		Annual
25	John L. [Lindley] Carr	New	Annual
44	R. S. [Robert Sharman] Catling	New	Annual
113	Geo. A. Chanot		Annual
97	Max E. Cohen	New	Annual
51	T. Craven		Annual
33	W. J. Crossley, Esq.		Annual
53	Gust. Dehn		Annual
9	A. M. Donner (Mrs Ed. Donner)		Annual
47	Herbert Dorning	New	Annual
117	John Dunn	New	Annual
26	Edw. A. Eason		Annual
90	Gustav Eckhard		Annual
-	W. Eller		Annual
32	Alfred Emmott		Annual
12	Mary A. Ewart		Annual
64	F. J. [Frederick James] Faraday	New	Annual
89	Forsyth Bros.		Annual
142	Ernest Frank		Annual
122	Caro Garnett (Mrs Stewart Garnett)		Annual
85	Miss Gaskell		Annual

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
11	A. A. Gillies		Annual
108	Francis Godlee		Annual
18	Geo. Gray		Annual
36	James Gresham	New	Annual
114	J. [Joseph] Harrison	New	Annual
102	John Harwood		Annual
6	J. P. [John Percival] Haslam	New	Annual
15	W. [William] Haslam	New	Annual
46	Joseph R. Heape	New	Annual
79	S. L. Helm		Annual
149	F. R. [Frank Ralph] Hesse	New	Annual
92	Anna M Heywood (Mrs Charles Heywood)		Annual
143	Edwd. S. Heywood		Annual
105	M. [Mary] Monica Heywood	New	Annual
75	Hime & Addison		Annual
48	(Mrs John) Margaret Holdsworth	New	Annual
20	W. H. Houldsworth		Annual
80	Chas Hughes		Annual
151	Harriet Jackson	New	Annual
62	E. Walter Joynson		Annual
17	Kendal, Milne & Co.		Annual
24	Wm. Kessler		Annual
123	J. E. King		Annual
118	Louis von Knoop	New	Annual
74	Mrs Helene J. Koecher	New	Annual
84	Mr Lathbury		Annual
87	Bosdin T. Leech *	New	Annual
34	S. A. [Sarah Anne] Lees	New	Annual
37	Emil Liebert	New	Annual
56	May Lord	New	Annual
88	Wm C. Lord		Annual
107	Miss Margaret Foster Loyd	New	Endowment
8	Charles Macfie		Annual & Endowment
40	Adolph Mahler	New	Annual
98	Rupert Mason		Annual
137	W. Mather		Annual
45	F. [Frederick] Mehl	New	Annual
69	R. N. [Ruben Nicholas] Michaelis	New	Annual
21	David Midgley & Sons		Annual
57	B. [Benjamin] Rigby Murray	New	Annual
150	George Musgrave	New	Annual
66	Geo. H. Newton		Annual
38	John Norris	New	Annual
23	Henry J. Ogden		Annual
16	Palmer, Howe & Co.		Annual
119	A. L. [Arthur Lavington] Payne	New	Annual
67	Herbert Philips		Annual
94	W. Morton Philips		Annual
96	Miss Platt		Annual
135	S. R. Platt		Annual
95	Alfred H. Pownall		Annual
115	Herbert Radcliffe		Annual

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
42	Mrs [Isabella Charlotte] Rayner	New	Annual
138	Alec Reiss	New	Annual
141	C. [Charles Julius] Reiss	New	Annual
28	Fritz Reiss		Annual
139	Arthur Reiss	New	Annual
63	James Riddel	New	Annual
68	Rob. F. [Robert Falkner] Riddick	New	Annual
125	Mrs J. E. [Sarah Annie] Riley	New	Annual
65	M. E. [Max Emil] Robinow	New	Annual & Sustentation
60	Jonathan Robinson	New	Annual
147	Charles Rowley	New	Annual
30	Mrs Rylands		Annual
93	Emma R. Sandbach	New	Annual
72	George H. Scantlebury	New	Annual
130	M. Schlesinger		Annual
134	C. P. Scott		Annual
132	Hy A. [Henry Augustus] Sheaves	New	Annual
124	James Shepherd	New	Annual
100	J. W. Sidebotham		Annual
112	Mrs [Mary Jane] Slater	New	Annual
39	James Smith	New	Annual
116	Mrs S [Margaret Barton] Smith	New	Annual
83	Harold Stanley	New	Annual
41	E. F. [Edgar Frederic] Steintal	New	Annual
106	Stockport Vocal Union		
127	Mrs Vernon [Matilda] Stott	New	Annual
110	Mary E. A. [Eliza Agnes] Sutcliffe	New	Annual
5	N. P. Thamsen		Annual
-	Mrs [Edith] Toller	New	Annual
22	Alfred Topp		Endow
73	Henry Vollmer	New	Annual
19	John Voss		Annual
153	W. [William] Waddell	New	Annual
31	Geo. Walthew		Annual
49	Mrs [Jane] Warburg	New	Annual
14	James Watts		Annual
35	Frank Whitworth	New	Annual
144	Edward Wihl	New	Annual
4	Reginald W. Wilde	New	Annual
61	James F. Wilkinson	New	Annual
54	W. [William] Wilkinson	New	Annual
129	H. M. [Hannah Mary] Withers	New	Annual
91	Percy Withers	New	Annual
43	Henry Wood		Annual
109	Mrs James Worthington		Annual
50	W. B. [William Barton] Worthington	New	Annual
99	John Youatt		Annual

Table 2

Additional names from the 1898 Annual Report

The type 'Annual' indicates that the person is listed as annual subscriber; 'Subscribing' indicates that the person is listed as a subscribing member but their name is not repeated in the list of annual subscribers.

Note. Both lists are published in alphabetical order, although the earl, baronets and M.P.s are at the top of the subscribing members list. The names of the subscribing members are printed in the order forename/initials surname, while those of the annual subscribers are surname, forename/initials. For the sake of consistency all the names in tables 2 and 3 have been transcribed in the order forename/initials surname.

Names marked * already had an association with the RMCM

Name	Donor status	Type
Sir Frank Forbes Adam		Annual
Sir William Agnew, Bart.		Annual
Mrs W. T. [Henrietta] Arnold	New	Subscribing
William Batty	New	Subscribing
Lieut.-Col. E.A. Behrens		Annual
Frank Behrens, Esq.		Annual
Mrs S. A. Bennett		Annual
Mrs A. MacDonald Blair		Annual
Samuel D. Bles	New	Annual
J. R. Bridson, Esq.		Annual
Thomas Bromley, Esq.		Annual
Mrs Brooke	New	Annual
Sir William Cunliffe Brooks, Bart.		Annual
Mrs. Burra	New	Annual
Mrs M. E. Butler	New	Annual
J. Frederick Cheetham, Esq.		Annual
J. B. Close Brooks, Esq.		Annual
Mrs Conder	New	Annual
J. E. Cornish		Annual
George R. Cox, Esq.		Annual
James C. Cross, Esq.		Annual
Miss Alice Curtis		Annual
Robert Dauntsey, Esq.	Annual	Annual
E. Deakin, Jun., Esq.		Annual
H. T. Deakin		Subscribing
Duke of Devonshire, K.G.		Annual
Julius Dreschfeld, Esq., MD		Annual
Thomas Dreydel, Esq.		Annual
James Forsyth		Subscribing
Mrs Ernest Frank		Subscribing
Joseph Fry, Esq.		Annual
Miss Julia Gaskell	New	Sustentation
The late T.W. Gillibrand, Esq.		Annual
Thomas Glaister, Esq.		Annual
William Goldthorpe, Esq.*	New	Annual

Name	Donor status	Type
Mrs Harvey Goodwin		Annual
Miss Jessie Green		Annual
Herbert Greg, Esq.		Annual
Louis Grommé, Esq.		Annual
Edwin Guthrie *	New	Subscribing
Rev. Samuel Hailstone		Annual
C. J. Hall, Esq., Mus.D.*	New	Annual
Mrs Ed. Hecht	New	Subscribing
Charles J. Heywood, Esq.		Annual
Rev. F. K. Hodgkinson		Annual
Charles J. Holliday, Esq.*	New	Annual
Alfred Hopkinson, Q.C.		Annual
E.G.S. Hornby, Esq.		Annual
T. C. Horsfall, Esq.		Annual
A. J. Hunter, Esq.		Annual
W. B. Huntington, Esq.		Annual
Samuel Ingham, Esq.		Annual
Executors of the Late James Jardine, Esq.		Annual
J. [John] Murray Kennedy, Esq.	New	Endow
David Little, M.D.	New	Subscribing
Mrs David Little		Annual
James Lowe		Subscribing
Sir John William Maclure, Bart., M.P.		Annual
Sir Anthony Marshall		Annual
Frank Merriman, Esq.		Annual
F. [Frederic] Midgley	New	Subscribing
John Milne		Subscribing
Mrs. [Elizabeth Ann] Milner		Annual
George R. Murray, Esq.		Annual
Albert Nicholson		Annual
Alderman W. Nicholson		Annual
F. J. Norbury, Esq.		Annual
H. G. Ogden		Subscribing
W. T. Paget- Tomlinson, Esq.		Annual
John T. Petrocokino, Esq.		Annual
F. M. Pierce, M.D.		Subscribing
Thomas Platt, Esq.		Annual
F.A. Roberts, Esq.	New	Annual
The late J. B. Shaw, Esq.		Annual
Mrs Shepherd	New	Annual
T. B. Shimwell, Esq.		Annual
Henry Simon, Esq.		Annual
F. Smallman, Esq.		Annual
Rt. Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.		Annual
Mrs Hardcastle Sykes		Subscribing
John Edward Taylor, Esq.		Annual
Mr Alderman Joseph Thompson		Annual
A. W. Ward, Esq., LL.D.		Annual
John Webster, Esq.	New	Annual
H. B. Wood, Esq.		Annual
Edward Woollard, Esq.		Annual
C. F. Worrall, Esq.		Annual
Henry Worrall, Esq.	New	Annual

Table 3

Amalgamated list of pledge forms and annual report (1898)

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
	Sir Frank Forbes Adam		Annual
	Sir William Agnew, Bart.		Annual
101	Benjamin Armitage		Annual
29	Saml Armitage		Donation
3	Mr & Mrs W. T. Arnold		Annual
	Mrs W. T. [Henrietta] Arnold	New	Subscribing
133	C. L. Barnes	New	Annual
104	Ralph Bates	New	Annual
	William Batty		Subscribing
7	Wm. Batty & Sons		Annual
128	[Mrs E Behrens] [unsigned]		Subscribing
27	Charles Behrens		Annual
76	E.A. Behrens, Lt. Col. V.D.		Subscribing
	Frank Behrens, Esq.		Annual
10	Gustav Behrens		Annual
131	O. P. Behrens		Annual
	Mrs S. A. Bennett		Annual
103	Alfred T. Bentley		Annual
70	Jas. B. Bindloss	New	Annual
	Mrs A. MacDonald Blair		Annual
77	A. J. S. Bles	New	Annual
136	David S. Bles		Annual
	Samuel D. Bles	New	Annual
81	James Boyd		Annual
82	John Boyd	New	Annual
	J. R. Bridson, Esq.		Annual
86	Mrs A. Briggs	New	Annual
111	William Brimelow		Annual
52	E. J. Broadfield		Annual
140	E. Tootal Broadhurst	New	Annual
	Thomas Bromley, Esq.		Annual
13	Dr. & Mrs H. G. Brooke		Annual
	Mrs Brooke		Subscribing
71	Richard Henry Brooks	New	Annual
	Sir William Cunliffe Brooks, Bart.		Annual
	Mrs. Burra	New	Annual
	Mrs M. E. Butler,	New	Annual
78	[Miss] K. M. Cairns		Annual
25	John L. Carr	New	Annual
44	R. S. Catling	New	Annual
113	Geo. A. Chanot		Annual
	J. Frederick Cheetham, Esq.		Annual
	J. B. Close Brooks, Esq.		Annual
97	Max E. Cohen	New	Annual
	Mrs Conder		Annual
	J. E. Cornish		Annual
	George R. Cox, Esq.		Annual
51	T. Craven		Annual
	James C. Cross, Esq.	(1896)	Annual

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
33	W. J. Crossley, Esq.		Annual
	Miss Alice Curtis		Annual
	Robert Dautesey, Esq.		Annual
	E. Deakin, Jun., Esq.		Annual
	H. T. Deakin		Subscribing
53	Gust. Dehn		Annual
	Devonshire, Duke of, K.G.		Annual
9	A. M. Donner (Mrs Ed. Donner)		Annual
47	Herbert Dorning	New	Annual
	Julius Dreschfeld, Esq., MD		Annual
	Thomas Dreydel, Esq.		Annual
	Charles Dunderdale		Annual
117	John Dunn	New	Annual
26	Edw. A. Eason		Annual
90	Gustav Eckhard	New	Annual
-	W. Eller		Annual
32	Alfred Emmott		Annual
12	Mary A. Ewart		Annual
64	F. J. Faraday	New	Annual
89	Forsyth Bros.		Annual
	James Forsyth		Subscribing
	Mrs Ernest Frank		Subscribing
142	Ernest Frank		Annual
	Joseph Fry, Esq.		Annual
122	Caro Garnett (Mrs Stewart Garnett)		Annual
	Miss Julia Gaskell	New	Sustentation
85	Miss Gaskell		Annual
	The late T.W. Gillibrand, Esq.		Annual
11	A. A. Gillies		Annual
	Thomas Glaister, Esq.		Annual
108	Francis Godlee		Annual
	William Goldthorpe, Esq.*	New	Annual
	Mrs Harvey Goodwin		Annual
18	Geo. Gray		Annual
	Miss Jessie Green		Annual
	Herbert Greg, Esq.		Annual
36	James Gresham	New	Annual
	Louis Grommé Esq.		Annual
	Edwin Guthrie *	New	Subscribing
	Rev. Samuel Hailstone		Annual
	C. J. Hall, Esq., Mus.D.*	New	Annual
114	J. Harrison	New	Annual
102	John Harwood		Annual
6	J. P. Haslam	New	Annual
15	W. Haslam	New	Annual
46	Joseph R. Heape	New	Annual
	Mrs Ed. Hecht		Subscribing
79	S. L. Helm		Annual
149	F. R. Hesse	New	Annual
92	Anna M Heywood (Mrs Charles Heywood)		Annual
	Charles J. Heywood, Esq.		Annual
143	Edwd. S. Heywood		Annual
105	M. Monica Heywood	New	Annual

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
75	Hime & Addison		Annual
	Rev. F. K. Hodgkinson		Annual
48	(Mrs John) Margaret Holdsworth	New	Annual
	Charles J. Holliday, Esq.*	New	Annual
	Alfred Hopkinson, Q.C.		Annual
	E.G.S. Hornby, Esq.		Annual
	T. C. Horsfall, Esq.		Annual
20	W. H. Houldsworth		Annual
80	Chas Hughes		Annual
	A. J. Hunter, Esq.		Annual
	W. B. Huntington, Esq.		Annual
	Samuel Ingham, Esq.		Annual
151	Harriet Jackson	New	Annual
	Executors of the Late James Jardine, Esq.		Annual
62	E. Walter Joynson		Annual
17	Kendal, Milne & Co.		Annual
	J. Murray Kennedy, Esq.	New	Endow
24	Wm. Kessler		Annual
123	J. E. King		Annual
118	Louis von Knoop	New	Annual
74	Mrs Helene J. Koecher	New	Annual
84	Mr Lathbury		Annual
87	Bosdin T. Leech *	New	Annual
34	S. A. Lees	New	Annual
37	Emil Liebert	New	Annual
	David Little, M.D.	New	Subscribing
	Mrs David Little		Annual
6	May Lord	New	Annual
88	Wm C. Lord		Annual
	James Lowe		Subscribing
107	Miss Margaret Foster Loyd	New	Endowment
8	Charles Macfie		Annual & Endowment
	Sir John William Maclure, Bart., M.P.		Annual
40	Adolph Mahler	New	Annual
	Sir Anthony Marshall		Annual
98	Rupert Mason		Annual
137	W. Mather		Annual
45	F. Mehl	New	Annual
	Frank Merriman, Esq.		Annual
69	R. N. Michaelis	New	Annual
21	David Midgley & Sons		Annual
	F. Midgley	New	Subscribing
	John Milne		Subscribing
	Mrs. Milner		Annual
57	B. Rigby Murray	New	Annual
	George R. Murray, Esq.		Annual
150	George Musgrave	New	Annual
66	Geo. H. Newton		Annual
	Albert Nicholson		Annual
	Alderman W. Nicholson		Annual
	F. J. Norbury, Esq.		Annual
38	John Norris	New	Annual

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
	H. G. Ogden ¹	New	Subscribing
23	Henry J. Ogden		Annual
	W. T. Paget-Tomlinson, Esq.		Annual
16	Palmer, Howe & Co.		Annual
119	A. L. Payne	New	Annual
	John T. Petrocokino, Esq.		Annual
67	Herbert Philips		Annual
94	W. Morton Philips		Annual
	F. M. Pierce, M.D.		Subscribing
96	Miss Platt		Annual
135	S. R. Platt		Annual
	Thomas Platt, Esq.		Annual
95	Alfred H. Pownall		Annual
115	Herbert Radcliffe		Annual
42	Mrs Rayner	New	Annual
138	Alec Reiss	New	Annual
141	C. Reiss	New	Annual
28	Fritz Reiss		Annual
139	Arthur Reiss	New	Annual
63	James Riddel	New	Annual
68	Rob. F. Riddick	New	Annual
125	Mrs J. E. Riley	New	Annual
	Roberts, F.A., Esq.	New	Annual
65	M. E. Robinow	New	Annual & Sustentation
60	Jonathan Robinson	New	Annual
147	Charles Rowley	New	Annual
30	Mrs Rylands		Annual
93	Emma R. Sandbach	New	Annual
72	George H. Scantlebury	New	Annual
130	M. Schlesinger		Annual
134	C. P. Scott		Annual
	The late J. B. Shaw, Esq.		Annual
132	Hy A. Sheaves	New	Annual
124	James Shepherd	New	Annual
	Mrs Shepherd	New	Annual
	T. B. Shimwell, Esq.		Annual
100	J. W. Sidebotham		Annual
	Henry Simon, Esq.		Annual
112	Mrs Slater	New	Annual
	F. Smallman, Esq.		Annual
39	James Smith	New	Annual
116	Mrs S Smith	New	Annual
	Rt. Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.		Annual
83	Harold Stanley	New	Annual
41	E. F. Steinthal	New	Annual
106	Stockport Vocal Union	New	Endow
127	Mrs Vernon Stott	New	Annual
110	Mary E A. Sutcliffe	New	Annual
	Mrs Hardcastle Sykes		Subscribing

¹ Possibly an administrative/typographical error and H. G. Ogden and Henry J. Ogden are the same person.

Pledge no.	Name	Donor status	Type
	John Edward Taylor, Esq.		Annual
5	N. P. Thamsen		Annual
	Mr Alderman Joseph Thompson		Annual
-	Mrs Toller	New	Annual
22	Alfred Topp		Endow
73	Henry Vollmer	New	Annual
19	John Voss		Annual
153	W. Waddell	New	Annual
31	Geo. Walthew		Annual
49	Mrs Warburg	New	Annual
	A. W. Ward, Esq., LL.D.		Annual
14	James Watts		Annual
	John Webster, Esq.	New	Annual
35	Frank Whitworth	New	Annual
144	Edward Wihl	New	Annual
4	Reginald W. Wilde	New	Annual
61	James F. Wilkinson	New	Annual
54	W. Wilkinson	New	Annual
129	[Mrs] H. M. Withers	New	Annual
91	Percy Withers	New	Annual
	H. B. Wood, Esq.		Annual
43	Henry Wood		Annual
	[Edwin] Edward Woollard, Esq.		Annual
	C. F. Worrall, Esq.		Annual
	Henry Worrall, Esq.	New	Annual
109	Mrs James Worthington		Annual
50	W. B. Worthington	New	Annual
99	John Youatt		Annual

Appendix 4.2

'New' donors

Table 1

People with an existing connection

GC: Gentlemen's Concerts subscribers

Hallé dinner: attended dinner in honour of Sir Charles and Lady Hallé

1891/3: on one of the 1891/2 lists, or a member of General Committee but did not contribute any money

HCS: Hallé Concerts Society guarantor

Family connection: related to someone who had subscribed, or to a staff member or student

Name	GC	Hallé dinner	1891/3	HCS	Family connection	Other musical	General note
Mrs W. T. [Henrietta] Arnold					X		
William Batty					X		
James B. Bindloss	X			X			
A. J. S. [Abraham] Bles					X		
Samuel D. Bles					X	Performed in Ancoats concerts	
John Boyd					X		Father of Harold T. Boyd (student, 1898–1900)
Mrs Archibald [Alice Sophia] Briggs	X			X	X		Mother of Christopher Rawdon Briggs (violin teacher)
E. [Edward] Tootal Broadhurst	X		X		X		
Richard H. Brooks				X	X		Father of Mary W. Brooks (student, 1897–1900)
Max Cohen				X			Later guarantor HCS
James C. Cross				X			
Herbert Dorning	X						

Name	GC	Hallé dinner	1891/3	HCS	Family connection	Other musical	General note
John Dunn					X		Father of J. Ethel Dunn (student, 1896–98)
F. J. [Frederick James] Faraday	X						
Mrs Ernest [Edith Artingstall] Frank			X		X		
Julia Bradford Gaskell				X	X		
William Goldthorpe		X	X	X		Honorary organist, St Peter's Church; music critic, M/C Courier; member, Manchester Glee Club	
James Gresham	X						
Edwin Guthrie	X	X	X	X			
C. J. [Charles John] Hall	X		X	X		National conservatoire committee; D.Mus.	
Joseph R. Heape			X	X		Donated to RCM	Former Rochdale Mayor
Mrs Edward [Rebecca] Hecht					X		Widow of Edward Hecht (chorus master for Hallé)
Frank Ralph Hesse ¹	X					Performed in Ancoats concerts	
Miss [Mary] Monica Heywood					X		
Mrs John [Margaret] Holdsworth ²	X						
Alfred Hopkinson	X						
Louis von Knoop	X						

¹ F. R. Hesse. GC subscriber from 1899

² Mrs Holdsworth. GC subscriber from 1901

Name	GC	Hallé dinner	1891/3	HCS	Family connection	Other musical	General note
Mrs [Helene Johanne] Koecher	X				X		Late husband on 1891/2 lists
Sir Bosdin T. Leech			X				Former Mayor of Manchester
Mrs Charles E. [Sarah Anne] Lees				X	X		Widow of C. E. Lees; council member
Emil Liebert	X	X				Subscriber to Hallé's concerts, 1850s	
David Little, M.D.	X				X		
Miss May Lord						RMCM student, 1894–97	
James Lowe				X	X	Organist; head of Hime & Addison (music shop)	Father of Alice M. Lowe (student, 1898–99)
Adolph Mahler	X						
F. [Frederick] Mehl				X			
R. N. [Ruben Nicholas] Michaelis	X						
F. [Frederic] Midgley					X		Firm, David Midgley & Co.
John [Dewhurst] Milne			X		X		Kendal, Milne & Co.
Benjamin R. Murray					X		Father of George R. Murray, Chair of Council
A. L. [Arthur Lavington] Payne	X						
Mrs [Isabella Charlotte] Rayner	X			X			Husband, GC subscriber
Alec [Alexander] Reiss					X		
C. [Charles Julius] Reiss					X		
[James] Arthur Reiss	X						

Name	GC	Hallé dinner	1891/3	HCS	Family connection	Other musical	General note
James Riddel	X				X		Father of Helen T. Riddel (student, 1897–1900)
Robert T. [sic] [Falkner] Riddick					X		
Max Emil Robinow	X			X			
Jonathan Robinson	X				X		Father of Helen M. Robinson (student, 1899)
Charles Rowley		X	X	X			
Miss [Emma Rachel] Sandbach	X						
Henry A. Sheaves					X		Father of Harry M. Sheaves (student, 1893–97)
Mrs William [Mary Jane] Slater					X		
E. F. [Edgar Frederic] Steinthal	X			X			
Miss M. E. A. [Mary Eliza Agnes] Sutcliffe,						RMCM student, Jan 1894–Dec 1895	
Mrs [Edith] Toller	X						
[George Peter] Henry Vollmer				X			
Mrs [Jane] Warburg	X			X	X	Performed in Ancoats concerts	Mother-in-law of G. Behrens
Frank Whitworth						Performed in Ancoats concerts	
James F. Wilkinson					X		
Mrs Sheldon [Hannah Mary] Withers					X		Sister-in-law of Stanley Withers (Registrar)
Percy Withers, M.B.					X		Brother of Stanley Withers (Registrar)

Name	GC	Hallé dinner	1891/3	HCS	Family connection	Other musical	General note
Henry Worrall	X				X		
W. B. [William Barton] Worthington	X			X	X		

Table 2

New' donors with no obvious previous connection to the RMCM or other musical organisations.

Name	General note (indicating possible connection)
C. L. [Charles Lightfoot] Barnes	
Ralph Bates	Mayor, Stalybridge
R. S. [Robert Sharman] Catling	
J. [Joseph] Harrison	
J. P. [John Percival] Haslam	Cotton manufacturer; subscriber, Royal Exchange
William Haslam	Cotton manufacturer; (brother of J.P. Haslam); HCS Pension Fund, 1908
Charles J. Holliday	RMCM Council member, 1898
J. [John] Murray Kennedy	Related to Murray family
Miss Margaret Foster Loyd	Made enquiries in 1893 on behalf of a potential student
George Musgrave	Subscriber, Royal Exchange
Mrs J. E. [Sarah Annie] Riley	
George H. Scantlebury	Subscriber, Royal Exchange
James Shepherd	Subscriber, Royal Exchange; President, Irwell Springs (Bacup) Band, 1892–1900
James Smith	
Mrs S. [Margaret Barton] Smith	
Mrs Vernon [Matilda] Stott	
W. [William] Waddell, M.D.	Possible contact of Behrens and others as doctor for Chorlton-on-Medlock Dispensary
John Webster	

Name	General note (indicating possible connection)
Edward Wihl	German shipping merchant; subscriber, Royal Exchange; member, Chamber of Commerce

The names of those whom it has not been possible to identify have been omitted from the lists above and are listed here:

Mrs Brooke
 Mrs Burra
 Mrs M. E. Butler
 Harriet Jackson
 H. G. Ogden [this might be Henry Joseph Ogden]
 F. A. Roberts
 Mrs Shepherd
 Harold Stanley
 William Wilkinson
 Henry B. Wood [might be Harry Bland Wood].

Appendix 4.3

Contributions to the Appeals, 1914

In the following tables, * indicates that the name is not listed in the Annual Report but there is an extant pledge form.

Table 1
Endowment Fund

Note. The names are transcribed as printed in the Annual Report, 1914.

Name	Amount
Miss S. Andrew	£10 10s. 0d.
Anonymous	£10 0s. 0d.
Ludwig Aron	£50 0s. 0d.
Mrs Beer	£10 10s. 0d.
Gustav Behrens	£100 0s. 0d.
Alfred T. Bentley	£100 0s. 0d.
J. A. Bland	£1 1s. 0d.
Sam D. Bles	£5 5s. 0d.
Miss Ethel Booth	£0 10s. 6d.
Miss E. Boss	£1 0s. 0d.
Miss J. Bretey	£5 5s. 0d.
Dr and Mrs Brodsky	£25 0s. 0d.
Mrs. Burrows	£0 10s. 0d.
Mr & Mrs Burrows	£30 0s. 0d.
Dr W. Carroll	£10 10s. 0d.
Mrs Cohen	£1 1s. 0d.
George Crossley	£3 3s. 0d.
Lady Donner	£50 0s. 0d.
Gustav Eckhard	£100 0s. 0d.
Richard Evans*	£10 10s. 0d.
Miss Fairclough	£0 5s. 0d.
Exors. of Miss Ida Freund	£500 0s. 0d.
Carl Fuchs	£10 0s. 0d.
Mrs Glaister	£1 1s. 0d.
The Misses Golder	£1 1s. 0d.
H. J. Goldschmidt	£5 0s. 0d.
E. W. Grommé	£100 0s. 0d.
Dora Hadfield*	£0 10s. 6d.
Alfred Haworth	£10 0s. 0d.
Miss Mary E. S. Heywood	£3 3s. 0d.
Sir William Houldsworth	£1000 0s. 0d.
Dr T. Keighley	£10 10s. 0d.
Charles Kelly	£1 1s. 0d.
Prof. A. Lapworth	£5 5s. 0d.
Lennox Lee	£5 5s. 0d.
John Leech	£0 10s. 0d.
Miss Marjory Lees	£100 0s. 0d.
The Misses Lunn	£10 0s. 0d.
Joseph Lunn	£10 0s. 0d.
R. H. Lunn	£10 0s. 0d.
Sir George Macalpine	£10 10s. 0d.

Name	Amount
Mr & Mrs S. L. Mandleberg	£10 10s. 0d.
H. Marriott	£1 1s. 0d.
Sir William Mather	£20 0s. 0d.
Max Mayer	£10 10s. 0d.
Private pupil of Max Mayer	£50 0s. 0d.
George R. Murray	£10 10s. 0d.
Vincent Needham	£1 1s. 0d.
G. Openshaw*	£10 0s. 0d.
Mrs Purcell	£2 0s. 0d.
Henry T. [sic] Reiss	£10 0s. 0d.
Charles Roskill	£10 0s. 0d.
Mrs H. Rothband	£10 10s. 0d.
Messrs Sale & Co.	£21 0s. 0d.
Oscar Samson	£10 0s. 0d.
Mrs Saner	£2 2s. 0d.
M. Schlesinger	£20 0s. 0d.
Miss Schoeman	£3 3s. 0d.
Mrs Slater	£1 1s. 0d.
H. H. Smith-Carington	£100 0s. 0d.
Jas. Stephenson ¹	£1 1s. 0d.
Mrs. Stephenson	£1 0s. 0d.
Mary E. A. Sutcliffe	£5 0s. 0d.
T. E. Sutcliffe	£3 3s. 0d.
Mrs [Edith] Toller	£25 0s. 0d.
Alfred Topp	£10 0s. 0d.
Miss Edith Webster	£5 5s. 0d.
Mrs F. Weedon	£2 2s. 0d.
Henry Yates	£1 1s. 0d.

¹ Annual Report prints name as James Stephens

Table 2

Collected by students for the Endowment Fund

Name	Amount
Elsie Allen	£1 0s. 0d.
Gertrude Barker	£1 7s. 6d.
Albert Barlow	£8 0s. 0d.
Grace Broadbent	£1 11s. 0d.
Winifred Brocklehurst	£1 7s. 6d.
Helen Clayton	£1 10s. 0d.
Gladys Dawson	£1 10s. 0d.
Malcolm Dickin	£4 4s. 0d.
Lilias Dunlop	£0 5s. 0d.
Dorothy Ellison	£0 10s. 0d.
Ruth Hewitt	£3 0s. 0d.
Edith Hothersall	£2 6s. 0d.
Elsie Kauntze [later Thurston]	£1 15s 6d.
Dorothy Lee	£0 5s. 0d.
Annie Lord	£8 12s. 6d.
Margaret Marrow	£0 12s. 6d.
Constance Mason	£3 3s. 0d.
Albert Muskett	£0 8s. 6d.
Alice Ormesher	£2 0s. 0d.
Rosamond Parker	£3 7s. 6d.
Rosamond Parkinson	£0 16s. 0d.
Clarice Petremant	£0 10s. 0d.
Elsie Phillips	£0 17s. 6d.
Adolph Raibin	£0 9s. 6d.
Margaret Robinson	£0 10s. 0d.
Sydney Seal	£0 14s 6d.
Mary Shore	£0 15s. 0d.
Elizabeth Sleigh	£1 1s. 0d.
Leonard Spencer	£0 10s. 6d.
Elsie Stanworth	£1 12s. 6d.
Irene Sterne	£0 2s. 0d.
Donald Steward	£3 15s 6d.
Roberta Thomson	£3 11s. 0d.
Hilda Thornton	£0 5s. 0d.
Dora White	£0 5s. 6d.

Table 3
Promises to the Women's Hostel Fund

Name	Amount
(Miss) Millicent Bowles*	£2 2s. 0d.
Miss J. Bretey	£1 1s. 0d.
The Misses Brimelow	£1 1s. 0d.
R. H. Brooks	£2 2s. 0d.
Mrs Finnigan (Finnigans, Limited)	£2 2s. 0d.
I. Frankenburg	£10 0s. 0d.
"A Friend"	£2 0s. 0d.
Mrs Glaister	£1 1s. 0d.
Mrs T. Keighley	£5 0s. 0d.
The Misses Lees	£5 0s. 0d.
Dorothy N. Lees *	£2 10s. 0d.
Eric B. Lees	£5 0s. 0d.
Ethel Lees*	£2 10s. 0d.
Mrs Lowe & Mrs Richardson*	£1 0s. 0d.
Mrs Max Mayer	£5 0s. 0d.
Frank Merrick	£5 5s. 0d.
Miss A. G. Pierce	£1 1s. 0d.
Mrs E.M. Purcell *	£2 0s. 0d.
Mrs Raynes [Rayner]	£5 0s. 0d.
Edith L. Webster*	£5 5s. 0d.
"A Wellwisher" (M.Mc)	£1 1s. 0d.
[Miss M. Hamilton Macmillan]	

Appendix 4.4 Sustentation Fund

Year	Brodsky Quartet contribution	Other donations	Total in Fund	Student fees paid
1892–1893	-	-	£69 1s. 10d.	-
1893–1894	-	-	£70 0s. 2d.	-
1894–1895	-	-	£70 6s. 11d.	£10 0s. 0d.
1895–1896	£19 11s. 0d.	-	£180 3s. 5d.	£30 0s. 0d.
1896–1897	£58 19s. 0d.	-	£210 2s. 11d.	£110 0s. 0d.
1897–1898	£98 2s. 9d.	£256 1s. 0d.	£456 0s. 4d.	£240 0s. 0d.
1898–1899	£82 19s. 11d.	£62 5s. 3d.	£513 6s. 3d.	£355 0s. 0d.
1899–1900	£89 5s. 5d.	£91 15s. 6d.	£492 5s. 6d.	£345 0s. 0d.
1900–1901	£101 14s. 7d.	£203 6s. 0d.	£456 3s. 5d.	£282 4s. 0d.
1901–1902	£113 19s. 1d.	£115 5s. 0d.	£404 12s. 4d.	£283 0s. 0d.
1902–1903	£149 18s. 8d.	£285 11s. 0d.	£560 3s. 0d.	£227 0s. 0d.
1903–1904	£145 17s. 3d.	£105 4s. 6d.	£588 19s. 4d.	£253 0s. 0d.
1904–1905	£165 5s. 3d.	£318 19s. 6d.	£823 17s. 8d.	£353 4s. 0d.
1905–1906	£133 12s. 3d.	£68 8s. 0d.	£679 12s. 7d.	£258 0s. 0d.
1906–1907	£139 0s. 6d.	£235 5s. 0d.	£805 7s. 9d.	£321 0s. 0d.
1907–1908	£101 4s. 7d.	£71 11s. 0d.	£666 1s. 0d.	£344 0s. 0d.
1908–1909	£57 2s. 8d.	£165 4s. 0d.	£547 1s. 2d.	£288 0s. 0d.
1909–1910	£95 2s. 1d.	£92 1s. 0d.	£449 16s. 9d.	£193 0s. 0d.

Year	Brodsky Quartet contribution	Other donations	Total in Fund	Student fees paid
1910–1911	£72 6s. 4d.	£177 4s. 2d.	£510 16s. 11d.	£168 0s. 0d.
1911–1912	£48 13s. 1d.	£174 0s. 0d.	£570 15s. 2d.	£199 0s. 0d.
1912–1913	£64 8s. 6d.	£133 18s. 0d.	£577 7s. 4d.	£195 10s. 0d.
1913–1914	£77 6s. 1d.	£96 4s. 0d.	£561 5s. 3d.	£288 10s. 0d.
1914–1915	-	£138 15s. 6d.	£476 0s. 0d.	£292 0s. 0d.
1915–1916	£45 15s. 9d.	£557 11s. 6d.	£798 4s. 7d.	£218 0s. 0d.
1916–1917	£30 13s. 2d.	£114 19s. 0d.	£742 16s. 4d.	£320 5s. 0d.
1917–1918	£40 3s. 7d.	£92 6s. 0d.	£556 5s. 9d.	£316 6s. 8d.
1918–1919	£32 16s. 6d.	£145 10s. 0d.	£422 5s. 5d.	£239 0s. 0d.
1919–1920	£43 1s. 1d.	£358 19s. 6d.	£589 15s. 11d.	£180 0s. 0d.
1920–1921	£61 11s. 6d.	£12 7s. 0d.	£493 0s. 11d.	£133 0s. 0d.

Appendix 5.1.

Membership and affiliations

Notes

1. The table includes those who were in the November 1891 / April 1892 lists but had no involvement with the RMCM. Indicated by §
2. The names marked * did not make any financial contribution, or did not have any involvement in committees after 1892–93
3. Noblemen have been omitted as they were likely to be approached for their support because of their status, rather than because they were members of a particular network.
4. The organisations are listed in the order in which they are discussed in the text.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Frank Adam	X	X									X															
J. W. Addleshaw [§]																		X	X				X			
Augusta Agnew [§]																							X			
Charles S. Agnew [§]	X	X																X	X				X			X
George W. Agnew [§]	X													X	X	X			X				X			
William Agnew		X					X					X		X		X		X	X				X			
William L. Agnew [§]	X																						X			
Frances Aitken																							X			
Peter Allen [§]							X		X	X	X												X	X		
Bernhard Alexander	X	X						X															X			X
Benjamin Armitage		X	X					X			X		X		X			X	X				X	X		X
Samuel Armitage			X				X	X			X					X		X	X				X	X		X
Vernon Armitage [§]						X		X		X																
Charles Arning	X	X									X											X	X			X
William T. Arnold					X							X														
Ludwig Aron	X																		X		X		X			X
Letitia Ashton																										X

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Thomas Ashton [§]				X			X		X	X					X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	
Thomas G. Ashton [§]				X		X	X				X			X		X		X	X				X			X
W. Mark Ashton [§]											X															
Frederick J. Astbury [§]	X	X																		X			X			
A. J. Balfour*	X							X															X			X
David Bannerman [§]							X				X												X			
James A. Bannerman [§]			X				X				X								X				X			
Samuel Bardsley									X																	
Ralph Bates	X							X												X						
Thomas A. Bazley [§]									X										X							
Walter Beer	X																									
Cyril H. Beever [§]	X					X																	X			
Abigail Behrens													X										X	X		X
Charles Behrens	X							X	X										X				X			
Edward Behrens [§]							X				X		X	X	X				X	X			X			
Emil Behrens	X	X																X	X				X			X
Fanny Behrens																							X			X
Francis (Frank) Behrens								X			X												X			
Gustav Behrens	X	X			X			X	X									X			X	X	X			X
Oliver P. Behrens									X		X									X			X			X
John A. Beith [§]	X	X						X	X									X	X				X			
F. B. Benger [§]	X	X								X																X
John A. Bennett [§]	X										X												X			
Alfred T. Bentley		X				X				X													X			
James B. Bindloss	X																						X			X
John A. Bland					X																					

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Abraham Bles		X					X	X	X									X								
David S. Bles	X																	X					X	X		X
Samuel D. Bles		X																								
William A. Bolton											X															
William G. Booth						X																				
Charles H. Bowker [§]	X																						X	X	X	
James Boyd	X	X				X		X	X										X				X			X
John Boyd	X		X																							
Robert Bridgford [§]		X																		X			X			X
Joseph R. Bridson					X						X															
Henry Brierley [§]																				X			X			X
Alice Briggs																							X			X
Jacob Bright [§]								X	X						X			X	X				X			X
E. J. Broadfield		X			X			X	X				X					X	X				X			X
George Broadfield										X		X											X			X
Edward T. Broadhurst		X					X				X			X		X				X			X			
William Brimelow	X																									
Thomas Bromley	X																									
Henry A. G. Brooke							X			X													X			
Richard H. Brooks		X																								X
William C. Brooks	X	X		X			X		X		X									X			X			
Edward Brunner [§]		X																					X			
Karl Brunnschweiler		X																								
Abel Buckley [§]	X	X																	X							
Walter Butterworth		X			X		X											X								X
John K. Bythell [§]	X	X						X			X												X			

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
George G. Campion								X																		
Kate Carne Ross																	X						X			
John L. Carr	X																									
Benjamin Carver [§]		X					X	X												X			X			X
John F. Cheetham								X			X							X						X		
R. C. Christie [§]				X	X	X			X		X			X	X	X										
George H. Clapham																				X						X
Neville Clegg [§]	X							X			X				X	X		X					X			X
John B. Close-Brooks	X						X				X															
Max E. Cohen	X																			X						X
Henry Cooke [§]		X																					X		X	
James E. Cornish						X																				
Thomas Craven																							X			X
James C. Cross	X										X									X						X
William J. Crossley											X			X		X							X			X
William G. Crum [§]	X							X			X			X												
Robert E. Cunliffe [§]	X			X		X					X												X			
Juliana Curtis	X																									
Robert D. Darbishire [§]				X		X	X				X		X	X	X	X		X								
Robert Dauntsey											X															
Elizabeth Day								X					X													
Edward Deakin								X											X							
Gustav Dehn																					X		X			X
Rudolph Dehn [§]	X	X						X													X	X				
Anna Donner																							X			X
Edward Donner [§]								X			X		X	X	X	X			X				X			X

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Herbert Dorning	X																						X			
Julius Dreschfeld																					X					
Thomas Dreydel	X								X									X					X			
Charles Dunderdale										X																X
Edward Eason																										X
Gustav Eckhard	X	X					X	X			X							X			X		X			X
William Eller	X																						X			
Harold Elverston																		X								X
Alfred Emmott	X	X																	X							X
Mary Ewart																							X	X		X
Frederick J. Faraday	X	X		X	X	X			X	X													X			
James Fergusson [§]		X						X																		
Walter Flinn	X									X													X			
James Forsyth																							X			X
Ernest Frank								X			X												X			X
Isidor Frankenburg		X																					X			
Agnes E. Fraser													X													
George Freemantle*										X													X	X		
Joseph Fry	X																						X			
Carl Fuchs																					X					
George H. Gaddum [§]	X	X				X		X	X		X							X			X	X	X			X
Henry T. Gaddum [§]	X	X									X			X							X					
Charles J. Galloway [§]							X							X		X		X					X			
John Galloway [§]	X	X												X						X						
William J. Galloway		X					X													X						X

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
William L. Galloway ^s	X						X													X			X			
Julia B. Gaskell												X														X
Margaret Gaskell													X										X			X
Robert Gibson					X													X								X
T. Walton Gillibrand					X	X	X			X													X	X		
Andrew A. Gillies		X							X	X																
Thomas Glaister	X	X																		X						
Francis Godlee	X									X	X					X										
Hermann J. Goldschmidt																			X							X
William Goldthorpe		X								X	X							X								X
George Gray	X																						X			
Joseph G. Greenwood						X		X	X	X			X	X	X											
Francis Greg ^s	X							X																		
Samuel H. Greg																										
James Gresham							X													X			X			
(Ernest) William Grommé	X										X												X			X
(Heinrich) Louis Grommé	X									X	X											X	X			X
George Gumpert																					X					
Alfred Güterbock	X																				X		X			X
Edwin Guthrie	X	X				X												X	X				X			X
Charles Hähnel	X																									
Samuel Hailstone											X												X			
Charles J. Hall				X						X													X			X
Francis Hampson*						X	X		X	X									X				X			

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
John S. Hancock	X																									
Edward Hardcastle [§]	X										X															
John Harwood	X																		X							X
John J. Harwood								X						X		X		X								
John P. Haslam	X																			X						
Abraham Haworth [§]	X							X	X		X							X	X							
Jesse Haworth [§]	X																	X	X							
William T. Heap(e) [§]	X							X																		
Joseph R. Heape [§]																										X
Benjamin Heape [§]	X																						X			
James Heelis				X							X												X			
Sigismund Helm	X	X					X	X		X													X			
David Q. Henriques	X																			X						
Frederick M. Hertz	X	X																	X				X			X
Frank R. Hesse	X																						X			
Max Hesse [§]	X	X																								X
Anna (Mrs C.) Heywood																							X			
Annabella (Mrs R.) Heywood																	X						X			
Charles J. Heywood	X			X							X		X										X	X		X
Edward S. Heywood	X		X			X					X												X	X	X	X
Oliver Heywood ¹	X	X	X	X			X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X		X				X	X		X	

¹ Oliver Heywood was one of the most significant citizens in Manchester at the time. He is included here and in the other tables because he was on the initial lists and attended the Town Hall meeting in December 1891, but died in March 1892 before the decision to proceed with the scheme was taken.

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Edward L. Hicks*				X									X			X										
George Hicks [§]	X	X						X		X													X			
Thomas E. Higham	X																									
Semmy Hinrichsen	X	X																					X			
Harry C. Hirschhorn																				X			X			
William H. Holland [§]	X	X									X							X								X
Charles J. Holliday											X								X							
Alfred Hopkinson		X						X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X				X			X
John Hopkinson [§]		X						X			X				X			X					X			
Ernest Horkheimer [§]		X								X										X			X			X
Thomas C. Horsfall					X	X	X		X			X		X		X							X			X
William H. Houldsworth	X	X				X	X	X	X		X				X					X			X	X		X
Charles E. Howe																							X			
Henry H. Howorth [§]		X		X	X	X		X				X														
Isaac Hoyle [§]	X	X						X	X									X	X							
Alfred Hughes								X															X			X
Charles Hughes	X	X				X			X	X					X			X			X	X	X			X
Campbell A. G. Hulton [§]											X									X			X			
Alexander J. Hunter	X										X															
William B. Huntington	X										X									X						X
James Jardine	X							X			X									X			X			
John Thewlis Johnson [§]	X	X					X	X			X							X					X			
Edward Walter Joynson	X										X															

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Moritz Kalisch	X																									
Peter Keevney																				X						
(Jacob P.) William Kessler	X	X						X			X										X	X	X	X	X	X
Philip W. Kessler ^s	X										X								X		X		X			
John King ^s	X					X								X	X			X								
John E. King		X		X				X					X													
Louis von Knoop	X										X												X			X
John M. Koecher ^s	X										X										X	X	X	X		
Noah Kolp ^s		X					X	X	X												X		X			X
Henry Lathbury		X																					X			
James M. Leake	X									X										X			X			
Robert Leake ^s				X														X	X				X			
Joseph C. Lee ^s	X	X					X	X						X		X							X			
Lennox B. Lee								X			X								X							
Bosdin T. Leech	X	X						X										X								
Daniel J. Leech ^s				X		X					X				X								X			
Charles E. Lees														X	X	X							X			
Dorothy Lees (Mrs Prodgers)																										X
Sarah A. Lees													X										X			X
Joseph Leigh ^s		X						X	X									X								X
John H. P. Leresche ^s	X																						X			
Emil Liebert	X	X						X													X	X	X	X		
David Little	X																						X			
Charles Lord										X													X			
William C. Lord								X		X													X			X
James Lowe					X																					X

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
John W. Maclure		X		X																X			X	X	X	
Adolph H. Mahler		X																					X			
Goodman C. Mandleberg		X																	X				X			X
Samuel L. Mandleberg							X														X		X			X
John D. Mann				X																						
John Mark ^s		X												X		X				X			X			
Anthony Marshall						X														X						
Arthur M. Marshall ^s				X									X		X											
Charles Marx		X							X										X				X			X
Rupert Mason	X																						X			
Edward Stocks Massey											X												X			
William Mather	X	X		X				X			X	X			X	X		X	X				X			X
Max Mayer																							X			X
Frederick Mehl								X																		X
William Melland																							X			X
John J. Mellor ^s	X																			X						
Frank Merriman	X									X	X												X			
Ruben N. Michaelis		X						X															X			
John D. Milne						X	X	X		X		X		X		X										
Robert G. C. Mowbray ^s		X																		X						
Joseph E. C. Munro ^s								X	X																	
George R. Murray											X									X			X			X
George Musgrave	X																									
Percy Musgrave	X																									

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Frederick P. Nathan	X										X															
George H. Newton	X																									
Albert Nicholson	X				X	X	X																X			
William Nicholson																				X						
James Niven										X													X			
Francis J. Norbury		X																								
James Oliver [§]	X						X																X			
Arthur L. Payne											X												X			
William H. Perkin				X																						X
Alfred M. Petty					X				X																	
John T. Petrocokino	X	X									X															
T. P. Petrocokino [§]											X									X			X			
Herbert Philips						X	X		X		X	X			X	X		X					X			X
W. Morton Philips						X			X		X				X			X								
Samuel R. Platt	X	X									X												X			X
Charles J. Pooley [§]	X					X	X			X		X			X	X										
Alexander Porter																		X					X			
James Kendrick Pyne																							X			
Herbert Radcliffe	X										X									X			X			
Alexander Reiss											X															
Charles J. Reiss											X															
Emil Reiss [§]			X																		X		X		X	
Fritz Reiss		X						X			X												X			
James A. Reiss	X										X												X			
Arthur E. Reyner [§]	X								X																	
James Riddel																							X			

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Robert F. Riddick	X					X		X																		
David L. Roberts [§]				X		X																	X			
Bertha Robinow																										X
Max E. Robinow	X							X															X			X
Herman A. Rohde	X							X															X			
Henry Roscoe [§]				X		X		X		X					X	X		X	X							
Charles A. Roskill	X	X				X		X															X			
Fred. B. Ross [§]	X	X				X					X									X			X			X
Alex. B. Rowley [§]	X	X									X															
Charles Rowley					X		X					X						X	X							X
Enriqueta Rylands						X	X																			X
Edward Salomons							X			X				X					X				X			
Henry Samson [§]		X	X					X													X	X		X	X	X
George H. Scantlebury	X																									
Maurice Schlesinger	X																				X		X			
Frederick S. Schwabe [§]		X									X												X			
George S. Schwabe [§]											X															
Louis Schwabe [§]	X	X				X	X														X		X			
Charles E. Schwann [§]		X						X			X	X			X			X	X							X
Charles P. Scott						X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X
James B. Shaw			X		X		X																			
Henry Sheaves		X																								
James Shepherd	X																									
Thomas B. Shimwell						X																	X			X

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Joseph W. Sidebotham										X				X						X			X			X
Thomas H. Sidebottom [§]	X										X									X						
Josephine Silkenstädt																										X
Emily Simon																	X						X			X
Henry Simon		X		X		X		X													X	X	X			X
Ingo Simon																										X
Fred. Smallman						X	X	X																		
Herbert H. Smith-Carington		X								X	X									X			X			X
Edward Somers																				X						
Thomas Sowler, jun. [§]	X																			X			X			
Graham Steell											X															
Edgar F. Steinthal	X							X			X						X						X			X
William Stern					X																					
Helene Stoehr						X																	X			X
Mary Stubbs																							X			
Thomas E. Sutcliffe																				X						
John E. Taylor	X			X			X				X				X	X		X				X		X	X	
Nicolai P. Thamsen	X				X																					
James Thewlis								X	X									X								X
Joseph Thompson				X									X		X	X							X			
Edith Toller																	X						X			
Alfred Topp	X																	X								
Frederick Unger [§]										X											X					X
Herbert Vaughan [§]								X	X																	
G. Henry Vollmer																										X

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
John Voss	X																									X
Oliver O. Walker ^s										X										X						
George Walthew	X	X																								
Jane Warburg																							X			X
Susette Warburg																							X			X
Adolphus W. Ward		X				X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X									
Edward Watkin ^s			X										X	X	X	X	X		X				X			
Henry Watson																										X
George F. Watts ^s	X					X																				
James Watts								X		X									X							X
Frederick E. Weiss				X																						
Alfred Wenner	X	X																			X					
Frank Whitworth		X																								
Edward Wihl	X	X																								
Augustus S. Wilkins ^s		X		X		X			X									X					X			
James F. Wilkinson						X		X																		
Samuel W. Wilkinson ^s	X																									
Thomas Read Wilkinson ^s	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X							X			X
Harry Bland Wood	X																									
Henry Wood								X																		
Charles F. Worrall																							X			
Henry Worrall											X					X				X			X			
William B. Worthington										X			X										X			X
John Youatt																			X				X			X
Theodore P. Ziegler		X								X													X			

1. Royal Exchange; 2. Chamber of Commerce; 3. Athenaeum; 4. Lit. & Phil; 5. Literary Club; 6. Portico Library; 7. Royal Manchester Institution; 8. Geographical Society; 9. Statistical Society; 10. Brasenose Club; 11. Union Club; 12. Art Museum; 13. MHSG; 14. School of Art; 15. Owens; 16. Whitworth Institute; 17. WGS; 18. Liberal Association; 19. Reform Club; 20. Conservative affiliation; 21. Schiller-Anstalt; 22. Foreign Library; 23. Gentlemen's Concerts; 24. Hallé supporter 1850s; 25. 1861 Hallé committee; 26. Hallé Concerts Society Guarantor (after 1898)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Totals	138	93	10	29	20	46	45	77	39	42	90	14	21	27	30	32	8	52	44	45	26	14	180	20	10	116

Appendix 5.2

List of foreign nationals, by nationality

Nationality	Name
Austrian: naturalised British	George H. Gaddum
Cuban: naturalised British	Enriqueta Rylands
Danish: naturalised British	Nicolai P. Thamsen
Dutch	Abraham J. S. Bles
	David Samuel Bles
	Esther Bles
	Johanna W. Julius
Dutch: naturalised British	Max Hesse
English: Austrian parentage (naturalised British)	Henry T. Gaddum
English: Austrian/Polish parentage (naturalised British)	Goodman C. Mandleberg
	Samuel L. Mandleberg
English: Dutch parentage	Samuel D. Bles
	Frank R. Hesse
English: French parentage	George A. Chanot
English: German parentage	Letitia M. Ashton
	Walter M. Beer
	Edward Behrens
	Emil A. J. Behrens
	Francis Behrens
	Ernest Frank
	Hermann J. Goldschmidt
	(Ernest) William Grommé
	Frederick T. Moxon Hertz
	Ellen R. Kullmann
	Alfred Ramm
	Herman A. Rohde
	Charles A. B. Roskill
	Louis Schwabe
	Jane Warburg
English: German parentage (naturalised British)	Frederick E. Weiss
	Charles H. Arning
	Emily Baerlein
	Charles Behrens
	Gustav Behrens
	Charles Hähnel
	Margaret Jordan
	Philip W. Kessler
	Louis von Knoop
	Alice Mayer
	Ruben N. Michaelis
	Frederick P. Nathan
	Helen M. Phillips

Nationality	Name
	Alexander (Alec) Reiss
	Charles J. Reiss
	James A. Reiss
	Edward Salomons
	Frederick S. Schwabe
	George S. Schwabe
	Charles E. Schwann
	Josephine H. Silkenstädt
	Emily A. Simon
	Ingo Simon
	Margaret A. Simon
	Susette ("Sette") Warburg
English: Greek parentage	John Themistocles [later Petro] Petrocokino
English: Russian parentage	Louis Mistovski
English: Russian parentage (naturalised British)	Mabel F. Laski
English: Swiss parentage	John T. Brunner
	Miss Brunnschweiler
English: Swiss parentage (naturalised British)	Bertha F. Robinow
French	Jeanne Bretey
German	Emilie Beer
	Rudolph J. Dehn
	Charles Hallé
	Willy Hess
	Clara Kalisch
	Helene J. Koecher
	Marie E. M. Nasmith
	Hans Richter
German: naturalised British	Bernhard C. Alexander
	Ludwig Aron
	Max E. Cohen
	(Martin) Gustav Dehn
	Julius Dreschfeld
	Thomas Dreydel
	Gustav J. C. Eckhard
	Carl Fuchs
	Anna R. H. Grommé
	(Heinrich) Louis Grommé
	George E. C. Gumpert
	Alfred L. A. Güterbock
	Sigismund L. Helm
	Semmy Hinrichsen
	Ernest Horkheimer
	Moritz Kalisch
	(Jacob Philip) William Kessler

Nationality	Name
	John M. Koecher
	Noah Kolp
	Emil Liebert
	Adolph H. Mahler
	Charles Marx
	Max Michael Mayer
	Frederick Mehl
	Fritz (Friedrich) Reiss
	(George) Emil Reiss
	Max E. Robinow
	Henry Samson
	Maurice Schlesinger
	Henry Simon
	Helene M. Stoehr
	Frederick Unger
	George P. H. Vollmer
	John [Johann] Voss
	Edward Wihl
	Victoria Wihl
Greek: naturalised British	Themistocles P. Petrocokino
Hungarian: naturalised British	William Stern
Italian	Azeglio Valgimigli
Moravian	Wilma Hallé
Polish	Isidor Frankenburg
Russian	Adolph Brodsky
	Anna Brodsky
Swiss	Karl A. Brunnschweiler
Swiss: naturalised British	Edward Brunner
	Alfred Wenner
	Theodore P. Ziegler

Appendix 5.3

Links to musical organisations (extracted from Appendix 5.1)

Notes

1. The table includes those who were in the November 1891 / April 1892 lists but had no involvement with the RMCM. Indicated by [§]
2. The names marked * did not make any financial contribution, or did not have any involvement in committees after 1892–93
3. Noblemen have been omitted as they were likely to be approached for their support because of their status, rather than because they were members of a particular network.

GC: Gentlemen's Concerts; HCS: Hallé Concerts Society

	GC	Hallé 1850s	Committee 1861	HCS
J. W. Addleshaw [§]	X			
Augusta Agnew [§]	X			
Charles S. Agnew [§]	X			X
George W. Agnew [§]	X			
William Agnew	X			
William L. Agnew [§]	X			
Frances Aitken	X			
Peter Allen [§]	X	X		
Bernhard Alexander	X			X
Benjamin Armitage	X	X		X
Samuel Armitage	X	X		X
Charles Arning	X			X
Ludwig Aron	X			X
Letitia Ashton				X
Thomas Ashton [§]	X	X	X	
Thomas G. Ashton [§]	X			X
Frederick J. Astbury [§]	X			
A. J. Balfour*	X			X
David Bannerman [§]	X			
James A. Bannerman [§]	X			
Cyril H. Beever [§]	X			
Abigail Behrens	X	X		X
Charles Behrens	X			
Edward Behrens [§]	X			
Emil Behrens	X			X
Fanny Behrens	X			X
Francis (Frank) Behrens	X			
Gustav Behrens	X			X
Oliver P. Behrens	X			X
John A. Beith [§]	X			
F. B. Benger [§]				X
John A. Bennett [§]	X			
Alfred T. Bentley	X			
James B. Bindloss	X			X
Abraham Bles ¹				x
David S. Bles	X	X		X

¹ Donor to Pension Fund, not a guarantor

	GC	Hallé 1850s	Committee 1861	HCS
Samuel D. Bles ¹				x
Charles H. Bowker [§]	X	X	X	
James Boyd	X			X
Robert Bridgford [§]	X			X
Henry Brierley [§]	X			X
Alice Briggs	X			X
E. J. Broadfield	X			X
George Broadfield	X			X
Edward T. Broadhurst	X			
Henry A. G. Brooke	X			
Richard H. Brooks				X
William C. Brooks	X			
Edward Brunner [§]	X			
Walter Butterworth				X
John K. Bythell [§]	X			
Kate Carne Ross	X			
Benjamin Carver [§]	X			X
John F. Cheetham		X		
George H. Clapham				X
Neville Clegg [§]	X			X
John B. Close-Brooks ²				x
Max E. Cohen				X
Henry Cooke [§]	X		X	
Thomas Craven	X			X
James C. Cross				X
William J. Crossley	X			X
Robert E. Cunliffe [§]	X			
Gustav Dehn	X			X
Anna Donner	X			X
Edward Donner [§]	X			X
Herbert Dorning	X			
Thomas Dreydel	X			
Charles Dunderdale				X
Edward Eason				X
Gustav Eckhard	X			X
William Eller	X			
Harold Elverston				X
Alfred Emmott				X
Mary Ewart	X	X		X
Frederick J. Faraday	X			
Walter Flinn	X			
James Forsyth	X			X
Ernest Frank	X			X
Isidor Frankenburg	X			
George Freemantle [*]	X	X		
Joseph Fry	X			
Carl Fuchs ¹				x
George H. Gaddum [§]	X			X
Charles J. Galloway [§]	X			
William J. Galloway				X
William L. Galloway [§]	X			
Julia B. Gaskell				X
Margaret Gaskell	X			X

	GC	Hallé 1850s	Committee 1861	HCS
Robert Gibson				X
T. Walton Gillibrand	X	X		
Francis Godlee ¹				x
Hermann J. Goldschmidt				X
William Goldthorpe				X
George Gray	X			
James Gresham	X			
(Ernest) William Grommé	X			X
(Heinrich) Louis Grommé	X			X
Alfred Güterbock	X			X
Edwin Guthrie	X			X
Samuel Hailstone	X			
Charles J. Hall	X			X
Francis Hampson*	X			
John Harwood				X
Joseph R. Heape [§]				X
Benjamin Heape [§]	X			
James Heelis	X			
Sigismund Helm	X			
Frederick M. Hertz	X			X
Frank R. Hesse	X			
Max Hesse [§]				X
Anna (Mrs C.) Heywood	X			
Annabella (Mrs R.) Heywood	X			
Charles J. Heywood	X	X		X
Edward S. Heywood	X	X	X	X
Oliver Heywood	X		X	
George Hicks [§]	X			
Semmy Hinrichsen	X			
Harry C. Hirschhorn	X			
William H. Holland [§]				X
Alfred Hopkinson	X			X
John Hopkinson [§]	X			
Ernest Horkheimer [§]	X			X
Thomas C. Horsfall	X			X
William H. Houldsworth	X	X		X
Charles E. Howe	X			
Alfred Hughes	X			X
Charles Hughes	X			X
Campbell A. G. Hulton [§]	X			
William B. Huntington				X
James Jardine	X			
John Thewlis Johnson [§]	X			
Edward Walter Joynson ²				x
(Jacob P.) William Kessler	X	X	X	X
Philip W. Kessler [§]	X			
Louis von Knoop	X			X
John M. Koecher [§]	X	X		
Noah Kolp [§]	X			X
Henry Lathbury	X			
James M. Leake	X			
Robert Leake [§]	X			
Joseph C. Lee [§]	X			
Daniel J. Leech [§]	X			

	GC	Hallé 1850s	Committee 1861	HCS
Charles E. Lees	X			
Dorothy Lees (Mrs Prodgers)				X
Sarah A. Lees	X			X
Joseph Leigh [§]				X
John H. P. Leresche [§]	X			
Emil Liebert	X	X		
David Little	X			
Charles Lord	X			
William C. Lord	X			X
James Lowe				X
John W. Maclure	X	X	X	
Adolph H. Mahler	X			
Goodman C. Mandleberg	X			X
Samuel L. Mandleberg	X			X
John Mark [§]	X			
Charles Marx	X			X
Rupert Mason	X			
Edward Stocks Massey	X			
William Mather	X			X
Max Mayer	X			X
Frederick Mehl				X
William Melland	X			X
Frank Merriman	X			
Ruben N. Michaelis	X			
George R. Murray	X			X
Albert Nicholson	X			
James Niven	X			
James Oliver [§]	X			
Arthur L. Payne	X			
William H. Perkin				X
T. P. Petrocokino [§]	X			
Herbert Philips	X			X
W. Morton Philips				
Samuel R. Platt	X			X
Alexander Porter	X			
J. Kendrick Pyne	X			
Herbert Radcliffe	X			
Emil Reiss [§]	X		X	
Fritz Reiss	X			
James A. Reiss	X			
James Riddel	X			
David L. Roberts [§]	1897			
Bertha Robinow				X
Max E. Robinow	X			X
Herman A. Rohde	X			
Charles A. Roskill	X			
Fred. B. Ross [§]	X			X
Charles Rowley				X
Enriqueta Rylands				X
Edward Salomons	X			
Henry Samson [§]		X	X	X
Maurice Schlesinger	X			
Frederick S. Schwabe [§]	X			
Louis Schwabe [§]	X			

	GC	Hallé 1850s	Committee 1861	HCS
Charles E. Schwann [§]				X
Charles P. Scott				X
Thomas B. Shimwell	X			X
Joseph W. Sidebotham	X			X
Josephine Silkenstädt				X
Emily Simon	X			X
Henry Simon	X			X
Ingo Simon				X
Herbert H. Smith-Carington	X			X
Thomas Sowler, jun. [§]	X			
Edgar F. Steinthal	X			X
Helene Stoehr	X			X
Mary Stubbs	X			
John E. Taylor		X	X	
James Thewlis				X
Joseph Thompson	X			
Edith Toller	X			
Frederick Unger [§]				X
G. Henry Vollmer				X
John Voss				X
Jane Warburg	X			X
Susette Warburg	X			X
Edward Watkin [§]	X			
Henry Watson				X
James Watts				X
Alfred Wenner ¹				x
Frank Whitworth ¹				x
Augustus S. Wilkins [§]	X			
Thomas Read Wilkinson [§]	X			X
Charles F. Worrall	X			
Henry Worrall	X			
William B. Worthington	X			X
John Youatt	X			X
Theodore P. Ziegler	X			
Totals	180	20	10	116

THE FUNDING OF CONSERVATOIRES IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Anna Wright

(ROYAL NORTHERN COLLEGE OF MUSIC)

THE FUNDING OF CONSERVATOIRES in England in the nineteenth century has been explored on an individual basis, to a greater or lesser extent, in the published histories of the various institutions. However, the subject has not been examined with reference to the activities of other similar organisations and how they compare. As the Royal College of Music (RCM) and Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM) opened within a decade of each other, in 1883 and 1893 respectively, an opportunity is provided for investigating the similarities and differences between the approaches to fundraising taken by the two colleges.

BACKGROUND

Until the twentieth century there was almost no government funding in England for what would now be regarded as public services; organisations of all types depended on the generosity of donors in order to function. One only has to look at newspapers throughout the nineteenth century to find frequent occurrences of appeals for funds and/or lists of subscribers for a wide range of causes. This lack of state financial support likewise applied to all forms of higher education during the same period. For instance, Oxford and Cambridge colleges were dependent, to a significant extent, on the endowments of their original founders or occasional new benefactions whilst the two universities themselves were, as Owen argues, inadequately financed until the turn of the twentieth century¹. New and emerging institutions, such as Owens College (later the Victoria University of Manchester), which were being established in provincial

¹. OWEN 1964, p. 354.

towns and cities from the 1850s onwards, owed their existence entirely to the generosity of philanthropic individuals². The financial situation was no different for conservatoires — there was no funding forthcoming from any government.

From its foundation in 1822, the Royal Academy of Music (RAM) in London relied on subscriptions. The initial scheme, published in the Rules and Regulations, stated that the new institution was to be founded and maintained by four classes of subscribers contributing sums varying from one hundred guineas and upwards in one payment (1st class)³, to twelve guineas and upwards in one payment (4th class) or, for all levels, an equivalent annual subscription⁴. Additionally, the students were to pay a one-off entrance fee of ten guineas, plus five guineas annually⁵. However, neither the subscriptions nor the fees were sufficient for, from the outset, the projected annual expenditure exceeded the likely income and, as Corder suggests, lack of funds could be said to summarise the Academy's history from the 1820s to the 1860s⁶. In 1864, as a result of repeated petitioning, the RAM received a small annual grant of £500 from the Treasury. The payment was discontinued in 1867 by the Disraeli government but reinstated in 1868 by Gladstone and continued thereafter, a fact which was noted by both the RCM and RMCM in later years.

In February 1865, the Council of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce [henceforth, the Society of Arts, or the Society] announced that it had appointed a committee to inquire into the present state of musical education at home and abroad. The committee requested the assistance of the Foreign Office in obtaining detailed information concerning the musical schools in the principal capitals of Europe, and also launched an investigation, putting forward a series of questions to «professors, amateurs and others interested in the subject». Of significance here are the two parts of Question One:

What are the essential differences between the plan of the Royal Academy of Music in London, and the Conservatoires of the Continent, with regard to –

- a. Their constitution and management;
- b. Their revenues as derived from the State, annual subscriptions, fees from pupils, concerts, or other sources⁷.

². *HISTORY OF THE VICTORIA UNIVERSITY*.

³. The guinea was an old British pre-decimal coin worth one pound and one shilling. £1 = 20 shillings; 1 guinea = 21 shillings; 10 guineas = £10 10s. In 1820, 10 guineas would have equated to 70 days' wages for a skilled tradesman; by 1890 it would have equated to 31 days' wages for a skilled tradesman. <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>>, accessed July 2022.

⁴. *QMM* 1822, p. 372.

⁵. *Ibidem*, p. 378.

⁶. CORDER 1922, p. 27.

⁷. 'Musical education', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XIII/639 (17 February 1865), pp. 217-218.

Given the financial problems experienced by the RAM it is unsurprising that the method of funding European conservatoires was of particular interest to the committee. When, in June that year, it began reporting in detail the outcome of its enquiries on the Continent, the opening comment was as follows:

There are regular colleges, or as they are termed abroad, conservatoires, for instruction in the various branches of musical art; some entirely depending for their support upon, and under the immediate control of, the Government; and others more or less independent of State support or external authority. The largest of these institutions is the Conservatoire of Paris, maintained with the utmost liberality by the Government [...]⁸.

On 20 July 1869, following the publication of further reports by the Society and an appeal to Parliament in favour of a Government School of Music and National Opera, signed by over one hundred prominent musicians, a petition was presented to the House of Commons on behalf of the committee. Having summarised the sources from which information had been gathered the petition stated «a national academy or musical training school [...] is a public necessity, and, when created, should provide for the instruction of a certain number of students, supported by public funds, and a certain other number paying adequate fees. That certain students should receive gratuitous training, and that they should be selected by public competition». Furthermore, the petitioners submitted that a national training school «can never be maintained by private enterprise, but only established by the State and supported by public funds, disbursed under Parliamentary and ministerial authority»⁹. The need for state funding of conservatoires, following the continental model, became a constant trope, a comment in *The Times* when the RCM was being founded providing an example: «In France, an appeal for the establishment of a College of Music would be made to the Government. In England, the appeal is made to the people, for on this side the Channel voluntary contributions and voluntary efforts take the place of Ministerial supervision and Government aid»¹⁰.

The petition did not receive a positive response and so, during the next decade, the Society of Arts itself oversaw the establishment of a National Training School for Music (NTSM), initially with voluntary support but with the intention that it would «eventually be transferred to the responsible management of the State»¹¹. In announcing the new school in August 1873, the Society's Council stated that it was hoped to establish about 300 scholarships which would

⁸. 'Musical Education on the Continent', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XIII/655 (9 June 1865), pp. 495-498.

⁹. 'National School for Music', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XVII/870 (23 July 1869), pp. 702-703.

¹⁰. 'The Proposed Royal College of Music', in: *The Times*, 24 February 1882, p. 8.

¹¹. 'National Training School for Music', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XXI/1081 (8 August 1873), p. 733.

be of two kinds: one would afford free instruction by paying the students' fees, the other to give free instruction with a maintenance allowance in addition. It was estimated that the school fee, without maintenance, would be between £35 and £40¹². In terms of funding of the NTSM, the Society's Musical Committee had previously set up a series of subscription concerts to take place in the Royal Albert Hall in 1871, any profits from which were to be applied for the establishment of the NTSM; losses would be underwritten by a guarantee fund of not less than two thousand pounds, a sum which was achieved (and exceeded) within one month of its launch¹³. The series made a loss but the following year the Council was reporting optimistically that «influential persons have been found to afford substantial assistance [...]»¹⁴, and in June 1873 the Musical Committee re-stated that it had «received a very large amount of support in the way of scholarships promised for the establishment of the [NTSM]»¹⁵.

The first stone was laid by the Duke of Edinburgh in December 1873, the cost of the new building being generously paid for by Council member Charles Freake¹⁶. At the attendant meeting, the Society reported it was confident that a number of counties had expressed a willingness to provide free scholarships, paid for by influential persons, and several of the City Livery Companies were considering the matter. Meanwhile, the Society intended that during the period of the building's construction it would continue to enlist public support for scholarships throughout the United Kingdom¹⁷.

The plan to call on public support was soon put in place and in January 1874, Henry Cole¹⁸ attended a meeting in Manchester Town Hall held «with a view to establishing a school of music in Manchester, to be connected with the National Training School for Music [...]»¹⁹.

¹². *Ibidem*.

¹³. 'National Training School for Music', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XIX/946 (6 January 1871), pp. 119-120.

¹⁴. 'National Training School for Music', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XX/1023 (28 June 1872), pp. 654-655.

¹⁵. 'Musical Committee', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XIX/1075 (27 June 1873), p. 619.

¹⁶. Charles James Freake (1814-1884) was a self-taught architect and builder who became a significant property developer. He was responsible for buildings in a number of London areas, including South Kensington. He was granted a baronetcy in 1882, partly in recognition of his generosity to the NTSM/RCM. For biographical information and details of his career see *SURVEY OF LONDON*.

¹⁷. 'National Training School for Music', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XXII/1100 (19 December 1873), pp. 75-77.

¹⁸. Henry Cole (1808-1882) was a council member and one-time chairman of the Society of Arts and closely involved with the organisation of the Great Exhibition in 1851. His interest in the schools of design led to him being appointed as Secretary of the newly established government Science and Art Department and ultimately responsible for the foundation of the South Kensington Museums. A prime mover behind the setting up of the NTSM, Cole was knighted in 1875. For biographical information see COOPER 2008.

¹⁹. 'National Training School for Music', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 30 January 1874, p. 7.

Image removed for copyright reasons

ILL. 1: The New National Training School for Music, Kensington, London, 1876. Artokoloro/Alamy Stock Photo.

The newspapers report that Cole stated «it was thought that the public would come forward to help this work, and the object of the present preliminary meeting was to find out if there were in Manchester gentlemen who would form a provisional committee». It was hoped that «300 scholarships could be founded, with 300 gentlemen coming forward with £1,000 each for this purpose». Cole was looking for ten gentlemen in Manchester to put down their names but said that if this could not be done the promoters would be satisfied with something less. He ended his speech by saying that he saw «considerable advantage in Owens College being the centre of this part of the country, and a national training school for music being connected with the College». At the conclusion of the meeting a local committee was formed «to co-operate with the London committee in carrying out the scheme». Further meetings were held during 1874-1875 in major towns countrywide, as well as the London metropolitan area, for the purpose of promoting scholarships and, additionally, to obtain capital funds. As with the Manchester gathering, many of the meetings led to the setting up of a local committee. A report published in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* on 23 July 1875, included a new paragraph suggesting how the requisite funds might be donated:

The sum of £40 a year [the amount now deemed to be required to cover the fee for instruction] may be obtained by permanent endowments, made by public spirited individuals, who may thus enrol their names as national benefactors for all time; by endowments as memorials of great musicians; by endowments for only five years; or by sufficient annual sums to make up £40 a year²⁰.

The NTSM opened to students on 17 May 1876. The target of offering 300 scholarships had previously been reduced to 100 and by the time of the opening the number of scholars was only 51, making the School barely viable financially. Within a year the managing committee was appealing to the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition for a grant, emphasising the necessity of securing the 300 scholarships and students, but to no avail.

The various machinations around the subsequent proposed merger between the NTSM and the RAM, which was put forward partly in an attempt to deal with the financial difficulties of both institutions, do not form part of this current study and are, therefore, omitted here²¹.

²⁰. 'National Training School for Music', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, xxiii/1183 (23 July 1875), pp. 773-776.

²¹. For a complete narrative of these events see BRIGHTWELL 2003, BRIGHTWELL 2007, WRIGHT 2005, WRIGHT 2020.

ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC

An initial charter for the planned merged institution was drawn up in 1878; a second version followed in October 1880. By then the negotiations had broken down and the new organisation was to include the NTSM only and be called the Royal College of Music²². There were to be three types of students:

The pupils shall be divided into three classes: (1) scholars, (2) government pupils, (3) students. The scholars shall be pupils whose education and maintenance, or one of them, is wholly or partially defrayed gratuitously. The government pupils shall be pupils whose education is conducted in [a] manner and on the terms agreed upon between the College and the Government. The students shall be pupils who pay for the whole of their education.

Unlike the NTSM — which the Society of Arts had been determined should provide free tuition, although by 1880 it had been forced to admit fee-paying pupils — the RCM was to have a mixture of scholarship and fee-paying students. Finance was to be provided by donors, defined as «annual subscribers of £10 or upwards during the period of their subscriptions, and contributors at one time of £50 or upwards, or its equivalent [...]»²³. The first public occasion at which the idea of the new RCM was promoted was a meeting held on 12 December 1881 at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, under the auspices of the Manchester Athenaeum, and attended by about three thousand guests. The three speakers were two of Queen Victoria's sons — Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany — and a son-in-law, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein. The purpose of the meeting was to attract support for the new institution²⁴, and make a case for state funding²⁵. The speeches, delivered by the Princes but drafted by the organising secretary and later Director of the RCM George Grove²⁶, were published for circulation and reported verbatim in several newspapers, including the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times*²⁷.

²². 'Royal College of Music', in: *Journal of the Society of Arts*, XXVIII/1455 (8 October 1880), pp. 869-871.

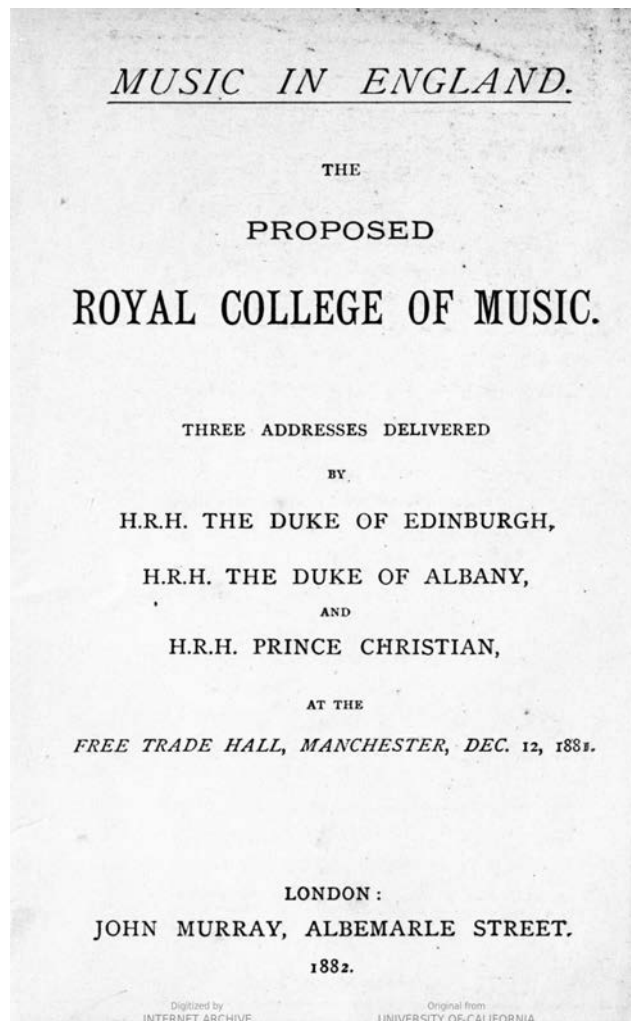
²³. The text of this section underwent a few minor changes with each version of the charter. The wording here is from the 1883 charter as cited in BRIGHTWELL 2007, vol. II, p. 36.

²⁴. «I am earnestly anxious [...] that you, and through you the city of Manchester, should express its opinion that the advancements of music by public aid is a subject worthy alike of the attention of the Government and of the country».

²⁵. «[...] the Institution so formed should be assisted by the public, and be recognised and subsidised by the State».

²⁶. George Grove (1820-1900), writer on music and editor of the eponymous dictionary. For biographical information see GRAVES – YOUNG 2001.

²⁷. *THREE ADDRESSES* 1882; 'Grand soiree at the Free-Trade Hall', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 13 December 1881, p. 5.; 'Royal Visit to Manchester', in: *The Times*, 13 December 1881, p. 6.



ILL. 2: Front cover of the published edition of the addresses given at the Manchester meeting. Public Domain <<https://archive.org/details/proposedroyalcol00saxeiala>>, accessed August 2022.

On 28 February 1882 the Prince of Wales, President-designate of the new College, hosted a meeting in the Banqueting Hall at St James' Palace for which a preliminary list of subscribers was prepared and published subsequently in *The Times*, alongside a description of the event²⁸. In the course of his speech the Prince reiterated the necessity for public aid, as had been laid out in the Manchester speeches, to enable the admission of scholars funded by endowments,

²⁸. Donors included: The Queen, £500; the Prince of Wales, £250; the Duke of Edinburgh, £250; Sir Richard Wallace, M.P., £1,000; Mr S. Morley, M.P., £1,000; the Duke of Westminster, £500; Mr Thomas Chappell, £500. 'The Royal College of Music', in: *The Times*, 1 March 1882, p. 6.

alongside which there would also be fee-paying pupils, all of whom would have to undergo an entrance examination. He explained the details of the plan beginning with the element which would require public money. It had been determined that 100 was the minimum number of scholars to make the foundation feasible; 50 were to have free education and 50 were to be both educated and maintained. The estimated annual expenditure per student would be £40 for instruction alone with an additional £40 for maintenance, and the Prince suggested that an income of £10,000-£12,000 a year would be required in order to maintain a foundation of 100 pupils. This presumed the accumulation of a capital figure of £250,000-£300,000 so the provision of sufficient income to fund scholarships was key to the enterprise. As a commentator in the *Daily News* expressed it: «[...] the foundation and endowment of the Royal College of Music on a fitting scale will depend very much on the liberality of the nation in coming forward with subscriptions»²⁹. The resolution to establish a Royal College of Music, which was passed at the end of the proceedings, included an undertaking that meetings would be called throughout the country and «the utmost exertions used, individually and collectively, to forward the movement by obtaining the necessary funds for founding and endowing a College of Music [...]»³⁰.

The city of Manchester had already acted prior to this resolution, the mayor having called a meeting in January, one month after the Royal visit. According to a report in the *Manchester Guardian* on 18 January 1882, the mayor commented that

Manchester might take some credit herself for being the first to take an active part in this movement, and he was reminded of an old proverb which said that whatever Manchester decreed England confirmed. If the musical public of Manchester decided that there should be, in accordance with the opinions of their Royal Highnesses, a conservatoire of music, and if they brought their full opinion to bear in carrying that out, he had no doubt that that opinion would materially aid in giving life and vigour to the scheme³¹.

The motion was proposed in a lengthy speech by Charles Hallé, the renowned Manchester-based conductor who was soon to be a member of the national RCM committee and would also conduct concerts in London in aid of the new college³². During the meeting a question was asked as to whether it was intended that Manchester would ultimately have a conservatoire of its own. Hallé replied that «it was in the first place intended to establish a national institution.

²⁹. 'The Royal College of Music', in: *Daily News*, 24 February 1882, p. 3.

³⁰. *The Times*, 1 March 1882, p. 6.

³¹. 'The proposed National Conservatoire of Music. Meeting in Manchester', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 18 January 1882, p. 6.

³². For biographical information see KENNEDY 2001.

When that was done successfully, there could be no reason why Manchester should not have its own conservatoire of music if the public so desired»³³. Manchester was not the only place in the north-west to take up the cause; committees were also established in Liverpool, Oldham, Bolton and Lancaster as a result of meetings held there. However, the Manchester one appears to have been unsuccessful in its endeavours and somewhat short-lived. On 15 December 1882, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that «an effort is about to be made to revive interest in the promotion of the Royal College of Music in this neighbourhood», reproducing a circular letter sent to the Mayor on behalf of the Prince of Wales which expressed the hope that «you will continue the effort begun in your town by your predecessor in office behalf of the Royal College of Music»³⁴. On 1 May 1883, only a few days before the official opening of the RCM, a further report appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* stating that at a recent meeting it was resolved «that in consequence of the apathy displayed by the residents in the district to the scheme for the establishment in London of a Royal College of Music, this Committee be and is hereby dissolved»³⁵.

The first London fundraising meeting took place in front of an influential assembly of bankers and merchants at the Mansion House on 20 March 1882³⁶, followed by events in many other towns. Within two months of the Prince of Wales's initial gathering donations amounted to just over £52,000; a year later the total had reached £105,000 and by the day of the official opening on 7 May 1883 this had increased to £110,000. However, the target sum for the Capital Fund was never reached and when the RCM opened there were 50 scholars (i.e. half the number originally intended) and 42 paying students. The founding charter provided for Scholars and Exhibitioners, who were defined as «pupils who have obtained scholarships and exhibitions entitling them wholly or partially to the privileges of gratuitous education and maintenance...» and students who «shall be pupils who have obtained neither scholarships nor exhibitions»³⁷. Although the Capital Fund had grown to over £124,000 by 1889, this could not support scholarships to the level envisaged originally and the Prince of Wales and George Grove persisted with their objective of trying to obtain government funding. Their pleas continued to fall on deaf ears until finally, in 1892, the RCM was awarded £500 annually, exactly the same amount as the RAM.

³³. *Manchester Guardian*, 18 January 1882, p. 6.

³⁴. 'The Royal College of Music', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1882, p. 5.

³⁵. 'Royal College of Music', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 1 May 1883, p. 5.

³⁶. 'The Royal College of Music', in: *The Times*, 21 March 1882, p. 12.

³⁷. 'The Royal College of Music', in: *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, v1/ 68 (1 May 1883), p. 337.

THE FUNDING OF CONSERVATOIRES IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

ROYAL MANCHESTER COLLEGE OF MUSIC

Meanwhile, plans were underway to open a conservatoire in Manchester. The postscript to Hallé's autobiography, written by his son³⁸, and subsequent biographies refer to the former's long-held desire to found a conservatoire in Manchester, mentioning particularly a lost letter from Hallé to Adolf Meyer [the Honorary Secretary of the Manchester Choral Society] written in 1852 in which he had elaborated his scheme. Writing about the RMCM in 1895, Hallé admits that «it had in this way long been germinating in my mind that [...] Manchester was the very place where a great conservatoire of music might be established on the lines of the best German schools [...]». Interestingly, he makes no reference to the RCM and his involvement with it, other than obliquely, when he states that he «had never been able to see that there was any *prima facie* evidence in confining high-class training colleges in music [...] to the capital of a country»³⁹.

During 1889 the idea of opening a music academy in association with the newly-founded Whitworth Institute was mooted both by the Directors of the Gentlemen's Concerts⁴⁰ (a society established in Manchester in the 1770s with its own concert hall) and those who were establishing the Institute as a centre of technical education⁴¹. It appears that some preliminary investigations were undertaken at this stage. The RNCM archives contain a copy of a letter dated 21 November 1889 from Gustav Behrens⁴² to Mrs Enriqueta Rylands⁴³ informing her of the suggestions about founding a School of Music and enquiring whether the establishment of a such a school, in connection with the Whitworth Institute, would meet with her approval and support⁴⁴. In other words, would she be willing to support it financially? The prompt response, written on her behalf, was a polite rejection⁴⁵.

³⁸. HALLÉ 1896, p. 149.

³⁹. HALLÉ 1895, p. 323.

⁴⁰. Manchester Libraries. ML/BR780.68Me68. *Gentlemen's Concerts Committee Minutes*, [vol. v], 8 February 1889.

⁴¹. 'The Whitworth Institute', in: *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, 9 November 1889, p. 10.

⁴². Gustav Behrens (1846-1936), a cotton shipping merchant in Manchester, was a close friend of Hallé. He was a Director of the Gentlemen's Concerts from 1883 and one of the three initial guarantors of Hallé's orchestra after the conductor's death in 1895.

⁴³. Enriqueta Rylands (1843-1908) was the widow of textile magnate, John Rylands. After his death in December 1888 she inherited his estate (worth over £2.5million at the time) and was the recipient of many letters requesting her financial support. In 1892 she became a supporter of the RMCM with a donation of £25 towards the initial expenses and an annual subscription of £25 for five years, followed by £15 in 1898 and £10 annually thereafter until her death in 1908. For biographical information see FARNIE 2006.

⁴⁴. Royal Northern College of Music Archives. RMCM/A/1/1. Copy of letter from Gustav Behrens to Enriqueta Rylands, 21 November 1889.

⁴⁵. RMCM/A/1/1. Letter from W. W. Morton to Gustav Behrens, 22 November 1889.

Behrens of their conversation, during which Hallé had discussed the future of his concerts and raised the idea of a scheme to build a new concert hall which could, he suggested, be extended to include a School of Music. As the remainder of his note makes clear, this prompted Behrens to think about how such a project might be initiated; he immediately drew up a list of people who should be consulted, and subsequently corresponded with a number of his local contacts. By the end of the month a Town Hall meeting had been arranged for 3 December and invitations sent to a wide range of local gentlemen.

The outcome of that meeting was to set up a committee to consider further the suggestions made by Hallé and members set about gathering information. They obtained prospectuses from the London colleges, including details of students' fees, sent enquiries to the conservatoires in Berlin, Leipzig and Vienna⁴⁶, and went on site visits (Albert Nicholson⁴⁷ and Hallé visited the Liverpool Philharmonic Hall to find out about the setup of the hall, number of seats, ticket prices, etc., while Charles E. Lees⁴⁸ went to the RAM and RCM). However, it is evident from letters between those most closely involved that, very early in the process, they doubted both the wisdom of building a new concert hall and taking on the financial responsibility of Hallé's concerts but were strongly in favour of establishing a school of music. For instance, Nicholson writes that they should put a school of music in «for I am sure we may depend on a considerable subscription to that & a certain income as soon as started»⁴⁹ and William Agnew⁵⁰ was of the opinion that they should «at first confine our efforts to the establishment of the School»⁵¹.

⁴⁶. RCM/A/1/2/33. Typed carbon copy of a list of questions, headed 'Anfragen die Musikschule betreffend' [Enquiries relating to the music school], 9 December 1891. Also handwritten copies of a covering note [in German] to accompany the list of questions in RCM/A/1/2/33. Written on behalf of Gustav Behrens to: RCM/A/1/2/34. Theodor Flatow (Berlin); RCM/A/1/2/35. Ottomar Bräner (Leipzig); RCM/A/1/2/36. Julius Mandelbaum (Vienna).

⁴⁷. Albert Nicholson (1844-1927) came from a family firm of cloth merchants in Manchester. He was a member of the Manchester Literary Club, President of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Chairman of the Gentlemen's Glee Concerts and a governor of the Royal Manchester Institution.

⁴⁸. Charles Edward Lees (1840-1894) was a wealthy cotton spinner and a Director of the Gentlemen's Concerts. Together with his wife, Sarah Anne, he was a great patron of the arts helping, amongst other things, to establish the Oldham Library and Art Gallery in 1883 as well as providing significant financial support to the RCM. RCM/A/1/2/47. Letter from Charles E. Lees to Gustav Behrens, 14 December 1891.

⁴⁹. RCM/A/1/2/29-31. Letter from Albert Nicholson to Gustav Behrens, 9 December 1891.

⁵⁰. William Agnew (1825-1910) was a member of the Agnew art-dealing family, becoming a partner in the firm in 1850. Through his marriage he became involved with the Bradbury family who published '*Punch*' magazine. Agnew was a Liberal politician and M.P. for constituencies in the Manchester area. He was created a baronet in September 1895. For biographical information see ROBERTS 1912.

⁵¹. RCM/A/1/3/10-12. Letter from William Agnew to Gustav Behrens, 6 January 1892.

By early January 1892 Behrens was estimating that it would be necessary to raise a guarantee or subscription fund of at least £5,000 a year for five years⁵². How this sum might be found was the subject of correspondence between several members of the committee and Behrens. Charles E. Lees thought that Behrens' idea of «a few of the more wealthy men guaranteeing a £1000 ea. a year for 5 years is a good one» or, he pondered, «if it would be possible to find 10 men who would guarantee £500 a year each for 5 years?» Furthermore, he suggested that if possible «we should enlist the sympathy of as large a section of public we can, but I think in all cases it would be best to obtain promises of yearly subscriptions for 5 years, rather than donations»⁵³. Behrens remained convinced that a «conservatoire of high character» and an educational institution «second to none in the Country» would require ample funds and «unless we raise a fund of at least £5000 (per) annum for 5 years our task will be hopeless». In addition, he considered that «such a sum cannot be raised in small contributions — & for big sums we have but a very limited constituency»⁵⁴. Agnew was somewhat doubtful about the calculations for the sum of money required but he did encourage Behrens to canvass widely: «I have no information as to the facts or theories upon which your budget of 5000 a year is assessed at. Assuming for arguments sake that the estimate is not exaggerated, that in effect it is just, I think the appeals should cover a large area. For the larger the area of sympathy and sacrifice the safer will be our foundation»⁵⁵.

The contrast with the plans for financing of the RCM is interesting both in terms of the sums of money deemed to be required and the manner in which it would be employed. This guarantee fund for the RMCM would be for revenue expenditure, not a capital fund. When the next public meeting was held in May 1892 the figure required for the guarantee fund had been revised down to £4,000 a year but it was recognised that, nevertheless, an ample revenue would be required. The report circulated to interested parties in advance of the meeting admitted that «it is not to be anticipated that, even under the most favourable conditions, a new Conservatoire of Music can, at all events, for some years become self-supporting [...] whilst expenses may be gauged with some degree of accuracy, any estimate of income must be uncertain»⁵⁶. In a move which echoed that of the Prince of Wales's meeting to launch the RCM, Behrens thought it essential that «on the day of the public meeting, we should have a list [of subscribers] ready which would be publicly announced, for unless somebody makes a start and we have a few actual promises to place before the meeting, I am afraid that the whole thing will fall flat»⁵⁷. The plan to announce subscriptions may have been similar to that of the RCM

⁵². RMCM/A/1/3/16-19. Letter from Gustav Behrens to William Agnew, 8 January 1892.

⁵³. RMCM/A/1/3/30-31. Letter from Charles E. Lees to Gustav Behrens, 21 February 1892.

⁵⁴. RMCM/A/1/3/32-33. Handwritten copy of letter from Gustav Behrens to William Agnew, 25 February 1892.

⁵⁵. RMCM/A/1/3/34. Letter from William Agnew to Gustav Behrens, 28 February 1892.

⁵⁶. RMCM/A/2/2. Subcommittee report, [undated, but prepared for the meeting on 4 May 1892].

⁵⁷. RMCM/A/1/3/57-58. Typed carbon copy of letter from Gustav Behrens to Charles E. Lees, 20 April 1892.

but the sums donated were on a very different scale. Details of significant offers were read out at the meeting, which agreed to proceed with the scheme⁵⁸.

The RCM campaign benefitted from royal patronage and leadership, together with the support and involvement of members of the nobility, government, clergy and high-ranking officials, as may be seen in the lists of Vice-Presidents and members of the Council and Executive Committee. The initial Executive Committee, announced in January 1882 before the main fundraising effort had commenced, consisted of the three Princes who had addressed the Manchester meeting, George Grove and the following members⁵⁹:

- Lord Charles Bruce, M.P. [Marlborough, Conservative]
- Earl Cadogan. Conservative politician, who had accompanied the Prince of Wales on foreign tours
- Mr Thomas Chappell. Music publisher
- Lord Alfred Churchill. Member of the NTSM Executive Committee
- Lord Coleridge. Member of the RAM and NTSM Amalgamation Committee
- Sir Michael Costa. Conductor and composer
- Mr Alderman [William James Richmond] Cotton, M.P. [City of London, Conservative]
- Sir Charles Dilke, M.P. [Chelsea, Liberal]. Elected member of the Royal Commission
- Sir Thomas Gladstone. Elder brother of Liberal politician, William Ewart Gladstone
- Mr Otto Goldschmidt. Pianist, conductor and composer
- Mr Charles Hallé. Conductor and pianist
- Dr John Hullah. Educationalist, writer and composer
- Mr Henry Leslie. Choral conductor and composer; briefly principal of the National College of Music from 1864 to 1866
- Mr Charles Morley. Son of Liberal M.P. Samuel Morley; appointed Hon. Sec. of the RCM in 1882
- Mr Kellow J. Pye. Member of the NTSM Executive and Finance Committees, also of the RAM Management Committee
- Mr J. [John] Slagg, M.P. [Manchester, Liberal]
- Dr Arthur Sullivan. Composer and Principal of the NTSM
- Sir Richard Wallace, M.P. [Lisburn, Conservative]; elected member of the Royal Commission
- [Hugh Lupus Grosvenor] Duke of Westminster, K.G.

In contrast, the scale on which the committee establishing the RMCM was working was altogether different and very local in nature. A committee was appointed at the public meeting held on 4 May 1892 to «frame a constitution for a College of Music in Manchester, and to

⁵⁸. Mr C. J. Heywood and Mr E. S. Heywood: £250 towards the preliminary expenses and £200 per annum for five years; Mr C. E. Lees: £250 towards preliminary expenses and £250 a year for five years; Sir W. H. Houldsworth: £100 towards the initial expenses and £50 a year for five years; Mr [Gustav] Behrens: £50 towards preliminary expenses and £50 a year for five years. 'Proposed Conservatoire of Music in Manchester', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 5 May 1892, p. 7.

⁵⁹. 'The proposed Royal College of Music', in: *The Times*, 5 January 1882, p. 8.

collect subscriptions to meet the cost of establishing and conducting such an institution»⁶⁰. At its subsequent meeting a week later it appointed the Mayor of Manchester [Bosdin T. Leech] as Chairman, with Charles E. Lees as Treasurer and Gustav Behrens as Secretary. It also set up an Executive Committee consisting of⁶¹:

- Sir Charles Hallé – Chairman
- Professor [Adolphus William] Ward. Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University of Manchester, 1886-1890 and 1894-1896
- C. J. [Charles James] Heywood. Member of the Heywood banking family; director and treasurer of the Gentlemen's Concerts
- S. R. [Samuel Radcliffe] Platt. Mechanical engineer, chairman of Platt Brothers, Oldham; director of the Manchester Ship Canal
- Herb. [Herbert] Phillips. Philanthropist, president of the (Manchester) District Provident Society and influential supporter of Owen's College
- E. J. [Edward John] Broadfield. Member of the Court and Council of the Victoria University of Manchester; member of the Manchester School Board; chairman of the governors of Manchester Grammar School; governor of the Whitworth Institute
- Oliver Behrens. Second cousin of Gustav Behrens; member of Manchester family firm of shipping merchants S. L. Behrens
- W. [William] Eller. Manchester cotton shipping merchant and enthusiastic amateur musician; later director of the Manchester Mid-Day Concerts
- G. [Martin Gustav] Dehn. German-born Manchester cotton shipping merchant
- Geo. [George Rigby] Murray. Manchester cotton manufacturer (A & G Murray Ltd.)
- T. W. [Thomas Walton] Gillibrand. Manchester accountant; director of Gentlemen's Concerts; governor of the Royal Manchester Institution

The committee members were very conscious that the project needed the names of important and influential people, both locally and nationally, to give it credibility and to attract the support of others. Those names were listed in a circular issued on 30 September 1892 [ILL. 4] appealing for subscriptions to the guarantee fund and donations of at least £1,500 to cover initial expenses. The response was immediate. Within a week, the committee heard that pledges amounting to £951 per annum for five years had been made to the guarantee fund with further donations of £881 promised towards the preliminary expenses. However, this was a long way short of the target and methods for procuring further subscriptions were discussed, resulting in the publication of a full list of subscribers, together with the amounts donated, on the front page of the Manchester newspapers in November⁶². Another strategy was to hold meetings in local towns, again echoing the campaign for both the NTSM and the RCM.

⁶⁰. 'Proposed Conservatoire of Music in Manchester', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 5 May 1892, p. 7.

⁶¹. RCMC/A/2/3/10. Notes of Committee meeting, 11 May 1892.

⁶². E.g. 'The College of Music, Manchester. Contributions promised', in: *Manchester Guardian*, 12 November 1892, p. 1; 'The College of Music, Manchester. Contributions promised', in: *Manchester Courier*, 12 November, 1892, p. 1.

THE FOLLOWING LADIES AND GENTLEMEN HAVE JOINED The General Committee.	
* The gentlemen marked thus form the Executive Committee.	
*The Mayor of Manchester. - The Mayor of Salford. - The Mayor of Accrington. - The Mayor of Altrincham. - The Mayor of Ashton-under-Lyne. - The Mayor of Bacup. - The Mayor of Barrow-in-Furness. - The Mayor of Blackburn. - The Mayor of Bolton. - The Mayor of Burnley. - The Mayor of Bury. - The Mayor of Chester. - The Mayor of Clitheroe. - The Mayor of Chorley. - The Mayor of Darwen.	- The Mayor of Haslingden. - The Mayor of Hyde. - The Mayor of Lancaster. - The Mayor of Macclesfield. - The Mayor of Middleton. - The Mayor of Nelson. - The Mayor of Oldham. - The Mayor of Preston. - The Mayor of Rawtenstall. - The Mayor of Rochdale. - The Mayor of St. Helens. - The Mayor of Southport. - The Mayor of Stockport. - The Mayor of Wigan.
- The Duke of Rutland, K.G. - The Rev. Canon the Marquis of Normanby. - The Earl of Derby, K.G. - The Lord Bishop of Chester. - The Most Rev. the Archbishop of Westminster. - The Right Rev. the Bishop of Salford. - The Countess of Bective. - The Lady Sinclair. - Lady Brooke. - Lady Elphinstone. - Lady Stirling. - The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. - The Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P. - The Dean of Manchester. - The Ven. Archdeacon Anson. *The Principal of Owens College. - The High Master of the Grammar School. - Jacob Bright, Esq., M.P. - William D. Coddington, Esq., M.P. - The Hon. George Curzon, M.P. - Coningsby Disraeli, Esq., M.P. W. H. Holland, Esq., M.P. - Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P. J. W. Maclure, Esq., M.P. - William Mather, Esq., M.P. - Sir H. E. Roscoe, M.P. J. W. Sidebotham, Esq., M.P. - Thomas Snape, Esq., M.P. - Mrs. W. Lockett Agnew. - William Agnew, Esq. - Benjamin Armitage, Esq. R. Arnold, Esq. - William T. Arnold, Esq.	T. A. Bazley, Esq. C. H. Beaver, Esq. - Mrs. Edward Behrens. *Gustav Behrens, Esq. *Oliver P. Behrens, Esq. - Mrs. S. A. Bennett. - David S. Bles, Esq. J. Armitage Bennett, Esq. - Alfred T. Bentley, Esq. - Mrs. A. Macdonald Blair. *E. J. Broadfield, Esq. - Henry Cooke, Esq. - Thomas Craven, Esq. - Mrs. Davies. - Mrs. G. R. Davies. *Gustav Dehn, Esq. - Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Bart. - Mrs. Edward Donner. - Edward Donner, Esq. - Mrs. Eckersley. *William Eller, Esq. - Miss Ewart. W. E. Fairlie, Esq. - Miss Emily Faithfull. - Mrs. Ernest Frank. - George Freemantle, Esq. - Mrs. Theodore Gaddum. - Mrs. Stewart Garnett. - Miss Gaskell. *T. W. Gillibrand, Esq. - Wm. Goldthorpe, Esq. - Mrs. Harvey Goodwin. - Herbert Greg, Esq.

ILL. 4: First page of the list of names in the circular, 30 September 1892. RNCM Archives: RMCM/A/3/33/3.

By the end of January 1893 the totals had reached over £1,500 each in donations for expenses and promises of annual subscriptions and, as a result, the Executive Committee felt sufficiently confident to proceed with plans to open the College in October that year, despite having no building. When the RCM opened it had taken over the premises previously occupied by the NTSM, for whom it had been built. Charles Freake, who had borne the cost in the first

instance, had handed it over for the use of the RCM and just over a decade later it had its own purpose-built premises, owing to the generosity of another donor, Samson Fox⁶³. The matter of a building for the new RMCM had been under discussion since May 1892, the circular issued at the time indicating that the intention was to rent premises for a modest amount. In earlier correspondence to Agnew, Behrens had suggested a figure of £2,300 per annum would be needed for the rental of classrooms and «a hall for practices»⁶⁴. The initial scheme for a new concert hall having been dropped, Hallé then pressed for alterations to be made to the Gentlemen's Concert Hall in order to accommodate the College but this proved to be impracticable.

Finally in February 1893 a suitable building was identified, the cost of which was £2,000. Any obstacles to the purchase were immediately removed with a generous offer made by the Honorary Treasurer, Charles E. Lees, to buy the building and present it to the College. The combination of this action and the sum of monies raised and/or promised was sufficient to convince the next meeting of the General Committee to proceed with establishing the College. At the end of June and beginning of July the opening date of 2 October 1893 was announced through classified advertisements in local, regional and national newspapers⁶⁵. The fee for students would be £30 per session (academic year) payable in three instalments of £10. When the College opened the number of registered students was 74, all of them fee-paying.

As early in the process as January 1892 the need to include facilities «for the training of a limited number of students gratuitously»⁶⁶ had been suggested, while others wrote of the possibility of investing donations for the formation of scholarships⁶⁷. The option for providing some gratuitous instruction for less affluent students was eventually enabled with the establishment of the Sustentation Fund but this was never intended to fund a student completely, unlike a scholarship. It was used as something of an emergency rescue for when a gifted student or, more usually, their parents could not afford to pay the fees during the year. Scholarships were solicited from the nearby county councils, Lancashire and Cheshire, as well as some local boroughs, and individual donors were appealed to through the medium of the

⁶³. Samson Fox (1838-1903) was a Yorkshire-born mechanical and chemical engineer. He was a member of the Society of Arts and gave £45,000 for the new RCM building. For biographical information see OWEN – ST. JOHN 2004.

⁶⁴. RMCM/A/1/3/39. Handwritten copy of letter from Gustav Behrens to William Agnew, 5 March 1892.

⁶⁵. E.g. *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 24 June 1893, p. 1; *Manchester Evening News*, 24 June 1893, p. 2; *Manchester Guardian*, 24 June 1893, p. 1; *The Glasgow Herald*, 1 July 1893, p. 1; *The Leeds Mercury*, 1 July 1893, p. 1; *The Times*, 1 July 1893.

⁶⁶. RMCM/A/1/3/10-12. Letter from William Agnew to Gustav Behrens, ? January 1892. The letter is undated but its position in the file, together with the contents, suggests January 1892.

⁶⁷. RMCM/A/1/3/73. Handwritten sheet of paper headed 'School of Music'. There is no author's name but the handwriting suggests that it was a companion document to RMCM/A/1/3/72, a letter from Fred. J. Astbury [Secretary of the Gentlemen's Concerts] to Gustav Behrens in which he says he is enclosing a copy of the scheme he submitted. The letter is dated 5 May 1892.

College's Annual Reports. The first scholarship to materialise was that for piano given in the name of Sir Charles Hallé, the founding Principal, who died in 1895, two years after the College opened. As with most subsequent scholarships, the money given was invested in stocks and shares and generally the fees were paid from the interest so that the original sum was hardly touched. Even with the county and borough scholarships only a relatively small number of students was ever supported in this way⁶⁸.

CONCLUSION

The desire for state funding of conservatoire-level musical training and education in Britain was a recurring theme throughout the nineteenth century. However, it was never forthcoming and institutions were reliant on the generosity of subscribers and donors. There were similarities in the approaches to fundraising taken by both the RCM and the RMCM although the aim of the former to be a national Conservatoire, together with the support and patronage of the royal family, meant that its appeal for funds was considerably more widespread and reached the highest levels of society. Hallé and his committee were much more dependent on relatively local support within Manchester itself and the neighbouring towns and counties, partly because the stated intention was to provide a complete school of higher education in music for the North of England. From 1903 the RMCM began to receive some financial support from local government in the form of Grants-in-Aid; this was as a consequence of the 1902 Education Act, which empowered local authorities to aid higher education.

As regards individuals, other than a few earls and dukes with houses in the Manchester area and some MPs for nearby constituencies, the majority of donors and other supporters of the RMCM were merchants, manufacturers, university professors, clergymen, doctors and the professional middle classes who were the mainstay of cultural life in the city in the second half of the century.

Their subscriptions paid for the establishment and administrative costs of the College — the student fees just about covered the costs of the professors and teachers — and therefore continued to be vital to the functioning of the institution. Pleas from the Council to subscribers were included in the Annual Report for many years, well into the twentieth century.

Both Colleges owed their existence and continuation to generous donors who supported the cause of musical training at the highest level. Neither institution received government funding to the extent hoped for, and deemed necessary, by the Society of Arts until much later in the twentieth century.

⁶⁸. A list of scholarship holders may be found in KENNEDY 1972, pp. 198-204.



ILL. 5: RCM Building. RNCM Archives: RMCM/E/11/1.

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THE MUSIC LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES IN MANCHESTER, ENGLAND: A RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE

Anna Wright

This article is a revised version of a paper presented at IAML 2023, which followed one given in the same session by my colleague Dr Geoff Thomason on the project 'Connecting Manchester's Music Archives'.¹ The project, funded by the National Archives, provides 'a digital space for repositories which contain Manchester's musical heritage to connect, share stories and promote their collections'. The primary partners are the Hallé Archives (Hallé Concerts Society), the Henry Watson Music Library (Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives),² and the Royal Northern College of Music Archives (RNCM), supported by the Manchester Digital Music Archive.³

Introduction

Grove Music Online contains two articles which give details of some of the music libraries in Manchester. Rita Benton's article on libraries provides 'a survey of institutional libraries containing source materials of Western music', including a section on Manchester in which the holdings of the Henry Watson Music Library, Chetham's Library and the John Rylands Library are described.⁴ Michael Kennedy's contribution on music in Manchester provides very brief information about its libraries.⁵ He mentions the university library and faculty collections, and the Henry Watson Music Library which he describes as one of the finest music reference libraries in Britain, referring the reader to Benton's article. Chetham's warrants a short paragraph for its school of music, not its library, and the RNCM is mentioned only in terms of its collection of keyboard and other instruments. Both writers are concerned with manuscript and printed music; the archival documents which chart the history of the city's musical organisations are not considered.

¹ <https://www.mdmarchive.co.uk/connecting-manchesters-music-archives> (Accessed 16 Sep. 2023).

² Henceforth referred to as Manchester Libraries.

³ Archive references are identified by the following abbreviations: Hallé (HCS); Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives (ML); Royal Northern College of Music (RNCM).

⁴ Rita Benton, "Libraries." *Grove Music Online*. 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40070> (Accessed 6 Dec. 2023).

⁵ Michael Kennedy, "Manchester." *Grove Music Online*. 2001. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17587> (Accessed 6 Dec. 2023).

However, the collections held by the Hallé Archives, Manchester Libraries and the RNCM provide vital source materials for anyone working on the history of classical music in Manchester. For instance, Kennedy himself writing about the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM) and the Hallé Orchestra;⁶ biographies of Charles Hallé by Ann Kersting and Robert Beale, plus the latter's thesis on the finances of the Hallé Orchestra;⁷ the theses by Wilfrid Allis on the Gentlemen's Concerts and *Music and Class in Manchester*;⁸ Rachel Gick on *Concert life in Manchester, 1800-1848*, Rachel Johnson's *Musical networks in early Victorian Manchester* and the recent study of the 1828 Manchester Musical Festival by Michael Busk.⁹ Geoff Thomason has published several articles on music in Manchester, as well as his thesis about Adolph Brodsky, the second Principal of the RMCM;¹⁰ and the projects, *Making music in World War One* and *Paris-Manchester 1918: Conservatoires in time of war* also examined aspects of Manchester's musical life through interrogation of the archives.¹¹

The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the specific parts of the three collections which are relevant to my research topic, and how the information they hold is contributing to it. Rather than just list and describe the collections, the approach taken is in the form of a case study to demonstrate how the data gathered from them is being used to construct and underpin my narrative.

The subject of my PhD is 'The supporters and benefactors of the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM): musical philanthropy and patronage in Manchester, 1890-1920'. The focus is on the people who undertook the

⁶ Michael Kennedy, *The history of the Royal Manchester College of Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971); ———, *The Hallé tradition: a century of music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960); ———, *The Hallé, 1858-1983: a history of the orchestra* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982).

⁷ Ann Kersting, *Carl Halle – Sir Charles Halle: ein europäischer Musiker* (Hagen: Kommissionsverlag v.d. Linnepe, 1986); Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: a musical life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); ———, "The Hallé Concerts Society 1899 – 1999: financial constraints and artistic outcomes" (PhD dissertation, City University, 2002).

⁸ Wilfrid Allis, "The Gentlemen's Concerts: Manchester, 1777-1920" (MPhil dissertation, University of Manchester, 1995); ———, "Music and class in nineteenth century Manchester" (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2002).

⁹ Rachel C. Gick, "Concert life in Manchester, 1800-1848" (PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2003); Rachel M. Johnson, "Musical networks in early Victorian Manchester" (PhD dissertation, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2020); Michael Busk, "Manchester's 1828 Musical Festival: provenance, planning and performance" (PhD dissertation, Open University, 2023).

¹⁰ Geoff Thomason, *The Royal Manchester College of Music: 1893-1973: a celebration of the centenary of the founding of the RMCM* (Manchester: Royal Northern College of Music, 1993); ———, "Hess, huffs and Hallé facts: staff appointments in the early years of the Royal Manchester College of Music," *Manchester Sounds* 3 (2002): 55-67; ———, "Yours very sincerely, Edward Elgar: the Elgar-Brodsky correspondence at the RNCM," *Brio* 42 (2005): 32-53; ———, "Grieg in Manchester: sidelights on a centenary," *Brio* 44 (2007): 37-49; ———, "Some observations on royal celebrations in Manchester's Gentlemen's Concerts," *Brio* 48 (2011): 5-14; ———, "Hallé's other project," *Manchester Memoirs* 149 (2012): 104-123; ———, "Brodsky and his circle: European crosscurrents in Manchester chamber concerts, 1895-1929" (PhD dissertation, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2016).

¹¹ <https://musicmrww1.wordpress.com/> (Accessed 16 September 2023). <https://www.rncm.ac.uk/paris-manchester-1918/> (Accessed 16 September 2023).

practicalities of setting up the RMCM and underwriting its finances, not only in the phases leading up to its foundation but also after it was established. I am arguing that the various networks to which the major players belonged are key to understanding why they were contacted about and/or drawn into supporting it. In order to do this I have looked at the archival records to identify the people concerned and then examined the networks of which they were a part.

Royal Northern College of Music

As the focus is the RMCM I begin with its archives, which are held by its successor, the RNCM. The key collections of particular relevance for me are the organisational records of the RMCM, correspondence to and from Sir Charles Hallé, and some miscellaneous items.

At the beginning of his article about Manchester in *Grove Music Online* Michael Kennedy asserts that the city's musical importance lies chiefly in the concerts of the Hallé Orchestra, and that Charles Hallé founded the Royal Manchester College of Music.¹² More recent scholars of Manchester's musical history dispute the former statement, with good reason, and I argue that, although Hallé was central to the foundation of the RMCM, its existence was due to a group of people who formed the committee, raised the funds and dealt with the practicalities of setting up a new institution from scratch.

The RMCM opened on 2nd October 1893, just 22 months after the proposal to found a school of music had been made public. On several occasions Hallé claimed that the idea of a conservatoire in Manchester had been in his mind for a very long time.¹³ There is no extant primary evidence to substantiate the claim – in his edited biography published posthumously in 1896 Hallé's son, Charles Edward, remarks that a letter sent from his father to Adolf Meyer (Honorary Secretary to the Manchester Choral Society) in the 1850s in which he stated the idea, is lost.¹⁴ However it is clear from other sources that throughout the 1880s there was a growing public debate, much of it in the local newspapers, about the desire to have a school of music in Manchester and that a wider group of people was interested in the establishment of such an institution in the city.

As mentioned previously there is a collection of correspondence in the RNCM Archives from Hallé to several recipients, mainly Gustav Behrens (a close friend and prime mover in the establishment of the RMCM) and Stanley Withers, the first secretary and Registrar.¹⁵ This has been organised separately

¹² *op. cit.*

¹³ 'It had...been long germinating in my mind that...Manchester was the very place where a great conservatoire of music might be established on the lines of the best German schools...' Charles Hallé, "The Royal Manchester College of Music," *The Strand Musical Magazine* 1 (1895): 323-329.

¹⁴ ———, *The autobiography of Charles Hallé, with correspondence and diaries. Edited with an introduction by Michael Kennedy* (London: Elek, 1972), 170.

¹⁵ RNCM. CH.

from the other RCMC records, although the majority of the letters relate to it. The contents are varied, including forwarding donations for the foundation, discussions about the appointment of teaching staff, the name of the new College and Hallé's acceptance of the post of Principal.

The records of the RCMC itself have been arranged in six categories (*Table 1*) – a structure imposed, of necessity, by an archivist since any notion of an original arrangement, if it ever existed, had been lost by the time they were catalogued in the early 2000s. RCMC/A/1 contains the items with the earliest dates. Previous histories of the RCMC have begun by recounting the proceedings of a Town Hall meeting which took place on 3rd December 1891, but the retention of these earlier papers provides an insight into events prior to that meeting. For example, a cutting from a newspaper article published on 9th November 1889 contains the suggestion that the newly formed Whitworth Institute should incorporate an academy of music. Also in this group is the carbon copy of a letter, dated 21st November 1889, from Gustav Behrens (who was a director of the Gentlemen's Concerts) to Mrs Enriqueta Rylands asking if she would support the idea of a school of music. The reply, written on her behalf, declined the request.¹⁶

From the next set (RCMC/A/2) we learn of the increasing public demand for a school of music during the autumn of 1891, with letters to Behrens, Hallé and others. One of the most significant items is the note made by Behrens (*Fig. 1*) recording the details of a visit to him by Hallé during which the latter proposed a scheme to build a new concert hall to which his concerts would be transferred, and which could include a school of music. This was a contemporaneous record – Behrens wrote about it again, retrospectively, in 1918 in a notebook in which he recounts how he came to know Hallé, with descriptions of the events leading to both the foundation of the RCMC and the Hallé Concerts Society.¹⁷ Not only is the 1891 item the first definite indication of Hallé's idea but below the note and on the reverse of the sheet of paper there is a list of names presumably made by Behrens, of those who should be contacted in connection with the proposal. The list reads like a *Who's Who* of 1890s Manchester (*Table 2*).

¹⁶ Mrs Rylands was the widow of wealthy cotton manufacturer, John Rylands and had inherited his considerable fortune when he died in 1888, as a result of which she was the recipient of many requests for financial assistance. She was the founder and benefactor of the John Rylands Library in Manchester and a renowned philanthropist. She did contribute to the RCMC when a general plea for support was issued in 1892 and continued to do so until her death in 1908.

¹⁷ RCMC. Man-Mus 41. Another version of this account was published in the papers of the Manchester Literary Club. Gustav Behrens, "Sir Charles Hallé - and after," *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club* 52 (1926): 1-12.

Table 1. Structure of RMCM Records

RNCM. RMCM/A		Records relating to foundation of a College of Music in Manchester
	RMCM/A/1	College of Music general correspondence, 1889
	RMCM/A/2	College of Music committee papers, 1891–1892
	RMCM/A/3	College of Music minute books, 1892–1904
	RMCM/A/4	Subscribers' pledges, 1892–1914
	RMCM/A/5	Papers re appointment of organising secretary to the Committee
RMCM/B		Records of General Committee of subscribers and College members, 1893–1973
	RMCM/B/1	General Committee Annual General Meeting minute book
	RMCM/B/2	General Committee AGM notices with agenda, 1950–1960
	RMCM/B/3	Annual reports
RMCM/C		Records of Council, 1893–1973
	RMCM/C/1	Council minute books
	RMCM/C/2	Council minute books. Appendices
	RMCM/C/3–8	(4) Seal register; (5) Register of Honorary Fellows; (6) Withers: History of the RMCM; (7) Visitors' Book; (8) Kennedy: The history of the RMCM
RMCM/D		Records of Board of Professors
	RMCM/D/1	Minutes of meetings of the Board of Professors
	RMCM/D/2	Diploma regulations, 1918–1957
	RMCM/D/3	Student's open practice proposals, 1927–1972
	RMCM/D/4	Library catalogue, c.1895
	RMCM/D/5	Examination papers, 1897–1972
	RMCM/D/6	Professors' attendance books
	RMCM/D/7	Audio recordings, 1948–1966
	RMCM/D/8	Synopsis of the new organ, 1897
RMCM/E		Records of the Registrar
	RMCM/E/1	Programmes, 1893–1972
	RMCM/E/2	Student registers
	RMCM/E/3	Student files, 1953–1966
	RMCM/E/4	General correspondence, 1893–1973
	RMCM/E/5	Press notices, 1940–1963
	RMCM/E/6	Prospectuses, 1963–1971
	RMCM/E/7	Press cuttings, 1913–1973
	RMCM/E/8	Diploma registers, 1896–1973
	RMCM/E/9	Department for Training of Music Teachers. Results, 1909–19
	RMCM/E/10	Correspondence & papers, Northern College of Music, 1961–73
	RMCM/E/11	Photographs and drawings of buildings, staff and students, c.1898–1971
	RMCM/E/12	Student record cards, 1948–1973
RMCM/F		Financial records
	RMCM/F/1	Private ledgers, 1893–1946
	RMCM/F/2	Fee income books, 1893–1939
	RMCM/F/3	Subscription income book, 1914–1950
	RMCM/F/4	Professors' fees books

Charles Agnew	J.A. Birch	Hallé called on Sunday Nov. 15 th 1891.	9
Henry Samson	Fritz Kreis	Told me that he wished to consult me as to an	
Henry Simon	J.W. Machin	idea which had been in his mind for some time	
T.R. Wilkinson	Dean of Manchester	but which so far he had not mentioned to any one - viz.	
	Robert Leach	If the Directors of the Concert Hall would undertake	
Wm. Mathew M.P.	Professor Ward	to build a large Hall (like the L'pool Philharmonic)	
Sir W. Houldsworth Bart	Richard Mason	with all modern conveniences he would be pre-	
J.C. Lee	Alfred Rowley	pared to transfer to them his own Concerts -	
C.S. Heywood	Joseph Light	merely remaining Conductor similarly as he is	
Herbert Phillips	J.H. Gaddum	in L'pool - In this way the Gentlemen's Concerts	
F. Ashton	Thos Ashton & Son	could be resuscitated - (without competition) his	
E.J. Broadfield	Louis Schwabe	life work perpetuated - The Scheme could be	
James Watts	Bishop of Salford	extended to cover a School of Music -	
Charles E. Lee	John Mark	We discussed this plan which on the whole	
J.R. Platt	Mayor of Manchester	commends itself to me & I advised Hallé to consult	
Heaps (Rochdale)	Sir John Harwood	E.J. Broadfield - with whom I would like to take	
Ratcliffe	Dr. Hiles	counsel - Charles Parker Ald. Houldsworth	
W. Lymer	Oliver	Ed. Broadfield	
Freemanthorpe	E.S. & Heywood	Concert Hall	
R.D. Darbishire	J.D. Milne	Arthur Payne	Group Gray
C.B. Scott	W.H. Heals	J.H. Sibley	Greg. Franzen
Ed. Behrens	C.J. Hall	T. Sibley	Patricio
W. Kessler	S.W. Wilkinson	J. Churham	J.P. King
J.M. Kocher	Geo. Hicks	Col. Schwabe - Fred	Alfred King
Director of G.C.	James Sadler	James Oliver	Prof. Manno
		O.O. Walker Bury	Ben. Carver
		Wright	Chadwick
		Isaac Hoyle M.C.	David & James Bannan

'Hallé called on Sunday Nov. 15th 1891: Told me that he wished to consult me as to an idea which had been in his mind for some time but which so far he had not mentioned to any one - viz. If the Directors of the Concert Hall would undertake to build a large Hall (like the L'pool [sic] Philharmonic) with all modern conveniences he would be prepared to transfer to them his own Concerts - merely remaining Conductor similarly as he is in L'pool. In this way the Gentlemen's Concerts could be resuscitated - (without competition - & his life work perpetuated. The Scheme could be extended to cover a School of Music.

We discussed this plan which on the whole commends itself to me & I advised Hallé to consult E. J. Broadfield - with whom I would like to take counsel.'

H. T. Gaddum
 Walter Johnson
 Broadfield
 Little
 Leach
 Bentley
 Geo Agnew
 E.J. Broadfield
 Gaskin
 Donnan

Fig. 1: RMCM/A/1/2/9

Table 2.
Behren's list, 15 Nov 1891

Charles Agnew	[Edward] Donner	W. [Jacob Philip William] Kessler	S. R. [Samuel Ratcliffe] Platt
Geo. [George] Agnew	[Julius] Dreschfeld	Ald. [Alderman John] King	[George] Ratcliffe
W. [William] Agnew	[George] Freemantle	J. E. [John Edward] King	Fritz Reiss
W. L. [William Lockett] Agnew	G. H. [George Henry] Gaddum	J. M. [John Michael] Koecher	Arthur Reynier
Ben Armitage	H. T. [Henry Theodore] Gaddum	Leach	Alex. Rowley
Vernon Armitage	George Gray	Robt Leake	Henry Samson
Thomas Ashton	Francis Greg	Sir J. C. [Joseph Cocksey] Lee	Fred. Schwabe
[Thomas] Gair Ashton	[Edwin] Guthrie	Mayor of Manchester [Bosdin Leech]	Col. [George Salis] Schwabe
David Bannerman	C. J. [Charles John] Hall	Charles E. Lees	Louis Schwabe
James Bannerman	Sir John Harwood	Joseph Leigh	C.P. [Charles Prestwich] Scott
Charles Behrens	A. [Abraham] Haworth	[David] Little	J.H. Sidebotham
Ed. [Edward] Behrens	W H [William Norris] Heald	Dean of Manchester [Edward C. Maclure]	T. [Thomas Harrop] Sidebottom, M.P.
J. A. [John Alexander] Beith	Heap	J. W. [John William] Maclure	Henry Simon
[Alfred Thomas] Bentley	C. J. [Charles James] Heywood	John Mark	Tom Sowler
E. J. Broadfield	E. S. [Edward Stanley] Heywood	Rupert Mason	Bishop of Salford [Herbert Vaughan]
G. [George] Broadfield	Oliver Heywood	Wm. Mather, M.P.	O. O. [Oliver Ormerod] Walker
Ed. [Edward T.] Broadhurst	Geo. [George] Hicks	J. D. [John Dewhurst] Milne	Professor [Adolphus W.] Ward
Benj. Carver	Dr [Henry] Hiles	Prof. [Joseph E. C.] Munro	James Watts
Chadwick	Ald [Alderman John] Hopkinson	James Oliver	S.W. [Samuel Wright] Wilkinson
J. F. [John Frederick] Cheetham	Sir W. Houldsworth, Bart	Petrocckino	T. R. [Thomas Read] Wilkinson
Richard C. Christie	Isaac Hoyle, M.P.	Herbert Philips	Wrigley
W. J. [William John] Crossley	James Jardine	[William] Morton Philips	Directors of G.C. [Gentlemen's Concerts]
R. D. [Robert Dukinfield] Darbishire	Walter Joynson		

No.	Name	Address	City	State	Year	Notes
1	Dr. C. L. Lee	36 S. W. Madison St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
2	Ed. Broadfield	37 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
3	C. J. Thompson	38 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
4	C. M. Brown	39 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
5	W. Nicholson	40 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
6	W. H. Harris	41 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
7	J. J. Thompson	42 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
8	W. C. Lee	43 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
9	J. Brown	44 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
10	J. W. Williams	45 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
11	J. H. Smith	46 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
12	H. Jones	47 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
13	W. H. Smith	48 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
14	J. H. Smith	49 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
15	J. H. Smith	50 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
16	J. H. Smith	51 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
17	J. H. Smith	52 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
18	J. H. Smith	53 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
19	J. H. Smith	54 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
20	J. H. Smith	55 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
21	J. H. Smith	56 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
22	J. H. Smith	57 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
23	J. H. Smith	58 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
24	J. H. Smith	59 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
25	J. H. Smith	60 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
26	J. H. Smith	61 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
27	J. H. Smith	62 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
28	J. H. Smith	63 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
29	J. H. Smith	64 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
30	J. H. Smith	65 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
31	J. H. Smith	66 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
32	J. H. Smith	67 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
33	J. H. Smith	68 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
34	J. H. Smith	69 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	
35	J. H. Smith	70 Dear Spence St.	Chicago	Ill.	✓	

Fig. 3:
RMCMA/2/2B

As my research relates to the people, rather than the establishment of the conservatoire *per se*, from hereon I will concentrate, in the main, on the items which provide information about who was involved, not the details of how it was set up.

Having organised a date for a public meeting, invitations to attend were sent out in Hallé's name by Forsyth Brothers, the music shop. The archives include the lists of names of those to whom the invitations were to be sent. Two sets of names are retained – one with addresses (*Fig. 2*), the other (*Fig. 3*) with indications as to whom the invitations for the December meeting were sent, with a second column for a later meeting in May the next year. Most of the names were on Behrens' 15th November list but others had been added, some at the suggestion of Hallé and/or the men with whom Behrens was consulting. Minutes of the Town Hall meeting on 3rd December 1891 record who was present at it and also the names of those who were appointed to form a committee to consider the suggestions made by Hallé. By mid-March 1892 the committee had agreed that the scheme should be confined to consideration of a school of music only and a second public meeting was held on 4th May 1892 at which that proposal was made. A new committee was appointed in order to frame a constitution and collect subscriptions, while promises of subscriptions already received and/or promised were reported. Immediately after this meeting members of the committee began canvassing their contacts to support the project. When a circular setting out details of the new college and requesting subscriptions was issued at the end of September it contained a substantial list of names of those who had offered their support to the College and were, by dint of this, members of the General Committee.

Responses to the September circular were immediate – the subscriptions book contains the completed slips with details of the amounts to be donated or promised for the next five years (*Fig. 4*). As was common practice at the time a list of the promised contributions was published in Manchester newspapers, with the aim of attracting further subscriptions. Thereafter, the minutes continue to document the Committee's discussions and the papers include further correspondence, such as the offer by Charles Edward Lees, a significant supporter of the College, to pay the costs of purchasing a suitable building.

The College of Music,
MANCHESTER.

I promise to give ~~Donation of £~~ 25;
~~either~~ for Initial Expenses, ~~and to subscribe £~~
 was £5 per annum for five years to the Guarantee Fund of the
 College of Music.

Signed, *M. E. Gaskell*,
 Address, *84. Plymouth Grove,*
Manchester.

Date, *1 Oct.* 1892.

Fig. 4: RMCM/A/4. Promise form. M. E. [Margaret Emily] Gaskell, daughter of the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell.

Ways of raising money were always an issue – once the College had opened requests were made for the endowment of scholarships, which were forthcoming, if somewhat slowly – and further general fundraising initiatives were required. After five years the initial promises had expired and in 1898 a further set was obtained. The details of these are again documented on pledge forms and also in the annual reports which, from 1898, published lists of subscribers, donors to the Sustentation Fund (a bursary fund to support talented students whose parents could not afford the fees) and one-off donations such as legacies or gifts of equipment, books, etc., as well as the names of members of the General Committee and Council. Plans to celebrate the College's twenty-first birthday in 1914 included seeking donations to several funds – the Endowment Fund, the fund for the provision of a hostel for women students, and an annual subscription. This campaign was successful, as demonstrated by another set of pledge forms. Following the example of preceding years, all donations were listed in the annual report. By utilising all of these sources I have a comprehensive view over almost thirty years (the scope of my study) of those who supported the RMCM.

To return to the subject of my thesis. Having obtained this information, the questions I am looking to answer are: who were these people? Why did they become involved in supporting the College financially and/or giving their time to offer their services as officers, professional advisers or Council members? To find answers I needed to look at the records of other organisations operating in the city at the time, with a particular focus on musical activities.

Henry Watson Music Library (Manchester Libraries)

One of the major sources for supporting information is the records of the Gentlemen's Concerts, which are held by Manchester Libraries [*Table 3*]. The Gentlemen's Concerts had begun in the 1770s; in order to attend the concerts it was necessary to become a subscriber and members had to be approved by the committee. The records of membership are found in the volumes containing the applications, the list of subscribers and the minutes. [*Figs. 5 & 6*] All had to be checked to ensure that a full list of names was obtained. My aim in working on these records was to discover, firstly, how the people who were on the initial contact lists for the RMCM were known to Behrens, Hallé and the other gentlemen who collaborated on setting it up and, secondly, whether subscribers to the Gentlemen's Concerts also supported the RMCM.

Table 3

ML. BR780.68Me68	Manchester Gentlemen's Concerts
	Minutes, 1830–1920
	Applications for membership, 1854 – 1908
	List of subscribers, 1897 – 1906
	Programmes, 1799 – 1895; Miscellaneous loose programmes

Images removed for copyright reasons

Fig. 5: BR780.68Me68. Applications for membership, 1854–1908.

Fig. 6: BR780.68Me68. Minutes, 1830–1920.

Table 4. *Connections with the Gentlemen's Concerts*

The names in italics did not have a connection prior to November 1891; those in bold type were, or had been, Directors

J. W. Addleshaw Charles Agnew Geo. [George] Agnew W. [William] Agnew W. L. [William Lockett] Agnew B. [Bernhard] Alexander Ben Armitage <i>Vernon Armitage</i> Thomas Ashton [Thomas] Gair Ashton David Bannerman James Bannerman Charles Behrens Ed. [Edward] Behrens Gustav Behrens <i>J. A. [John Alexander] Beith</i> [Alfred Thomas] Bentley C. H. [Charles Hardy] Bowker E. J. Broadfield G. [George] Broadfield Ed. [Edward T.] Broadhurst J. K. [John Kenworthy] Bythell Benj. Carver Chadwick J. F. [John Frederick] Cheetham <i>Richard C. Christie</i> W. J. [William John] Crossley <i>R. D. [Robert Dukinfield]</i> <i>Darbishire</i> [Edward] Donner <i>[Julius] Dreschfeld</i>	James Forsyth [George] Freemantle G. H. [George Henry] Gaddum <i>H. T. [Henry Theodore] Gaddum</i> John Galloway, jr. Wm Lewis Galloway T. W. [Thomas Walton] Gillibrand Wm Goldthorpe George Gray Francis Greg Dr Gumpert [Edwin] Guthrie C. J. [Charles John] Hall Francis Hampson <i>Sir John Harwood</i> <i>[Abraham] Haworth</i> <i>Jesse Haworth</i> <i>Rev J. G. Haworth</i> <i>W H [William Norris] Heald</i> <i>Heap [Benjamin or Joseph?]</i> <i>S. L. Helm</i> F. [Frederick M.] Hertz C. J. [Charles James] Heywood <i>E. S. [Edward Stanley] Heywood</i> <i>Oliver Heywood</i> Geo. [George] Hicks <i>Dr [Henry] Hiles</i> <i>W. H. [William Henry] Holland</i> Ald [Alderman John] Hopkinson T. C. [Thomas Cogan] Horsfall	Sir W. Houldsworth, Bart. <i>Isaac Hoyle, M.P.</i> James Jardine <i>E. Walter Joynson</i> <i>W. [Jacob Philip William] Kessler</i> <i>Ald. [Alderman John] King</i> <i>J. E. [John Edward] King</i> J. M. [John Michael] Koecher N. Kolp <i>Leach</i> <i>Robt Leake</i> Sir J. C. [Joseph Cocksey] Lee <i>Bosdin Leech, Mayor of Manchester</i> Charles E. Lees <i>Joseph Leigh</i> <i>[David] Little</i> W. C. [William Cluley] Lord <i>Edward C. Maclure, Dean of</i> <i>Manchester</i> J. W. [John William] Maclure <i>John Mark</i> Rupert Mason Wm. Mather, M.P. <i>Col. John Mellor</i> <i>J. D. [John Dewhurst] Milne</i> <i>Prof. [Joseph E. C.] Munro</i> A. [Albert] Nicholson James Oliver	Petrocockino Herbert Philips <i>[William] Morton Philips</i> S. R. [Samuel Ratcliffe] Platt <i>[George] Ratcliffe</i> Fritz Reiss <i>Arthur Reyner</i> <i>Alex. Rowley</i> <i>Charles Rowley</i> <i>Henry Samson</i> Fred. Schwabe <i>Col. [George Salis] Schwabe</i> Louis Schwabe <i>C.P. [Charles Prestwich] Scott</i> <i>J.H. Sidebotham</i> <i>T. [Thomas Harrop] Sidebottom,</i> <i>M.P.</i> Henry Simon Tom Sowler <i>Herbert Vaughan, Bishop of Salford</i> <i>O. O. [Oliver Ormerod] Walker</i> <i>Professor [Adolphus W.] Ward</i> <i>James Watts</i> <i>Prof. Wilkins</i> <i>S.W. [Samuel Wright] Wilkinson</i> T. R. [Thomas Read] Wilkinson <i>Wrigley</i> Directors of G.C. [Gentlemen's Concerts]

Table 4 shows the names which were on Behrens' original list, augmented by the names of those to whom the invitations were sent later in the month, and who had some association with the Gentlemen's Concerts prior to November 1891. Some were, or had been, Directors whilst others were subscribers. Of the 114 names, 63 had a connection with the Gentlemen's Concerts.

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*Fig. 7: MSRm927.8Hc3203.
Charles Hallé,
Chronological list of subscribers,
1854 – 59*

*Fig. 8: MSRm927.8Hc3206.
Charles Hallé,
Concerts of classical chamber
music, list of members,
1853 – 56*

Manchester Libraries has some manuscript items which belonged to Charles Hallé.

Table 5. Items formerly belonging to Charles Hallé

ML. MSRm927.8Hc32	[Alphabetical list of pupils in Paris, 1845–1848] MS *
Re780.69Lt43	Charles Halle's orchestral concerts, 1868-94 held at the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool programmes
Re780.69Hc41	Charles Halle's recitals, 1861-1878 held at the St. James's Hall, London [programmes]
MSRm927.8Hc3203	Chronological list of subscribers, 1854-59] MS * [Fig. 7]
MSRm927.8Hc3206	[Concerts of classical chamber music, list of members, 1853-56] MS * [Fig. 8]
MSRm9278Ho324	[Day book, 1875-1885] MS *
MSRm927.8Hc3214	[Diary of pupils, 1861-70] MS *
MSRm927.8Hc322	[French grammar and exercises] MS
MSRm927.8Hc325	[Latin exercises] MS
Rf780.69Hc38	[Miscellaneous concert programmes, 1862-1893]
MSRm927.8Hc334	[Music lessons ; Halle's appointment book, 1871-74] MS *
MSRm927.6Hc344	[Pupils' account book, 1860-72] MS *
MSRm927.8Hc342	[Piano forte recitals : subscriber's [sic] names, 1858-60] MS *
MSRm927.8Hc35	[Sundry accounts, mainly private for 1849-61; including accounts of music purchased, music lessons given, subscribers to concerts and concert expenses 1854, 1856] MS *
MSf927.8Hc36	[Sundry invoices, 1892-95] MS *

For the purposes of this study, the items of relevance are those which contain the names of people with whom Hallé interacted, marked here by*. Other than the first item on the list they are all from his time in England. Most of them date from several decades before the discussions around the establishment of the RCM but from these records it is possible to identify the names of those who were linked to Hallé. From this a further five people with prior connections may be noted on the list of contacts.

Another item of interest in the Manchester Libraries' collections is a set of papers entitled *Correspondence addressed to the Chairman of the Halle Society, 1888-1923*, the bulk of it to Gustav Behrens.¹⁸ Amongst these papers is a notebook containing details of the arrangements for a dinner held at the end of March 1890 in honour of Sir Charles and Lady Hallé prior to them departing for a concert tour to Australia. The local newspapers reported the event, giving details of who was present at the dinner;¹⁹ the notebook provides more information as it includes the minutes of the meetings, the names of

¹⁸ ML. MSRf780.68Me71d

¹⁹ "Dinner to Sir Charles Halle. Fifty years of progress in music", *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, Mar 31, 1890, 8; "Dinner to Sir Charles Halle", *Manchester Guardian*, Mar 31, 1890, 6.

those who were on the organising committee, of which Behrens was the secretary, and the applicants for tickets (*Fig. 9*). Many of the people included on the list were connected through the Gentlemen's Concerts but a further ten on Behrens' RMCN list can be identified as being known to Hallé and Behrens.

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Fig. 9: MSRf780.68Me71d. Correspondence addressed to the Chairman of the Halle Society, 1888-1923. Applications for tickets to the dinner to be held in honour of Sir Charles and Lady Hallé.

The records of many other Manchester organisations, manuscript and printed, are also held by Manchester Libraries. These include some dedicated to

music, such as the Gentlemen's Glee Club,²⁰ but there are others not necessarily specifically related to music which included a significant element of musical activity in their proceedings. For instance, the Ancoats Recreation Committee held weekly Sunday lectures which included concerts (*Fig. 10*);²¹ the Schiller-Anstalt, a club founded in 1859 by members of the German community including Hallé, had a strong musical tradition. In 1905 an article in the *Manchester Courier* stated that 'no department of its work has spread the reputation of the Schiller-Anstalt so much as has its musical record. That, indeed, is associated with all that is best in the musical history of Manchester'.²² Through the records of these two organisations, a further five persons with connections may be noted.

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Fig. 10:
374.5M1. Ancoats Recreation Proceedings, 1884–1921.

²⁰ ML. Book rarities R780.61Me68. Henry Watson, compiler, *A chronicle of the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club from its foundation in 1830 to the session 1905-6* (Manchester: Charles H. Barber, 1906).

²¹ ML. 374.5M1. *Ancoats Recreation Proceedings, 1884–1921*

²² "The Schiller-Anstalt. German colony's club", *Manchester Courier*, Apr 21, 1903, 6.ML. R780.69 Me81 Schiller-Anstalt programmes, 7 Oct 1895– 18 Mar 1912.

The people on Behrens' list who have not been identified thus far as having a specific musical connection come into other categories: local dignitaries, such as mayors, councillors, M.P.s and clergy; business contacts, or members of other organisations. There were also many family links, not just generational or fraternal, but also by marriage. In taking the approach of identifying people through their membership of, or allegiance to, a single organisation, in order to demonstrate the significance of the information in the archives, what may have not been clear is that most of these men would have known each other across multiple organisations. This is something mentioned frequently by scholars of Manchester cultural life in the 19th century, this quotation from Michael Rose being an example:

Members of such societies were of course always a minority of a middle class which was itself a minority in numerical terms of the city's population. . . . Even within this small number, the student of their annual reports and transactions becomes aware of an even smaller active minority, an elite within an elite, who served as officers and played an active role in the development of the society. Furthermore, this active minority's activity was often spread over a number of organisations. . . . In society after society the same names recur.²³

Gustav Behrens, for instance, had connections with 96 of the men on the list in seventeen different contexts and in many cases it was often through an involvement in multiple organisations.

Hallé Archives (Hallé Concerts Society)

Finally I look at how those connections manifested into the future by referring to the archives of the Hallé Concerts Society. Although the orchestra dates back to January 1858, its existence in the form as it is now known began after Sir Charles Hallé's death on 25th October 1895. In order to ensure its continuation in the first instance, Gustav Behrens, James Forsyth and Henry Simon each personally guaranteed it for three years as Hallé's heirs were not interested. However, that was not a sustainable plan long-term and in July 1898 a meeting was held to consider the future. It was agreed to form a limited liability society with fifty members (or shareholders) each guaranteeing £100. Subsequently the number of members was increased to one hundred.

Most of the records relating to the formation of the society are held by its archives. The archives include Behrens' working copy of the memorandum and articles of association, all of the guarantee ledgers with details of when the guarantees were called in and payments made, pension fund records and

²³ Michael E. Rose, "Culture, philanthropy and the Manchester middle classes", in *City, class and culture: studies of social policy and cultural production in Victorian Manchester*, ed. Alan J. Kidd and Kenneth W. Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 103-117.

concert programmes, which also contain lists of subscribers. From these various sources I have identified the names of people who also supported, or were involved with the RMCM. As Gustav Behrens was one of the key people involved it is not surprising that there is significant overlap between the two organisations. Of the 114 names on the RMCM 1891 circulation lists, thirty-seven men (or members of their families) became founder guarantors of the Hallé Concerts Society (*Table 6*).²⁴

Table 6

Charles Agnew	W. J. Crossley	C. J. Heywood	Bosdin Leech	S. R. Platt
Benj. Armitage	Edward Donner	E. S. Heywood	Mrs C. E. Lees	C. Rowley
Charles Behrens	James Forsyth	W. H. Holland	Miss D. Lees	H. Samson
Mrs E. Behrens	G. H. Gaddum	T. C. Horsfall	J. Leigh	C. P. Scott
Gustav Behrens	W. Goldthorpe	W. H. Houldsworth	W. C. Lord	Henry Simon
E. J. Broadfield	Edwin Guthrie	W. B. Huntington	Wm Mather	James Watts
G. Broadfield	C. J. Hall	W. Kessler	Herbert Philips	T. R. Wilkinson
Benj. Carver	Sir J. Harwood			

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Fig. 11:
HA/L/2/24.

²⁴ Eleven had died prior to 1898/99, including Charles E. Lees.

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*Fig. 12:
HS/5/4/. Guarantee ledger.*

Images removed for copyright reasons

*Fig. 13:
HA/PR/2/1/53/19/. Concert programme, Mar 2, 1911.*

It should be noted that a number of those whose names were on the 1891 lists did not support the RCMCM beyond the initial meetings. Of those who did provide financial assistance at some time during the early years of the RCMCM, the following also became guarantors of the Hallé, in addition to the founder guarantors listed above (*Table 7*).

Table 7

Charles H. Arning	Gustav Dehn	Alfred Hopkinson	J. W. Sidebotham
Ludwig Aron	Lady Donner	Alfred Hughes	Ernest D. Simon
Mrs Mark Ashton	Charles Dunderdale	Charles Hughes	Margaret A. Simon
Frank Behrens	E. A. Eason	Emil H. Liebert	Mrs Henry Simon
Lt.-Col. E.A. Behrens	Gustav Eckhard	James Lowe	H. Smith-Carington
Oliver P. Behrens	H. Elverston	G. C. Mandleberg	Frederic Smith
James B. Bindloss	Alfred Emmott	S. L. Mandleberg	Edgar F. Steinthal
James Boyd	Ernest Frank	Charles Marx.	J. H. Thewlis
Mrs. A. Briggs	W. J. Galloway	Max Mayer	Henry Vollmer
Dr Adolph Brodsky	Miss [M. E.] Gaskell	Wm Melland	John Voss
Richard H. Brooks	Miss Julia Gaskell	George R. Murray	Miss Sette Warburg
Counc. Butterworth	Robert Gibson	W. H. Perkin	Dr Henry Watson
George. H. Clapham	E. W. Grommé	Alexander Porter	W. B. Worthington
Thomas Craven	Joseph R. Heape	T. B. Shimwell	John Youatt
James C. Cross	F. M. Hertz		

So far, I have described the records within each repository, but one of the driving forces behind the ‘Connecting Manchester’s Music Archives’ project to bring them together in one place online is because of the distribution of the holdings across the archives, and not necessarily in the parent institution. For instance, a set of volumes that belonged to Gustav Behrens, which are his records of the history of the Hallé Concerts Society and his involvement in it, are part of the collection at Manchester Libraries.²⁵ They provide significant information additional to that in the Hallé’s own archives. The volumes include minutes, correspondence, newspaper cuttings and concert reviews, and cover the period from June 1898 to September 1922.

²⁵ ML. BR 780.68Me714. Gustav Behrens. Notebooks relating to the Hallé Concerts Society. The volume covering 1904–1908 is missing.

Images removed for copyright reasons

*Fig. 14:
BR780.68Me714. Gustav Behrens.
Notebooks relating to the Hallé Concerts Society.*

Other libraries and archives in Greater Manchester

The focus has been on these three repositories because they hold the majority of the records to which I have referred for my research. However, there are other libraries and archives in the Greater Manchester area which also hold music, music-related material and items connected to the three institutions on which I have focussed. For instance, Oldham Archives has material about the Lees family – Charles Edward Lees, his wife Sarah and their daughters – and their links to the RMCM,²⁶ while papers relating to the Hallé Orchestra and Concerts Society, which belonged to Gustav Behrens' son, Leonard, are held by the University of Manchester.²⁷ There are other libraries such as the John Rylands Research Institute and Library, Chetham's Library and Manchester Metropolitan Library which also have significant holdings of material relating to local organisations as well as, in the case of the two former libraries in particular, manuscript and historic printed music collections (as described in *Grove Music Online*).

A personal conclusion

My intention in proposing the original paper was to offer a perspective from the 'other side of the desk' to a conference of people concerned with providing music library and archives services. It provided an opportunity to talk about a different aspect of my research and to draw attention to the excellent resources available in Manchester in support of research. The city has a proud musical and civic history; the physical proximity of the collections and the overlap between them provides, I think, an interesting narrative.

I came to this research following many years working as one of the providers. I was reasonably familiar with the RMCM records from my time as College Librarian at the RNCM. I had occasionally answered queries from researchers and used the archives myself in order to edit the catalogue of the RNCM's collection of music instruments and write articles about the library and its special collection.²⁸ As I read through the minutes, in particular, I had become curious about the people who were so significant to the history of the RMCM and I knew that this aspect had not been explored before. I was aware of the archives of the musical societies and organisations held by Manchester Libraries not only because of the use made of them by other researchers but also because we had housed some at the RNCM while the Central Library building was being renovated ten years ago. Those of the Hallé Concerts Society were known to me, at least in general, owing to our

²⁶ Oldham Archives. M90/4/5. Charles Edward Lees; M90/5/7/4. Dame Sarah Lees;

²⁷ University of Manchester Library. BEH/10. Leonard Behrens papers/Hallé Orchestra.

²⁸ Anna Wright and William Waterhouse, eds., *Collection of historic musical instruments. Catalogue of the collection; compiled by William Waterhouse* (Manchester: Royal Northern College of Music, 2010); Anna Wright, "The Royal Northern College of Music Library," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 109 (2013); ———, "The Royal Northern College of Music Special Collections," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* 109 (2013)

long-standing links with the archivist. I knew that it should be possible to use the collections to build a picture of who was key to musical life in Manchester at the end of the 19th century and this has proved to be the case.

Acknowledgements

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Abstract

Manchester has a long and rich musical heritage which is well-represented and documented in the city's libraries and archives. For my PhD research the documentary archives held by these organisations has been examined to explore the complex network of people involved in the various musical institutions in the city from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The key collections are those of the Gentlemen's Concerts, Sir Charles Hallé's papers and letters, the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM), and the Hallé Orchestra and Concerts Society. This article seeks to provide an overview of those particular collections, details of the information gleaned from them and how this has contributed to the research.

Anna Wright was formerly College Librarian at the Royal Northern College of Music. Since 2019 she has been studying at the RNCM, part-time, for a PhD in musicology, in which she is researching an aspect of the early history of the Royal Manchester College of Music, one of its predecessor institutions. Anna has served IAML (UK & Irl) in several roles, including as President from 2016 to 2019. She was awarded Honorary Fellowship of the Branch in April 2023.