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Sir Arthur Sullivan the Romantic. *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone* – Sad Milestones or Compositional Maturity?

Nathan Philip Westell Smith

Abstract

Sir Arthur Sullivan's romantic operas, *Ivanhoe* (1891), *Haddon Hall* (1892), and *The Beauty Stone* (1898), have been condemned since their disappearance from the repertoire. Analysis has been almost non-existent and audience reception has been equated with compositional decline.

Over the past thirty-five years, there has been a re-discovery of the least-known aspects of Sullivan's career beyond his work with W.S. Gilbert. Despite this, his final decade, particularly his romantic works, have remained relatively untouched by musicologists. Therefore, understanding contemporary reception of these works was paramount, delineating a context in which these works were performed, but also providing a firmer understanding of how ideological camps within musical criticism and the tastes of English audiences have affected perception of Sullivan's later oeuvre.

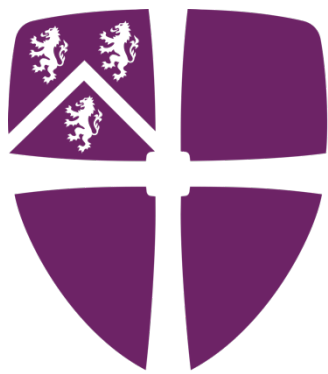
It is against the precedents of Sullivan's most successful romantic work, *The Golden Legend* (1886), that *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone* have been evaluated, discerning an upward trajectory in compositional style, despite numerous compositional constraints. This involved investigation into the circumstances which affected these late romantic works and how these might have negatively impacted them, accounting for their occasional drawbacks.

Finally, aided by the reconstruction of full score material by Robin Gordon-Powell and Roger Harris, together with the sponsorship of the Sir Arthur Sullivan Society, each work has been professionally recorded. With the publication of such vital sources, the concept of compositional decline is no longer sustainable. Delving into the melodic, structural, thematic, orchestral, and tonal aspects of these later works, a compositional maturity, particularly in relation to *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone*, is discernible, providing a deeper understanding of Sullivan's later romantic style.

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Haddon Hall, and *The Beauty Stone* – Sad
Milestones or Compositional Maturity?**

Nathan Philip Westell Smith

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Music



**Durham
University**

**Department of Music
Durham University
October 2022**

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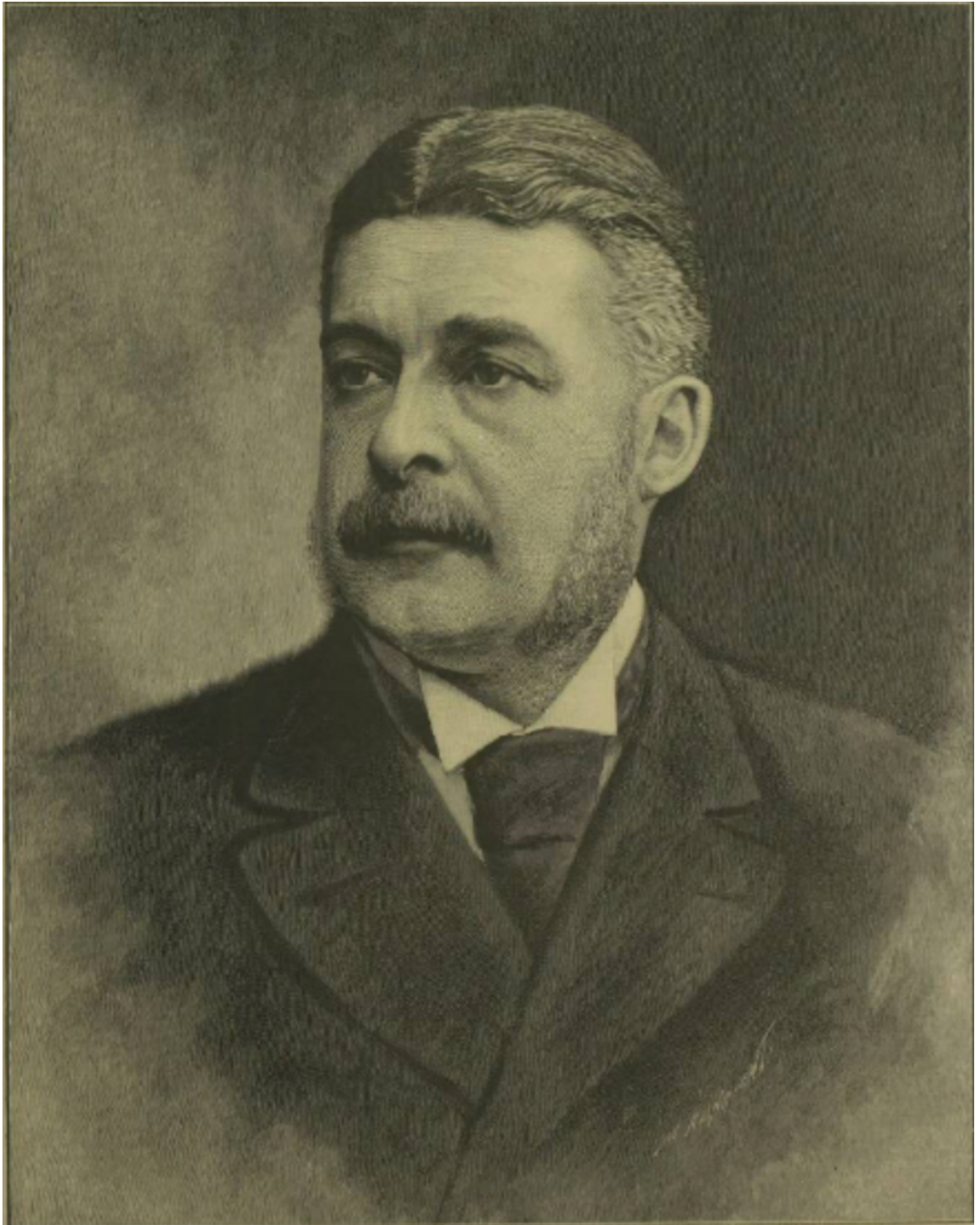


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Abbreviations

EMR	English Musical Renaissance
G&S	Gilbert and Sullivan
RAM	Royal Academy of Music
RCM	Royal College of Music
REOH	Royal English Opera House
RIOH	Royal Italian Opera House

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Dr. Anne Stanyon. You are truly an inspiration!

Introduction

Of *Ivanhoe* (1891):

A jumble of heterogenous materials.¹
Ivanhoe came up to nobody's expectations.²
Ivanhoe is almost entirely retrograde.³
Sullivan failed adequately to rise to the occasion, and by proving himself unable to take full advantage of the opportunity offered set back the cause of English opera for another half-century.⁴
Ivanhoe ... has, understandably, never been professionally staged since.⁵

Of *Haddon Hall* (1892):

Many critics were less than enthusiastic.⁶
In the long term a relative failure.⁷
Despite some weaknesses of melody in *Haddon Hall* ... it must be claimed as a better work than *Ivanhoe*.⁸

Of *The Beauty Stone* (1898):

A sad milestone.⁹
An ineffective piece.¹⁰
This work turns out as medieval mishmash ... Sullivan was in no mood for working out what Pinero had at least in mind.¹¹

These assertions by Sir Arthur Sullivan's recent biographers and analysts epitomise the type of criticism which has largely dismissed the romantic aspect of the composer's final decade, often habitually and uncritically referencing each other. Since these works did not enthrall public imagination in the same way as *The Mikado*, *The Gondoliers*, and other Gilbert and Sullivan works, it has been assumed that they constituted sad milestones, marking decline

¹ John Fuller-Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth century*, (London, Richards, 1902), 174.

² Gervase Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan* (London: Macmillan, 1959), 24.

³ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 70.

⁴ Percy M. Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan* (London: Dent, 1971), 229.

⁵ Arthur Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan: A Victorian Musician*, (Aldershot, England: Scholar Press; Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate Pub. Co., 1992), 407.

⁶ Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 195.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*, 347.

⁹ Ibid., 385.

¹⁰ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 26.

¹¹ Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 250.

and regression; the magic had dissipated, the sparkle was gone. Limited repertory lifetime and aesthetic value judgements have amalgamated to produce an adverse view of Sullivan's romantic operas. Consequently, these scores have been left unexplored, deemed unworthy of serious consideration.

Exploration of the intricacies of Sullivan's final decade, focussed on melodic invention, structural frameworks, harmony, thematic material, and orchestration, together with a comprehensive investigation of contemporary sources and in-depth study into contemporary musical criticism, reveals a substantially different picture. The historical record and Sullivan's later compositional trajectory have been subject to over a century of amnesia, sustained by the credulity of musicologists whose flawed use of evidence may, on occasion, be considered risible.

Literature Review

The fundamental problem in evaluating Sullivan's romantic operas is that there has been relatively little exploration of his later oeuvre and that which exists is predominantly derogative. A hindrance in understanding the trajectory of Sullivan's later style, it has been necessary to explore such sources to comprehend the disregard with which Sullivan's final decade has been held by musicologists following the composer's death and throughout the majority of the twentieth century.¹²

¹² Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*.
Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*.
Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*.

The Gilbert and Sullivan phenomenon has been the principal focus of Sullivan's biographers.¹³ Though regarded as 'The Great Man' of English Music during his lifetime, enjoying enormous success beyond his collaborations with Gilbert, most twentieth century biographers have considered his achievements outside the Savoy Operas as inconsequential.¹⁴ The standard source of citation, Arthur Jacobs' 1984 biography, is no exception. Jacobs, a music critic, was a man of letters rather than musical analysis. His arguments are often derivative of those who came before and, more problematic, when primary sources are referenced, quotes and dates are often erroneous or misinterpreted to suit his EMR-focussed agenda; Jacobs' biography should be approached with caution.¹⁵ Percy Young's 1973 biography, though lacking access to Sullivan's diaries, encompasses Sullivan's career to a greater extent, and can be considered a more reliable source of reference.¹⁶ In spite of this, Young admonished *Ivanhoe* for setting 'back the cause of English opera for ... half a century' and considered Sullivan insufficiently capable of rising to the task because he knew 'nothing of the actuality of fighting for freedom and nationhood' - a rather bizarre analysis.¹⁷ In 2002, Michael Ainger, a former language teacher, published *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*.¹⁸ Alike his predecessors, Ainger covers similar ground, albeit providing some interesting insight into the production of *Ivanhoe*, the possibility that Sullivan may, or may not, have been fined for the late appearance of his score.¹⁹ In each biography, *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone* barely warrant investigation.

¹³ Herbert Sullivan; Newman Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: his life, letters & diaries* (London: Cassell, 1950). Leslie Baily, *The Gilbert and Sullivan Book*, (London, Cassell, 1952).

Hesketh Pearson, *Gilbert and Sullivan: a biography*, (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1975).

¹⁴ Anne Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2017), 31.

¹⁵ Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*.

Imbued with the philosophy of an English Musical Renaissance - explained further in *Reception History*.

¹⁶ Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 229.

Ibid., 239.

¹⁸ Michael Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Dual Biography*, (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 322.

Less focussed on the Gilbert and Sullivan partnership, the two biographies published during Sullivan's lifetime – *Sir Arthur Sullivan, Life-story, Letters and Reminiscences* by Arthur Lawrence (1899) and *Masters of English Music* by Charles Willeby (1896) – offer an indication into the contemporary assessment of Sullivan's romantic operas. Both consider *Ivanhoe* a masterpiece and *Haddon Hall* irrelevant. Based on conversations with Sullivan, it can be assumed he influenced their analyses, approving their contents before publication.²⁰ Intriguingly, Lawrence's critical evaluation of *The Beauty Stone*, when compared to the assessments of Young and Jacobs, is enlightening:

I think that some of the music in this work is among the best that Sir Arthur has written ... The music of "The Beauty Stone" is not, indeed, of the kind which would be popular amongst the makers of street organs, but it will prove a fund of delight to the musician. It may be too much to hope that one day "The Beauty Stone" may be revived, with about half the libretto ruthlessly cut away.²¹

Reiterated by Sullivan's cousin, Benjamin Findon (1904), and his biographers, Cunningham Bridgeman and François Cellier, (1914), *The Beauty Stone* was considered a 'masterpiece' by those who had attended performances:

And here is to be noticed again the obvious desire of the composer to attain a higher degree of lyrical excellence, and orchestral workmanship more thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of what is known in France as *opéra comique*. Indeed, one is conscious of an upward tendency in the style from the days of "Iolanthe," and this found its highest expression in "The Beauty Stone."²² (Findon)
Here, once more, Sullivan displayed the remarkable versatility of his genius.... Sullivan succeeded in clothing [Carr's lyrics] in some of his boldest and most masterly music. Taken altogether, "The Beauty Stone" was a work of genuine art ... It is truly lamentable to reflect how ... so much arduous labour proved in vain. More especially is it to be regretted that one of Sir Arthur Sullivan's most

²⁰ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 20.

²¹ Arthur Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan: life story, letters and reminiscences* (Chicago: H.S. Stone and Company; New York: H.S. Stone and Company, 1899), 200-201.

²² Benjamin Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan, his life and music* (London J. Nisbet, 1904), 119.

charming scores should lie buried ... but never to be forgotten by the ... few whose privilege it was to listen to its beautiful numbers.²³ (Bridgeman)

Despite the appraisal of *The Beauty Stone* in the immediate wake of Sullivan's death, the prevailing critical opinion throughout the twentieth century was of charted regression and decline.

Encouraged by late twentieth century musicologists, such as Nicholas Temperley, Nigel Burton, and David Russell-Hulme, twenty-first century academics, including Derek Scott, Benedict Taylor, Martyn Strachan, and Anne Stanyon, have stimulated what can be termed *The Renaissance of Sir Arthur Sullivan*, re-evaluating the parameters of the composer's historical position, often dealing with the obscure aspects of his output and career.²⁴ Paul Geoffrey Anderson's thesis, *A Source of Innocent Merriment in an Object all Sublime: A Critical Appraisal of the Choral Works of Sir Arthur Sullivan*, has been widely praised as a significant contribution to Sullivan-focussed literature.²⁵ Whilst Anderson's thesis astutely analyses Sullivan's contribution to English choral music, providing a greater understanding of the composers stylistic development and technical evolution aside from his Savoy operas, Anderson misinterprets the historical context in which works such as *The Light of The World* were composed, as well as the decline in Sullivan's reputation as a choral composer, on

²³ François Cellier; Cunningham Bridgeman, *Gilbert Sullivan and D'Oyly Carte*, (Boston Little, Brown and co., 1914), 345-347.

²⁴ Nicholas Temperley, 'Ivanhoe.' *The Musical Times*, vol. 114, no. 1567, (1973): 896.

Nigel Burton, 'Sullivan Reassessed: See How the Fates.' *The Musical Times*, vol. 141, no. 1873, (2000): 15-22.

David Russell Hulme, 'The operettas of Sir Arthur Sullivan: a study of available autograph scores,' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aberystwyth, 1986).

Derek B. Scott, 'English National Identity and the Comic Operas of Gilbert and Sullivan', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* by Peter Horton (Routledge, 2010), 137-152.

Benedict Taylor, *Arthur Sullivan: A Musical Reappraisal* (Taylor and Francis, 2017).

Martyn Paul Lambert Strachan, *Style in the Music of Arthur Sullivan*, (unpublished PhD thesis, The Open University, 2018).

Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*.

²⁵ Paul Geoffrey Anderson, 'A Source of Innocent Merriment in an Object all Sublime': *A Critical Appraisal of the Choral Works of Sir Arthur Sullivan*, (unpublished MA Thesis, University of Durham, 2016).

Strachan, *Style in the Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 28.

occasion fabricating sources and historical events.²⁶ In the broader context of his objective, Anderson's chosen title undermines the purpose of his study:

Today Sullivan is little known as a composer of choral music. In part this is of course due to the enduring ubiquity of his Savoy operas and the composer's associations with his librettist, W. S. Gilbert.²⁷

A quote from Gilbert's *Mikado* libretto, Anderson's title does nothing to counter the imbalance, but, instead, endorses the collaborators lasting connection. In this regard, although Anderson's musical analysis frequently offers fresh and helpful insight, the broader historical content, whilst earnestly intended as a contribution to the growing corpus of work re-evaluating Sullivan's oeuvre, must be dismissed.

Of his late romantic works, *Ivanhoe*, perhaps owing to its unique position as Sullivan's solitary Grand Opera, has been the primary focus of recent musicological investigation. Nicholas Temperley's letter in response to an article by Dean Winton in 1973 was perhaps the first serious consideration *Ivanhoe* had been afforded since its almost immediate disappearance from the English repertory.²⁸ Temperley believed Winton's critical opinion a misconception of *Ivanhoe*'s historical place as well as contemporary English musical taste. Condemning the article as 'nonsense,' Temperley suggested that *Ivanhoe* must be judged against the Victorian aesthetic to obtain an understanding of its historical position, rather than comparing it to contemporary trends on the European continent.²⁹ In 2007, Benedict Taylor further augmented this argument, exploring *Ivanhoe* 'from the perspective of its relationship

²⁶ Nathan Smith, *A Critical Appraisal of Sir Arthur Sullivan's Musical Reputation (1862-2020): How far has Sullivan's reputation been shaped by a combination of pejorative criticism, a decline in the choral festival tradition, misinformation, and a misplaced adulation over the last 158 years?* (Unpublished Undergraduate Dissertation, Durham University, 2020), 30-31.

²⁷ Anderson, 'A Source of Innocent Merriment in an Object all Sublime,' 212.

²⁸ Temperley, 'Ivanhoe'.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 896.

with time, understood from multiple levels – The opera’s musical-dramaturgical, historical, and music-historical temporalities.³⁰ Taylor’s analysis elucidates the progression *Ivanhoe* followed, when compared to the English Lyrical tradition which preceded it, illuminating how Sullivan’s chosen structural framework, an amalgamation of the contemporary through-composed style and its English operatic ancestors, was considered uncontroversial by the contemporary critical consensus. A perceptive assessment of *Ivanhoe*’s historical place, the work can now be judged and analysed in relation to Sullivan’s later compositional trajectory, together with the composer’s subsequent romantic operas, *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*.

During the twentieth-century, two crucial analytical studies of Sullivan’s music were published: *Sullivan’s Comic Operas* by Thomas Dunhill and *The Music of Arthur Sullivan* by Gervase Hughes.³¹ Both analyses, though agenda-driven, were ground-breaking upon initial publication (in 1928 and 1960), when serious study of Sullivan’s oeuvre was considered beneath contempt.³² Unsurprisingly, each analysis predominantly focuses on the Gilbert and Sullivan partnership, dismissive of other aspects of Sullivan’s oeuvre:

One thing is clear. We shall not determine the true importance of Sullivan until we make up our minds to disregard his serious work altogether.³³

Whilst Dunhill was an ardent Sullivan supporter, Hughes’s disinterest and comparative neglect of the composer’s later period can be attributed to a philosophy imbued years earlier

³⁰ Taylor, *Arthur Sullivan*, 168.

³¹ Thomas Dunhill, *Sullivan’s Comic Operas: a critical appreciation*, (London: E. Arnold and Co, 1928). Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*.

³² Dunhill’s Agenda: ‘adopt a defensive attitude, for his [Sullivan] music has suffered in an extraordinary degree from the vigorous attacks which have been made upon it in professional circles.’ Dunhill, *Sullivan’s comic operas*, 13.

Hughes’ Agenda: EMR focussed.

³³ Dunhill, *Sullivan’s Comic Operas*, 235.

by his teacher, Ernest Walker, Director of Music at Balliol College, Oxford.³⁴ Walker re-published his analysis of *A History of Music in England* several times in the first half of the twentieth century, significant for its condescension towards Sullivan, considering the composer ‘a mere popularity-hunting trifler.’³⁵ It would, however, be remiss to assert Hughes’ wider analysis as entirely derivative of Walker’s philosophy. As the first musicologist to explore Sullivan’s broader oeuvre in depth, he can be considered a revolutionary, and, although frequently prejudiced, Hughes’ analysis is occasionally positive, particularly regarding works such as *The Light of The World*.

More recently, Martyn Strachan’s PhD thesis, *Style in the Music of Arthur Sullivan*, provided a firmer, more encapsulating, framework of Sullivan’s compositional trajectory.³⁶ Rather than outlining ideas of aesthetic worth or value judgements, Strachan analyses Sullivan’s compositional material in relation to contemporary English musical precedents, providing a coherent understanding of the evolution of Sullivan’s style. Whilst a considerable advance upon the work of Hughes and Dunhill, in terms of Sullivan’s later style, Strachan’s process is flawed. Sullivan’s compositions of the 1890s are not given the sort of comprehensive analysis of his pre-1891 oeuvre, perhaps owing to the restrictive word limit of a PhD thesis or the author’s personal interest.³⁷ Nevertheless, Strachan’s observation, that Sullivan coloured his later works with the techniques found in *The Golden Legend*, offered a transitional prelude to the objective of this study.

³⁴ David Eden, *Sir Arthur Sullivan Magazine*, May 1992.

³⁵ Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 295.

³⁶ Strachan, *Style in the Music of Arthur Sullivan*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 261-262.

Twenty-first Century Recordings

Over the past twelve years, the Sir Arthur Sullivan Society has financed several professional recordings of Sullivan's oeuvre, including *Ivanhoe*, *The Beauty Stone*, *The Light of the World*, *Haddon Hall*, *L'Île Enchantée*, among others. It is important to note that during the twentieth century, Sullivan's biographers and analysts had limited resources from which to judge these works. Professional performances had not been mounted for half a century and whilst semi-professional and amateur recordings did exist (including a broadcast of the Beaufort Opera Company's production of *Ivanhoe* in 1973, Cheam Operatic Society's recording of *Haddon Hall* in 1982 and the Prince Consort's recording of *The Beauty Stone* in 1983), they were extremely poor, which did the reputation of each work more harm than good, and were released several years after Gervase Hughes and Percy Young published their influential findings. Despite having access to these recordings, unable to conduct any musical analysis, Jacobs' biography merely echoed the views of Hughes and Young. Nevertheless, recent recordings have given these works renewed life and the modern critical consensus has been almost entirely in favour of *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*.

Table 1 – Critical Reception of *Ivanhoe*. Record Label: Chandos. 2011.

Critic:	Paper:	View:
Andrew Lamb	<i>Gramophone</i>	Positive
David Laviska	<i>MusicalCriticism.com</i>	Neutral
Graham Rodgers	<i>BBC Music Magazine</i>	Positive
Hugh Canning	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	Positive
John T. Hughes	<i>International Record Review</i>	Positive
Joshua Kosman	<i>San Francisco Chronicle</i>	Positive
Marcel Louis	<i>Pizzicato Magazine</i>	Positive
Michael Scott Rohan	<i>BBC Music Magazine</i>	Positive
Nicholas Kenyon	<i>The Observer</i>	Positive
Raymond J. Walker	<i>Music-Web-International</i>	Positive
Richard Lawrence	<i>Classic FM Magazine</i>	Positive
Rodney Milnes	<i>Opera Magazine</i>	Positive
Tim Ashley	<i>The Guardian</i>	Positive
Timothy Ball	<i>ClassicalSource.com</i>	Positive
Xavier de Gaulle	<i>Classica Magazine</i>	Positive

Table 2 – Critical Reception of *Haddon Hall*. Record Label: Dutton Epoch. 2020.

Critic:	Paper:	View:
Richard Bratby	<i>Gramophone</i>	Positive
Raymond J. Walker	<i>Music-Web-International</i>	Positive
Claire Seymour	<i>Opera Today</i>	Positive
Hugh Canning	<i>The Sunday Times</i>	Positive
John Groves	<i>Operetta Research Centre</i>	Positive
Clive Paget	<i>Opera News</i>	Positive

Table 3 – Critical Reception of *The Beauty Stone*. Record Label: Chandos. 2013.

Critic:	Paper:	View:
Adrian Edwards	<i>Gramophone</i>	Positive
Andrew Clark	<i>Financial Times</i>	Neutral
Andrew Clements	<i>The Guardian</i>	Neutral
Barry Brenesal	<i>Fanfare</i>	Positive
Graham Rodgers	<i>International Record Review</i>	Positive
James McCarthy	<i>Limelight Magazine</i>	Positive
Joanne Sydney Lessner	<i>Opera News Magazine</i>	Positive
Peter Spaul	<i>Liverpool Post</i>	Positive
Raymond J. Walker	<i>Music-Web-International</i>	Positive
Ronald E Grames	<i>Fanfare</i>	Positive
Werner Pfister	<i>Fono Forum Magazine</i>	Positive

Graham Rodgers, reviewing *Ivanhoe* for the *BBC Music Magazine*, captured the level of astonishment amongst critics:

From the lively pomp of the jousting scene, with its brilliant double chorus, to moments of exquisite tenderness and passion, to thrilling battles and powerful drama, this recording makes a compelling case for a monumental work that deserves a modern audience.³⁸

³⁸ Graham Rodgers, *BBC Music Magazine*, 2010.

Chandos' recording of *Ivanhoe* was so successful that it was nominated for the *Grammy Award for Best Opera Recording* in 2011. Essentially, as Michael Scott Rohan noted: 'We can at last hear what Sullivan conceived – and it's impressive.'³⁹

Haddon Hall, recorded by Dutton Epoch in 2020, equally garnered extremely positive reviews. The work was awarded 'Critics Choice' at *Opera News* by Clive Paget who assessed:

Musically this is Sullivan at his expressive best. With sophisticated music dramas, such as *The Yeomen of the Guard* and his grand opera *Ivanhoe*, behind him, the ambitious score contains substantial through-composed sections and musical cross-references to bind it into a cohesive whole ... Utter rapture!

Similarly, Claire Seymour's assessment provided further notion as to the direction Sullivan's compositional idiom took in the 1890s: 'Characters that are ill-defined dramatically often have a strong musical identity and set-piece ensembles may not move the action forward but can form lively vocal 'tableaux'.'⁴⁰

Until recently (2005), Sullivan analysts did not have access to a full score of *The Beauty and the Beast*, discerning a view of the work from Wilfred Bendall's arrangement of the piano-vocal score.⁴¹ The full score contained sections of music which were unknown to Sullivan scholars, cut after the opening night, and gave notion to the orchestral sound world Sullivan originally intended. In an interview with Arthur Lawrence in 1897 for the *Strand Magazine*, Sullivan alluded to this point:

The science of musical notation ... is really a most wonderful thing. There is no single phrase or combination of phrases, not a sound or combination of sounds,

³⁹ Michael Scott Ronan, *BBC Music Magazine*, April 2010.

⁴⁰ Claire Seymour, *Opera Today*, 13th July 2020.

⁴¹ The 1983 Prince Consort recording used band parts hired from the BBC (which were essential decaying); however, a full score was not provided. Instead, conductor David Lyle used a marked-up piano-vocal score.

that you cannot express on paper, and which cannot be reproduced from that piece of paper a hundred years hence.⁴²

Owing to the whereabouts of the full score, held in private collections for most of the twentieth century, scholars could hardly discern Sullivan's intentions from the vocal score alone. Also recorded by Chandos, the modern reception of *The Beauty Stone*, alike *Ivanhoe*, illuminated a certain level of surprise from critics. Raymond J. Walker at the *Music-Web-International* provided an extremely perceptive view of the work:

With its elegant mood flow, the score is a notch higher than Sullivan's grand opera *Ivanhoe*. For example, the extended concerted section that includes the Beauty Contest and Finale to Act I is superbly written. It shows that Sullivan was not growing stale and that fresh musical ideas continued to flow two years from his premature death.⁴³

Whilst these recordings have made a persuasive case for Sullivan's music, revealing the composer's original intentions, the positive arguments raised by modern critical reception, together with the views of those who were able to attend performances as noted previously, have emphasised a necessity to re-analyse and re-evaluate these works against the contexts provided by Sullivan's most recent biographers and analysts.

Research Questions and Methodology

Do Sullivan's later romantic operas warrant investigation? The answer can be found in the stylistic disparity of these works when compared to Sullivan's more familiar operas.

Curiously, their fundamental building blocks conform to the technical precedents of *The Golden Legend*. There are parallels between these operas and those written with WS Gilbert, for which Sullivan is principally famous; however, they represent a stylistic divergence in his

⁴² Arthur Lawrence, *The Strand Magazine*, 654.

⁴³ Raymond J. Walker, *Music-Web-International*, December 2013.

theatrical idiom post-1886 (excluding *The Gondoliers*, *Utopia Limited* and *The Grand Duke*).

As such, the following represent the research questions which have influenced each chapter:

Reception History

- How did contemporary critics perceive Sullivan's scores?
 - o Was there a difference between London and Provincial critics?
- Given the derogative nature of twentieth century investigation, how far was this affected by ideological camps in music?
- What was Sullivan's relationship with schools of musical aesthetic?
- How did the contemporary perception of Sullivan change over the course of the 1890s?
- How did contemporary audiences react to Sullivan's scores?
 - o What did audiences expect?
 - o Was there an audience for English grand opera in 1891?
 - o Did an audience exist for *The Beauty Stone* in 1898?
 - o Was there a difference between London and Provincial audiences?

Compositional Constraints: 'Health is the secret of happiness'

- How far did Sullivan's physical and mental health affect the gestation periods of each work?
 - o To what extent was Sullivan's process further protracted by circumstances beyond his control?
 - o Can weaknesses be found in parallel to any of the difficulties Sullivan faced?

Analysis: Excavating the Forgotten and Neglected

- As the contemporary critical reception drew comparisons between *The Golden Legend*, *Ivanhoe*, and *The Beauty Stone*, what is the relationship between Sullivan's choral and operatic works?
- How did Sullivan's style conform to contemporary compositional trends?
- What are the cornerstones of Sullivan's later style?
- How are the building blocks of *The Golden Legend* transferred to the operatic stage and, given a return to the Savoy with *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*, were these techniques still utilised?

Each have moulded the outcome of this study, attempting to answer the central question: are *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone* sad milestones or representative of compositional maturity?

As previously outlined, although there is a growing corpus of secondary literature focussed on the life and works of Sullivan, there is relatively little written about his final decade, particularly his romantic operas, *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*. Therefore, in asking the central question – do these operas represent compositional decline or maturity? – it was essential to identify other possible means of investigation. In this regard, contemporary documentary sources proved essential:

Newspaper and Periodical archives: ProQuest, The British Newspaper Archive, and Gale.

Sullivan's Diaries: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Contemporary Correspondence: Gilbert and Sullivan Collection, Morgan Library, New York.

Such sources made it possible to ascertain a view of Sullivan's scores which countered the general critical consensus. From newspaper and periodical accounts, it was possible to ascertain a contemporary view of Sullivan's music. Many noted a maturity in his later romantic style. *The Golden Legend* was the benchmark, a work which the contemporary critical consensus thought coloured his later romantic works.

Several other questions arose in relation to Sullivan's health and how this contributed to weaknesses within each work. As detailed by Stanyon, diary entries and correspondence are 'relatively untainted by any notions of bias or ulterior motive' as Sullivan 'simply related what was happening from his perspective.'⁴⁴ Both were intended as private (during the twentieth century diary locks were forced). Sullivan's diaries chart elements of his daily life together with detailed notes on the compositional periods of each work. This information was invaluable in forming comparison between declining health and the weaker elements of *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*.

Outlined previously in *Twenty-first Century Recordings*, until recently, these scores have not been heard as Sullivan intended. Such recordings would not have been possible without the autograph material produced and reconstructed by Robin Gordon-Powell and Roger Harris:

⁴⁴ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 22.

Amber Ring Full Scores (Scholarly Editions): *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone*, edited by Robin Gordon-Powell.⁴⁵

R. Clyde, Chorleyhood, Herts: *Haddon Hall* Full Score, edited by Roger Harris.⁴⁶
(Replicating Sullivan's autograph manuscripts, these reproductions have allowed for an in-depth analysis into the orchestral and thematic sound-world Sullivan intended, containing various pieces which had been lost for over a century.)

The availability of CDs and Full Score material has allowed for a deeper analytical study into these operas, unearthing their orchestral and thematic building blocks, revealing that which cannot be discerned from piano-vocal scores, resulting in an alternate understanding of Sullivan's final decade. Maturity, not decline.

⁴⁵ Edited by Robin Gordon-Powell, *Ivanhoe Full Score*, (Amber Ring, 2008).

Edited by Robin Gordon-Powell, *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, (Amber Ring, 2010).

⁴⁶ Edited by Roger Harris, *Haddon Hall Full Score*, (R. Clyde, Chorleyhood, Herts, 2006)

Reception History

1.1 Cultural Hierarchy: Sullivan, His Contemporaries, and The Critics

Sir Arthur Sullivan's career presents a dichotomy; his ability seemingly wasted on frivolity at the Savoy Theatre, in contrast to the seriousness of his concert works. From the moment *The Tempest* premiered on April 5th, 1862, Arthur Sullivan became the golden boy of English music. At the Leeds Triennial Music Festival of 1886, to the amazement of his contemporaries, including C.V. Stanford, he reaffirmed his place with *The Golden Legend*:

The Golden Legend is produced and raises Sullivan's reputation at a stroke to the point which it might reasonably have been expected to have reached, if the intervening years had been spent upon the most earnest and serious development of the promise of his earlier work. It restores him to his legitimate position as one of the leaders of the English school.⁴⁷

Sullivan was to disappoint. He was already under contract to compose a new work for the Savoy Theatre: *Ruddigore* (1887).

Unsurprisingly, by the time of his death, those subscribing to the notion of an English Musical Renaissance regarded him and his oeuvre, as an irrelevance: a view which was sustained through most of the twentieth century. Augmented by his most recent biographers and analysts, whose judgements have been moulded by limited critical evaluation of primary source material, critiques by George Bernard Shaw and those associated with an EMR have been prioritised, often trusted as absolute fact. Evaluating a greater breadth of contemporary sources, a substantially different picture can be ascertained which illustrates the tastes and reception of both London and Provincial audiences.

⁴⁷ Charles Villiers Stanford, *Studies and Memories*, (London, A. Constable and Co. Ltd., 1908), 162-169.

Sullivan's success and popularity made him the subject of critical disapproval and can be traced to the London premiere of *The Tempest*. The work was undoubtedly momentous, he would later describe it as 'the great day' of his life; yet there were detractors who did not believe it represented any form of aesthetic worth, merely replicating Mendelssohn, failing to reach the standard of similar works by Purcell and Arne.⁴⁸ William Alexander Barrett, writing for the *Oxford Times*, further illuminated this vein of criticism in his review of *The Masque at Kenilworth* (1864): 'A musical friend of mine ventured to predict ... that his [Sullivan] fame would not be solid, more probably ephemeral.'⁴⁹ There existed a number of critics, such as George Hogarth at the *Daily News*, who considered Sullivan's output nothing more than transient, whether *The Contrabandista* (1867) at St George's Hall, London, or at the Birmingham Festival with *The Light of The World* (1873):⁵⁰

Mr. Sullivan is just now in danger of being spoiled by the injudicious praise of admirers, who speak of him as a modern Mozart. It would be truer friendship to point out to Mr. Sullivan that up to the present moment, with the exception of some instrumental works, he has produced nothing which can warrant the adulation he receives. With every opportunity in his favour, he has hitherto failed to produce a vocal melody which can take rank with those household and popular favourites which have flowed from the pens of Wallace, Balfe, Benedict, and other contemporary writers.⁵¹

Interestingly, this vein of criticism was to reflect the later beliefs of the English Musical Renaissance.

⁴⁸ *North British Daily Mail*, 23rd November 1900, 5.

George Hogarth, *Daily News*, 7th April 1862, 2.

⁴⁹ William Alexander Barrett, *Oxford Times*, 17th September 1864, 5.

⁵⁰ Henry J. Lincoln, *Daily News*.

Charles L. Gruneisen, *The Athenaeum*.

⁵¹ *Illustrated Sporting News and Theatrical and Musical Review*, 28th December 1867, 10.

By the concluding decade of the nineteenth century, there was a significant shift in musical journalism. At the turn of the decade, several critics began to take ownership of their reviews and criticisms (See Table 1). Their respective ideologies spread across various national publications, which, over the course of the 1890s, evolved into ideologically opposed camps.

Figure 2 – Music Critics. Row 1, L-R: Arthur Bingham Walkley, Max Beerbohm, Arthur Johnstone, Benjamin Findon. Row 2, L-R: Frank Desprez, Herbert Thompson, Henry Hersee, Walter Macfarren.⁵²



Of the critics who attended performances of *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*, those who can be identified have been added to Table 1 and, where possible, an affiliation to a movement in music has been noted: English Musical Renaissance (EMR), New Critic, and

⁵² Photographs by permission of the National Portrait Gallery.

Pro-Sullivan.⁵³ Of the forty London and provincial critics identified, at least fourteen critiqued all three works:

Table 4 – English Musical Critics, 1891-1898

English Musical Critics, 1891-1898				
Critic:	Affiliation:	Newspaper:		
		Ivanhoe 1891	Haddon Hall 1892	The Beauty Stone 1898
A. B. B.				<i>Daily Mail</i>
Alexander Geoghegan			<i>The Scotsman</i>	
Alfred Kalisch*	EMR	<i>Manchester Courier</i>		<i>Manchester Courier</i>
Alfred Watson	Pro-Sullivan		<i>The Standard</i>	
Arthur Bingham Walkley	New Critic	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	<i>The Speaker</i>	
Arthur Hervey			<i>Morning Post</i>	
Arthur Johnstone	EMR			<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
B. L.				<i>Racing Illustrated</i>
Benjamin W. Findon	Pro-Sullivan		<i>Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News</i>	
Charles Carson			<i>The Stage</i>	
Charles F. Lloyd*		<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i>		
Charles Freemantle		<i>Manchester Guardian</i>		
Charles Palmer			<i>The People</i>	
Mr. Davidson		<i>Glasgow Herald</i>		
Dicky Sam	New Critic	<i>Clarion</i>		
Edmund Hart Turpin			<i>Musical News</i>	
Edward Algernon Baughan	New Critic	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>		<i>Musical Standard</i>
Edward Fordham Spence				<i>The Sketch</i>
Frank Desprez			<i>The Era</i>	
Frederick Toothill*			<i>Leeds Mercury</i>	
George Bernard Shaw	New Critic	<i>The World</i>		
Henry Coward*		<i>Sheffield Independent</i>		
Henry Frederick Frost		<i>Athenaeum</i>		
Henry Hersee		<i>Observer</i>		
Herbert Thompson*	EMR		<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	
Herman Klein			<i>The Sunday Times</i>	
J. J. Brodie		<i>Glasgow Evening Post</i>		
John South Shedlock		<i>Academy</i>		
John Ferguson Nisbet				<i>Academy</i>
John Fuller Maitland	EMR		<i>The Times</i>	
Joseph Bennett	EMR		<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	
Lionel Monckton		<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>		
Marguerite*				<i>Dundee Telegraph</i>
Max Beerbohm	New Critic			<i>The Saturday Review</i>
Percy Betts		<i>Daily News</i>		<i>Truth</i>
Stephen Stratton		<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i>		
Thomas. L. Southgate		<i>Musical Standard</i>	<i>Musical News</i>	
Vernon Blackburn	New Critic			<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>
Walter MacFarren			<i>The Queen</i>	
William Alexander Barrett		<i>Morning Post</i>		
William Barclay Squire		<i>The Saturday Review</i>		<i>Globe</i>

Key:		Deceased/Not Reviewing
		Newspaper Unavailable
	*	Provincial Critic. Tours: Ivanhoe - Carl Rosa - 1895 Haddon Hall - D'Oyly Carte Company - The Beauty Stone - Carl Rosa - 1901-1902

⁵³ This study has taken inspiration from Stanyon's PhD section on 'The Critics.' Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 29-32.

Figure 3 – Row 1, L-R: Herman Klein, Vernon Blackburn, Joseph Bennett, Alfred Watson. Row 2 L-R: George Bernard Shaw, Edmund Turpin, William Squire, John Fuller-Maitland.⁵⁴



Joseph Bennett, correspondent for *The Daily Telegraph*, first heralded an EMR with the premiere of Hubert Parry's Symphony No. 1 at the Birmingham Music Festival in 1882.⁵⁵

Morton Latham, a fellow composer and musicologist, furthered Bennett's notion by defining the parameters of a renaissance in a lecture, *The Musical Renaissance of England* (1888), and his book, *The Renaissance of Music* (1890).⁵⁶ Later, in 1901, John Fuller-Maitland proposed that the seeds were sown in The Great Exhibition of 1851 and that the renaissance was further encouraged in April 1862 with the premiere of Sullivan's incidental music to *The Tempest*: he 'was the first Englishman who contrived to excite enthusiasm in his countrymen.'⁵⁷ Despite this, because of Sullivan's activities at the Savoy, he argued that Sullivan was not directly

⁵⁴ Photographs by permission of the National Portrait Gallery.

⁵⁵ Joseph Bennett, *The Daily Telegraph*, 4th September 1882, 4

⁵⁶ Morton Latham, *The Renaissance of Music*, (London, D. Stott, 1890).

⁵⁷ John Fuller-Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century*, (London, Richards, 1902), 170.

engaged within the Renaissance sphere of influence. Fuller-Maitland believed the leaders of this revolutionary movement – Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, Charles Hubert Hastings Parry, Arthur Goring Thomas, Frederic Hymen Cowen, and Charles Villiers Stanford – were beginning to break free from the fetters of European music-aesthetic influence; they were all ‘men whose general culture and education ... were far wider than those of the preceding generation of musicians.’⁵⁸

Given the subjective definition of aesthetic value, many, including Fuller-Maitland, Nicholas Temperely, Jürgen Schaarwächter, Meirion Hughes, and Robert Stradling, have attempted to define the parameters of an EMR.⁵⁹ It is not the purpose of this study to delineate the boundaries of an EMR, rather the use of such a term refers to contemporary critics who explicitly sought to champion their cause under that flag. If nothing else, it was a clique centred at the Royal College of Music during the final decades of the nineteenth century, which extended its influence to the Royal Academy of Music (RAM) under the directorship of Alexander Mackenzie.⁶⁰ Thomas Dunhill, a former student and lecturer at the RCM detailed how it was considered, by those who believed in the notion of an EMR, ‘the Mecca of conscious British musical culture’ throughout the Parry and Stanford regime (1895-1918).⁶¹ As the final decade of the nineteenth century commenced, critics who championed the oeuvre of these ‘academic’ composers – Fuller-Maitland (*The Times*), Herbert Thompson (*Yorkshire Post*), Mr. Davidson (*Glasgow Herald*), Alfred Kalisch (*Manchester Courier* and

⁵⁸ Ibid., 186.

‘The presence among us of composers like Mackenzie, Parry, and Stanford, gives promise that musical England will hold her place among the nations in the century which we are rapidly approaching.’ Latham, *The Renaissance of Music*, 175.

⁵⁹ Jürgen Schaarwächter, ‘Chasing a Myth and a Legend: ‘The British Musical Renaissance’ in a ‘Land without Music’,’ *The Musical Times*, vol. 149, No. 1904 (Autumn, 2008), 53-60.

Meirion Hughes; Robert A. Stradling, *The English Musical Renaissance, 1840-1940: constructing a national music*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

⁶⁰ According to George Grove, the RCM’s first principal, the institution was set up to ‘enable us [England] to rival the Germans.’ George Grove: draft of a speech for the Duke of Albany for the first fundraising event for the planned College, 12th December 1881, at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester.

⁶¹ Dunhill, *Sullivan’s Comic Operas*, 25.

The Star) and Arthur Johnstone (*Manchester Guardian*) –occupied desks on national papers, promulgating Bennett’s concept with zeal, and gravitated to an institution (the RCM) where they believed the compositions produced contained qualities of permanence.⁶²

On the opposing side of this musical debate were those who subscribed to ‘New Criticism’ – a movement which ‘desired to read informed, authoritative and scholarly criticism, not ... [a] narration by critics of their personal likes and dislikes.’⁶³ This group attempted to foster a genesis within musical criticism and strove for professionalism within the field, reforming what they perceived as ‘vitriol and bias.’⁶⁴ An early advocate of this reform, Leslie Stephen believed new criticism would lift ‘England out of the darkness of prejudice and ignorance.’⁶⁵ In 1873, he wrote that a music journalist was an instrument of ‘social morality’ and was required to be ethical when sitting in judgement on someone else’s work.⁶⁶ ‘New Critics’ rejected ‘the work of...opinionated journalist[s] who wrote descriptive concert reviews with invective, cliché, bias and bombast.’⁶⁷ Although Paul Watt’s research demonstrated that ‘the champions of new criticism ... [were] ubiquitous across class, status, and demography,’ the movement had prominent advocates such as George Bernard Shaw (*The World*) and a self-appointed leader, John F. Runciman (*The Saturday Review*).⁶⁸ These ‘leaders’ were often at odds with one another, and, although Shaw’s criticisms were prioritised due to their immediate availability during the twentieth century, they offer little musical assessment or knowledge, reliant upon literary skill, ‘cleverness ... [and] wit.’⁶⁹ As Runciman noted, Bernard Shaw was ‘no music critic at all.’⁷⁰ Shaw and Runciman were notable Wagnerites

⁶² Academic: Fuller-Maitland defined an ‘academic’ as “‘an epithet applied to those who understand their work by those who do not.’” Fuller-Maitland, *English Music in the XIXth Century*, 218.

⁶³ Paul Watt, *The Regulation and Reform of Music Criticism in Nineteenth-century England*, (Routledge, 2018), 2.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶⁵ John Pendleton, *Newspaper Reporting in Olden Time and Today* (London: Elliot Stock, 1890), v-vi.

⁶⁶ Watt, *The Regulation and Reform of Music Criticism in Nineteenth-century England*, 3.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Abstract.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁹ John F. Runciman, ‘The gentle art of musical criticism’, *New Review*, 12th June 1895, 612.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 613.

and they saw his musical formulae as the future, believing a Brahmsian aesthetic, propagated by EMR critics and composers, could not constitute a renaissance of any kind. Seeking to adjust and amend the field of musical criticism cultivated by those who advocated an EMR, the 'New Critics' endeavoured to symbolise the antithesis of those associated with an EMR.

Crucially, Sullivan stood aloof from intellectual movements in music. He made his position clear in an impromptu 1894 interview in Dublin:

[Sullivan]: I spent four years in Leipzig in early life, and heard the best music of every kind there, and the result is that I never think of a composer's name, but only whether the music is good or bad of its kind. Whether it be a quartette of Brahms, or an opera of Wagner, if the music be beautiful I accept it. Camps in music are a mistake.

[Reporter]: You have then a catholic taste in the sense of universality in what you admire?

[Sullivan]: Yes, thoroughly catholic. It would be very much better for young musicians if they had that disposition. You frequently hear one person saying there is no good in anyone's music but that of Brahms, and another saying there is no good in anyone but Wagner, whilst you find a third entirely devoted to the French school. That is lamentable.⁷¹

From a business point of view, this *catholic* philosophy served Sullivan commercially at the Savoy, as well as writing individual popular songs and ballads, and appears to have influenced the composer from the very start of his career:

I was ready to undertake everything that came my way. Symphonies, overtures, ballets, anthems, hymn-tunes, songs, part-songs, a concerto for the violincello, and eventually comic and light operas, nothing came amiss to me, and I gladly accepted what the publishers offered me, as long as I could get things published.⁷²

⁷¹ *Freemans Journal*, 11th April 1894, 5.

⁷² Lawrence, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 50.

Consequently, Sullivan was in step with his time rather than his contemporaries. By 1886, the year of *The Golden Legend*, Ebenezer Prout believed Sullivan had ‘gained the ear of the public to a degree not approached by any of his contemporaries.’⁷³ Given such unrivalled popularity, together with universal critical admiration of *The Golden Legend*, the musical world looked to Sullivan as the debate surrounding English opera unexpectedly lost its foremost proponent in 1889, Carl Rosa.⁷⁴

Since the late 1860s, a musical debate existed arguing for the establishment of a national operatic repertory, and attempts had been made to establish a national opera house. In 1875, James Mapleson, a prominent impresario, attempted to build an opera house on the Victoria Embankment: The Grand National Opera House.⁷⁵ By 1876, due to rising costs associated with building an enormous theatre, Mapleson’s venture collapsed, and so did plans to establish an English operatic repertory.

⁷³ Ebenezer Prout, *The Athenaeum*, 23rd October 1886, 542.

⁷⁴ *London Evening Standard*, 1st May 1889, 5.

⁷⁵ Paul Rodmell, *Opera in the British Isles*, (Farnham, Surrey, UK, England; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013). 189.

The Athenaeum, 7th August 1875, 191: ‘If the work should be produced, it will of course, be heard at the new Opera-House on the Thames Embankment.’

During the 1880s, Carl Rosa commissioned several works by English composers, endeavouring to promote English Grand Opera and incorporate it into the mainstream canon:

Colomba – Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1883)

Esmeralda – Arthur Goring Thomas (1883)

Canterbury Pilgrims – Charles Villiers Stanford (1884)

Nadeshda – Arthur Goring Thomas (1885)

The Troubadour – Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1886)

Nordisa – Frederick Corder (1887)

These works were important to the promotion of English Grand Opera; however, operatic audiences within the capital preferred imported European pieces. Most English Grand Operas, aside from the oeuvre of Balfe and Wallace, failed to generate any sizeable level of popular traction:

Table 5 – Royal Italian Opera House Repertoire 1887-1890.

Royal Italian Opera House Repertoire 1887-1890					
Composer:	1887	1888	1889	1890	Total % (No.):
Auber	5.41% (2)	2.08% (1)	0%	0%	1.55% (3)
Ambroise Thomas	0%	0%	0%	1.72% (1)	0.52% (1)
Bellini	5.41% (2)	0%	3.92% (2)	1.72% (1)	2.58% (5)
Bizet	35.14% (13)	10.42% (5)	9.8% (5)	8.62% (5)	14.43% (28)
Boito	0%	2.08% (1)	1.96% (1)	0%	1.03% (2)
Donizetti	8.11% (3)	6.25% (3)	0%	6.9% (4)	5.15% (10)
Flatow	2.7% (1)	0%	0%	0%	0.52% (1)
Goring Thomas	0%	0%	0%	6.9% (4)	2.06% (4)
Gounod	18.92% (7)	14.58% (7)	27.45% (14)	18.97% (11)	20.10% (39)
Meyerbeer	0%	12.5% (6)	5.88% (3)	20.69% (12)	10.82% (21)
Mozart	8.11% (3)	18.75% (9)	9.8% (5)	8.62% (5)	11.34% (22)
Rossini	5.41% (2)	6.25% (3)	1.96% (1)	0%	3.09% (6)
Verdi	10.81% (4)	16.67% (8)	21.57% (11)	12.07% (7)	15.46% (30)
Wagner	0%	10.42% (5)	17.65% (9)	13.79% (8)	11.34% (22)
Total Performances:	37	48	51	58	194

Table 6 – Carl Rosa Repertoire 1886-1887 and 1890 (London Season).

Carl Rosa Repertoire 1886-1887 and 1890 (London Season)				
Composer:	1886	1887	1890	Total % (No.):
Ambroise Thomas	7.14% (2)	7.32% (3)	5.13% (2)	6.48% (7)
Balfe	7.14% (2)	14.63% (6)	15.38% (6)	12.96% (14)
Bizet	28.57% (8)	24.39% (10)	20.51% (8)	24.07% (26)
Corder	0%	14.63% (6)	0%	5.56% (6)
Cowen	0%	0%	12.8% (5)	4.63% (5)
Goring Thomas	10.71% (3)	2.44% (1)	0%	3.7% (4)
Gounod	7.14% (2)	4.88% (2)	20.51% (8)	11.11% (12)
Mackenzie	17.86% (5)	0%	0%	4.63% (5)
Massenet	7.14% (2)	0%	0%	1.82% (2)
Meyerbeer	0%	0%	7.69% (3)	2.78% (3)
Mozart	10.71% (3)	4.88% (2)	0%	4.63% (5)
Verdi	0%	4.88% (2)	0%	1.82% (2)
Wagner	0%	17.07% (7)	7.69% (3)	9.56% (10)
Wallace	3.57% (1)	4.88% (2)	10.25% (4)	6.48% (7)
Total Performances:	28	41	39	108
English Operas:	39.29% (11)	36.59% (15)	38.46% (15)	37.96% (41)

Although the operas of Balfe and Wallace remained in the Carl Rosa repertoire, only one English opera entered the RIOH's repertoire in the four years preceding the first performance of *Ivanhoe*, Goring Thomas's *Esmeralda*, translated to French. An audience favourite, *Bohemian Girl* (Balfe) 'remained in the repertoires of British touring companies until the 1930s.'⁷⁶ Critical opinion, as expressed in a *Musical Standard* by Ina Leon Cassilis, explained why Balfe's operas were not considered worthy to enter an English national repertoire:

It cannot be maintained that there is any existing school of opera in this country worthy of the name. Balfe's and Wallace's operas are little more than collections of ballads; they are in all respects weak ... [By] giving us Italian and German operas with English words [Carl Rosa] is at least allowing us to hear good music ... If Englishmen have written no operas of merit in the last sixty years, why are we to suppose that they are likely to do better in the next sixty?⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Nigel Burton, *The Bohemian Girl*, in *Sadie*, Stanley (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, (Vol. 1, pp. 521–522), (London: Macmillan Press, 1992), 522.

⁷⁷ *Musical Standard*, 21st October 1876, 268.

Despite popular approval, Balfe's score did not meet the criteria of the musical establishment.

This notion of aesthetic worth similarly plagued the comic opera repertory of Gilbert and Sullivan at the Savoy Theatre. As Stanford's review of *The Golden Legend* demonstrated, together with numerous columns by critics affiliated with an EMR, it was expected that Sullivan would outgrow the 'philistines of the Savoy' with his new compositional idiom.⁷⁸ In their view, *Ivanhoe* gave Sullivan this opportunity: by composing a grand opera, the promising youth who composed *The Tempest*, and took the musical world by storm with *The Golden Legend*, would finally break free from the shackles of the Savoy and resume upon the appropriate compositional trajectory. Unable to supplement his celebrity lifestyle without the financial rewards of composing for the popular marketplace, shortly after Sullivan's death on November 22nd, 1900, EMR critics pushed their view that Sullivan was 'the idle singer of an empty evening.'⁷⁹ The day following the composer's death, the following obituary appeared in *The Times*:

Many who are able to appreciate classical music regret that Sir Arthur Sullivan did not aim consistently at higher things, that he set himself to rival Offenbach and Lecocq instead of competing on a level of high seriousness with such musicians as Sir Hubert Parry and Professor Stanford. If he had followed this path, he might have enrolled his name among the great composers of all time.⁸⁰

Later, in March 1901, an obituary by Fuller-Maitland, published in the *Cornhill Magazine*, pejoratively analysed Sullivan's position in the hierarchy of composers:

It is not because of the perpetration of [Ballads and Light Opera] ... that Sullivan's attainment of a place among the immortals may be doubted. Though the illustrious masters of the past never did write music as vulgar, it would have

⁷⁸ *Sporting Gazette*, 26th October 1889, 8.

⁷⁹ Ernest Walker, *A History of Music in England*, (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1924), 295.

⁸⁰ *The Times*, 23rd November 1900, 9.

been forgiven if they had, in virtue of the beauty and value of the great bulk of their productions. It is because such great natural gifts greater, perhaps, than fell to any English musician since the time of Purcell were so very seldom employed in work worthy of them. The Offenbachs and Lecocqs, the Clays and Celliers, did not degrade their genius, for they were incapable of higher things ... If the author of 'The Golden Legend,' the music to 'The Tempest,' 'Henry VIII,' and 'Macbeth,' cannot be classed with these, how can the composer of 'Onward, Christian soldiers,' and 'The Absent-minded Beggar' claim a place in the hierarchy of music among the men who would face death rather than smirch their singing-robes for the sake of a fleeting popularity?⁸¹

Such criticisms set a precedent as to how Sullivan would be viewed in the twentieth century, and, in the aftermath of Sullivan's death, the EMR waged war on the public's perception of his music. Fuller-Maitland coined it *jumboism*: 'The characteristic defect of the English race.' It was his belief that

'any voice that is raised against the Jumbo of the moment must be forced into the unenviable position of the *advocatus diaboli*, and is certain to incur the wrath of those who are working up the 'boom,' whatever it may be.'⁸²

Fuller-Maitland stood down from his position as music critic for *The Times* in 1911 and passed the mantle to fellow EMR supporter H. C. Colles. Although *The Golden Legend* maintained a leading position in the repertories of British choral societies until the Great War, in 1915, Colles wrote a scathing assessment of the cantata: 'Its dead ... It merely sounds like a stale *réchauffé* of *Elijah* and *Faust*, with garnishings of *Lohengrin*.'⁸³ To rectify Colles' assertion, *The Musical Herald* gathered the opinions of musicians across the British Isles. Of the nine prominent choral directors and composers contacted, none could justify Colles' claim. Not all were admirers of Sullivan's output; however, nobody denied the work was a masterpiece and a staple contribution to the progress of English choral music. An unnamed

⁸¹ John Fuller-Maitland, *Cornhill Magazine*, March 1901, 308-309.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 300.

⁸³ H. C. Colles, *The Times*, 22nd March 1915, 11.

source, writing with ‘breezy freshness,’ as *The Musical Herald* diplomatically stated, understood the situation best:

“We have in our midst a very active and aggressive cult of musical snobs who, if their influence was equal to their virulent loquacity, would be a veritable blight and curse to the cause and progress of British music.

“Spontaneity and sincerity of musical expression are to them anathema; a few bars of natural (or shall we say obvious) melody so affects the members of this superior cult that they are compelled to decant a torrent of contemptuous abuse and sneering pity in order to relieve their ultra-sensitive musical digestion.

“Only music that is reflective of the turgid profundity of Max Reger, or the jarring, jumbling cacophony of extreme musical modernity secures them recognition and appreciation.⁸⁴

Unfortunately for Sullivan’s music, posterity was, ultimately, to give such ‘musical snobs’ an influence which equalled ‘their virulent loquacity.’⁸⁵

The position of music critic at *The Times* passed from H. C. Colles to Frank Howes, who would later publish *The English Musical Renaissance*, in 1943, remaining in the post until 1960.⁸⁶ Hebert Thompson continued to champion the philosophy of the EMR, together with the view that Sullivan’s oeuvre was fundamentally worthless, until his retirement in 1936.⁸⁷ Whilst EMR advocates continued to sit at the national desks, several academic publications, notably Ernest Walker’s *A History of Music in England*, persistently condemned Sullivan’s music.⁸⁸ In addition to this, several composers steeped in the philosophy of the Parry and Stanford administration at the RCM in the 1890s, such as Rutland Boughton, began to teach and direct ensembles.⁸⁹ As a result, they determined a season’s repertoire based on a philosophy imbued whilst students. By 1928, Thomas Dunhill, a former pupil of Stanford and

⁸⁴ *The Musical Herald*, 1st May 1915, 204-205.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁸⁶ Frank Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance*, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966).

⁸⁷ An article reviewing a performance of *The Golden Legend* by the Leeds Choral Union in 1935: Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 13th March 1935, 5.

⁸⁸ Walker, *A History of Music in England*.

⁸⁹ See: Dunhill, *Sullivan’s Comic Operas*, 26-27.

a professor from 1905, felt the need to defend Sullivan's compositions. From first-hand experience, he believed that Sullivan's music had 'suffered in an extraordinary degree from the vigorous attacks which ... [had] been made upon it in professional circles,' how, during his time at the RCM, 'it was virtually anathema to mention Sullivan's name.'⁹⁰ Thus, the EMR were able to exert considerable influence over English musical taste throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Sullivan's greatest and most popular choral work, *The Golden Legend*, could not escape the wrath of the EMR. If this could not survive, works which did not enter the mainstream repertoire did not stand a chance and the popular perception of Sullivan's final years, particularly that of *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*, has been one of compositional regression and decline.

1.2 Audience Vs. Critic: Critical and Public Reception of *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*

Ivanhoe premiered on January 31st, 1891; the production was a triumphant success. The overwhelming majority of music critics considered Sullivan and Sturgis' collaborative effort 'a brilliant, thorough success all round.'⁹¹ Lionel Monckton, critic for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, epitomised the prevailing opinion of musical critics across the British Isles:

It is what we have all hoped for, even demanded, for many a long year past; and now that our wishes have been fulfilled, we cannot choose but congratulate ourselves on the brightened prospects of the English lyric stage. That Sir Arthur Sullivan has completely succeeded in the task he has set himself cannot be doubted for a moment. As a consummate tune writer, we have known him for long. The records of the Savoy Theatre, and, still further back, the Opera Comique, bear witness to his powers as a creator of captivating melody. On the other hand, we have not wanted evidence of his ability to deal with more dramatic material. Those magnificent cantatas "The Martyr of Antioch" and "The Golden

⁹⁰ Ibid., 13.

Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 18.

⁹¹ *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 2nd February 1891, 5.

Legend” told us what to expect when Sir Arthur finally made up his mind to come forward as a composer of grand opera.⁹²

The following table illustrates how critics perceived Sullivan’s score:

**Table 7 – Critics known to have attended and reviewed a performance of *Ivanhoe*.
*Carl Rosa Tour, December 1894-June 1895. (DC = Drama Critic)**

Critic:	Paper:	Affiliation:	View:
Alexander Geoghegan	<i>The Scotsman</i>		Positive
Alfred Kalisch*	<i>Manchester Courier</i>	EMR	Positive
Alfred Watson	<i>The Standard</i>	Pro-Sullivan	Positive
Arthur B. Walkley	<i>London Illustrated News</i>	New Critic	Neutral
Charles Carson (DC)	<i>The Stage</i>		Positive
Charles Freemantle	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>		Positive
Edward Baughan	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	New Critic	Negative
Frank Desprez (DC)	<i>The Era</i>		Neutral
Frederick Toothill	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>		Positive
George B. Shaw	<i>The World</i>	New Critic	Negative
Henry F. Frost	<i>Athenaeum</i>		Neutral
Henry Hersee	<i>Observer</i>		Positive
Herbert Thompson	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	EMR	Positive
Herman Klein	<i>Sunday Times</i>		Positive
J. J. Brodie	<i>Glasgow Evening Post</i>		Positive
J. S. Shedlock	<i>The Academy</i>		Neutral
John Fuller-Maitland	<i>The Times</i>	EMR	Positive
Joseph Bennett	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	EMR	Positive
Lionel Monckton	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>		Positive
Percy Betts	<i>Daily News</i>		Positive
Stephen Stratton	<i>Birmingham Post</i>		Positive
William A. Barrett	<i>Morning Post</i>	Pro-Sullivan	Positive
William B. Squire	<i>Saturday Review</i>		Positive

There were two dissenting voices: Edward Baughan at the *Glasgow Herald* and George Bernard Shaw at *The World*, the New Critics. Percy Young, supporting his claim that *Ivanhoe* ‘set back the cause of English opera for’ half a century, carefully selected Bernard-Shaw’s adverse review and critiques from New York and Vienna, neglecting to report that the

⁹² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2nd February 1891, 2.

contemporary consensus of music critics, including those associated with the EMR, were in favour of Sullivan's opera.⁹³

The EMR, though often regarded as Sullivan's greatest opposition, did not take a wholly cynical approach to Sullivan's score. In fact, their initial reception of the work was altogether optimistic. Fuller-Maitland valued Act II Scene 3:

The whole is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a sufficient refutation of a criticism that used to be more frequently heard before the production of *The Golden Legend*.⁹⁴

At the time, he offered a balanced and positive outlook of Sullivan's score:

Two questions will inevitably be asked ... will *Ivanhoe* enhance the composer's reputation and that of English art, and will the work take a place among the classics of dramatic music, and attain a real immortality? To the first an unqualified affirmative may surely be given, for ... its best portions rise so far above anything else that Sir Arthur Sullivan has given to the world, and have such force and dignity ... On the second question an opinion can only be formed with difficulty and offered with diffidence. The general structure of the work is a curious example of transition between two opposing systems, each of which in its own day has produced masterpieces of undoubted supremacy ... If ... the modern theories of dramatic music should obtain universal acceptance, *Ivanhoe* will have a struggle for permanent existence, and...if a strong reaction should set in against these theories, the work ... will be generally considered as a masterpiece of design, as well as a collection of individual beauties.⁹⁵

Joseph Bennet, fellow EMR critic, released an analysis of the work on the day it premiered which echoed Fuller-Maitland's sentiments. In his opinion, Sullivan broke

⁹³ Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 229-235.

⁹⁴ Fuller-Maitland, *The Times*, 2nd February 1891, 4.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

no new ground in this work ... [Sullivan] is represented throughout “Ivanhoe” in the familiar and attractive guise he has worn all along, modified only to a limited extent by special circumstances.⁹⁶

His analysis, though longing for the musical complexity of Wagner, together with ‘a whole museum of leit-motiven [*sic*],’ declared that the work was a ‘genuine English opera, which...[deserved] a large and splendid success.’⁹⁷

At this time, although *Ivanhoe* did not fully meet Fuller-Maitland’s and Bennett’s expectations, their enthusiasm for the opera likely came from an anticipation that this would be the first in a series of operatic works, where, like the trajectory of Sullivan’s choral idiom, he could mature and, in turn, lead English music to new heights:

When *The Golden Legend* was produced, we rejoiced to think that here at last Sullivan’s powers had found expression in a work that could not fail of lasting fame; and in *Ivanhoe* we were delighted to welcome another monument (as we thought) to the composer’s greatness.⁹⁸

Ivanhoe was not the earth-shattering experiment that *The Golden Legend* had been in 1886. Nevertheless, analogous with Joseph Bennett’s analysis, many critics believed that *Ivanhoe* either sustained or improved Sullivan’s reputation, revisiting the harmonic, orchestral, and thematic precedents set in *The Golden Legend*.

As indicated by Fuller-Maitland’s notice in *The Times*, audience interest was maintained for the first one hundred nights:

The 100th consecutive performance of Sir Arthur Sullivan’s *Ivanhoe* was celebrated last night by a performance of more than usual brilliancy. The house

⁹⁶ *The Daily Telegraph*, 31st January 1891, 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Fuller-Maitland, *A Door-keeper of Music*, (London, John Murray, Albemarle St., W., 1932), 175.

was crowded in every part by an enthusiastic audience, which greeted the composer with loud cheers as he took his seat at the conductor's desk ... The mere fact that an English grand opera has attained a "run" of 100 nights is enough to prove to the most fastidious critics that the many excellent features of Sir Arthur Sullivan's work far outbalance its few shortcomings.⁹⁹

Although audience numbers began to slowly drop towards the summer months, unsurprising since the regular opera season ended at the beginning of July, later that year, Thomas L. Southgate at the *Musical News* continued to champion *Ivanhoe* in an article condemning Carte for the failure of the enterprise, and, in direct contradiction to Young's argument, the sentiment amongst most critics continued to be distinctly positive.¹⁰⁰

Twenty-first century scholarship has seen *Ivanhoe*'s failure less in terms of Sullivan's score, than in Richard D'Oyly Carte's management strategy. Detailed in tables 5 and 6, an alternating repertory was considered the most attractive way to produce a lucrative operatic season. Instead, Carte managed the REOH as if it were the Savoy Theatre and effectively ran the opera to death:

Never was the initial error of placing the whole of the golden eggs in a single basket more surely followed by the destruction of the goose that laid them! ... Like one of the thoroughbred horses he [Sullivan] loved so well, *Ivanhoe* ran a great race, achieved a "best on record", and then collapsed from sheer exhaustion.¹⁰¹

Henry Wood, repetiteur for *Ivanhoe*'s initial run, later emphasised this in his autobiography: 'if D'Oyly Carte had held a repertory of six operas instead of one ... he would have established English opera in London for all time.'¹⁰² Wood based this reasoning from his experience working as a conductor with the Carl Rosa Opera Company throughout the 1890s,

⁹⁹ Fuller-Maitland, *The Times*, 26th May 1891, 10.

¹⁰⁰ T. L. Southgate, *Musical News*, 11th December 1891, 817-818.

¹⁰¹ Hermann Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London, 1870-1900*, (The Century Co., 1903), 335.

¹⁰² Henry Wood, *My Life of Music* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1946), 43.

as well as his work on *Ivanhoe*. Rosa's company, since its establishment in 1873, had been extraordinarily successful in both London and the provinces, attracting an average of 750,000 spectators each year.¹⁰³ This success can be partly attributed to the company's repertoire and the way in which it was programmed:

Figure 4 – Carl Rosa Opera Company Programme. 1885 season, week 4, Drury Lane.¹⁰⁴

<p>MONDAY, APRIL 27th, 1885. MADAME MARIE ROZE and MR. JOSEPH MAAS TROVATORE. MANKED Mr. JOSEPH MAAS. RUIR Mr. GILBERT. COURT DE LUNA Mr. LAUDIC. FERRANDO Mr. W. H. BURGON. ADRIANA Miss JOSEPHINE YORKE. INES Miss YADIN. LEONORA Madame MARIE ROZE. Conductor—Mr. ALBERTO RANDEGGER.</p> <p>TUESDAY, APRIL 28th. MADAME ALWINA VALLERIA & MR. BARTON MCGUCKIN. NADESHDA. Music by A. GORING THOMAS. Words by JULIAN STURGIS. NADESHDA Madame ALWINA VALLERIA. PRINCESS NATALIA Miss JOSEPHINE YORKE. VOLDEMAR Mr. BARTON MCGUCKIN. IVAN Mr. LESLIE CROTTY. OSTAP Mr. W. H. BURGON. Scene—Near Moscow (the Summer). Time—Return of Catherine II. End of the 18th Century. Sung by MADAME KATTI LANNER. Principal Dancer—MOLLE LUNA. Mise-en-Scène by AUGUSTUS HARRIS. Conductor—Mr. ALBERTO RANDEGGER.</p> <p>WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29th. MADAME GEORGINA BURNS and MR. JOSEPH MAAS. BOHEMIAN GIRL. THADDEUS Mr. JOSEPH MAAS. COUNT ARNHEIM Mr. BARRINGTON FOOTE. FLORENTINE Mr. CHARLES LYALL. FRYD-SHOF Mr. G. H. SNAZELLE. QUEEN OF THE GIPSIES Miss JOSEPHINE YORKE. BIDA Mrs. BURGON. ARLINE Madame GEORGINA BURNS. Conductor—Mr. GOOSSENS.</p> <p>THURSDAY, APRIL 30th. MADAME MARIE ROZE and MR. BEN DAVIES. CARMEN. Libretto by MEILLAC and HALEVY. English adaptation by HENRY HERSEL. CARMEN (a Gipsy Girl) Madame MARIE ROZE. MICHAELA (a French Girl) Miss CLARA FERRY. ESCARBILLO (a Bull-fighter) Mr. LAUDIC. RENEBANDO (Hussein's Lieutenant) Mr. CHARLES LYALL. DANCAIRO (Chief of the Stragglers) Mr. G. H. SNAZELLE. ZORRA Mr. BURGON. MOULAS Mr. CAMPBELL. LILAS FANTIA (a Tavern Keeper) Mr. STEWART. FRANQUITA Miss BENSBURG. MERCEDES Miss MARIAN BURTON. JOE (a Sergeant of Dragoons) Mr. BEN DAVIES. Sung by MADAME KATTI LANNER. Principal Dancer—MOLLE LUNA. Mise-en-Scène by AUGUSTUS HARRIS. Conductor—Mr. ALBERTO RANDEGGER.</p>	<p>FRIDAY, MAY 1st. NADESHDA. Cast as on Tuesday, April 28th.</p> <p>SATURDAY MORNING, MAY 2nd. MADAME MARIE ROZE and MR. JOSEPH MAAS. FAUST. GOUNODS. FAUST Mr. JOSEPH MAAS. MEPHISTOPHELES Mr. G. H. SNAZELLE. VALTINE Mr. ARTHUR ROUSBY. WAGNER Mr. STEPHAN. SIEBE Miss MARIAN BURTON. MARTHA Miss SUGDEN. MARGUERITE AND Madame MARIE ROZE. Mise-en-Scène by AUGUSTUS HARRIS. Conductor—Mr. GOOSSENS.</p> <p>SATURDAY NIGHT, MAY 2nd. MADAME GEORGINA BURNS & MR. BARTON MCGUCKIN. ESMERALDA. (ONLY PERFORMANCE THIS SEASON.) An Opera in Four Acts. The Libretto written and arranged by THED BARZALS and A. RANDEGGER. Music by A. GORING THOMAS. ESMERALDA (a Gipsy) Madame GEORGINA BURNS. FROBER DE CHATEAUFORT (an Officer) Mr. BARTON MCGUCKIN. CLAUDE FROLO Mr. LAUDIC. QUARREDO Mr. LESLIE CROTTY. FLAUR-DE-LAY (retroced to Frolo) Miss KATE BENSBURG. LADY LON (the Governor) Miss ALICE SUGDEN. MARQUIS DE CHEVREUSE Mr. CAMPBELL. GRENOUILLER Mr. BEN DAVIES. CLOPIN (King of the Beggars) Mr. G. H. SNAZELLE. Beggars, Gipsies, Soldiers, Pages, Nobles and Ladies, Chorists, &c. Scene—Paris in the Fifteenth Century—1480. Incidental Dances by MADAME LANNER. Principal Dancer—MOLLE LUNA. Mise-en-Scène by AUGUSTUS HARRIS. Conductor—Mr. ALBERTO RANDEGGER.</p> <p><small>NO FEES OF ANY KIND WHATSOEVER.—Favourable and Quick Return are promised for all donations. Any of the subscribers desiring to have received money or gratification from visitors will be instantly disallowed; the Public is therefore requested to support the Management by refraining from offering such, and any breach of this rule should be reported to me.</small> <small>All communications on any subject whatever should be addressed direct to Mr. AUGUSTUS HARRIS, and not to any individual Member of the Staff.</small> <small>Refreshment Saloons under the Management of Mr. R. BODSWORTH.</small> <small>Opera Glasses in Hire, One Shilling. Tea, Coffee, and Beer may be had of the Attendants.</small> <small>The Harden Star Hand Grenade Fire Extinguishers are distributed in all parts of the Theatre.</small></p> <p><small>Printed by ALFRED GIBSON, 179, Strand.</small></p>
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The above programme from the fourth week of the 1885 season at Drury Lane demonstrated Carl Rosa's effective management of a grand opera company. The primary issue for English composers was enticing audiences to new works. In Rosa's 1885 season at Drury Lane, operas such as *Esmeralda* and *Nadeshda*, English works by Arthur Goring Thomas, were inserted between repertoire stalwarts. If *Esmeralda* played to half empty houses, at least popular works, such as *Il Trovatore* or *Rigoletto*, would have played to capacity and subsidised the new, unfamiliar, works. As a result, Rosa's initiative gave English operas the chance for audiences to become familiar with them so that they could enter the popular operatic repertoire.

¹⁰³ 'The Carl Rosa Opera Company and its Premieres' – *Carl Rosa Trust*, 2019, <https://www.carlrosatrust.org.uk/opera.html> [Accessed: 4-3-2021].

¹⁰⁴ *Carl Rosa Opera Company Programme*, 1885 season, week 4, Drury Lane.

Following the failure of Carte's business, he sought to blame English composers for not being ready. Southgate disputed this argument in an article commenting on the crisis which had befallen the REOH:

Does he [Carte] suppose that composers keep operas in stock in their portfolios, ready for putting on the boards at a day's notice? It is known that he has entered into agreements with Mr. Cowen, Mr. Goring Thomas, Mr. Hamish MacCunn, and Mr. Bemburg, will he venture to assert that these gentlemen have failed to deliver their scores to him by the time stipulated in their several agreements? ... Composers can hardly be expected to set to work just on the strength of Mr. Carte's preliminary public advertisement, a sort of general invitation intended more for an *as captandum* purpose, than to produce a crop of national operas. He named in his speech and letter to the newspaper's certain composers, but the question may be fairly put, has he communicated with such prominent men as Dr. A. C. Mackenzie, Professor Villiers Stanford, Dr. Hubert Parry, Mr. F. Corder and Mr. German? If he can answer, yes, and add that they have been indifferent to his advances, then what with the unreadiness he harps upon, and the unwillingness, we may well despair of seeing the establishment of a national school of opera. The very expression, a "national school," involved the regular co-operation of several writers. Mr. Carte's primary fault was relying on one name, Sir Arthur Sullivan, although it is admittedly the name of our fore-most opera writer, a composer of undoubted genius, and who has given us proof after proof that he can produce fine music in every style in which he writes.¹⁰⁵

Carte obviously 'had an unrealistic understanding of what a mammoth task it could be to compose a large serious operatic work.'¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, Edward German, as suggested by Southgate, made various attempts to contact Carte regarding the composition of an opera, offering his services for both the Royal English Opera House (REOH) and the Savoy. In a letter to Carte, German proposed a composition that would be a musical compromise 'between 'Carmen' and 'Faust', and enclosed a copy of a libretto, *The Two Poets*; however, possibly because Carte had already set other composers the task of composition, the proprietor did not take German up on his offer.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ T. L. Southgate, *Musical News*, 11th December 1891, 817-818.

¹⁰⁶ Paul Seeley, *Richard D'Oyly Carte*, (Routledge, Sept. 2020), 118.

¹⁰⁷ Brian Reese, *A Musical Peacemaker: The Life and Work of Sir Edward German*, (Abbotsbrook, Bourne End, Buckinghamshire: Kensal Press, 1986), 65.

Another significant managerial drawback can be found via the prices of admission:

Table 8 – Prices of Admission to different theatres/opera companies.

Seat	Royal English Opera House (1891) ¹⁰⁸	Covent Garden (RIOH, 1879)	Savoy Theatre (Gondoliers 1889) ¹⁰⁹	Carl Rosa Opera (Belfast Tour 1892) ¹¹⁰
Private Boxes	£5 5s and £4 4s		£1 1s - £2 2s	22s 6d – 60s
Royal Tier Stalls (Dress Circle)	15s	2s 6d (general) - 10s 6d	/	7s 6d
Orchestra Stalls	15s			5s
Three last rows of Royal Tier Stalls	10s 6d			
Circle Stalls	7s 6d			3s
Stalls	/		10s 6d	/
Balcony Stalls			7s 6d	
Three last rows of Circle Stalls	6s		/	
Amphitheatre Stalls	4s		2s	
Pit	3s 6d	7s	2s 6d	2s
Gallery	2s		1s	1s

Carte wanted to charge Covent Garden prices but was unwilling to change the repertoire to accommodate these rates. Despite a large audience at the RIOH, Augustus Harris, manager of the theatre in 1891, still had to change the repertoire to make the season, a far shorter one than at the REOH, financially viable. *Ivanhoe* was a venture which aimed to establish an English operatic repertory; yet audiences only had one opera to choose from. Why would they continue to re-watch the same opera at such exorbitant prices? As explained by Edward

¹⁰⁸ *St James's Gazette*, 5th February 1891, 2.

¹⁰⁹ *The Gondoliers*, Savoy Theatre Programme, 7th December 1889, 2.

¹¹⁰ *Belfast Telegraph*, 5th September 1892, 4.

Baughan at the *Glasgow Herald*, for somebody on a modest income, *Ivanhoe* was an expensive evening out:

The first step in regard to a reduction of prices at the Royal English Opera House has been taken, Mr. D'Oyly Carte now charging 3s instead of 3s 6d for the pit. It is a pity that the expenses of “*Ivanhoe*” do not allow a general reduction of the prices to the ordinary theatrical level; for English opera always was supported by the democracy rather than the aristocracy, and a 2s gallery and 15s stalls and Royal circle are rather above the mark for the middle classes.¹¹¹

In lieu of this, the operatic audience at the REOH was, in any rate, far smaller than that for musical theatre, or theatre *per se*. In response, as detailed in William Parry’s preface to Chandos’ *Ivanhoe* recording, the excessive ticket rate was humorously conveyed through a song by Walter Monroe, a popular vaudeville artist. The song’s refrain included the lyrics, ‘but never mind, I’ve seen *Ivanhoe*’ – relating the fate of a man determined to see *Ivanhoe* despite the cruelly high ticket prices.’¹¹² One critic for *The Musical Opinion and Musical Trade Review* exasperatedly commented, ‘the extravagant prices charged (fifteen shillings for a stall!) and an insane defect in the construction of the piece which involved a “wait” of some thirty-five minutes between third and fourth acts proved fatal.’¹¹³ Effectively, by running his theatre in this way, Carte destroyed his own business.

Sullivan had his own thoughts and concerns regarding the management of an English operatic repertoire. In an interview published in the *Daily News*, 1885, the reporter asked Sullivan: ‘Shall we ever have a genuine National serious opera?’ Sullivan replied:

¹¹¹ Edward Baughan, *Glasgow Herald*, 2nd March 1891, 13.

As detailed in tables 5 and 6, English operas were patronised by the *democracy*, as Baughan asserted, making up c. 38% of the repertoire both in London and the provinces.

¹¹² William Parry, *Chandos Ivanhoe Cover Notes*, (February 2010), 18.

After the first two weeks of performances, a critic for *Moonshine* also made this criticism: ‘But what of the prices? Fifteen shillings for dress-circle, and three-and-six for pit. Carte wants to turn “Fortune’s wheel” – all her wheels – while there is a chance. *Moonshine* wishes him luck for his pluck.’ *Moonshine*, 14th February 1891, 3.

¹¹³ *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, 1st December 1891, 83.

I know the American saying about prophesy, so I don't pretend to know. But it seems likely enough. There is room for something, and that might be created here as well as on the continent and imported. But many conditions are required for success in operatic management. I apprehend that a successful opera must be played every night to make money (Savoy model). Life is too hurried now to calculate over one opera on Mondays and Wednesdays, another on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and another on Fridays and Saturdays. People will not, I think, do this; and then, if you run your opera every night, you require a double-cast – or as they say in your good coal country, a “double shift” – of singers. Good singers will hardly consent to sing through a grand opera every night. Very few have sufficient physical power, and even they would wise not to exert it. So there would be difficulties in management apart from composition and execution. You must also consider the rivalry of the concert room. I do not now speak of the great rewards given to *prima donna* popular throughout the civilised world. My remarks are generally concerning musical people in Mark-lane style, “from fair to middling.” But a good singer can now get as much for singing two or three songs at a concert as for singing through a long and difficult opera, requiring some knowledge of the stage as well. But I think that England may become a great musical country, and that before long we may have a National Opera.¹¹⁴

The interviewer, it seems, caught Sullivan by surprise with this query, as his questions prior to this related to musical teaching. The general tone of Sullivan's response suggested that he was merely making suggestions regarding the management of an opera house and that he had not completely decided how one would be managed effectively.

Sullivan is almost prophetic in this interview. His suggestion that it would be difficult to perform an opera every night due to the need for a double cast, coupled with the need for excellent singers who could make the same amount of money in the music hall or on the concert stage, mirrored a problem *Ivanhoe* encountered: the need for a superstar cast.

This was something the Carl Rosa Company's arsenal included. Numerous operatic superstars, such as Ben Davies, Joseph Maas, Marie Roze and Alwina Valleria, etc., attracted a larger audience than the repertoire could muster on its own. Madame Marie Roze had

¹¹⁴ *Weekly Irish Times*, 17th January 1885, 2.

attained such celebrity, especially in her rendition of *Carmen*, that the Carl Rosa company created a splinter group named ‘The Carmen Company’, which toured from February 1891-February 1892 (with Henry Wood as conductor 24th August - 19th December) as an operatic farewell tour for the *prima donna*. This was followed by a company farewell on March 12th, 1892, in a performance of the *Daughter of the Regiment* (*La fille du régiment* – 1840) at the Theatre Royal in Manchester, and a further, final, farewell tour in 1894. These stars were a significant factor in attracting theatregoers and were an essential financial asset to an opera company.

Carte failed to engage star performers to generate the same attention, instead preferring to involve performers who were ‘mostly new... [to this line] of work’ – a notion first night critics were quick to comment on. Although the cast predominantly comprised new and young performers, general opinion considered them a ‘very promising lot.’¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, Ben Davies and Margaret Macintyre, who had been made celebrities through their involvement in *Ivanhoe*, could only attract a certain number of followers. Carte’s financial situation may have been different if Charles Santley could have been lured to play the Templar, or Emma Albani, Rebecca; however, neither would have been prepared to sing night after night. Thus, the decision to double cast the opera can be seen as a marketing error as the first night cast was considered *the best*, ‘and when the other singers appeared, the public did not come.’¹¹⁶ Arthur Walkley, in his review of the first few nights, illustrated this claim:

The second performance, on Monday following, can scarcely be said to have been on the level of the first. It is upon the shoulders of Rebecca that the main burden of the opera falls, and it would be affectation to pretend that Miss Thudichum,

¹¹⁵ *The Referee*, 1st February 1891, 3.

¹¹⁶ Frederic H. Cowen, *My Art and my Friends*, (London: 1913), 249.

who succeeded Miss Macintyre in the part, filled her place, either vocally or histrionically.¹¹⁷

To attain the success produced by Carl Rosa, Carte would have been wise to employ a celebrity cast and should not have opened the theatre until there was an alternative repertoire ready to go. Possibly owing to financial constraints, as well as hubris (after all, such a schematic had worked at the Savoy and had made stars there), he did not, and his venture suffered accordingly – Carte effectively embarked upon something he did not fully understand. *Ivanhoe* could not stimulate the production of a national operatic repertoire by itself; instead, Carte's prolonged exploitation of a predominantly unknown double cast, alongside his decision to run the opera indefinitely, failed to provide essential alternative relief which would have attracted new audiences. Despite Carte's managerial fiasco, and a net loss of £36,000, *Ivanhoe* ran for 168 performances.¹¹⁸ This was a longer run than any Grand Opera had ever achieved, which is testament to the opera's popularity. At the same time, Carte's managerial strategy effectively destroyed it, as well as the notion of a national operatic school.

Figure 5 – *Ivanhoe* Female Cast Members. L-R: Margaret Macintyre, Lucile Hill, Charlotte Thudichum and Esther Palliser.¹¹⁹



¹¹⁷ *The Illustrated London News*, 7th February 1891, 6.

¹¹⁸ Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*, 335.

¹¹⁹ *The Illustrated London News*, 7th February 1891, 170.

Figure 6 – *Ivanhoe*'s Double Cast. *Penny Illustrated Paper*.¹²⁰

<i>Ivanhoe.</i>					
SATURDAY. JANUARY 31. 1891.					
Richard, Cœur-de-Lion, King of					
England	Mr. Norman Salmond
Prince John	Mr. Richard Green
Sir Brian de Bois-Gilbert	Mr. Eugene Oudin
Maurice de Bracy	Mr. Charles Kenningham
Lucas de Beaumanoir	Mr. Adams Owen
Cedric the Saxon	Mr. Ffrangcon-Davies
Wilfred, Knight of Ivanhoe	Mr. Ben Davis
Friar Tuck	Mr. Avon Saxon
Isaac of York	Mr. Charles Copland
Locksley	Mr. W. H. Stephens
The Squire	Mr. F. Bovill
The Lady Rowena	Miss Esther Palliser
Ulrica	Miss Marie Groebl
Rebecca	Miss Margaret Macintyre
MONDAY. FEBRUARY 2. 1892.					
Richard, Cœur-de-Lion, King of					
England	Mr. Franklin Clive
Prince John	Mr. Richard Green
Sir Brian de Bois-Gilbert	Mr. Eugene Oudin
Maurice de Bracy	Mr. Charles Kenningham
Lucas de Beaumanoir	Mr. Adams Owen
Cedric the Saxon	Mr. David Ffrangcon-Davies
Wilfred, Knight of Ivanhoe	Mr. Joseph O'Mara
Friar Tuck	Mr. Avon Saxon
Isaac of York	Mr. Charles Copland
Locksley	Mr. W. H. Stephens
The Squire	Mr. Frederick. Bovill
The Lady Rowena	Miss Lucille Hill
Ulrica	Miss Marie Groebl
Rebecca	Miss Charlotte Thudichum
WEDNESDAY. FEBRUARY 4. 1891.					
Richard, Cœur-de-Lion, King of					
England	Mr. Norman Salmond
Prince John	Mr. Richard Green
Sir Brian de Bois-Gilbert	Mr. Eugene Oudin
Maurice de Bracy	Mr. Charles Kenningham
Lucas de Beaumanoir	Mr. Adams Owen
Cedric the Saxon	Mr. David Ffrangcon-Davies
Wilfred, Knight of Ivanhoe	Mr. Ben Davis
Friar Tuck	Mr. Avon Saxon
Isaac of York	Mr. Charles Copland
Locksley	Mr. W. H. Stephens
The Squire	Mr. Frederick. Bovill
The Lady Rowena	Miss Esther Palliser
Ulrica	Miss Marie Groebl
Rebecca	Miss Margaret Macintyre

¹²⁰ *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 31st January 1891, 10.

Similarly, at the Savoy Theatre, company favourites such as Richard Temple, George Grossmith, Geraldine Ulmar, Courtice Pounds, Rutland Barrington, and Jessie Bond were largely missing from the productions of *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*. The comedic requirements of the Savoy audience were also essentially abandoned.

As Stanyon's research into these later operas illuminated, Gilbert and Sullivan had produced a fortune throughout the 1880s via the success of their combined efforts at the Savoy Theatre.¹²¹ As a result, a specific following formed an attachment to anything and everything they produced. *The Mikado*, which ran for 672 performances, saw the zenith of Sullivan's Savoy musical formulae, a libretto replete with topsy-turvydom and a cast awash with company favourites. In the aftermath of such unrivalled success, the Savoy audience remained largely conservative and remarkably faithful to these ideals – it knew what it liked and liked what it knew. The Savoy audience permitted *The Yeomen of the Guard* as a compromise, with its tragic ending and quasi-grand operatic musicality, granting a run of 423 performances; yet, its immediate successor, *The Gondoliers*, which recalled the glory days of *The Mikado*, proved far more fruitful. With its lavish Venetian setting and overflowing melodies which could be 'whistled away' (including a *Sullivan-esque* madrigal, patter song, animated choruses, etc.), tethered with Gilbert's comedic digs at Socialism and Republicanism, the work was everything the Savoy patron wanted. Together, Gilbert and Sullivan created the restraints of their own creativity, from which Sullivan was desperate to escape.

Haddon Hall represented a compromise between the romantic and comedic, billed as an 'original English light opera.'¹²² Owing to the new direction this work took when compared

¹²¹ Stanyon, *Sad Dregs or New Directions*, 7.

¹²² *Haddon Hall Programme*, 24th September 1892, 2.

to the comic precedents of Sullivan's earlier Savoy oeuvre, the composer clearly worried about how the Savoy audience might receive *Haddon Hall*:

The public must not come to the Savoy with the impression that they are going to see a comic opera, but to see and hear an opera comique.¹²³

Despite Sullivan's concerns, *Haddon Hall* had a moderately successful run of two hundred and four performances; though, compared to public reception of Sullivan's earlier operas, it was a relative failure.

Similarly, interviewed in the days leading up to the premiere of *The Beauty Stone*, Sullivan was noticeably concerned about how the public would react to his new composition, especially given the lack of success *Haddon Hall* experienced at the Savoy years earlier:

I am most anxious that the public should understand that the forthcoming Savoy piece is an entirely new departure ... It is most important that they should know what they are going to see. In the first place the work is not a comic opera. It is a serious, earnest, romantic drama, in which the dialogue and action are both as important as the music. The musical numbers arise in operatic libretto form, but the sequence of the musical numbers, whether songs, trios, or quartettes [*sic*], never interferes with the dramatic necessities of the play ... there are no comic songs or numbers ... The story is serious and romantic ... The score, although not so heavy as that of 'Ivanhoe,' has taken me more time and harder work than anything I have done for some time. You will appreciate the difficulty of making a thing earnest and serious, and yet endeavouring to be neither heavy nor dull ... I am very hopeful about the piece, because I think the public may welcome something of a novel character on the stage.¹²⁴

The Beauty Stone was almost entirely devoid of humour and, consequently, did not find an audience at the Savoy, folding after a run of fifty performances.

¹²³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 21st September 1892, 1.

¹²⁴ *Daily Mail*, 17th May 1898, 3.

To an extent, most critics concurred with the Savoy audience, unsatisfied with each libretto. *Haddon Hall* was the first work Sullivan had completed at the Savoy without Gilbert. Many critics were sceptical of his absence and, unfortunately for Sydney Grundy, were eager to compare them. The comedic elements Grundy had injected to accommodate to the Savoy audience were maligned as pathetic attempts to imitate Gilbert:

Mr. W. S. Gilbert is not to be adequately replaced.¹²⁵

“The Mountebanks” would have been a much finer opera if Sir Arthur Sullivan had written the music for it, and “Haddon Hall” – since it was considered that it should be a half-mirthful production – a decidedly more acceptable work if Mr. Gilbert had been the librettist.¹²⁶

Mr. Grundy is in error, Sir Arthur Sullivan is at his very best.¹²⁷

Grundy certainly felt the effect of this criticism. Quoted in the *Cardiff Times*, he wrote,

Sir,

As a humble but sympathetic student of dramatic and musical criticism may I venture to suggest that a short bill be introduced into Parliament making it a penal offence to supply the Savoy theatre with a libretto? Having regard to the magnitude of the crime, the punishment, which, of course, should be capital, might be made at the same time ignominious and painful. Should the libretto be so impertinent as to be successful, I would respectfully suggest ‘something lingering with boiling oil in it,’ if so humble a person as I may be permitted a quotation.

Yours, etc.,
Sydney Grundy.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ *London Evening Standard*, 26th September 1892, 2.

¹²⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 26th September 1892, 7.

¹²⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26th September 1892, 1.

¹²⁸ *Cardiff Times*, 8th October 1892, 2.

In a further interview in *The Era*, he stated:

I entered upon this task with some reluctance ... You see the position of following Gilbert in collaboration with Sullivan was an extremely delicate one, and when the opera was produced my fears were in one respect fulfilled – the newspapers were full of invidious comparisons between my work and my predecessor's. Why on earth could they not let me stand or fall on my own merits?¹²⁹

Table 9 – Critics known to have attended and reviewed a performance of *Haddon Hall*. Their view of Grundy's libretto. *D'Oyly Carte Tour. (DC = Drama Critic).

Critic:	Paper:	Affiliation:	View:
Alexander Geoghegan	<i>The Scotsman</i>		Neutral
Alfred Watson	<i>The Standard</i>		Negative
Arthur B. Walkley	<i>The Speaker</i>	New Critic	Negative
Arthur Hervey	<i>Morning Post</i>		Neutral
Benjamin W. Findon	<i>Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News</i>	Pro-Sullivan	Positive
Charles Carson (DC)	<i>The Stage</i>		Neutral?
Charles Freemantle	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>		
Charles Palmer	<i>The People</i>		Neutral
Dicky Sam*	<i>Clarion</i>	New Critic	Negative
Edmund H. Turpin	<i>Musical News</i>		Negative
Edward Baughan	<i>Musical Standard</i>	New Critic	
Frank Desprez (DC)	<i>The Era</i>		Positive
Frederick Toothill*	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>		Neutral
George B. Shaw	<i>The World</i>	New Critic	Positive
Henry F. Frost	<i>Athenaeum</i>		Negative
Henry Hersee	<i>Observer</i>		Positive
Herbert Thompson*	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	EMR	Neutral
Herman Klein	<i>Sunday Times</i>		Positive
?Hugh R. Haweis?	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>		Negative
?Hugh R. Haweis?	<i>Illustrated London News</i>		Negative
J. J. Brodie	<i>Glasgow Evening Post</i>		Neutral?
John Fuller-Maitland	<i>The Times</i>	EMR	Negative
Joseph Bennett	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	EMR	Neutral
Percy Betts	<i>Daily News</i>		
Stephen Stratton	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i>		Negative
Thomas Southgate (Ed.)	<i>Musical News</i>		Positive
Walter MacFarren	<i>The Queen</i>		Positive
William B. Squire	<i>Saturday Review</i>		Negative

¹²⁹ *The Era*, 8th October 1892, 11.

Providing no compromise between the romantic and comedic whatsoever, Pinero and Carr's libretto for *The Beauty Stone* was derided to a far greater extent than Grundy's, lambasted by virtually every correspondent. The librettists were vilified for creating a story, in the view of the press and theatregoers, which aroused severe 'boredom and fatigue'.¹³⁰ John F. Nisbet, dumbfounded by the production, wrote in *The Academy*: 'Considering what hands have been employed in the fashioning of this piece, its dulnes [*sic*] its emptiness, its lifelessness are indeed amazing.'¹³¹ Max Beerbohm, drama critic for *The Saturday Review*, epigrammatically captured the reaction of critics towards the libretto:

Figure 7 – Max Beerbohm pokes fun at the libretto of *The Beauty Stone*.

“THE BEAUTY STONE.”
Scene: WARDOUR STREET.
Time: THE IMMEDIATE PAST.
Enter R. MR. A. W. PINERO; L., MR. J. C

MR. C. Give thee good morrow, gossip!

MR. P. Heaven save thee, merry gentleman! What do'st?

MR. C. Nay, but I gad me to no especial quest.

MR. P. Art not here in the servicement of that good knight, Sir Henry? For well I know he hath much trust of thee, and that 'twas e'en here thou didst disinter for him King Arthur's hallow'd bones.

MR. C. 'Twas e'en here! But th'art in misprision, natheless, of my immediate presence.

Fared I hither but for my own pleasuring, having ta'en for many yearn much delightment i' the spot.

MR. P. By Saint Carolo, a right goodly reason! For myself —

MR. C. Aye, tell me of thyself! Art still in thrall to that accursed knave, Heinrik of Norway?

MR. P. I' sooth, I ha' somewhat tottered i' my fealty o' late. My thoughts hath strayed back to old Thomas de Robertson, my first dear liege. Hast seen my fair mummer-maiden, my last-begot?

MR. C. Aye, I did clap eyes on her at the Court, not many eves agone. Beshrew me, a personable wench! And hast cast off those naughty drabs — on whom a malison! — “The Second Dame Tanqueray” and “Dame Ebbsmith Of Whom All Men Wot?”

MR. P. That have I, gossip — 't least for a space.

MR. C. Then, by the finger-nails of St. Luke, art thou so much the more blessed!

MR. P. Methinks that I misdoubt me not of thy good wisdom.

¹³⁰ John F. Nisbet, *The Academy*, 4th June 1898, 611.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 612.

MR. C. Methinks that he who would fain doubt the wisdom of a sage is not sage himself!

MR. P. Ha, ha, ha! Ho, ho, ho! A right shrewd jest!

MR. C. But, in all graveness, gossip, sith we have thus encounter'd one the other here in the very abodement of Romance herself and sith we have naught better to do, wherefore should not we make some joint emprise?

MR. P. Why, by the arrows of Saint Sebastian, that will we!

MR. C. Thy hand on't!

MR. P. Let us to pen!

[Exeunt arm in arm.]

I have tried here to indicate for my readers the style in which “The Beauty Stone” is written, and the attempt has not been such a strain on me as I had expected... In listening to the “original romantic musical drama” at the Savoy I was appalled by the amount of trouble which the mere writing of it must have cost its authors. I did not realise that the difficulty is in listening to that style, not practicing it. Why Mr. Pinero and Mr. Carr, with all their knowledge of audiences, insisted on that fearful style I do not pretend to know. It must be quite as exasperating to uneducated listeners as it is to the listeners who have some culture. It is quite unnecessary, too... I am sure that the indisputable dullness of their “Beauty Stone” comes, mainly, from their pseudo-archaic manner... The audience suffers, in much the same degree as the composer and the singers suffer, from such lyrics. It would be infinitely worse than it is if its gifted authors had insisted on writing their own music. Yet, really, they are quite as well qualified to write their own music as to write their own lyrics, and I hope next time they will write neither. But is there any other reason for one's boredom? Yes, there is one very obvious reason. The libretto is deadly dull – there is not one passable joke in it.¹³²

Figure 8 – The Devil and Crazy Jaqueline.¹³³



¹³² Max Beerbohm, *The Saturday Review*, 4th June 1898, 744.

¹³³ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 25th June 1898, 25.

The proceeding table demonstrates the attitudes of critics towards Pinero's and Carr's

libretto:

Table 10 – Critics known to have attended and reviewed a performance of *The Beauty Stone*. Their view of Pinero's and Carr's libretto. *Carl Rosa Tour, 1901-1902. (DC = Drama Critic).

Critic:	Paper:	Affiliation:	View:
	<i>Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper</i>		Negative
	<i>Music Hall and Theatre Review</i>		Positive
A.B.B.	<i>Daily Mail</i>		Negative
Alexander Geoghegan	<i>The Scotsman</i>		Neutral
Alfred Kalisch	<i>Manchester Courier</i>	EMR	Negative
Alfred Watson	<i>The Standard</i>	Pro-Sullivan	Negative
Arthur Hervey	<i>Morning Post</i>		Neutral
Arthur Johnstone	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	EMR	Negative
B. L.	<i>Racing Illustrated</i>		Negative
Benjamin W. Findon	<i>Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News</i>	Pro-Sullivan	Negative
Charles Carson (DC)	<i>The Stage</i>		Negative
Charles Palmer	<i>The People</i>		Neutral
Edward Baughan?	<i>Musical Standard</i>		Negative
Edward Baughan?	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>		Negative
Edward F. Spence	<i>The Sketch - The Graphic</i>		Neutral
Frank Desprez (DC)	<i>The Era</i>		Negative
Frederick Toothill*	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>		Neutral
Herbert Thompson*	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	EMR	Positive
Herman Klein	<i>Sunday Times</i>		Positive
John F. Nisbet	<i>The Academy</i>		Negative
John Fuller-Maitland	<i>The Times</i>	EMR	Neutral
Joseph Bennett	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	EMR	Neutral
Max Beerbohm	<i>Saturday Review</i>	New Critic	Negative
Percy Betts	<i>Truth</i>		Negative
Percy Reeve?	<i>The Lute</i>		Positive
Pierrot	<i>Hearth and Home</i>		Negative
Thomas Southgate	<i>Musical News</i>		Negative
Vernon Blackburn	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>	New Critic	Negative
Walter MacFarren	<i>The Queen</i>		Neutral
William B. Squire	<i>Globe</i>		Negative

Though generative of a somewhat more mixed reaction amongst movements in music when compared to the reception of *Ivanhoe* or *The Golden Legend*, most correspondents were extremely positive in their view of Sullivan's contributions to *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*.

To those who advocated an EMR, *Haddon Hall*, much like his previous Savoy compositions, was considered nothing more than ephemeral even if, in Joseph Bennett's case, they appreciated the work. To his most ardent of supporters and admirers, this work far surpassed anything he had previously composed for the Savoy Theatre. One critic for the *Dundee Courier* captured, to some extent, the division amongst English musical correspondents: 'the temper of the critics may be judged from the fact that one Sunday paper describes it as rot, another as splendid.'¹³⁴

Sullivan's return to the Savoy did not impress Fuller-Maitland who was growing weary of the composers' focus on the commercial side of composition in the West End. Of all critics associated with the EMR, Fuller-Maitland's critique was the harshest, viewing *Haddon Hall* as a regression on the work of *Ivanhoe* as well as his collaborations with Gilbert:

Of the music as a whole it is extremely difficult to speak dispassionately...it would be absurd to blink the fact that, judged by the standards he himself has given us, the latest specimen must rank almost as far below the best of his productions in this kind as it ranks below the finer portions of *Ivanhoe* in earnestness and sustained power.¹³⁵

Joseph Bennett took the contrasting view of Sullivan's new work:

The music of "Haddon Hall" being, speaking generally, among the best that bears Arthur Sullivan's name. His works agree thoroughly with our national style - a national style we have - and they appeal to the popular perception or - better word - instinct ... He has given himself a free hand, and followed the bent of his own fancy; but the result is purely English music, which comes home to us all. Not a bar suggests that "melody is in the invention of Satan." On the contrary, tune runs in a continuous stream through the opera, here quietly flowing, there rippling with laughter, or rushing in impetuous torrent.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ *Dundee Courier*, 26th September 1892, 5.

Herman Klein at *The Sunday Times* announced that Sullivan had "'improved the occasion" by writing one of the most delightful scores in all his long and masterly series,' whereas Frank Desprez, critic for *The Era*, denounced *Haddon Hall* as a 'disappointing work.'

¹³⁵ Fuller-Maitland, *The Times*, 26th September 1892, 11.

¹³⁶ Bennett, *The Daily Telegraph*, 26th September 1892, 3.

The EMR was, for all intents and purposes, divided over Sullivan's new work. Bennett and Fuller-Maitland were diametrically opposed – the former believed this new work sustained the composer's reputation, for the latter, it represented deterioration. Notably, despite Bennett's appreciation of the work, the faction's overall disapproval does nevertheless demonstrate the diminishing regard that those advocating a renaissance had for Sullivan or his output.

The New Critics shared a similar mixed reaction to the work. Edward Baughan, critic for the *Musical Standard*, stated:

It is thought that "Haddon Hall" takes a lower range than "Ivanhoe," and a much lower grade than preceding operas produced at the Savoy, such as "The Yeomen of the Guard," ... Much pretty music, however, may be found in the score; tuneful themes and fine orchestration might have been expected as a matter of course, and the expectation is not disappointed.¹³⁷

In contrast, Bernard Shaw saw this composition as one of Sullivan's crowning achievements: 'I contend that Savoy opera is a genre in itself; and that *Haddon Hall* is the highest and most consistent expression it has yet attained.'¹³⁸

More perceptive are the critiques by those who cannot be straightforwardly associated with a specific musical aesthetic. Most of these critics acknowledged that *Haddon Hall* was a compromise between the comedic and romantic, and, aside from moments within the finale Act II, considered the score a limited advance on the composer's previous Savoy compositions, recognising the difficulties of composing music for both Grundy's libretto as

¹³⁷ Edward Baughan, *Musical Standard*, 1st October 1892, 259.

¹³⁸ Shaw, *The World*, 28th September 1892, 1.

well as the needs of the Savoy audience. Alexander Geoghegan, writing for *The Scotsman*, commented:

The musician has sought to provide something ... combining the romantic and the comic ... “light opera” ... Musically, “Haddon Hall” is a little more ambitious than anything in the “Sorcerer” series. There is, to begin with, more music in it, and more elaborate music. The finales, for example, are longer and more ornate. The “storm” scene, too, is treated with particular care and finesse. For the rest ... “Haddon Hall” is very much of the kind to which he has accustomed us in former works for the Savoy.¹³⁹

Whilst *Ivanhoe* had proved a marked advance upon Sullivan’s theatrical idiom, continuing and maturing the precedents set in *The Golden Legend*, *Haddon Hall* was a compromise between the serious and the comic. At the Savoy, this scenario constituted new ground, but, due to Sydney Grundy’s libretto, many critics did not know what to make of the work as a whole. The bizarre Puritanical pseudo-comedic moments created an incoherent dramatic continuity, and, consequently, it struggled to find either critical or audience approval.

Notwithstanding its cataclysmic failure to engage the public, Sullivan’s contribution to *The Beauty Stone* also received positive reviews. While more correspondents, when compared to the reception of *Ivanhoe* and *Haddon Hall*, had a negative or neutral outlook concerning the score, the preponderance of critics viewed Sullivan’s music positively (53% Positive; 17.8% Neutral; 28.6% Negative):

¹³⁹ Alexander Geoghegan, *The Scotsman*, 26th September 1892, 7.

Table 11 – Critics known to have attended and reviewed a performance of *The Beauty Stone*. Their view of Sullivan’s score. *Carl Rosa Tour, 1901-1902.

Critic:	Paper:	Affiliation:	View:
	<i>Music Hall and Theatre Review</i>		Positive
E.F.S.	<i>The Sketch</i>		Positive
A.B.B.	<i>Daily Mail</i>		Neutral
Alexander Geoghegan	<i>The Scotsman</i>		Positive
Alfred Kalisch	<i>Manchester Courier – The Star – The World</i>	EMR	Negative
Alfred Watson	<i>The Standard</i>	Pro-Sullivan	Positive
Arthur Hervey	<i>Morning Post</i>		Positive
Arthur Johnstone	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	EMR	Negative
B. L.	<i>Racing Illustrated</i>		Negative
Benjamin W. Findon	<i>Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News</i>	Pro-Sullivan	Positive
Charles Carson (DC)	<i>The Stage</i>		Positive
Charles Palmer	<i>The People</i>		Positive
Edgar F. Jacques?	<i>Observer</i>		Negative
Edward Baughan?	<i>Musical Standard</i>	New Critic	Negative
Edward Baughan?	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	New Critic	Neutral
Edward F. Spence	<i>The Sketch - The Graphic</i>		Positive
Frank Desprez (DC)	<i>The Era</i>		Positive
Frederick Toothill*	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>		Positive
Herbert Thompson*	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	EMR	Negative
Herman Klein	<i>Sunday Times</i>		Neutral
John F. Nisbet	<i>The Academy</i>		Neutral
John Fuller-Maitland	<i>The Times</i>	EMR	Negative
Joseph Bennett	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	EMR	Positive
Percy Betts	<i>Truth</i>		Positive
Percy Reeve?	<i>The Lute</i>		Positive
Pierrot	<i>Hearth and Home</i>		Positive
Thomas Southgate	<i>Musical News</i>		Neutral
Vernon Blackburn	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>	New Critic	Positive
Walter MacFarren	<i>The Queen</i>		Positive
William B. Squire	<i>Globe</i>		Negative

By 1898, journalists associated with an EMR began to take a harsher stance on Sullivan’s music, conceivably brought about by the spread of their ideology throughout the provinces and the addition of major publications to their cause, as well as a dissatisfaction with Sullivan’s lack of compositional goals and aims. With the addition of Johnstone and Kalisch to large-circulation provincial papers, the EMR were able to expand their ideological base and exert more influence over English musical taste. Intriguingly, five months after the premiere of *The Beauty Stone*, in October 1898, Herbert Thompson’s diary comments written

during the 1898 Leeds Music Festival reveal these EMR critics socialising together. Stanyon's research into this festival year also demonstrated how these critics 'enjoyed personal associations with Parry and Stanford.'¹⁴⁰ These included Charles L. Graves, who was to become Parry's biographer, John Fuller-Maitland, who, as a Cambridge student, was known as 'Stanford's shadow', Herbert Thompson, and Arthur Johnstone, both former Cambridge students.¹⁴¹ During this festival, their collective disdain for Sullivan's conducting style is made apparent in Stanyon's study, and is mirrored in their growing disregard for Sullivan's output.¹⁴² In their opinion, he was not Hubert Parry or C. V. Stanford as a composer, nor Hans Richter as a conductor; he also had the 'insolence' to compose music that did not subscribe to their aesthetic whilst retaining his reputation as the 'Great Man' of English music.¹⁴³

Fuller-Maitland saw *The Beauty Stone*, much alike *Haddon Hall*, as a further deterioration in Sullivan's compositional idiom:

Musically the opera would gain enormously if Sir Arthur Sullivan would treat the character with some of the diablerie exhibited so happily in the Lucifer of *The Golden Legend*. It is, perhaps, the greatest disappointment in the new production that there should be so little of the supernatural element conveyed in the music, and more particularly so when Sir Arthur Sullivan is the composer. Apart from this one point, the story is so full of material and so much is made of it that some of its situations seem to demand a higher style of music than a succession of isolated songs for the chief characters, which more than once are introduced for no obvious dramatic reason, and the not infrequent use of leading themes, as they are called, makes musical hearers wish that the composer had chosen once again to cast his work in true operatic shape, with continuous music through each scene.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 31.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Herbert Thompson, *Diary*, entries between Oct 1st-8th 1898.

¹⁴³ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 31.

¹⁴⁴ Fuller-Maitland, *The Times*, 30th May 1898, 12.

Fuller-Maitland's sentiments were echoed by Arthur Johnstone, who believed 'the jingle of "Pinafore" and "The Mikado" is delightful enough in its place, but its intrusion in the midst of some more or less dramatic episode must necessarily arouse resentment.'¹⁴⁵ Alfred Kalisch concurred: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan's music, to speak frankly, was rather disappointing. He did not seem at home in trying to be serious one minute and gay the next, with the result that he was neither wholly serious nor wholly humorous, but rather colourless, except at a few happy moments, and then he was himself.'¹⁴⁶

Jacobs, conceivably influenced by these readily available EMR reviews, took advantage of this narrative, declaring *The Beauty Stone* 'a sad milestone' in what he believed was Sullivan's steady compositional decline.¹⁴⁷ Unknowingly, as the article is written under the pseudonym R. Peggio, Jacobs referenced the New Critic Edward Baughan's column in the *Musical Standard* to support his case:

The effect is as if the composer were laughing at his own initial seriousness. And the worst of it is the music that is not old Sullivanesque characterless and might have been written by any composer of the day ... But I do not feel inclined seriously to discuss the music, which practically only illustrates the lighter side of the 'romantic drama' with any measure of success; to say that is equal to saying that Sir Arthur's share is somewhat of a failure, and I am afraid that must be the verdict.¹⁴⁸

Upon a closer investigation of primary source material, however, this assessment is inconsistent with the contemporary critical consensus, dismissing the frequently positive evaluations Sullivan's music obtained.

¹⁴⁵ Arthur Johnstone, *Manchester Guardian*, 30th May 1898, 10.

¹⁴⁶ Alfred Kalisch, *Manchester Courier*, 30th May 1898, 5.

¹⁴⁷ Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*, 385.

¹⁴⁸ Baughan, *The Musical Standard*, 4th June 1898, 358. This article is written under the pseudonym "R. Peggio."

"R. Peggio" – John F. Runciman revealed that this was Baughan's pseudonym in an article for *The Saturday Review*: 'Mr. "R. Peggio" – in other words Mr. E. A. Baughan – actually...' *The Saturday Review*, 20th July 1901, 75.

Vernon Blackburn at the *Pall Mall Gazette* saw the work as evidence of maturity within Sullivan's later style:

He began so well that we scarce know where to look for more beautiful work from his pen than in the first part of the first act. This is a musician who has the true note of inspiration. He composes, not because it is his academic will to compose or to weave music together, but because he has the living principle within him. That which suits him for a comic song is reckoned good enough for the subject of a solemn figure by an alien school of learned professors. But as the years have gone by we have noted in him a deepening gravity, a new sort of melody, a more impressive delivery of himself.¹⁴⁹

Joseph Bennett, a consistent outlier amongst those dedicated to a renaissance within English music, provided the most discerning analysis of Sullivan's work:

Listening to the music of "The Beauty Stone," the critical ear quickly perceives that Sir Arthur Sullivan has not deserted his old ways. As a matter of course, in a work of comparatively serious complexion, he follows the precedents of "Ivanhoe" and "The Golden Legend" rather than those contained in the pages of his comic operas ... One cannot say that the composer has repeated himself too closely; it is repetition of device rather than repetition of tune that we find in "The Beauty Stone," and Sir Arthur's selective faculty has never suffered him to make peculiarly his own anything that was unworthy of his affection ... In a word, although "The Beauty Stone" finds him wandering through a garden whose blossoms he has often plucked before, there is always fresh art in his twining of a new wreath, and fresh charm in the nose-gays wherein he mingles so deftly fair and familiar flowers ... Sir Arthur Sullivan has dealt well with his collaborator, for he has enriched "The Beauty Stone" with music which should be its most effectual passport to popularity.¹⁵⁰

Though Bennett supported a renaissance within English music, he was out of step with the faction on many issues, such as his belief that Sullivan was 'the best British conductor of his generation.'¹⁵¹ Both Bennett and Blackburn understood the work as Sullivan had intended it,

¹⁴⁹ Vernon Blackburn, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30th May 1898, 3.

¹⁵⁰ Bennett, *The Daily Telegraph*, 30th May 1898, 9.

¹⁵¹ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 16.

a ‘Romantic Musical Drama,’ and, as each examination outlines, believed it inhabited the sound world and exploited the models of *The Golden Legend* and *Ivanhoe*.¹⁵²

For the audience, although the ‘tunes’ were there, they were surrounded by mock-medieval language, the story was smothered by things which did not matter, and the evening totalled four hours in length. Rappee, writing for *The Lute* periodical, declared that ‘the work was the best of its kind’ in an attempt to circumvent criticism from the public; however, the critic understood that ‘visitors who have become saturated with “Variety” pieces, with “Gaiety,” “Shop,” “Circus” and other girls, will be left comparatively cold by less highly spiced fare.’¹⁵³ Later, in August, J. Scanlan, a *Beauty Stone* audience member, felt compelled, after reading Rappee’s column, to assert that the Savoy audience and their requirements hampered the success of *The Beauty Stone*:

I wish to thank you for introducing me to such a grandly artistic opera. A better has never found a home at the Savoy. Splendid music, charming lyrics, and an intensely interesting story ... And yet this beautiful opera has turned out a financial failure. Why? In my opinion the reason is as apparent as it is regrettable. In a word it was too intellectual ... for the modern taste. There were no waltz tunes, no tights. As I left the theatre ... I overheard a disconsolate “pittite” remark to his companion: “Fancy, George, not a blooming dance in the whole thing!” “No,” responded the other bored-looking disciple of Gilbert, “and none of them songs about politics, and giving nasty knocks to the aristocracy and that. Tommy rot, I call it!” This, apparently, was the view taken by the public generally, as “The Beauty Stone” has already been withdrawn.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² *The Beauty Stone Programme*, 1st June 1898, 2.

¹⁵³ Rappee, *The Lute*, 1st July 1898, 718. ‘The music is some of the finest ever written by Sir Arthur ... I am not making any comparison between his work in “The Beauty Stone” and his work when writing to Mr. Gilbert’s lines. Because the two cases admit no comparison – though some of my daily contemporaries devoted about half a column to finding this out ... He has infinitely more scope for picturesque, descriptive and heart-felt music [in *The Beauty Stone*] ... To “The Beauty Stone” he has brought not only his inherent vivacity, but an almost French enthusiasm in certain places. I am writing from memory only, but I think the *finale* of Act I. may rank with anything that ever emanated from his fertile and curiously nice brain.’

¹⁵⁴ *The Lute*, 1st August 1898, 728.

1.3 Provincial Vs. London

In examining previous reception histories of *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone* there has been an understandable London-centric focus by musicologists. As a result, few have detailed the reception these works encountered in the provinces.

Discussed earlier within this chapter, the Carl Rosa company pioneered the cause of opera sung in English and operas by English composers. Assessing the repertoire of the Carl Rosa company, together with other touring companies such as Moody-Manners between 1875-1896, Paul Rodmell considered that whilst works by Gaetano Donizetti, Gioachino Rossini, Vincenzo Bellini, and Giacomo Meyerbeer ‘were largely expunged’ over this time period, provincial taste was ‘dominated by Italian works familiar in the West End.’¹⁵⁵ Whilst Rodmell attributed the decline in performances of certain works by Balfe, such as *The Rose of Castille* (1857), *Satanella* (1858), and *The Puritans Daughter* (1861), to a deterioration in enthusiasm for English opera, the below repertory of the Carl Rosa Opera Companies 1887 provincial tour illuminates the significant extent to which English operas, both old and new, were performed (38.2%):

¹⁵⁵ Paul Rodmell, *Opera in the British Isles, 1875-1918*, (Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 154-158.

Table 12 – Carl Rosa Opera Company Provincial Tour, 1887.

Carl Rosa Opera Company Provincial Tour, 1887	
Composer:	Total % (No.):
Auber	7.1% (15)
Ambroise Thomas	4.72% (10)
Balfe	11.32% (24)
Benedict	1.42% (3)
Bizet	16.51% (35)
Corder	15.6% (33)
Donizetti	2.83% (6)
Flotow	1.42% (3)
Goring Thomas	2.4% (5)
Gounod	5.7% (12)
Marchetti	2.4% (5)
Masse	4.25% (9)
Mozart	4.82% (10)
Verdi	7.1% (15)
Wagner	5.9% (11)
Wallace	7.55% (16)
Total performances:	212
English Operas:	38.2% (81)

Aside from its understandable novelty, Corder's *Nordisa* had a remarkably successful run in the provinces. The work proved a 'hit' in large cities such as Manchester and Liverpool, and, despite its failure in London, Rosa continued to offer it to provincial audiences; it would not have been maintained in the repertory if it was unprofitable.¹⁵⁶ Although *Nordisa* was not performed again, proving less popular than the earlier successes of Goring Thomas's *Nadeshda* and *Esmeralda*, English works such as Balfe's *Bohemian Girl* and Wallace's *Mauritana* proved robust members of repertory. Thus, by the time the Carl Rosa Company toured *Ivanhoe* in 1894, there existed a contemporary provincial audience for not only opera in English, but English opera.

¹⁵⁶ Assessing the contemporary reception of *Nordisa*, Joseph Bennett noted: "Nordisa," though well received in the provinces, failed in London, and, as far as the metropolis is concerned, may be regarded as on the shelf.' Joseph Bennett, *The Daily Telegraph*, 13th June 1887, 3.

The first performance of *Ivanhoe* during the Carl Rosa tour was in Liverpool at the Royal Court Theatre and was an immediate success. Performances of the opera repeatedly filled the venue, so much so that extra performances were scheduled due to popular demand. Over a two-week period, the opera was performed six times (amongst other works) and due to the success of the work, the company concluded their Liverpool season with two performances of *Ivanhoe*.

Figure 9 – ‘The Great Production of Ivanhoe’ concludes the Carl Rosa Liverpool season (Feb-March 1895).¹⁵⁷



As noted by almost every critic, *Ivanhoe* continued to fill opera houses. Similar to the work's reception in London, the critics were almost universally supportive of Sullivan's contribution to the world of English opera. When the company toured to Manchester, Alfred Kalisch, critic for the *Manchester Courier* and a fervent supporter of an EMR, wrote a glowing review of the opera: 'Speaking generally of the ... [music], it may be said to exhibit a fine effort on

¹⁵⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, 1st March 1895, 1.

the composer's part, an effort in which he has laid on one side his more playful and recreative method in light opera, and has risen to a genuinely dramatic height.'¹⁵⁸ The correspondent for the *Manchester Times* agreed: 'Sir Arthur Sullivan ... has written music of genius, dramatic interest and weight.'¹⁵⁹ *Ivanhoe* garnered similar audience and critical approval in Aberdeen, Nottingham, Belfast, Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bradford, Leeds, and Newcastle. Charles Lloyd, critic for the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, stated, 'the popularity in Newcastle of Sir Arthur Sullivan is so great that the success of his grand opera, "Ivanhoe," produced last night at the Tyne Theatre for the first time in this city, was a foregone conclusion.'¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Alfred Kalisch, *Manchester Courier*, 29th March 1895, 5.

¹⁵⁹ *Manchester Times*, 5th April 1895, 7.

¹⁶⁰ Charles Lloyd, *Newcastle Chronicle*, 25th May 1895, 4.

Table 13 - Critics known to have attended and reviewed a performance of *Ivanhoe*. Carl Rosa

Tour, December 1894-June 1896.

Year:	Critic:	Newspaper:	View:
1895	Liverpool – Royal Court Theatre, 14th 17th 23rd 25th Feb. 2nd 3rd Mar.		
		<i>Daily News</i> (London Paper)	Positive
		<i>Liverpool Daily Post</i>	Positive
		<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>	Positive
		<i>The Era</i> (London Paper)	Positive
		<i>Liverpool Courier</i>	Positive
	Nottingham – Theatre Royal, 8th Mar.		
		<i>Nottingham Evening News</i>	Positive
	Manchester – Theatre Royal, 28th 30th Mar. 4th 6th 9th 13th 15th 19th Apr.		
		<i>Manchester Evening News</i>	Positive
		<i>Manchester Times</i>	Positive
		<i>Manchester Courier</i>	Positive
	Charles Freemantle	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>	Positive
	Dicky Sam	<i>Clarion</i>	Negative
	Glasgow – Royalty Theatre, 23rd 27th 28th April		
		<i>The Stage</i> (London Paper)	Positive
	J. J. Brodie	<i>Glasgow Evening Post</i>	Negative
	Mr. Davidson	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
	Aberdeen – Her Majesties, 2nd May		
		<i>Aberdeen Press and Journal</i>	Positive
	Edinburgh – Royal Lyceum, 10th 16th May		
		<i>Edinburgh Evening News</i>	Negative
	Alexander Geoghegan	<i>The Scotsman – Evening Dispatch</i>	Positive
	Newcastle – Tyne Theatre, 24th May		
		<i>Newcastle Evening Chronicle</i>	Positive
	Charles Lloyd	<i>Newcastle Daily Chronicle</i>	Positive
	Birmingham – Theatre Royal, 30th May 1st June,		
	Dublin – Gaiety Theatre, 7th September		
		<i>Dublin Evening Telegraph</i>	Negative
		<i>Freemans Journal</i>	Positive
		<i>Sunday World</i>	Positive
	Belfast – Theatre Royal, 16th September		
		<i>Belfast News-letter</i>	Positive
		<i>Northern Whig</i>	Positive
	Bradford – Theatre Royal, 18th October		
	Herbert Thompson	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	Negative
	Leeds – Grand Theatre, 26th October		
	Frederick Toothill	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>	Positive
1896	London – Daly's Theatre, 21st January		
	Liverpool – Royal Court Theatre, 18th 21st March		
		<i>Liverpool Echo</i>	Positive
		<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>	Positive
	Manchester – Theatre Royal, 30th March		
	Alfred Kalisch	<i>Manchester Courier</i>	Positive

Ivanhoe's success throughout the provinces caught the attention of numerous London papers, several of which pronounced 'the general verdict ... distinctly favourable.'¹⁶¹ The opera was performed several times during the company's 1896 season and was once again extremely well received in Liverpool. *Ivanhoe*, which had been performed six times during the company's previous tour to Liverpool, had made such an impression on the local population that hundreds who had queued outside the theatre were left without tickets and an extra matinee performance was scheduled for the following week.¹⁶² Despite this, the following performance in Manchester, though praised by critics, failed to conjure a large following. Alfred Kalisch, at the *Manchester Courier*, provided two explanations as to why this could be the case:

Possibly "Passion Week" may account for the abstention of some few of the regular frequenters; more probably the true reason is that fashion has decreed that Wagner is the god at whose feet the British public must fall down and worship, and fashion in this case decrees wisely; still it might surely permit of some latitude to its votaries, and assuredly "*Ivanhoe*" is worthy of a certain amount of adulation ... If English people would only have the temerity to go and hear for themselves, that one hearing would reveal to them its beauties.

Kalisch's plea to the Mancunian public was not permitted as *Ivanhoe* was not included in the company's repertoire following this performance. Despite the company's decision to focus on Wagnerian operas, owing to the extremely positive reception *Ivanhoe* had previously encountered, numerous papers reported that the opera would be included in the Carl Rosa repertoire in future seasons; however, possibly owing to the huge expense of mounting the work, it would not be performed by the company again.¹⁶³

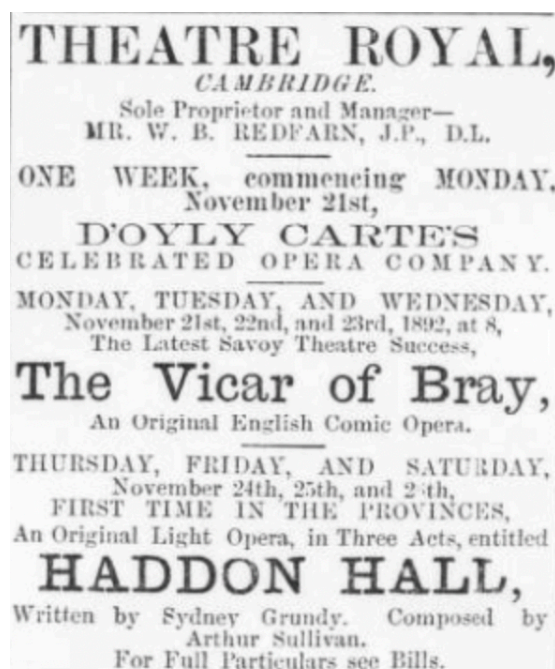
¹⁶¹ *Daily News*, 15th February 1895, 7.

¹⁶² *Liverpool Echo*, 19th March 1896, 3.

¹⁶³ *Manchester Times*, 5th April 1895, 7.

Haddon Hall encountered a wildly different reception in the provinces when compared to its London debut. The opera was a smash hit and the first provincial tour of the work saw it performed over four-hundred times (See Appendix 1.). The tour began in Cambridge at the Theatre Royal, November 1892, and was an immediate sensation: ‘Mr. D’Oyly Carte’s celebrated opera company have occupied the boards of Mr. Redfarn’s theatre during the week, and have played to crowded houses, two of the latest operas, “The Vicar of Bray” and “Haddon Hall,” with unqualified success.’¹⁶⁴

Figure 10 – *Haddon Hall*. ‘First time in the provinces.’¹⁶⁵



A few months later, in January-February 1893, audiences in Exeter were so enthused by the work that an extra week of performances was arranged:

¹⁶⁴ *Cambridge Independent Press*, 25th November 1892, 8.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 18th November 1892, 1.

Figure 11 – *Haddon Hall*. ‘Great Success and Re-engagement of Mr. R. D’Oyly Carte’s company.’¹⁶⁶

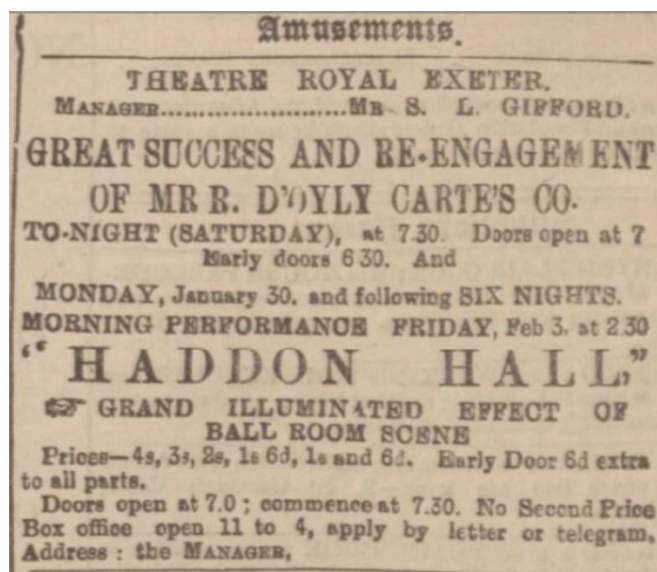
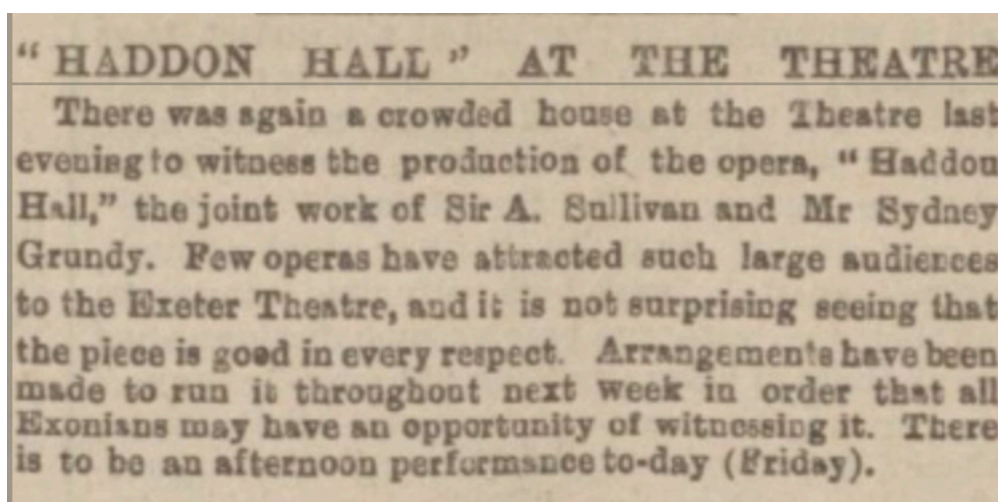


Figure 12 – *Haddon Hall*. Extra performances are engaged so more ‘Exonians’ may see it.¹⁶⁷



Despite the re-engagement of *Haddon Hall* that week, demand for the work was such that the company returned in October for a further five performances. Similar instances of provincial audiences flocking in great numbers to see the work can be observed in several provincial

¹⁶⁶ *Western Times*, 28th January 1893, 1.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 27th January 1893, 5.

towns and cities. In Cardiff the opera toured was so popular, that for the final performance, special trains were arranged with reduced fares:

Figure 13 – ‘Special Train, at reduced fares, from Swansea at 2.30, calling at all intermediate stations and returning from Cardiff at 11.10pm.’¹⁶⁸



Due to the tremendous success *Haddon Hall* found amongst Cardiff audiences, the company added extra performances. As a result, a correspondent for *Clarion* reported ‘that the production of *Haddon Hall* yielded receipts unprecedented in the annals of the T. R. [Theatre Royal.]’¹⁶⁹ Moreover, the following notices reveal the extent to which *Haddon Hall* captivated audiences in every corner of the British Isles:

Figure 14 – ‘Owing to the enormous success of “Haddon Hall” in all towns visited by Mr Carte’s Company it has been decided to play it the entire week.’¹⁷⁰



¹⁶⁸ *South Wales Daily News*, 8th March 1893, 1.

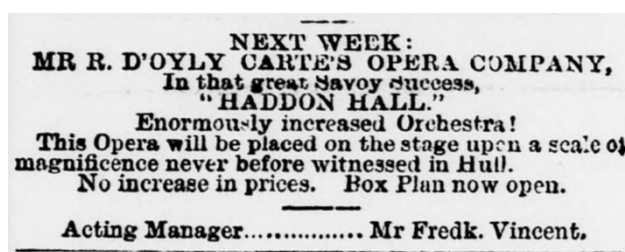
¹⁶⁹ Dangle, *Clarion*, 25th March 1893, 3.

¹⁷⁰ *Shields Daily Gazette*, 4th May 1893, 1.

Figure 15 – D'Oyly Carte company returns to Glasgow: 'Received on its former visit with great enthusiasm.'¹⁷¹



Figure 16 – 'This Opera will be placed on the stage upon a scale of magnificence never before witnessed in Hull.'¹⁷²



The provincial tour was so successful that D'Oyly Carte touring troupes visited twenty venues twice within the space of one year. Upon return visits, such as to the Royal Court Theatre in Liverpool, papers continued to report that the piece lost none of 'its popularity.'¹⁷³ The opera even attained international acclaim whilst being produced by The Willard Opera Company who had 'an unprecedented season of 18 weeks in Bombay and 13 weeks in Calcutta.'¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Baughan, *Glasgow Herald*, 24th August 1893, 1.

¹⁷² *Hull Daily Mail*, 19th September 1893, 1.

¹⁷³ *Liverpool Echo*, 28th October 1893, 3.

¹⁷⁴ *Bangalore Spectator*, 18th April 1893, 2.

Figure 17 – The Willard Opera Company produce *Haddon Hall* in Bombay and Calcutta.¹⁷⁵




Stanyon's research into the touring history of these late works also demonstrated how the Carte's kept *Haddon Hall* in the touring repertoire until 1901:


¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

Table 14 – ‘Touring the late Sullivan operas: D’Oyly Carte Opera Company, unless otherwise stated.’¹⁷⁶

Touring the late Sullivan operas: 1892-1902: D’Oyly Carte Opera Company, unless otherwise stated.														
Year	Opera	Company	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
1902		C												
		D												
		E												
1901	Carl Rosa Opera Company													
1901	The Emerald Isle	C												
		D												
		E												
1900		C												
		D												
		E												
1899	The Rose of Persia	C												
		D												
		E												
1898	The Beauty Stone	B												
		C												
		E												
1897		B												
		C												
		E												
1896	The Grand Duke	B												
		C												
		D												
1895		E												
		B												
		C												
1894	The Chieftain	D												
		E												
		A												
1893	Utopia, Limited	B												
		C												
		D												
1892	Haddon Hall	E												
		B												
		C												
		D												
		E												
Touring non-Sullivan/Gilbert & Sullivan works														
			Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec

KEY

 Standard G&S repertoire

 Graduated colour: late opera toured in repertoire with others

Sources: Rollins & Witts: The D’Oyly Carte Opera Company in Gilbert & Sullivan Operas

Amongst provincial audiences, *Haddon Hall* continued to be a popular attraction, and profitable, amid performances of standard G&S repertoire and the rising allure of musical comedy.

Not only did audiences value the work, but so did provincial critics. Of the ninety-seven provincial critiques identified, only three viewed Sullivan’s score negatively (3.1%), eleven were neutral (11.3%) and eighty-three were positive (85.6%). Unburdened by the Savoy tradition and uninfluenced, mostly, by the musical aesthetics which sought to judge musicians

¹⁷⁶ Stanyon, *Sad Dregs or New Directions*, 14.

of the day within London, an overwhelming majority of critics believed that ‘in grandeur of conception, ... elaborate orchestral and dramatic effects ... [the work was] immeasurably in advance of such works as “Ruddigore” and “The Gondoliers.”’¹⁷⁷ Away from the capital, Sullivan’s score was realised, both by critics and theatregoers, as he had intended: ‘An Original English Light Opera.’¹⁷⁸

To an extent, the reaction of provincial critics towards *The Beauty Stone* during the Carl Rosa tour in 1901 recalled the view of those in London years earlier; but in several ways, provincial critics offered further insight into Sullivan’s music. *The Beauty Stone*’s first provincial performance was in Dublin at the Gaiety Theatre. The correspondent for the *Irish News and Belfast Morning News* believed that the production could ‘not by any means be termed an opera of much worth;’ however, the critic was perceptive in identifying that, if the music and words are considered separately, ‘the music is charming.’¹⁷⁹ The journalist also noted that, when compared to the previous performances given by the company, ‘the attendance ... was one of the most successful of the week.’¹⁸⁰ Irish critics, as well as several provincial critics, seem to have understood Sullivan’s music in line with the critiques of Joseph Bennett and Vernon Blackburn. For example, Frederick Toothill’s review of the work following a performance in Bradford interpreted Sullivan’s score intuitively:

“The Beauty Stone” was not very popular with the frequenters of the Savoy, who had looked for another “Mikado,” and infinitely preferred the whimsical fun of Gilbert to the epigrams of Pinero or the lyrics of Comyns Carr. In a musical sense, “The Beauty Stone” recalls the “Golden Legend.” The love duets, for instance, resemble those in the Cantata, and the music that accompanies the first production of “The Beauty Stone” is strongly reminiscent of the phial scene in the

¹⁷⁷ *Western Morning News*, 27th June 1893, 5.

¹⁷⁸ *Haddon Hall Programme*, 24th September 1892, 2.

¹⁷⁹ *Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, 14th December 1891, 8.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

“Legend.” There is a devil, too, in this, as in the earlier work, and he is endowed with something like the same spirit of humour.¹⁸¹

Following the company’s tour in Ireland, the public were offered *The Beauty Stone* at Derby, Islington, Huddersfield, and Brighton, although the work did not gain enough interest and democratically, in the form of a plebiscite, lost to works firmly in the operatic repertoire such as Balfe’s *Bohemian Girl*, Wagner’s *Tannhauser* and *Lohengrin*, and Verdi’s *Il Trovatore*. A columnist for *The Graphic* detailed the following results of the plebiscite held in Brighton:

Tannhauser came out first with 851 votes, followed by *Faust* with 743, and *Lohengrin* with 710. These were easily first. *Carmen*, which at one time held the lead, now had only 307 votes, and *Trovatore*, 211 ... *Bohemian Girl* had only 38, and *Maritana* 29 votes ... *Tristan und Isolde*, only had 12 votes, and *Siegfried*, 10, while Sir Arthur Sullivan’s *Beauty Stone* ... secured 4 votes.¹⁸²

Due to the introduction of this voting system, the work did not have a chance to captivate provincial audiences and critics in the same way *Ivanhoe* and *Haddon Hall* previously had. Many audience members will have known of *The Beauty Stone*’s failure in London and, on this basis, likely chose their operatic favourites over an opera which could potentially prove a disappointing evening out. To emphasise this, the Brighton audience were also not particularly interested in Wagner’s *Siegfried* which the company was touring for the first time in English. Despite this, the Carl Rosa management and cast obviously saw potential in Sullivan’s name as they continued to offer it to provincial audiences.

Provincial critics and audiences also had the misfortune of not being able to hear the opera in its entirety. In terms of orchestral power, the Carl Rosa company was able to realise Sullivan’s ambition by producing an orchestra of fifty players (when compared to the thirty

¹⁸¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 28th December 1901, 6.

¹⁸² *Graphic*, 19th April 1902, 34.

who could squeeze into the pit at the Savoy); however, many pieces were cut, resulting in a less than coherent musical continuity. After the first few performances at the Savoy years earlier, the following numbers and sections of music were not included:

- Removal of second verse from Laine's Prayer (No 3) – Bars 40-44
- Removal of orchestral music (No 7a) – Bars 88-91
- Removal of 142 bars from the Beauty Contest (No 8), which included the music for two of the three contestants, and their replacement by 46 bars of closing music for the chorus
- Removal of Barbe's verse in the song contest (No 8) – Bars 290-310
- Removal of verse/lyrics (No 11) – Bars 146-167; 174-181; 184-185
- Complete removal of the Trio for Laine, Joan and Simon (No 14) in Act II, Scene 2
- Complete removal of the Duet and Dance for Jacqueline and The Devil (No 17) in Act II, Scene 3
- Removal of dance section (No 17) – Bars 139-155
- Removal of the unaccompanied chorus (No 18) – Bars 41-58
- Removal of Recit. For Laine, Joan, and Philip. (No 18) – Bars 147-183.¹⁸³

Despite this, when *The Beauty Stone* was performed, provincial audiences received the work favourably. Unfortunately for the posterity of *The Beauty Stone*, the performance in Bradford on 27th December 1901, was to be the last professional production for over a century. Consequently, it has been perceived that *The Beauty Stone* represented a steep decline along Sullivan's compositional trajectory; however, as the correspondent of the Belfast *Northern Whig* affirmed, 'there [was]...still some magic in the name of Sir Arthur Sullivan.'¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*. Cuts mentioned throughout. These were also the cuts presumably added following the 1898 premiere at the Savoy.

¹⁸⁴ *Northern Whig*, 14th December 1901, 6.

1.4 Delineating a Context

By the 1960s, recognition of Sullivan's oeuvre had been reduced to his operas with WS Gilbert – even those were treated with barely veiled contempt by scholars such as Gervase Hughes. It is unsurprising, given the continuous torrent of abuse directed towards Sullivan's oeuvre by the musical establishment for most of the twentieth century, that a detailed exploration into Sullivan's romantic operas has not been forthcoming. Most academics have focused on the Gilbert and Sullivan partnership, which has, in turn, meant *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone* have not been examined in any great depth. Perception has been dictated by the length of London runs and via the use of readily available contemporary sources and critics such as Shaw, Fuller-Maitland, Bennett, and Thompson. The two Sullivan biographies by Young and Jacobs affirm this statement, and, at the time (in 1971 and 1984), it is no surprise their views had been moulded by the adverse critical reputation attached to Sullivan's music throughout the course of the twentieth century.¹⁸⁵

Contrary to this evaluation, exploration of London and provincial reception history has revealed Sullivan's music was not subject to the harsh level of critical dissatisfaction outlined in biographical studies. Consequently, an alternate view of Sullivan's scores, in line with that of his early biographers (Willeby, Findon, Lawrence, Bridgeman & Cellier, etc) has been ascertained. Audiences may not have been captivated in the same way they had been by Sullivan's collaborations with Gilbert, but this did not mean that his operas of the 1890s presented any kind of compositional corrosion; instead, whilst a majority believed *Haddon Hall* sustained Sullivan's previous Savoy style, *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone* represented

¹⁸⁵ Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*.
Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*.

compositional maturity, following a trajectory of stylistic techniques originating in *The Golden Legend*.

Compositional Constraints

‘Nervousness;’ the Victorian euphemism for mental health issues.¹⁸⁶ Undetailed by Sullivan’s biographers, though obvious in both Sullivan’s diaries and correspondence, periods of depression can be traced throughout his life. Anne Stanyon was the first scholar to give this topic any serious consideration, providing a detailed analysis of Sullivan’s health during the 1890s, illuminating how it affected his professional commitments at the Leeds Festival and during the gestation period of *The Beauty Stone*.¹⁸⁷ Such comprehensive research, together with a greater exploration of Sullivan’s mental and physical health during the compositional periods of *Ivanhoe* and *Haddon Hall*, has formed the basis of this chapter. Ill health, primarily a renal calculus which began in 1868, was also a dominant factor in Sullivan’s final decade. Other than Stanyon, recent historiography has overlooked Sullivan’s ill health, insinuating the composer’s complaints were hypochondriacal, disregarding the poor health that constrained Sullivan’s process whilst composing *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*. Reference to contemporary evidence, both Sullivan’s diaries and contemporary accounts, suggest that these works were, instead, composed during periods of extreme anxiety, depression, and sickness of varying degrees of severity, exacerbated by circumstances beyond Sullivan’s control. Such conditions meant that the compositional periods of these operas were unusually protracted, and, to some extent, contextualise their weaknesses – particularly *Haddon Hall* and parts of *Ivanhoe*.

2.1 *Ivanhoe*: ‘I am physically and mentally ill over this wretched business’

In February 1889, Gilbert made it clear to Sullivan that he was unwilling to depart from writing comic opera.¹⁸⁸ Their most serious work, *The Yeomen of the Guard*, had not been the

¹⁸⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, 16th March 1898

¹⁸⁷ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 25, 114-135, 360.

¹⁸⁸ Gilbert to Sullivan, 20th February 1889. Morgan Library.

success either had hoped for; nevertheless, Sullivan was not deterred from his intention to write works of a different nature. Although Gilbert declined to write a serious libretto for Sullivan, he recommended Julian Sturgis.¹⁸⁹ Presenting a blank canvas for Sullivan's creative process, Sturgis had previously supplied a libretto for Arthur Goring Thomas' *Nadeshda* which was successfully produced at Drury Lane in April 1885. Although competent, he was first and foremost a novelist.¹⁹⁰

Figure 18 – Julian Sturgis.¹⁹¹



Sullivan's diary entries throughout 1890 reveal how he and Sturgis worked together, often visiting one another to discuss scenes or circumstances which required alteration or development. On August 2nd Sullivan noted:

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ The librettist would later work with Charles Villiers Stanford on *Much Ado About Nothing* (1901, Premiere: Covent Garden) and Mackenzie on *The Cricket on the Hearth* (1914, Premiere: Royal Academy of Music).

¹⁹¹ Photograph by permission of the National Portrait Gallery.

Arranging my work for Sturgis who came about 1. Worked with him at all sorts of little details in the opera – he is quick at sensing my meaning and falls into it with kindly readiness.¹⁹²

To be suitable for the stage Walter Scott's book required considerable compression. Lengthy novels, such as *La Dame aux Camellias* (*La Traviata*) and *La vie de Boheme* (*La Boheme*) and *The Bride of Lammermuir* (*Lucia di Lammermoor*) were successfully condensed for use by Verdi, Puccini, and Donizetti; yet, Sturgis's adaptation of *Ivanhoe* omitted so much of the crucial parts of the story, including most of the scenes on the road, that his version of the tale consists of a series of disconnected scenes bound by a word or two of explanation. This was a drawback apparent to Sullivan:

The opera is in three acts and nine scenes, each having a different set, and this, of course, makes it somewhat more difficult to work than other operas, but my friend, Mr Julian Sturgis and I could not compress it into less owing to the great number of incidents in the novel, all of which have a bearing on the story.¹⁹³

The following table, produced by Benedict Taylor, highlighted this problem via the placement of chapters within Sullivan's nine tableaux:

¹⁹² Sullivan, *Diary*, 2nd August 1890.

¹⁹³ Sullivan to Mr Stephens. Andrew Lamb, 'Ivanhoe and the Royal English Opera', *The Musical Times*, Vol. 114, No. 1563 (May, 1973), 467-477.

Table 15 – Layout of Sullivan’s *Ivanhoe*, with chapter source from Scott’s novel. Benedict Taylor ‘Grand Opera - On history and national identity: Sullivan, Scott, and *Ivanhoe*’¹⁹⁴

<i>Act / Scene</i>	<i>Dramatis personae</i>	<i>Character</i>	<i>Chapter</i>
Act I			
Scene 1: The Hall of Rotherwood	Cedric, Isaac of York, De Bracy, The Templar, Rowena, Ivanhoe, Chorus	Indoor, public	3, 4, 5 [15]
Scene 2: An Anteroom in Rotherwood	Rowena, Ivanhoe; Isaac	Indoor, private: love scene	6
Scene 3: The Lists at Ashby	Tutti	Outdoor, public, dramatic	12, 16
Act II			
Scene 1: The Forest, Copmanhurst	King Richard, Friar Tuck, Locksley, chorus	Outdoor, rustic: comic interlude	16, 17, 32
Scene 2: A Passageway in Torquilstone	Rowena, De Bracy, Cedric, Templar	Indoor, claustrophobic	23
Scene 3: A Turret-Chamber in Torquilstone	Ulrica, Rebecca, Templar	Indoor, private, claustrophobic	31, 24
Act III			
Scene 1: A Room in Torquilstone	Ivanhoe, Rebecca, Ulrica	Indoor, private; narration of external events	28, 29, 31, 40
Scene 2: In the Forest	King Richard, Ivanhoe, Rowena, Cedric, Isaac, Chorus	Outdoor, rustic	32, 42
Scene 3: Preceptory of the Templars at Templestowe	Tutti	Public, formal	37, 43, 44

Scott’s story was clearly too protracted to fit the operatic stage. Several composers, including Rossini, Marschner, Pacini, and Nicolai, had previously tried; none had adequately moulded their musical ideas around a cohesive libretto. After a performance of Rossini’s *Ivanhoe* in Paris, Scott remarked: ‘the story [was] greatly mangled, and the dialogue in a great part

¹⁹⁴ Taylor, *Arthur Sullivan*, 172.

nonsense.¹⁹⁵ If history had proven Scott's novel could not be effectively compressed, why, then, was *Ivanhoe* chosen to spearhead both Sullivan's inaugural grand opera and what was perceived as the first English National Opera?

By the final decades of the nineteenth century, *Ivanhoe* was a much-loved novel and considered a national treasure. There were plenty of occasions for spectacle, the theme of English nationalism was likely to strike a chord with its audience, while the faux medievalism, which Scott capitalised on, had been fashionable since the late eighteenth century. In the same way Arthurian legends were a part of the national consciousness, so too were stories of Robin Hood (who makes an appearance as Locksley in *Ivanhoe*) as well as tales of the Saxons and Normans. *Ivanhoe*'s nationalist setting, and its premise of defeating the stranglehold of the foreign invader, was also typical of its era: the height of empire.

Once the first whispers of Sullivan's intention to compose an English grand opera began circulating, the scheme electrified public interest. As explored in Chapter One, owing to the successful trajectory of his career throughout the 1880s which culminated in his 'Magnum Opus,' *The Golden Legend*, Sullivan was the recognised 'Great Man' of English music. He was expected to create something special that could rise above European composers, or, at the very least, equal them. Many felt that this would in turn elevate the position of English music on the continent, which in the latter half of the nineteenth century was widely perceived as moribund.¹⁹⁶ A comment from the *Sporting Gazette* accurately reflected the weight of both critical and public expectation for Sullivan to compose a serious opera:

Is it really true, Sir Arthur Sullivan, that you mean to "do the grand" at Mr. D'Oyly Carte's new theatre? Your musical comedy is incomparable, but every

¹⁹⁵ W. E. K. Anderson, ed., *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972). 226.

¹⁹⁶ *Das Land Ohne Musik: The Land Without Music*, written by Oskar Adolf Hermann Schmitz in 1904.

amateur worthy of the name has long felt that you were meant for better things than making sport for the Philistines of the Savoy. What you have done in oratorio and sacred cantata has sufficiently disclosed the deeper and the purer vein. And in many of your greater ballads you have shown the hand of a master melodist. The stage is clear for you ...¹⁹⁷

Though intensified by his successes during the 1880s, the impetus for Sullivan to compose a grand opera occurred decades prior to *Ivanhoe*'s premier, immediately after his rise to fame with *The Tempest*. *The Sapphire Necklace* was Sullivan's first grand opera, completed by December 1863. In 1875, it was rumoured that he would compose an opera entitled *Mary Queen of Scots* for Swedish soprano Christina Nilsson, to be performed in St. Petersburg, Russia, for the winter season of 1876-77.¹⁹⁸ Whilst these works went unperformed and unwritten the unremitting insistence that Sullivan should compose a grand opera demonstrates the appetite that musical critics, and the musical world in general, had for the establishment of an English operatic repertory: 'The great want of the present school of native composers is somebody who can write serious opera with enduring vitality in it.'¹⁹⁹

As the premiere approached, there was a buzz of excitement and hope that Sullivan's score would uplift the position of English music – a mood encapsulated by the following notice in *The Times*:

The serious opera so long expected from Sir Arthur Sullivan's pen is shortly to become an accomplished fact, and it is possible that its production and the institution of a new theatre for works of its class may be the dawning of brighter hopes for English dramatic music than musicians have ever before been warranted in indulging. These can only be realized if the necessity for forming a

¹⁹⁷ *Sporting Gazette*, 26th October 1889, 8.

¹⁹⁸ *Eastern Daily Press*, 4th September 1875, 2: 'Mr. Arthur Sullivan is in Italy, and means to write an Italian opera for Nilsson to sing at St. Petersburg in the winters 1876-7.'

The Graphic, 25th September 1875, 11: 'The subject of Mr. Arthur Sullivan's projected opera for St. Petersburg (to be brought out in the autumn of next year) is the often, but never yet, in a lyrico-dramatic form, successfully treated *Mary Queen of Scots* ... It is also stated that Mr. Sullivan is in treaty with Mr. Carl Rosa for an original opera to be produced in London in the spring next year.'

Christina Nilsson: Nilsson was a Swedish soprano who had earned fame for her bel canto technique and rivalled the Spanish Soprano, Madame Adelina Patti.

¹⁹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 14th May 1890, 8.

“repertory” be recognized at once, and if new works by all the representative English musicians be produced as opportunity shall arise.²⁰⁰

Though *Ivanhoe* was not the first English grand opera, the critics and musical establishment treated it as such. Sullivan was under an enormous amount of pressure to compose the perfect opera which would transcend what the musical establishment perceived as past operatic failures – works by Balfe, Wallace, Benedict, and anything related to Ballad Opera such as Corder’s *Norisa* – and advance English music to the heights of European repertoires.

In addition to the enormous weight of public and critical expectation, the construction of the REOH specifically for the presentation of Sullivan’s new composition would have further increased pressure to compose a flawless opera. As Carte poured an enormous amount of money into the building, which ‘used the finest décor and the latest technical innovations,’ the opera also needed a wide appeal.²⁰¹ A music critic at the *Sunday Times* emphasised this ‘context’ when reviewing the 1910 revival:

The success of the ... venture depended on the extent to which the great middle-class public that had been lured to the Savoy ... could be brought to a serious intelligent interest in the lyric drama, and Sullivan ... knew that a public so constitutionally slow to assimilate new ideas must not be given something altogether new and unfamiliar. “Ivanhoe,” in fact, was meant to be a sort of bridge over which the Savoy followers might pass into a new country without realising that they had left the old one behind them.

The intention was to run the opera ‘all year round,’ with no immediate change in repertoire.²⁰² In total, Carte spent £150,000.00 (the equivalent of £ £17,430,000.00 in

²⁰⁰ *The Times*, 12th January 1891, 13.

²⁰¹ Paul Seeley, *Richard D'Oyly Carte*, (Routledge, Sept. 2020), 118.

²⁰² *Ivanhoe*, 31st January, Programme, Richard D'Oyly Carte.

2022).²⁰³ Given such extravagance, the work not only had to meet the approval of the critics and musical establishment, but also the public to make the scheme financially viable. For Sullivan, this amounted to a weight of expectation and pressure which would have undoubtedly affected his process.

Simultaneous to these pressures and drawbacks, a small discrepancy over the Savoy finances, expenditure relating to a carpet, evolved into a fully-fledged legal battle, later labelled ‘The Carpet Quarrel.’ Analysing the months in which he composed *Ivanhoe*, the mental health implications of Carte and Gilbert’s legal dispute seems to have inadvertently affected the work’s gestation period. Recent historiography has criticised the lure of Sullivan’s social activities, as well as several professional concerns, as the primary failings of Sullivan’s creative process; yet, aside from the work of Stanyon, the impact of this legal dispute on Sullivan’s mental health has been almost entirely ignored.²⁰⁴

Although the quarrel did not concern Sullivan, his attempts at arbitration left him exposed. By refusing to support his co-worker, Gilbert acrimoniously terminated their partnership. An exploration into Sullivan’s correspondence and diary details periods of illness both psychological and physical. Sullivan’s kidney ailment was to strike him on occasion between May and December of 1890; however, more frequent were the mental health problems provoked by Carte and Gilbert’s dispute, combining to affect the gestation period of *Ivanhoe*.

²⁰³ Edwin O. Sachs and Ernest A. E. Woodrow, *Modern Opera Houses and Theatres* (London: 1896; also reprint New York: 1968), vol. 1, pp. 35-37.

‘Some estimates put the final cost at around £200,000.’ Paul Seeley, *Richard D’Oyly Carte*, (Routledge, Sept. 2020), 124. Conversion: ‘<https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php>.’ 2022. Measuringworth.com. <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php>.

²⁰⁴ Sullivan’s diary corroborates Jacobs’ claim, replete with entries of his social engagements, including several race meetings, village fetes, and days spent boating from his house at Weybridge.

Sturgis provided Sullivan with a complete draft of the libretto in July 1889. Owing to a succession of commitments as the conductor of the Leeds Music Festival and a long-drawn-out sequence of rehearsals for *The Gondoliers*, Sullivan did not commence work on *Ivanhoe* before April 1890. Almost immediately after preparations for *The Gondoliers* had concluded, problems with Gilbert and with Sullivan's physical health began to arise.

A letter from Gilbert to Sullivan, dated April 22nd, 1890, established Gilbert's misgivings around Carte's management of the Savoy expenses:

I have had a difficulty with Carte. I was appalled to learn from him that the preliminary expenses of the *Gondoliers* amounted to the stupendous sum of £4,500!!! This includes ... £500 for new carpets *for the front of house!*²⁰⁵

Sullivan's letters and subsequent meetings with Gilbert attempted to diffuse the situation. Rather than mollifying, they had the opposite effect. During meetings towards the end of April, Gilbert declared his intention to draw up a new contract, and, on April 26th, outlined the details to Sullivan.²⁰⁶ The same day, Sullivan was due to attend the premiere of Ethel Smyth's *Serenade* at the Crystal Palace; he later wrote to her, explaining the reasons for his absence:

Had I not been ill and in pain on that eventful Saturday I should have been a gratified witness of your success. I had made all the arrangements to go but I had a combined attack that day, my old physical trouble ... and Gilbert!²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Gilbert to Sullivan, 22nd April 1890.

²⁰⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, 27th April 1890, 'Gilbert came to see me in the morning, and brought with him a paper containing the heads of a new agreement to be made between us three.'

²⁰⁷ Sullivan to Ethel Smyth, 14th June 1890.

Sullivan also recorded this meeting in his diary on April 26th and 27th.

Despite a brief spell of illness, Sullivan shrewdly suggested a cooling off period, hoping to smooth over the situation with Carte; soon after, he left for the Newmarket races. Upon his return, having had time to contemplate Gilbert's contractual proposals, Sullivan decided he was not willing to discuss a new agreement for the time being: 'I ... declined ... to consider a new agreement whilst the present one was still under dispute.'²⁰⁸ Gilbert, under the impression Sullivan would accede to his proposed contractual changes, was left discontented. With one swift stroke of the pen, a nineteen-year partnership came to an abrupt dissolution: 'the time for putting an end to our collaboration has at last arrived.'²⁰⁹ That same day, May 6th, Sullivan noted:

Felt ill all day. Received a letter from Gilbert breaking off finally our collaboration. Nothing could induce me to write again with him. How I have stood him for so long!! I can't understand.²¹⁰

Although the dispute existed between Gilbert and Carte, Gilbert was infuriated that his colleague had been unsupportive. Over the following days, a stream of letters ensued between the pair. On May 9th Sullivan refused to continue correspondence – this was not to last.²¹¹ Constant bickering from Gilbert, together with their court case becoming public property meant that Sullivan underwent a long-drawn-out period of 'worry, anxiety and expense' during the first six months of *Ivanhoe*'s development.²¹²

Sullivan, as with most of his works, outlined in his diary how the composition was progressing. These notes illustrate his mental turmoil during this period, cataloguing how Gilbert's legal proceedings seriously impacted the compositional process of *Ivanhoe*.

²⁰⁸ Sullivan to Gilbert, 6th May 1890.

²⁰⁹ Gilbert to Sullivan, 6th May 1890.

²¹⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, 6th May 1890.

²¹¹ Sullivan to Gilbert, 9th May 1890.

²¹² Sullivan, *Diary*, 11th November 1890.

Between May and September 1890, Sullivan often shelved the composition for weeks at a time, lacked concentration, seeking distraction, frequently flitting between Acts, and leaving sections unfinished, to be revisited or revised at a later date.

Given the brevity of his early diary entries, and the notable lack of excitement, it can be assumed that Gilbert's quarrelling affected the compositional process from day one:

Took up 1st Act of new opera *Ivanhoe* and began it. Didn't do much.²¹³

The tone of Sullivan's diary entry upon the commencement on *The Golden Legend* illumines a completely different mood:

Began composition of "Golden Legend," got on very well for 1st day.²¹⁴

Whilst composing *Ivanhoe* the composer's mental health suffered, and although the first sketch of Act I was completed on June 11th, these were only melodic outlines.²¹⁵ The work was slow, as he repeatedly noted in his diary. By July 30th Sullivan had only framed the first scene of Act I – eight scenes were yet to be completed. August proved even less fruitful as the legal dispute reached its climax when Gilbert applied for a receiver to inspect the Savoy finances – if granted, the effects could have been publicly and financially damaging for both Carte and Sullivan.

Although Gilbert had been the instigator of the Carpet Quarrel, Carte was not completely blameless; he too impacted Sullivan's emotional wellbeing. Sullivan made it clear that he

²¹³ Sullivan, *Diary*, 17th May 1890.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24th April 1886

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11th June 1891: 'At work finale 1st act ... Practically finished sketch of 1st act.'

wanted no part in the ‘quarrel, and did not desire to be mixed up in it.’²¹⁶ Carte and Gilbert both believed that Sullivan should give each his loyalty. Unlike Gilbert, Carte was prepared to use emotional blackmail to secure the composer’s support:

If you – my friend so long standing with whom I have been working so long, who has advised me through this worry, for whose great work I have actually built my new theatre, if you – I say are not going to back me up thoroughly in the trouble – then it is hard and I feel disheartened for the first time and in a way that nothing else could make me.²¹⁷

Aware that the success of his grand opera was heavily dependent on Carte, the impresario effectively backed Sullivan into a corner. The following day Sullivan saw Stanley, Carte’s solicitor; both drew up and later swore an affidavit.²¹⁸ Heavily impacted throughout August by the demands of both Carte and Gilbert, by the 31st Sullivan had composed little of the opera.

During the middle of September, without provision for arbitration, Carte and Gilbert settled their dispute. Aggravated by the situation, Sullivan wrote in his diary that it had all been ‘for absolutely nothing.’²¹⁹ Perhaps Sullivan’s reply to Gilbert’s letter of reconciliation in September 1890 to ‘let bygones be bygones,’ puts into context Sullivan’s mental anguish during the preceding seven months:

Don’t think me exaggerating when I tell you that I am physically and mentally ill over this wretched business ... I have not got over the shock of seeing our names coupled, not in brilliant collaboration over a work destined for world-wide celebrity, but in hostile antagonism over a few miserable pounds.²²⁰

²¹⁶ Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan*, 316. Ainger does not cite a source.

²¹⁷ Carte to Sullivan, 13th August 1890. DC/TM 1880-1891 FF 703-704.

²¹⁸ Sullivan, *Diary*, 15th August 1890.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11th November 1890.

²²⁰ Sullivan to Gilbert, 8th September 1890, Morgan Library, ID: 108460.

The timing of this partial reconciliation combined with notes in Sullivan's diary, which detail how the compositional process began to accelerate almost immediately after, further highlights how Carte's and Gilbert's legal dispute had seriously affected Sullivan's mental state and, consequently, the gestation period of *Ivanhoe*.

To further complicate the situation, Carte had implemented a clause into Sullivan's contract which would force the composer to pay a fine of £3000.00 if the score was not finished in time for an inaugural performance on January 10th, 1891. Owing to the events of the preceding six months, in early November 1890, it became clear that Sullivan's score would not be ready for the proposed deadline. In discussing the fine, Sullivan declared he was not happy with the terms of his original contract, nor was he satisfied about the fine. Helen Carte was not willing to give him more time, neither was she impressed at the notion of changing the terms of Sullivan's contract, demanding remuneration for the mounting costs associated with the REOH.²²¹

It is not a question of any body [sic] being fined ... it is only a question of what is to be done with a bad job ... The production is turning out infinitely more expensive than contemplated – all the expenses are rising. But now you seem to want to throw over the whole thing – and at the last moment – just as you are breaking to us that even a further postponement is probable – you speak as if you wanted to throw everything onto D'Oyly ... I am at my wits end. It is pay, pay, pay every minute of every day – and it will be a tough struggle to hold on till this later date.²²²

Again, the Carte's employed moral blackmail, placing all the blame on Sullivan, without acknowledging their part in the late delivery of his score. It is not clear whether Sullivan paid this fine, as has been previously left uncited by Jacobs and Ainger; however, it appears that

²²¹ 'A profit share; the sliding scale; and finally, a percentage.' Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan*, 322.

²²² Helen Carte to Sullivan, 5th November 1890, DC/TM.

the contract was redrawn in early 1891 and it was agreed Sullivan would receive ‘ten per cent of the gross monies received for admission ... by weekly payments.’²²³

Whether Sullivan was forced to pay Carte’s fine or not, the financial burden did not lie entirely on the Cartes. Sullivan had agreed to pay a half share of the costs of keeping back the opening of the theatre which would be paid back weekly out of his percentage.²²⁴ Sullivan therefore had a vested interest, aside from the fine, to complete his score as rapidly as possible. Consequently, it appears the final scene of the opera was rushed. During the final duel between Ivanhoe and the Templar, Sullivan recycled, verbatim, material used during the siege of Torquilstone. The second repetition of this material, which ends rather abruptly, does not have the same dramatic effect as when it used as a climax to the crumbling of the Torquilstone’s walls. As early December approached, Sullivan was also deeply unhappy with his original ‘sombre ending,’ detailing a ‘sleepless night’ in his diary on December 6th. Later, the collaborators agreed to a ‘brighter’ ending which Sullivan began composing on December 9th. Time pressure, though, was an immediate factor and, presumably struggling to force new musical ideas, Sullivan recycled a quartet previously used in Act III, Scene two, for the closing chorus.

After seven months of composition, Sullivan completed *Ivanhoe* on December 13th. The remark left in his diary clarifies how exhausting the preceding months had been and how relieved Sullivan was that the work was finally over:

Put the last note to score at 6 p.m. Absolutely finished. Thank God. Seven months hard labour. 715 pages of score.²²⁵

²²³ *Ivanhoe* Contract, January 1891, V&A, AN: S.2822-1986.

²²⁴ Ainger, *Gilbert and Sullivan*, 322.

²²⁵ Sullivan, *Diary*, 13th December 1890.

Never had Sullivan worked under such pressures, stresses, and difficult circumstances. For Sullivan, whilst realising ‘the great desire’ of his lifetime, these pressures, constraints, and limitations compounded to severely protract the compositional period of *Ivanhoe*.

2.2 Haddon Hall: ‘I got relief after 5 mortal hours of agony—the worst day I’ve had since 79.’

Augmenting his celebrity lifestyle undoubtedly prompted Sullivan’s return to the Savoy. His 1890s Savoy works were not to be as lucrative as the 1880s. Whilst composing *Haddon Hall*, elements coincided to severely delay the compositional process. A crucial drawback came from Sullivan’s chosen librettist, Sydney Grundy. Although he penned various successful plays during the 1870s and 1880s, prior to the production of *Haddon Hall*, Grundy’s contribution to musical theatre was negligible, providing three unfavourably received

Figure 19 – Sydney Grundy.²²⁶



libretti for Edward Solomon.²²⁷ Thus, by the time he was contracted to write *Haddon Hall* for Sullivan, he had limited experience of working in musical theatre.

Carte perceived Grundy as one of the most popular dramatists of the day and saw him as a likely successor to the estranged WS Gilbert. In an interview with *The Era*, Grundy stated:

²²⁶ Photograph by permission of the National Portrait Gallery.

²²⁷ *Popsy Wopsy* (1880), *The Vicar of Bray* (1882) and, with the help of Henry Pottinger Stephens, *Pocahontas* (1884).

I entered upon this task with some reluctance. Carte wanted a contract for a series of operas; but that I declined, determined to just try *Haddon Hall*.²²⁸

Sullivan must have seen potential in the scenario for *Haddon Hall*, and, in principle, this collaboration offered him the freedom he sought in his correspondence with Gilbert in April 1884.²²⁹ Reality was not to be as accommodating.

As colleagues, Sullivan and Grundy worked extremely well together:

However little the critics thought of my libretto, I have the satisfaction of knowing that it pleased my collaborator. He never tired of telling me what a pleasure it was to set my words. Yet we did not always agree. Of all the important numbers, I invariably submitted at least two versions; he invariably obviously chose the one I should have rejected. “What’s the matter with the others?” I once snapped. “Nothing,” he said; “but I’ve been setting them for fifteen years.”²³⁰

To some extent, Sullivan’s reluctance to set Gilbertian-style texts illustrates why Grundy’s libretto met such a torrent of scorn from first-night critics. Despite this, there were several more obvious problems with the book.

²²⁸ *The Era*, 8th October 1892, 11.

²²⁹ Sullivan to Gilbert, 1st April 1884, Morgan Library: ‘I want a chance for the music ... to intensify the emotional element not only of the ... words but of the situation.’

²³⁰ François Cellier; Cunningham Bridgeman, *Gilbert, Sullivan and D’Oyly Carte*, (London, Pitman, 1914), 300.

Returning to the Savoy Theatre came with an obstinate pre-existing caveat: the taste of the Savoy public.

Figure 20 – ‘Some of the Savoy Congregation.’²³¹



With the anticipation that the Savoy audience would be expecting comedy, Grundy intruded farcical characters into what was essentially a romantic drama. What is more, the dramatic characters struggled to generate audience empathy and often seemed out of place, even insignificant, when the events around them are considered. This resulted in a confused dramatic continuity and characters without any sense of direction or substance:

Of the sixteen persons named in the cast only about one or two stand out clear and defined; the rest are unsubstantial shadows who flit across the stage, say their lines, and give place to other ghosts. John Manners is a singing cypher; Dorothy Vernon, a woman of no importance; Rupert Vernon a mistake; and the Puritans a feeble burlesque.²³²

²³¹ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 10th January 1890.

²³² *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 30th May 1893, 1.

Perhaps the best example of this is the McCrankie:

Figure 21 – The McCrankie²³³



A stereotypical stage Scot, McCrankie has absolutely no connection to the plot nor its development. Many critics, both in London and during *Haddon Hall*'s provincial tours, found McCrankie amusing. Nevertheless, the character made no sense within 'an original English light opera' focussed on the romance of Dorothy Vernon and John Manners.

Sullivan's music straightforwardly adapted to Grundy's dramatic needs; however, the result is a chaotic concoction of incongruous materials. Particularly jarring is Act II (The Elopement) Scene One (Dorothy Vernon's Door). At the beginning of the second act, the curtain rises during a ferocious thunderstorm. Sullivan's music, reminiscent of the introduction to *The Golden Legend*, vibrantly depicts the tempest (See Example 28).

²³³ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 1st April 1893, 131.

Succeeding this serious introduction, McCrankie enters in a completely different musical idiom:

Example 1 – *Haddon Hall*. No. 13 – Song, McCrankie. Bars 1-4.

Andante comodo

McCrankie

Myname it is Mc-Crankie, I am lean an' lang an' lan ky, I'm a Moo dy an' a San key, Wound up

The ensuing music within this scene continues in this simplistic style: ‘There’s No One By’ (a duet sung by Rupert and McCrankie) and ‘Hoity Toity’ (a trio for Dorcas, Rupert and McCrankie). Verse one of ‘There’s No One By’ is primarily composed of two chords, F major and G⁷ minor, and the simplicity of this movement is further sustained by a move to the subdominant and a modulation to the subdominant’s flat submediant; in both instances, the accompaniment continues, largely, to support the vocal line with two repeated chords. ‘Hoity Toity, what’s a kiss?’ follows and continues this harmonically basic episode, opening in D major and only moving, briefly, to the dominant. Abruptly, a peal of thunder terminates the comic interlude, and the music returns to its serious atmosphere. Owing to their simplicity of design, these pieces are inappropriate when compared to the complexity of the introduction and *Finale* of Act II. A journalist for the *Irish Independent* believed that the ‘scene was ... somewhat foreign to the general plan of the opera, and rather spoiled the effect.’²³⁴ Act Two should last approximately thirty-five to forty minutes. The comic incident, which lasts around

²³⁴ *Irish Independent*, 26th September 1892, 4.

fifteen minutes in length, consumes a considerable portion of the tale. Consequently, the action halts for a quarter of an hour before the romantic elopement can resume.

Grundy's decision to create a story in such a contrived style certainly curtailed Sullivan's compositional ambitions. In a way, the words often get in the way of the music. This is most evident in the storm music. Free of Grundy's text, Sullivan was able to use the full force of the Savoy orchestra, some of the finest orchestral players in London, to create a heightened dramatic scenario during the scene change. The chromatic runs and diminished chords which accompany the tempest section eventually subtly succumb to a theme akin to a gavotte (performance direction: 'As the storm dies away, the scene changes to the long gallery where Sir George, Lady Vernon, and Chorus are discovered'). Within this section, Sullivan reaches his goal: 'I want a chance for the music ... to intensify the emotional element not only of the ... words but of the situation.'²³⁵ Viewed in its entirety, however, the opera is absent of a purpose and direction. In essence, Grundy sought to tell a romantic tale, punctuated by comic episodes, but the story travels without creativity, and the humours of the sanctimonious Puritans, from whom the comic relief is sought, are at best pedestrian.

Whilst Grundy's libretto had its faults, more problematic were Sullivan's health issues which halted the compositional process of *Haddon Hall* before Sullivan had even received a copy of the libretto. During August and September of 1891, Sullivan's kidney ailment had caused severe pain and it was decided that he should 'take the waters' at Contrexeville, France. After spending a month recuperating, Sullivan wrote: 'Has Contrexeville done me good? I can't say yet, for I still have the same pains as before.'²³⁶ Returning to England on September 13th, 1891, the composer's most pressing engagement was Tennyson's *The Foresters* which was

²³⁵ Sullivan to Gilbert, 1st April 1884, Morgan Library.

²³⁶ Sullivan to Herman Klein, 15th September 1891.

due in December. The knock-on effect of Sullivan's illness inevitably meant a delayed start on Tennyson's drama. As Grundy delivered the libretto of *Haddon Hall* in early December, Sullivan was preoccupied with Tennyson's work. This precluded a start on *Haddon Hall* until the new year. Delayed by his work on *The Foresters*, once finished, renting a villa in Roquebrune, Sullivan began composing *Haddon Hall*. Almost immediately his kidney ailment flared up again:

[Diary, 2nd January 1892]: Began at new opera (Grundy's book) but of course didn't do much. Stayed at home & dined.

[Diary, 7th January 1892]: Very seedy all day ... composed Nos 8 & 9 1st act (Puritans) and pages one & 2 of No. 19 (finale) 2nd act. Didn't go out in pain at night).

[Diary, 14th January 1892]: Not free from pain.²³⁷

These 'attacks' were so frequent and severe that Sullivan travelled to Monte Carlo on January 21st to see Dr. Diestries who prescribed him 'a short "Contrexeville" course.'²³⁸ Despite the doctor's prescription, chronicled diary records show unrelenting periods of discomfort throughout February:

[Diary, 3rd February 1892]: Pain in evening.

[Diary, 12th February 1892]: Felt very seedy all day – didn't go out

[Diary, 17th February 1892]: Felt seedy

[Diary, 18th February 1892]: Worked at construction of No. 1 ... In great pain all evening & night.²³⁹

Following another day of illness on 19th February, Sullivan's health seriously worsened. He recorded when he required morphine injections to relieve the pain:

[Diary, 20th February 1892]: Very ill at night – taken with a bad attack "Crise" – morphine injection

²³⁷ Sullivan, *Diary*, 2nd, 7th, 14th January 1892.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 21st January 1892.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3rd, 12th, 17th, 18th February 1892.

[Diary, 21st February 1892]: Ill all day. At night taken with ... dreadful pain ...

Got up at 4. Better, but little painful attacks in the evening.

[Diary, 24th February 1892]: Felt ill & directly after dinner had a violent “Crise” went to bed. 2 injections of morphia. Bad night.

[Diary, 26th February 1892]: Up at 9.30 much better but weak from pain

[Diary, 28th February 1892]: Began to pull my work together again. Have done hardly anything for 3 weeks owing to constant pain.²⁴⁰

For a few days at the beginning of March he managed to frame various sections within Act I.

His complaint returned on 9th March and he once again required a morphine injection to relieve the pain. Though suffering physical distress, as well as a more persistent need for injections of morphine, he continued to work on *Haddon Hall*.

March 25th marked a further decline:

[Diary, 25th March 1892]: began to feel ill at breakfast – got worse & felt obliged to go to bed afterwards. My “needle” wouldn’t act (hypodermic) so I sent for T. Fagge to buy a new needle. Dr F. came ... & then I got relief after 5 mortal hours of agony – the worst day I’ve had since 79. Fagge came again at 10:30 and gave another injection.²⁴¹

Although he was to escape surgery, on March 28th, noting ‘great joy!’ at the passing of a kidney stone, his condition was to deteriorate further.²⁴² The following day he was incapacitated, described by Herbert Sullivan as practically comatose, and he remained in that condition for several weeks.²⁴³

Over the worst of his symptoms, and feeling ready to re-take up his work after several months of illness-imposed interruption, Sullivan noted on July 12th:

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 20th, 21st, 24th, 26th, 28th February 1892.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 25th March 1892.

²⁴² Ibid., 28th March 1892.

²⁴³ Herbert Sullivan; Newman Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 216.

[Diary, 12th July 1892]: Commenced on opera.²⁴⁴

Before his illness, little of the opera had been composed. Act One and the finale of Act Two had been partially completed. Act Three had not been touched. Severely weakened, he had two and a half months to complete his score ready for a September premiere. His conducting commitment at the Leeds Triennial Music Festival, further impeded composition.

During August, whilst hard at work on *Haddon Hall* and preparing for Leeds and Cardiff, Gilbert contacted Sullivan about their next collaboration. They had been contracted by Carte to compose a new comic opera. Sullivan still had not fully recovered and wrote of his current physical state to Gilbert from Windsor:

I am getting better & stronger every day, & hope to be in harness again soon – also to come down to see you at Grim’s Dyke.²⁴⁵

Wholly insensitive to Sullivan’s condition, and the preceding months of severe illness, Gilberts reply primarily concerned the drawing up of a new contract at the Savoy. Given the events surrounding the Carpet Quarrel in 1890, Sullivan attempted to assuage Gilbert from his litigious tendencies, writing:

But if you want me now to annul my agreement with Carte & consider the question of a new agreement do please let the matter stand over for a few weeks (until after the Festival) as a fresh distraction in the midst of all the work I have in hand now is more than I am equal to.
Pray don’t think I write this in ungracious spirit, but I am at work day & night, writing & rehearsing both for the theatre & the Festival, & cannot turn my thoughts to anything else.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 12th July 1892.

²⁴⁵ Sullivan to Gilbert, Undated.

²⁴⁶ Sullivan to Gilbert, 30th August 1892.

As his letters to Gilbert illustrate, Sullivan was still a deeply unwell man. Despite this, diary entries throughout July and August show him working at full capacity. The work was arduous: problems with the Leeds Committee, and Gilbert's tactlessness, clearly hindered his ability to concentrate on *Haddon Hall*, he noted: 'How slow it all is!'²⁴⁷ August proved equally strenuous, finding him, at the end of the month, unhappy with his progress. As September dawned, rehearsals for both the Savoy and the Leeds Festival were under way and *Haddon Hall* was still not complete:

Table 16 – 'Arthur Sullivan Conducts' (1892).²⁴⁸

Date		Location	Event
August	25 th	London	Savoy Theatre: <i>Full Chorus</i> Rehearsal: <i>Haddon Hall</i>
	27 th		Queens Mansions: <i>Principals</i> Rehearsal: <i>Haddon Hall</i>
			Savoy Theatre: <i>Full Chorus</i> Rehearsal: <i>Haddon Hall</i> 12:00-15:30
September	3 rd	Leeds	Leeds Town Hall: 2x Rehearsals: Bach Mass 16:00-17:30, 18:30-20:00. Left Leeds at 22:00 and arrived in London at 04:00
	6 th	London	Savoy Theatre: Rehearsal: <i>Haddon Hall</i> : 11:00-13:30, 16:00-18:30
	10 th		Queen’s Mansions: Rehearsal principals: <i>Haddon Hall</i> : 12:00-16:00
	11 th		Completes <i>Haddon Hall</i>

Finally, on September 11th, after nine months of composition, Sullivan completed *Haddon Hall*, commenting: 'The whole opera done. Thank God.'²⁴⁹ Later that year, on 31st December, Sullivan noted: 'Saw new year in; hoped and prayed that it might be a happier one for me than this last, half of which was lost through my illness. Health is the secret of happiness.'²⁵⁰ Given huge setbacks owing to his illness, as well as problems with the Leeds Festival Committee, Gilbert, other commitments as both composer and conductor, and his narrow escape from death; it was surprising that *Haddon Hall* was completed at all.

²⁴⁷ Sullivan, *Diary*, 31st July 1892.

²⁴⁸ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 346.

²⁴⁹ Sullivan, *Diary*, 11th September 1892.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 31st December 1892.

2.3 The Beauty Stone: ‘If I go on, I may break down at a critical moment.’

Joseph Comyns Carr and Arthur Wing Pinero were considered the most popular playwrights of 1890s London. Prior to his collaboration with Sullivan, Pinero had successfully produced numerous plays including *The Magistrate* (1885) and *The Second Mrs Tanqueray* (1893).

Sullivan had previously collaborated with Carr, together with Henry Irving, in 1894-95 on a hugely successful production of *King Arthur* at the Lyceum Theatre. On 17th September, 1897, the collaboration between Pinero, Carr, and Sullivan began. Sullivan noted:

Joe Carr and his wife lunched ... Long talk about opera. He stated that he and Pinero were going away on the 28th to work for me, and that I should then be kept supplied – also that he would send me the scenario of Act 1 next week. He fell in with my views about ‘King Arthur’ for an opera.²⁵²

On the face of it, the unification of these artists would bring about the success Sullivan and Gilbert had created in 1870s/80s.

Once Carr and Pinero had completed the first scenario of the work, Carr presented it to Sullivan on 17th October who, although enthusiastic, identified the fundamental problem if the work was to be presented at the Savoy:

Figure 22 – L-R: Pinero and Carr.²⁵¹



²⁵¹ *Black and White*, 29th February 1908,

²⁵² Sullivan, *Diary*, 17th September 1897.

I like it immensely – it is original and fanciful. I don't know whether it is too serious, but it is very delicate and well adapted for music.²⁵³

Sullivan's assessment bore reality. The work, hampered by Carr's convoluted lyrics and Pinero's faux medieval dialogue, was never going to appeal to the Savoy audience. Importantly, neither dramatist had any experience of writing for music, and their dismissal of Sullivan's suggestions severely damaged his mental health – as outlined by Stanyon's study on Sullivan's mental health whilst composing *The Beauty Stone* which subsequently affected the 1898 Leeds Music Festival.

Over the ensuing months, the relationship between Sullivan and the Cartes, as well as Pinero and Carr, was to develop into a deep antipathy.²⁵⁴ The first problems arose in November and concerned casting. Helen Carte, who was effectively running the Savoy owing to D'Oyly Carte's illness, proposed that Ruth Vincent take a leading role in the new opera. Sullivan disagreed, noting:

[Florence Perry] takes the soprano part in all the concerted music, making Ruth Vincent sing the contralto line, and as the lower and medium parts of Vincent's voice are weak and wanting in penetrative power the effect was bad or rather nice. I like little Vincent and her upper notes are of pretty quality although not strong, and she is pretty and refined, but the weak quality is a great drawback.²⁵⁵

Helen disregarded Sullivan's opinion and signed Vincent on to another five-year contract.

Writing to Pinero, Helen disparagingly stated: 'Made the engagement (to play Laine) positively ... Sir Arthur never knows a good artist when we have one in the theatre.'²⁵⁶ Diary

²⁵³ Sullivan, *Diary*, 17th October 1897.

²⁵⁴ These sources were originally referenced in Stanyon's *Sir Arthur Sullivan, The 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, focussed on the impact of *The Beauty Stone* on the 1898 Leeds Music Festival, a starting point for uncovering how events surrounding *The Beauty Stone* affected Sullivan's process.

²⁵⁵ Sullivan, *Diary*, 20th November 1897.

²⁵⁶ Helen Carte to Arthur Wing Pinero, 30th November 1897. George Rowell, *Sir Arthur Sullivan Society Magazine*, August 1985.

entries chart a deepening antagonism between Sullivan and the management over the succeeding week. *The Grand Duchess* saw Vincent in the chorus. Sullivan noted: 'Ruth Vincent looked as if she were furious at being relegated to the Chorus again.'²⁵⁷ Unhelpful to Sullivan's cause for *The Beauty Stone*, she was to replace Florence St. John in the lead role the next day. Likely during December, although left undated, Carr wrote to Pinero, stating:

When I saw Arthur the other day I found him as I thought not in a satisfactory state of mind ... For some reason or another he seemed full of bitterness against the Cartes generally, and he told me he should write to them about their company, which he thought for the most part unfit for our opera ... He seemed unstable and unsettled: and I left him with the feeling that we are dealing with a sick man.²⁵⁸

Sullivan was also facing difficulties with his collaborators who, he believed, were not accommodating the musical needs of the production. A meeting was arranged on 15th December in attempt to resolve their differences. It failed:

Dined at Joe Carr's with Pinero – long talk after dinner. First signs of difficulty likely to arise. Both Pinero and Carr, gifted and brilliant men, with no experience in writing for music, and yet obstinately refusing to accept any suggestions from me as to form and construction. Told them that the musical construction of the piece is capable of great improvement, but they decline to alter. 'Quod scripsi, scripsi,' they both say.²⁵⁹

Aside from the poor libretto, casting remained an issue of contention. Helen organised a 'pow-wow' with Sullivan on 21st December where casting disputes were resolved:²⁶⁰

I found – somewhat to my surprise – that all the difficulties raised as to chorus and cast seemed to have disappeared. He seemed quite happy as to Laine and the

²⁵⁷ Sullivan, *Diary*, 4th December 1897.

²⁵⁸ Carr to Pinero, Undated letter (Circa December 1897?).

Diary entries in December potentially offer early insight into Sullivan's mental state, often beginning with 'kreuz' (or cross in German).

²⁵⁹ Sullivan, *Diary*, 15th December 1897.

²⁶⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, 21st December 1897.

Devil (Ruth Vincent and Walter Passmore) – and even to desire Lytton for the father.²⁶¹

Within the same letter, Helen relayed to Pinero that Sullivan's primary concern with the project was the construction of the work – Act I in particular:

The trouble seems to be that he has not been consulted as to the places where the story had better be told in music (lyrics) and where in dialogue – and (as I understand him) that there is not sufficient room for music. In all our interests I think that you will agree with me that it had better be dealt with at once and if it should end in Sir Arthur's not doing the music (I hope it may not) then it would be better for us all to know it now.²⁶²

On 22nd December, the collaborators and management met to cast the main roles: they disagreed. A heated exchange resulted in Sullivan offering them an ultimatum:

Amazed at the position taken up by P. and C. Stubborn refusal to alter anything or act upon any suggestion made to them. My explanation as to musical requirements not listened to! We are at a deadlock and I cannot accept the position of cypher. Finally, I said I should send them my requirements in 1st Act for them to accept or reject.²⁶³

This major confrontation, unusual for Sullivan, gives a notion of how frustrated and angry he felt at the Savoy management's position in taking him for granted – although the project was in its gestation, only a few weeks had passed since its initiation, problems began to build. On 29th December, Sullivan visited Helen Carte and outlined his suggested alterations for Act I, after which, on 30th December, he sent an 'important letter to Carr.'²⁶⁴ The content of this letter is unknown; however, Sullivan's diary entry of 2nd January 1898, reveals that his collaborators had agreed to its contents and were back on course:

²⁶¹ Helen Carte to Arthur Pinero, 21st December 1897.

Rowell, *Sullivan Society Magazine*, August 1985, 6.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Sullivan, *Diary*, 22nd December 1897.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 29th December 1897.

Ibid., 30th December 1897.

Joe Carr came at 3. He & Pinero accept my suggestion about 1st Act. Discussed lyrics a little.²⁶⁵

In early January Sullivan revised *The Martyr of Antioch* for the Carl Rosa Company and on the 20th left London for the French Riviera, escaping both the English winter and his obstinate colleagues. Arriving at the Villa Mathilde, Beaulieu, by 25th January, he immediately began composing, noting on the 27th: ‘wrote all day – began & nearly completed sketch of girls competition.’²⁶⁶

Although he had escaped their presence, Sullivan was unable to escape Pinero’s and Carr’s correspondence. Each collaborator had settled their terms with the Savoy management earlier in December 1897. Pinero and Carr had requested a percentage of the profits, and Sullivan, learning from Gilbert’s financial agreement with the Cartes, a percentage of the gross receipts. Towards the end of January, Helen Carte relayed that Pinero and Carr were unhappy with Sullivan’s agreement, and Sullivan, apparently for the first time, responded:

I was much distressed at receiving a letter ... which says that you [Pinero] and Carr feel aggrieved because I wish for a percentage of the gross receipts instead of a share of the profits; and furthermore that you accuse me of having sprung mine on you, and changed the agreement at the very last moment ... At a meeting ... last winter ... I urged you strongly, not to take a share of the profits ... You and Carr are within your rights to make what arrangements you like with Mrs Carte. You surely won’t deny me the same privilege ... Mrs Carte says that you think I want a percentage because I have lost interest in the work ... Dismiss this idea entirely from your mind ...²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 2nd January 1898.

Around this time, the Savoy Hotel, of which Sullivan was a major board member and shareholder, was embroiled in a private scandal. César Ritz, later owner of The Ritz hotel, and maître d’ Louis Echenard were involved in the disappearance of £3,400.00 worth of alcohol. This scandal, which was to remain private for decades, was present in Sullivan’s mind, often writing detailed notes in his diary. Sullivan, *Diary*, 19th January 1898.

²⁶⁶ Sullivan, *Diary*, 27th January 1898.

²⁶⁷ Sullivan to Pinero, 31st January 1898.

Rowell, *Sullivan Society Magazine*, August 1985, 7-8.

The hostile tone of Sullivan's letter suggests how acrimonious the partnership, as well as his relationship with the management must have become. His diary entries show letters and telegrams flowing back and forth between the composer and Pinero.²⁶⁸ Eventually, Sullivan decided to pacify the librettists, telegramming:

If the financial agreements I have made are such to cause you to feel we are not working together with the same degree of interest ... and that ... you don't feel comfortable over it, I am ready to change them as you wish.

With Pinero appeased, the correspondence between the collaborators became more affable; though, a later diary entry on April 9th illustrates how acrimonious the situation must have remained between Sullivan and the Cartes: 'At work all day. Wrote H. L. [Helen Carte] (at night). Also from H. L. reproachful as usual.'²⁶⁹ Contractual disagreements which were to take place after *The Beauty Stone*, and an attempt to distance himself from the Savoy management indicate this relationship did not improve.

As disputes between the collaborators subsided, during February Sullivan began to recognise problems with Carr's lyrics, writing to his nephew, Herbert:

I am getting on well with my work, although it is not easy ... Joe's words are poetical and good, but from his want of experience, they are dreadfully difficult at times to set. I don't mean the words themselves, but the construction for musical purposes. He has absolutely no idea of ensemble and I am obliged to tax my ingenuity to the utmost when it comes to a concerted movement. I have done the first Act - the composition, and I am beginning to frame it.²⁷⁰

A substantial amount of time seems to have been taken up with writing letters to Carr, hounding him for lyric alterations, writing to Wilfred Bendall: 'My chief relaxation from

²⁶⁸ Sullivan, *Diary*, January 31st – February 3rd 1898.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 8th April 1898.

²⁷⁰ Sullivan to Herbert Sullivan, 6th February 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 108885.

composing, is writing long letters to Carr – either explanatory or argumentative – rather wearisome.²⁷¹ Throughout February, Sullivan noted the continued difficulties he faced setting Carr’s convoluted lyrics, noting particular trouble on the 17th setting the ‘Maidens and Men’ chorus: ‘Worked ... all day. Tried 20 different ways and rhythms and eventually came back to the first one.’²⁷² He approached Saida’s Act II music on the 25th, remarking:

Worked all day at ‘Saida’ scene in Act II. Heartbreaking to have to try and make a musical piece out of such a badly constructed, (for music) mass of involved sentences.²⁷³

After six days working at Saida’s music, Sullivan wrote on 2nd March: ‘Finished sketch of Saida scene Act II. Awfully difficult.’²⁷⁴ Owing to the lack of productivity created by Carr’s lyrics, the following day Sullivan wrote to Carr ‘urging’ him to come to Beaulieu ‘as soon as possible.’²⁷⁵ Work continued to be slow throughout March. Sullivan wrote defiantly to Wilfred Bendall, that until Carr arrived he was ‘going on strike now and I will do nothing else than songs or a duet’ – the struggle to set Carr’s lyrics was clearly irritating him.²⁷⁶

On Sullivan’s request, Carr arrived on 23rd March. The collaborators seemed to have more success with Carr present to discuss and alter lyrics. At one point during Carr’s stay, Sullivan became so frustrated that he kept the lyricist ‘in his room, making changes, syllabic alterations’ etc. which Sullivan believed was ‘to the advantage of the piece.’²⁷⁷ Although Carr

²⁷¹ Sullivan to Wilfred Bendall, 8th February 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 75826.

Diary entries throughout February reveal Sullivan writing letters to Carr on: 4th, 5th, 9th, 12th and 22nd.

²⁷² Sullivan, *Diary*, 17th February 1898

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 25th February 1898.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2nd March 1898

Sullivan continued to struggle with Saida’s music, noting on March 9th, ‘at Saida scene. Very seedy all night.’ *Ibid.*, 9th March 1898

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3rd March 1898

²⁷⁶ Sullivan to Wilfred Bendall, no date. Before March 23rd (Carr’s arrival in Beaulieu) given Sullivan’s note that Carr would be arriving ‘next Friday or Wednesday.’ Morgan Library: ID: 75826. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 124.

²⁷⁷ Sullivan to Wilfred Bendall, 26th March 1898. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 125.

later stated that he spent six weeks with Sullivan on the Riviera, Sullivan's diary entries make clear that Carr's trip lasted only nine days, departing on 31st March for London.²⁷⁸

Although Carr had alluded to Sullivan's mental state the previous December, his later account of Sullivan during his visit at Beaulieu contextualises the circumstances in which he was composing *The Beauty Stone*:

Sullivan was already a sick man. Sufferings long and painfully endured had sapped his powers of sustained energy, and my recollection of the days I passed with him at his villa at Beaulieu, when he was engaged on setting the lyrics I had written, are shadowed and saddened by the impression then left upon me that he was working under difficulties of a physical kind almost too great to be borne.²⁷⁹

Diary entries throughout March corroborate Carr's description, scattered with notes of nervousness – Victorian language for depression – and of being in pain:

[Diary, 9th March 1898]: Felt very seedy at night.

[Diary, 10th March 1898]: Felt very seedy and "livery".

[Diary, 13th March 1898]: Felt very low all day – also pain in my loins.

[Diary, 16th March 1898]: Felt nervous & not well.²⁸⁰

Towards the middle of March, Sullivan wrote to Wilfred Bendall:

I have been in dread of a return of my old trouble for days past. I am every day getting a warning, even at this moment as I write I have that dull aching in my loins that generally precedes trouble.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Sullivan, *Diary*, 31st March 1898.

Given the contrasting accounts of Sullivan's diary and Carr's book, it is necessary to question the validity of Carr's evidence.

²⁷⁹ Joseph Comyns Carr, *Coasting in Bohemia*, (London: Macmillan, 1914), 246.

²⁸⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, 9th, 10th, 13th, 16th March 1898.

²⁸¹ Sullivan to Bendall, no date. Before 23rd March (Carr's arrival in Beaulieu) given Sullivan's note that Carr would be arriving 'next Friday or Wednesday.' Morgan Library: ID: 75826. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 123.

Later, on 26th March, Sullivan, worried about the taxing weight of composing for both the Savoy and Leeds, as well as his other musical commitments, candidly, wrote to Bendall:

You ask me about myself. Well, I can't help feeling a good deal worried. I have had no violent pains, but the dull, constant although slight aching and the little twinges (I am feeling them now as I write this) all point to the same thing I fear – too much acidity which is forming a calculus. It is the idea of Leeds which worries me ... Six months of writing, organising and rehearsing will I fear bowl me over, and bring on the physical trouble just when I need all my strength most. I cannot travel to Leeds and back and rehearse when I am in pain, and I have had enough of writing when in pain ... and I cannot do it anymore.

His worry regarding his physical health was such that he contemplated resigning from his position as Conductor of the Leeds Festival:

All this makes me reflect very seriously whether I ought not to give up the Festival, and devote the Autumn to the care of myself and my body. And if I give it up, I think I ought to do it now, so as to give the Committee time to make other arrangements ... If I go on, I may break down at a critical moment. If I give it up, I experience a great disappointment but have a chance of escaping from serious illness.²⁸²

Sullivan's mental and physical state will have also been under a heavy amount of stress composing a new cantata for the Leeds Festival. At the same time as Sullivan was struggling with Carr's lyrics, Frederick Spark, Honorary Secretary of the Leeds Festival Committee, contacted Sullivan about his progress on his commission. Uncharacteristically, Sullivan replied angrily:

With regard to the work not being yet begun, I may remind you that "The Martyr of Antioch" was commenced in June 1880, and the "Golden Legend" on the 25th April 1886, and both works were in ample time for proper rehearsal ... Otherwise it is not the rule for the composer to receive instructions as to when he should

²⁸² Sullivan to Bendall, 26th March 1898. Morgan Library, ID: 75826. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 125.

commence his work, or as to what discretion he might use in the choice of a subject.²⁸³

Because Carr's lyrics had been so taxing, Sullivan wrote to Bendall about the Cantata:

I hope Paul England won't make his work too long. I am exhausted as it is with these enormously long pieces of 'construction' that Carr pours down upon me.²⁸⁴

Sullivan left Beaulieu in the middle of April, stopping at the Grand Hotel in Paris on his way home. A letter to Bendall suggested that, although work had improved after both Carr's visit Francois Celliers' arrival, the opera was not complete:

I employ every minute I can scoring the heavier numbers and shall heave a deep sigh of relief when they are done. The Finale 1st Act is heartbreaking the figure is such a dreadful one to write – however it creeps on ...²⁸⁵

Within the same letter, Sullivan also gave a notion of how his Leeds Festival commission, together with the potential repercussions if renegaded upon, was causing anxiety:

It is exactly the question of England's libretto that concerns me. If I tell him to stop, it will leak out at Leeds at once, and the committee will know that I don't mean to do a cantata ... I fear I can't retain the conductorship of the festival if I don't write a work. My position will not be a pleasant one, I shall be attacked right and left for what they call disappointing them. I shall wait until I return to London, and then will take the necessary steps.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Letter from Sullivan to Fred Spark. No date. Ibid. 33. Fred. R. Spark, *Memories of My Life*, (Fred. R. Spark & Sons, Leeds, 1913), 33. Sullivan's diary records that he received letters 'From Bendall in re Spark and Festival.' Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 118.

²⁸⁴ Sullivan to Bendall, no date. Before March 23rd (Carr's arrival in Beaulieu) given Sullivan's note that Carr would be arriving 'next Friday or Wednesday.' Morgan Library: ID: 75826. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 123.

²⁸⁵ Sullivan to Bendall, no date, headed 'Thursday'. Postmark (London) on envelope: 22nd April, so possibly written on 21st April 1898. Morgan Library, ID: 75826. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 127.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

Once he returned to London, Sullivan took ‘the necessary steps’ and ‘sent Spark his resignation as General Conductor.’²⁸⁷ Spark persuaded Sullivan to remain in post, ‘promising to find him whatever assistance he might require.’²⁸⁸

Between 8th April and 13th July, there are no entries in Sullivan’s diary. Despite this, Carr, writing a decade later, provided a notion of Sullivan’s physical and mental state:

How great was the strain of illness cast upon him became painfully apparent during the period of rehearsals; for although he never spared himself, it was clear to those around him that the cost to him in nervous exhaustion was often almost more than he could bear.²⁸⁹

Illness, Carr’s lyrics, and Leeds were proving too much – as predicted in his letters to Bendall, Sullivan had taken on too much work.

By the time *The Beauty Stone* had been completed, Sullivan appeared extremely concerned about how the work might be received. Whilst *Haddon Hall* had been a compromise to appease the Savoy audience, the element of comedy was so conspicuously absent in *The Beauty Stone* that it was never going to appeal to the Savoy faithful. In the days leading up to the premiere, Sullivan, interviewed by a reporter for the *Daily Mail*, was concerned about public reaction towards his new work:

I am most anxious that the public should understand that the forthcoming Savoy piece is an entirely new departure ... It is most important that they should know what they are going to see. In the first place the work is not a comic opera. It is a serious, earnest, romantic drama, in which the dialogue and action are both as important as the music. The musical numbers arise in operatic libretto form, but the sequence of the musical numbers, whether songs, trios, or quartettes [*sic*], never interferes with the dramatic necessities of the play ... there are no comic

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 16th November 1900, p. 3. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 129.

²⁸⁹ Joseph Comyns Carr, *Some Eminent Victorians*, (London Duckworth & Co., 1908), 288.

songs or numbers ... The story is serious and romantic ... The score, although not so heavy as that of 'Ivanhoe,' has taken me more time and harder work than anything I have done for some time. You will appreciate the difficulty of making a thing earnest and serious, and yet endeavouring to be neither heavy nor dull ... I am very hopeful about the piece, because I think the public may welcome something of a novel character on the stage.²⁹⁰

Later that week, he uncharacteristically gave another interview, this time to Arthur Lawrence at the *Daily News*. Conceivably exercising damage control, the tone of this interview is noticeably more anxious than the previous, nervous that *The Beauty Stone* was not going to appeal to the Savoy public:

I think it should be made clear beforehand that this piece ... is of a totally different character to anything we have had previously at the Savoy Theatre. It is not 'heavy,' and I hope the same thing may be said of the music, but it is a romantic drama, not a humorous piece, and though it possesses light qualities, and may admit of humorous treatment in some of the songs and incidents, it is written on serious lines ... I am so afraid that the audience will come to the theatre expecting a comic opera, with all the quips, cranks, and jokes pertaining thereto, and not finding them will be disappointed ... There is an undercurrent of pathos throughout the play ... Well, it isn't like that all the way through ... or those people who had come solely to be amused might, perhaps, burst into tears and leave the theatre! But the motive throughout is that the possession of beauty does not necessarily bring happiness with it.²⁹¹

Sullivan's concern bore reality. *The Beauty Stone* ran for fifty nights, the composer's least successful stage work. By late May, although his diary entries are non-existent, it can be reasonably speculated that, given the details Sullivan provided in the above interview, Sullivan worked himself into mental breakdown. Effectively, given the failure of *The Beauty Stone*, for six months, Sullivan had worked himself to his absolute limits, for nothing.

²⁹⁰ *Daily Mail*, 17th May 1898, 3.

²⁹¹ Arthur Lawrence, *London Daily News*, 25th May 1898, 3.

2.4 – ‘The Struggle of a Mental Giant’

Describing Sullivan's condition, as well as his persistence in working during severe illness, Herbert Sullivan believed that the composition of *Haddon Hall* was 'the struggle of a mental giant' – to a large extent, this description can be applied to each of Sullivan's romantic operas.²⁹² The gestation periods of each opera presented separate challenges, from the inexperience of his collaborators to the requirements of the Savoy audience and complications with the Leeds Festival Committee; yet, the central constraint to Sullivan's creative process was undoubtedly the mental and physical problems he endured, often aggravated by the challenges presented:

Table 17 – The Mental and Physical health of Arthur Sullivan, 1890-1900 (Adapted and modified from Stanyon’s PhD: *Sir Arthur Sullivan, The 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond.*)²⁹³

The Mental and Physical Health of Arthur Sullivan, 1890-1900											
	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
January											
February											
March											
April											
May											
June											
July											
August											
September											
October											
November											
December											

LMF

Leeds Music Festival

Mental health issues with varying degrees of severity indicated by depth of colour

Physical health issues with varying degrees of severity indicated by depth of colour

Death

Though contemporary musicologists have sought to dismiss Sullivan's health as a governing factor of his creative process, it has been necessary to speculate, given the abundance of seldom documented contemporary sources, the great extent to which *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*,

²⁹² Sullivan; Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 218.

²⁹³ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 360.

and *The Beauty Stone* were affected by these circumstances. Despite such trying conditions, Sullivan endeavoured to carry on, and, within *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone*, his style continued to evolve and mature.

Analysis: Excavating the Forgotten and Neglected

3.1 The Golden Legend and Its Aftermath

The Golden Legend symbolised a monumental and experimental shift in Sullivan's compositional idiom. This became the benchmark against which his subsequent compositions would be judged. The work took the musical world by storm, with eighteen performances within two and half months of its first performance, and the contemporary consensus believed

Figure 23 – 'Mus Doc.' *Punch*.²⁹⁴



it Sullivan's compositional apotheosis.²⁹⁵ The score presented an orchestral and harmonic complexity not previously observed in Sullivan's music. In the prologue, for example, Lucifer, with the powers of the air, attempts to tear down the cross of Strasburg Cathedral. Discarding the structural building blocks of his previous works, this through-composed episode focuses on the descriptive powers of the orchestra. Energetic rushes of chromatic offbeat scales in the cellos are supplemented by diminished chords in the woodwind and brass whilst tubular bells, representative of the cathedral, are sparsely woven throughout the score. Sullivan's harmonic aptitude is also at focus here, abounding in chromaticism and, although Hughes believed this section was governed by unsophisticated atonality, the music is centred around an F \sharp /G \flat axis.

²⁹⁴ *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 10th January 1891, 21.

²⁹⁵ Although the musicological consensus had been one of almost immediate decline after his death, performances of *The Golden Legend* thrived until the outbreak of the First World War. After this, there was a slow, steady, decline. Eventually, the work paled into obscurity upon the outbreak of Second World War. Nathan Smith, 'A Critical Appraisal of Sir Arthur Sullivan's Musical Reputation (1862-2020): How far has Sullivan's reputation been shaped by a combination of pejorative criticism, a decline in the choral festival tradition, misinformation, and a misplaced adulation over the last 158 years?' (Unpublished Undergraduate Dissertation, 2020), 30.

Example 2 – *The Golden Legend*. Prologue, Lucifer and Chorus. Bars 1-9.

Prologue

The Spire of Strasburg Cathedral. Night and Storm. Lucifer, with the Powers of the Air, trying to tear down the Cross.

Allegro energico ♩ = 80

Piccolo
 Flute 1
 Flute 2
 Oboe 1, 2
 Clarinet 1, 2 in A
 Bass Clarinet in A
 Bassoon 1, 2
 Horn 1, 2 in E♭
 Horn 3, 4 in D
 Bells
 Violin I
 Violin II
 Viola
 Violoncello

Allegro energico ♩ = 80

Allegro energico ♩ = 80

Picc. *ff*
 Fl. 1
 Fl. 2
 Ob.
 Cl. in A
 Bass Cl. in A
 Bsn.
 Hn. 1, 2 in E \flat
 Hn. 3, 4 in D *ff*
 Bells
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla. *f*
 Vc. *f*

The score is for page 116 and consists of two measures. The woodwind section (Piccolo, Flutes 1 & 2, Oboe, Clarinet in A, Bass Clarinet in A, Bassoon) plays a melodic line in the first measure, which is then sustained in the second measure. The brass section (Horn 1 & 2 in E-flat, Horn 3 & 4 in D) plays a sustained chord in the first measure, which is then sustained in the second measure. The strings (Violins I & II, Viola, and Cello) play a rhythmic pattern in the first measure, which is then sustained in the second measure.

Picc.
 Fl. 1
 Fl. 2
 Ob.
 Cl. in A
 Bass Cl. in A
 Bsn.
 Hn. 1, 2 in E \flat
 Hn. 3, 4 in D
 Bells
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 Vc.

The score is divided into two measures. The first measure shows the initial notes for each instrument. The second measure shows the continuation of the music, with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking for the Piccolo and Flute 1. The woodwinds and strings play complex, rhythmic patterns, while the brass instruments provide harmonic support.

The central difficulty musicologists appear to have encountered in analysing Sullivan's 1890s compositional vocabulary is that he was not more ground-breaking after *The Golden Legend* – that his lack of innovation and the perpetuation of previously utilised techniques constituted regression and decline. As the twentieth century perception considered these late works worthless, it was relatively easy to support this narrative with little or no analysis.

Judged in comparison, together with the type of orchestral colouring and chromaticism found in the *Macbeth* overture, scholars have generally derided Sullivan's romantic operas, neglecting the context in which these works were composed. Composing for the theatre, as opposed to the Leeds Music Festival audience (who expected a different repertoire), stimulated Sullivan's operatic setting. The requirements of his audience were paramount, especially at the Savoy. This did not mean an abandonment of the techniques which contributed to the success of *The Golden Legend*, rather an amalgamation of such practices with the appealing lyrical nature of his previous operatic successes. *The Golden Legend* is a cantata, a static work, composed for an orchestra of one-hundred-and-twenty and a chorus of three hundred. Here, Sullivan was able to utilise forces and resources which were not available when writing *Ivanhoe* for the REOH, despite its larger orchestra of sixty-four, as well as *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone* for the Savoy Theatre, which had an orchestral capacity of thirty. At the Savoy, in such cramped conditions, he could not, for example, include music for the harp, tubular bells, the cor anglais, bass clarinet, bass trumpets, etc. Nevertheless, such limitations did not hamper the development of his style. Exploring these scores in greater detail, aided by recent professional recordings and Robin Gordon-Powell's scholarly editions, the harmonic, thematic, and orchestral precedents of *The Golden Legend* are closely followed and matured, culminating in the apogee of Sullivan's style, *The Beauty Stone*.

3.2 Melody, Form, and Structure

Sullivan's broader style may have invoked far more than the lyrical, but the underlying nature of his charm, a concept which EMR critics such as Herbert Thompson considered *populism*, lies in streams of pure melody.²⁹⁶ Even in diametrically opposed works, *Trial by Jury* and *The Golden Legend*, his technical resource for ever-flowing melody is perhaps only equalled in the works of Verdi, Puccini, Donizetti, and Mozart. *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone* are no exception; however, their structural position relative to one another, as well as other Gilbert and Sullivan operas, is distinct:

Table 18 – Hierarchy of Sullivan's Operatic Oeuvre. (*The Golden Legend* has been included as it treads the line between opera and oratorio tradition).

Comic Opera	Light Opera	Romantic Musical Drama	Romantic Grand Opera
Gilbert and Sullivan Collaborations	<i>Haddon Hall</i>	<i>The Beauty Stone</i>	<i>Ivanhoe</i>
	<i>Princess Ida</i>	<i>The Yeomen of the Guard</i>	<i>The Golden Legend</i>

Ivanhoe was composed in line with the structural framework of *The Golden Legend*, largely freeform and segmented by scenic tableaux, unique in the broader context of Sullivan's oeuvre. There is a focus on the teleological, a more organic form of through-composed drama, in line with the later works of Verdi and Wagner, although entirely English in character.²⁹⁷ Sullivan described the framework of his opera in a letter to Dion Boucicault in June 1890:

I think the whole tendency of stage music now is to get rid as much as possible of songs, duets, & other set pieces, and to become as dramatic as possible. In all the series with Gilbert, I found that a dainty, pretty sing was generally a drag and

²⁹⁶ Herbert Thompson, *Yorkshire Post*, Music and Art, 13th February 1914, 4. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 14.

²⁹⁷ 'There is set forth on its stage a story which is the inalienable birth right of every Englishman; and the story is told to music which is, above and before everything, English. 'In spite of all temptations to belong to other nations' – Wagner exhorting to be unmelodious and to transfer what tunes he may have from the performers' mouths to the orchestra, Gounod whispering him to leave all and follow Faust, Verdi and Ponchielli inviting his to be that 'devil incarnate, an Englishman Italianate' – Sir Arthur remains an Englishman.' *Illustrated London News*, 7th February 1891, 4.

stopped the interest of the public in the action of the piece. It is on these lines that I am doing a serious opera now.²⁹⁸

Together with his thematic setting, reminiscent of the *idée fixe* style of Bizet in *Carmen* (explored in section 3.4), *Ivanhoe* can be viewed as an attempt to combine contemporary theories with previously successful dramatic formulae:

The opera of the future is a compromise. I have thought and worked and toiled and dreamt of it. Not the French school, with gaudy and tinsel tunes, its lambent lights and shades, its theatrical effects and clap-trap; not the Wagnerian school, with its sombreness and heavy ear-splitting airs, with its mysticism and unreal sentiment; not the Italian school, with its fantastic airs and fioriture and far-fetched effects. It is a compromise between these three – a sort of eclectic school, a selection of the merits of each one ... What we want are plots that give rise to characters of flesh and blood, with human emotions and human passions.²⁹⁹

Understanding the difference in venue at the Savoy, Sullivan certainly wanted to emulate an English equivalent of the French *opéra comique* in *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*. Neither work is through-composed, hindered by the interruption of dialogue; however, melodic style and recurrent use of freeform within concerted sections, particularly in *The Beauty Stone*, illuminates no deterioration in Sullivan's style, rather highlighting the unconventional circumstances in which he composed these works.

²⁹⁸ Sullivan to Dion Boucicault, 6th June 1890.

²⁹⁹ *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22nd July 1885. It is important to note whether this interview was heavily ghosted. It does not read like Sullivan when compared with other interviews.

Ivanhoe is a mixture of the lyrical and the contemporary through-composed style:

Table 19 – *Ivanhoe* – ‘Set Pieces’

<i>Ivanhoe</i> – ‘Set Pieces’				
Act	Scene:	Piece:	Form:	Time: ³⁰⁰
I	1	‘Forgive fair maid’	Modified Strophic (AA ¹)	1:21
	2	‘O moon, art thou clad in silver mail’	Strophic + Coda	4:30
		‘Like mountain lark my spirit upward springs’	Ternary + Coda	1:31
	3	‘Fair and lovely is the may’	Ternary + Coda	2:27
II	1	‘I ask nor wealth nor courtier’s praise’	Ternary + Coda	3:03
		‘The wind blows cold across the moor’	Strophic + Coda	3:01
	2	‘Her Southern Splendour, like the Syrian moon’	Ternary + Coda	3:03
	3	‘Lord of our chosen race’	Strophic + Coda	3:16
III	1	‘Happy with winged feet’	Ternary + Coda	5:34
		‘Ah, would that thou and I might lead our sheep’	ABC + Coda	3:30
	2	‘Maiden, if e’er in forest free’	Strophic (AA ¹) + Coda	2:06
		‘How oft beneath the far-off Syrian skies’	Strophic + Coda	2:29
	3	‘Fremuere principes’	Strophic	3:06

The remaining content of the opera is almost entirely freeform, and, although Arthur Jacobs criticised the work for including lyrical pieces which can be performed separately, structurally, *Ivanhoe* subscribes to the theory Sullivan set out to Boucicault; removing set pieces, ‘as much as possible.’³⁰¹ Not unconventional, Sullivan often entwines the above pieces into the larger teleological framework, binding them via freeform framing material. ‘O moon thou art,’ ‘Happy with winged feet,’ ‘Ah, would that thou and I might lead our sheep,’ and ‘Maiden, if e’er in forest free’ all follow this practice.

³⁰⁰ *Ivanhoe*, Chandos, 2010

³⁰¹ Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*, 333.

Sullivan to Dion Boucicault, 6th June 1890, Morgan Library, ID: 108298.

Example 3 – *Ivanhoe*. Act III, Scene 1. Bars 95-109.

(Andante moderato)

Ivanhoe

gen-tle sleep. _____

pp

(Enter ULRICA & REBECCA)

quasi recit. Ulrica

Tend

Structurally, these pieces are the most obvious link between *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, *The Beauty Stone* as well as Sullivan’s broader Savoy oeuvre. Interestingly, the type of melody found within, as well as through-composed sections, is different and more heart-felt when compared to the dainty, ‘tripping hither,’ melodic style of Sullivan’s comic works.

Haddon Hall contains brief moments which can be described as reminiscent of this romantic colouration; though, given the intrusion of comedy amidst serious episodes, the result is heterogenous. Only in the elopement, Act II, can this type of melodic setting be found in its dominant form, governing the drama, moving the context forward with sincerity. As a work of art, however, the prevailing style does not essay any major divergence from Sullivan’s standard Gilbertian format, including patter songs, a *sullivan-esque* madrigal, and animated choruses.

Stylistically, alike *Haddon Hall* and previous Savoy works, *The Beauty Stone* is a lyrical opera; comparison ends here, though, as the dominant melodic practice forms a disparate part of Sullivan's oeuvre, more in line with the romantic element found in *Ivanhoe* and moments of *Yeomen* and *Princess Ida*, though retaining an individual *fach*. As the design of Wilfred Bendall's piano-vocal arrangement is reminiscent of previous Savoy works, it is unsurprising that musicologists have misunderstood the opera's place and objective. Sullivan's vision for the opera was undoubtedly curtailed by his librettists:

He had to write a serious work, and yet was unable to give full vent to his inspiration, as he would doubtless have done had his work been destined for a regular opera house, when he would have been afforded the opportunity of developing his ideas symphonically in the orchestra, unhindered by the interruptions of the spoken dialogue. It strikes us as a serious blot in a work of this description that the dialogue and music seem so constantly to be interfering one with the other. The composer is hampered by having his means of expression curtailed, and the action is often interrupted through the introduction of musical numbers *à propos de bottes*. The score of "The Beauty Stone" reveals all the cunning of the practised hand, and contains many examples of essentially *Sullivan-esque* art.³⁰²

Writing for the *Morning Post*, Arthur Hervey made several perceptive points. Overall, *The Beauty Stone* does not structurally conform to the teleological nature of *Ivanhoe*; yet, neither does it fundamentally imitate previous Savoy works. An amalgamation of the two structural frameworks, melodically and structurally, *The Beauty Stone* occupies different territory, drawing inspiration from the lyrical precedents of *Ivanhoe*, as well as moments within *The Yeomen of the Guard*, *King Arthur*, and *Macbeth*. Contemporary critics noticed this divergence in melodic invention:

Vernon Blackburn (*Pall Mall Gazette*): 'we have noted in him a deepening gravity, a new sort of melody, a more impressive delivery of himself.'³⁰³

³⁰² Arthur Hervey, *Morning Post*, 30th May 1898, 6.

³⁰³ Vernon Blackburn, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30th May 1898, 3.

Alfred Watson (*The Standard*): ‘There is an abundance of melody replete with a freshness and grace that are really marvellous when it is remembered how many scores he has composed.’³⁰⁴

A.A.B. (*Daily Mail*): ‘Sir Arthur Sullivan is in his graver mood. The “Lascivious pleasings” of simple melody are severely withheld.’³⁰⁵

Exploring Sullivan’s earlier melodic format, little comparison can be drawn to previous Savoy works as there is a poetical sincerity to the objective of ‘romantic musical drama’ in *The Beauty Stone* which was not sustainable within Gilbert’s libretti.³⁰⁶ Rather than a different form of melody, as suggested by Blackburn, the score subscribes to a practice occasionally used to humorously evoke melodrama in the G&S canon. Lisa’s ensemble with chorus from *The Grand Duke*, ‘The die is cast,’ is strikingly suggestive of ‘oh, turn thine eyes away’ from *The Beauty Stone*; though, owing to the sincerity of Saida’s ensemble together with a darker-coloured harmonic structure, the procedure arouses opposing atmospheres:

³⁰⁴ Alfred Watson, *The Standard*, 30th May 1898, 2.

³⁰⁵ A.A.B., *Daily Mail*, 30th May 1898, 3.

³⁰⁶ *The Beauty Stone* Programme, 1898, 2.

This was a notion held by Dion Boucicault, an actor and playwright, writing to Sullivan in May 1890: ‘I think Gilbert’s material – always delicate and original – lacked dramatic situation – and afforded you little opportunity for pathetic display.’ Dion Boucicault to Sullivan, Letter, 16th May 1890. Morgan Library, ID: 106195.

Example 4 – *The Grand Duke*. No 12d. Song. Bars 474-478.

Lisa

The die is cast, My hopes have per - ish'd!

Example 5 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 9. Finale – Act 1. Bars 106-113.

(Andante con tenerezza)

Saida

For how shall beau-ty stay Where all was foul be fore? For

how shall beau - ty stay Where all was foul be

As opposed to utilising this method in limited moments, as in most of Gilbert's satirical melodramas; sentimental, heart-felt, melodic treatment is a defining feature of *The Beauty Stone*.

Yeomen of the Guard and moments within *Princess Ida* can be considered exceptions. Closer in alignment, several arias and ensembles provide a curious sense of atmospheric solemnity to Gilbert's stories, alluding to a flavour of romanticism which is absent from Sullivan's other Savoy works. Sullivan's score to *King Arthur*, particularly the opening, 'Excalibur,' is also redolent of this style. Together with *Yeoman*, *Princess Ida*, and sections of *Ivanhoe*, these works can be considered *The Beauty Stone*'s closest relatives.

Within the concluding chorus of *Yeomen*, a repetition of Jack Point' and Elsie' Act I duet: 'I have a song to sing, O!', there is a mild suggestion of tragedy. Earlier, in the trio 'If he's made the best use of his time,' a similar atmosphere is aroused: 'The music, though light in texture, has an undercurrent of gentle pathos.'³⁰⁷ Though a sincere effort, *Yeomen* lacks a cohesive whole, carefully treading the line between 'serious' and 'comic,' of pathetic writing which Sullivan unlocked in *Ivanhoe*, and which methodically encapsulates the *fach* of *The Beauty Stone*.

Structurally, if compared to *The Yeomen of the Guard* and *Haddon Hall*, the following tables illustrate a rather different underlying framework in *The Beauty Stone*:

³⁰⁷ Dunhill, *Sullivan's Comic Operas*, 164

Table 20 – *The Yeomen of the Guard*, Form and Structure.

The Yeomen of the Guard – Act I

Piece:	Form:	Time: ³⁰⁸
Overture	Sonata	5:10
No 1. Introduction and Song – ‘When maiden loves’	Strophic + Coda	3:31
No 2. Double chorus – ‘Tower Warders’	Modified Ternary (ABA ¹) + Coda	3:51
No 3. Song with Chorus – ‘When our gallant Norman foes’	Strophic + Coda	4:52
No 4. Trio – ‘Alas! I waver to and fro’	Through-composed?	2:43
No 5. Ballad – ‘Is life a boon’	Strophic	2:17
No 6. Chorus – ‘Here’s a man of jollity’	Through-composed	1:18
No 7. Duet – ‘I have a song to sing, O!’	Modified Strophic (AA ¹ A ² A ³) + Coda	3:19
No 8. Trio – ‘How say you maiden, will you wed A man about to lose his head?’	Through-composed	2:53
No 9. Song – ‘I’ve jibe and joke’	Prelude + Strophic	1:49
No 10. Recit and Song – ‘Tis done! I am a bride!’	Recitative + Strophic + Coda	3:58
No 11. Song – ‘Were I thy bride’	Modified Ternary (ABA ¹) + Coda	2:03
No 12. Finale – Act I	Through-composed	17:43

The Yeomen of the Guard – Act II

Piece:	Form:	Time: ³⁰⁹
No 1. Chorus and Solo – ‘Night has spread her pall once more’	Prelude + Modified ternary (ABA ¹) + Coda	4:16
No 2. Song – ‘Oh! A private buffoon is a light-hearted loon’	Strophic	2:38
No 3. Duet – ‘Here upon we’re both agreed’	Strophic + Coda	1:49
No 4. Ballad – ‘Free from his fetters grim’	Modified Strophic (AA ¹)	2:39
No 5. Quartet – ‘Strange adventure!’	Strophic + Coda	2:48
No 6. Scene – ‘Hark! What was that, sir!’	Through-composed	3:43
No 7. Trio – ‘A man who would woo a fair maid’	Modified Strophic (AAA ¹) + Coda	3:43
No 8. Quartet – ‘When a wooer Goes a wooing’	Modified Strophic (AA ¹ A ²) + Coda	2:55
No 9. Duet – ‘Rapture, rapture!’	Modified Strophic (AA ¹) + Coda	1:57
No 10. Finale – Act II	Through-composed	9:51

³⁰⁸ *The Yeomen of the Guard*, Decca Music Group Ltd, January 1964.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

Table 21 – Haddon Hall, Form and Structure

Haddon Hall – Act I

Scene:	Piece:	Key:	Form:	Time: ³¹⁰
Introduction - ‘Ye stately homes of England’		E-G	Potpourri	16:36
1	No 1. Chorus with Solos			
	Components	‘Today, it is a festal time’	E	Modified Strophic (AA ¹)+Dance
		‘But midst our jubilation’	Recitative – Modulatory (TC)	
		No 1a. Song – ‘Twas a dear little dormouse’	C#mi-Db	Modified Strophic (AA ¹)
		‘Hail to the Lord of Haddon!’	Lord of Haddon <i>Recurrent Theme</i>	
		‘Nor violet, lily’	E	Modified Ternary (ABA ¹ + Coda)
		‘Welcome, I bid ye welcome, one and all!’	Recitative – Modulatory	
		‘When the budding bloom of May’	G	Strophic
	No 2. Trio – ‘Nay, father dear’		Bbmi	ABC + Coda
	No 3. Duet – ‘Mother, dearest’		Gb	ABCDC
	No 4. Song with Chorus – ‘Ribbons to sell’		Eb	Prelude+Modified Strophic+Coda
	No 5. Duet – ‘The sun’s in the sky’		Gb	Strophic + Coda
	No 6. Recit. – ‘My mistress comes’		Recitative – Modulatory (Recurrent Theme)	
	No 7. Trio – ‘Oh, tell me, what is a maid to say’		Ab	Modified Strophic (AA ¹) + Coda
	No 8. Duet			AB
	Components	‘The earth is fair’	E	Strophic + Coda
		‘Sweetly the morn doth break’	Db-D- Db	Modified Ternary (ABA ¹ +Coda)
	No 8a. Recit. and Song – ‘Why weep and wait’		Db	Recit+Modified Strophic (AA ¹)
	No 9. Entrance of Puritans – ‘Down with princes’		Gmi	AB
	No 9a. Entrance of Rupert		Gmi	N/A
	No 10. Song – ‘I’ve heard it said’		C	Strophic + Orchestral Postlude
	No 11. Finale Act I			Potpourri
	Components	‘The bonny bridegroom cometh’	D	Through-composed
		No 11a. Song – ‘When I was but a little lad’	D	Strophic + Coda
		‘Hail, cousin Rupert’	Lord of Haddon <i>Recurrent Theme</i>	
		‘Tho’ scarce we know thee’	Recitative – Modulatory	
		‘Cousin fair’	F	Through-composed
		‘When, yestereve, I knelt to pray’		Modified Strophic (AA ¹)
		‘Father, forgive!’	D	Through-composed

³¹⁰ *Haddon Hall*, Dutton Epoch, 2020

Haddon Hall – Act II

Scene:	Piece:	Key:	Form:	Time: 311			
1	No 12. Introduction and Chorus of Puritans – ‘Hoarsely the wind is howling’		Cmi	Through-composed	1:40		
	No 13. Song – ‘My name it is McCrankie’		D	Strophic	2:21		
	No 14. Duet – ‘There’s no one by no prying eye’		F	Strophic	2:48		
	No 15. Trio – ‘Hoity-toity, what’s a kiss’		D	Strophic	2:02		
	No 16. Finale Act II			Through-composed	20:51		
	Components	‘The West wind howls’		Ami-C		Through-composed	
		‘Flash, lightening, flash’		Fmi-F		Modified Strophic (AA ¹)+ Coda	
		‘Oh, heart’s desire’		F		Strophic + Coda	
		‘The horses are waiting’		F-E		Through-composed	
		‘Home of my girlhood, so happy, farewell!’		A			
		‘Why do the heaven’s roar’		Recitative – Modulatory			
		‘Ghostly the night’		Ami-C		Through-composed	
		‘Now step lightly’		F			
		No 16b. Storm		Melodrama – Ambiguous/Modulatory			
		2	Gavotte			D	ABAB
			‘Silence all!’			Recitative	
			‘In the days of old’			D	Modified Strophic + Coda
	‘Eloped, eloped!’		Recitative – Modulatory				
‘Abetted by this tricky maid!’			Db-Emi	Through-composed			
‘Time, the Avenger’			C	ABC			

³¹¹ Ibid.

Haddon Hall – Act III

Scene:	Piece:	Key:	Form:	Time: ³¹²
1	No 17. Chorus – ‘Our heads we bow’	Gmi	Modified Strophic (AA ¹ A ²)+Coda	1:45
	No 18. Song with Chorus – ‘Queen of the garden bloom’d a rose’	Ami	Strophic + Coda	4:21
	No 19. Duet		Recitative + ABCB + Coda	3:52
	Components ‘Alone – alone!’	Prelude (Recitative) – Modulatory		
	‘Bride of my youth’	D \flat	ABCB + Coda	
	No 20. Scene		Potpourri	5:36
	Components ‘In frill and feather’	F	Strophic	
	No 21. Ensemble – ‘Good general monk’		Recitative	
	‘Summon my body-guard’	Puritan <i>Recurrent Theme</i> + Modulatory		
	‘Brother our books!’	Cmi-D	Through-composed	
	‘We have thought the matter out’	G	Strophic + Dance	
	No 22. Song and Chorus – ‘Hech mon! hech mon!’	A	Strophic + Dance	3:32
	No 23. Finale Act III		Through-composed	5:20
	Components ‘Hark! hark! the canon!’	A-C \sharp	Through-composed	
	‘God save the King!’	Recitative – Modulatory		
	‘Time was, Sir Knight’	A \flat	Through-composed	
	‘Love breath’d a message through the sphere!’	F	Modified Strophic (AA ¹)+Coda	

³¹² Ibid.

Table 22 – The Beauty Stone, Form and Structure. (TC=Through-composed)

The Beauty Stone – Act I

Scene:	Piece:	Key:	Form:	Time: 313
Introduction (A succession of Laine' and Philip' respective <i>recurrent themes</i>)		Bb	Potpourri	6:13
1	No 1. Duet – ‘Click, clack’	Ami	AAB	
	No 2. Chorus with Solos – ‘Hobble, Hobble’	F	Through-composed (Imitative)	1:41
	No 2a. Semi-Chorus (Behind the Scene) – ‘Maidens and men of Mirlemont town’	D	Modified Strophic (AA ¹)	1:03
	No 3. Prayer – ‘Dear Mary mother’	F	Strophic	3:36
	No 4. Quartet		Through-composed	5:08
	Components ‘Who stands within?’	Bmi-F#		
	‘Well may ye ask’	B		
	‘Ah prithee, tell me then’	Emi-F#		
	‘Weaver, thou didst not heed me’	B		
	No 5. Recit and Song – ‘Since it dwelt in that rock’	E-Emi-E	Recitative + Strophic	4:34
2	No 5a. Appearance of Laine	E	<i>Recurrent Theme</i>	0:15
	No 5b. After Devils Song (Segues into Scene 2)	A	Binary	6:05
	No 6. Full Chorus		Variegated Rondo	
	Components ‘The bells are ringing o’er Mirlemont town’	D	A	
	‘Then tell us’	Bb	B	
	‘Maidens and men of Mirlemont town’	D	A ¹	
	‘If this indeed be Beauty’s Queen’	G	C	
	‘Maidens and men of Mirlemont town’	D	A ¹ + Coda	
	No 7. Duet – ‘My name is Crazy Jacqueline’	Ab	Strophic + Dance	4:09
	No 7a. Entrance of Burgomaster and Crowd – ‘The bells are ringing o’er Mirlemont town’	D	Variegated Rondo (ABACA)	2:49
	No 8. Scene: The Beauty Contest		Modified Sonata	9:41
	Components ‘Know ye all, both great and small’	Eb	Exposition	1 st Subject
	‘I am Loyse from St Denis’	B		2 nd Subject
	‘Aye, let her go’	Eb-C	Development	
	‘In the hills beyond Florenns’		Recapitulation	1 st Subject (Bb)
	‘I am Barbe of Bovigny!’	Eb		2 nd Subject (Eb)

³¹³ *The Beauty Stone*, Chandos, 2013.

2 (cont.)	No 9. Finale – Act 1			Through-composed	12:01
	Components	‘Go, bring forth old Simon’s daughter!’	Eb	Through-composed	
		Laine’s <i>Recurrent Theme</i>	E		
		‘By Our Lady, She is fair!’	B-C		
		‘Sweet, wond’ring maid’	Recitative – Modulatory (TC)		
		‘Oh, turn thine eyes away’	Db	Modified Strophic (AA ¹)	
		‘In vain ye plead’	Recitative – Modulatory (TC)		
		‘A witch! a witch!’	B-F#- Ami-C	Through-composed	
		‘What would ye do’			
		‘I can but tell I knelt and pray’d’	F		
		‘Enough, enough!’	Recitative – Modulatory		
		‘When the rose-leaf lies on the dew’	C-Ab-C	Modified Ternary (ABA ¹ + Coda)	

The Beauty Stone – Act II

Scene:	Piece:	Key:	Form:	Time: ³¹⁴	
1	No 10. Chorus – ‘With cards and dice and with wine and laughter’		E	Rondo (ABCBA ¹) + Coda	2:23
	No 10a. Melos		G \flat	Strophic	1:13
	No 11. Scene			Through-composed	10:10
	Components	‘Though she should dance till dawn of day’	B \flat mi		
		‘Safe in her island home’	B \flat		
		‘We are dreaming’	C \sharp mi		
		‘South blows the wind as the veil of night is falling’	C \sharp		
		Laine’s <i>Recurrent Theme</i>	F		
		‘Nay, see ye not this maid is fair?’			
	No 12. Duet			AB	3:42
	Components	‘I love thee! I love thee!’	E \flat	A (Through-composed)	
		‘I too had seen a star’	G \flat	B (ABA ¹ + Coda)	
	No 13. Scene			Through-composed	12:16
	Components	‘I’ll tell them what thou wast when first I knew thee’	B \flat	Strophic	
		‘How say you?’		Through-composed	
		‘Heed not what this poor dotard cries’	E		
‘Yet see those angel eyes are wet’		G			
‘Nay, wert thou more than all he said thou art’					
‘She’s gone!’					
‘I see her tears’		E \flat			
‘Lords of Sirault’		F			
‘Enough, enough’		E \flat			
‘And ye who serve me’		B \flat			

³¹⁴ Ibid.

2	No 14. Trio			Through-composed	3:56
	Components	‘Look yon – ‘tis she!’	Ab-B-Ab		
		‘Then let me cast away this stone’			
		‘Aye, truly all are not as he’			
		‘Take it away, away’	Ab-F		
	No 15. Duet – ‘I would see a maid who dwells in Zolden’			D \flat	Strophic + Coda
No 16. Quintet – ‘Haste thee! Haste thee!’			D \flat	Through-composed	2:06
No 17. Duet – ‘Up and down And through the town’			C	Strophic + Dance	4:25
3	No 18. Finale			AB – Melodrama – B cont.	5:36
	Components	‘There he stands, that lord ye knew’	D	A (Through-composed)	
		‘Men of Mirlemont’	B \flat	B (TCInterrupted)	
		‘My Lord’	Ami	Melodrama	
		‘On, to the marketplace’	B \flat	B [Continued] (TC + Coda)	

The Beauty Stone – Act III

Scene:	Piece:	Key:	Form:	Time: 315
1	No 19. Introduction and Song – 'An hour a gone 'twas the moon that shone'	Fmi	Strophic	4:20
	No 20. Song – 'Why dost thou sigh and moan?'	G \flat	Strophic	2:02
	No 21. Recit. and Song – 'Mine, mine at last!'	F	Through-composed	3:23
	No 22. Scene – 'So all is lost forever!'	F-Emi-E	Through-composed	2:31
	No 22a. Change of Scene (Segues into Scene 2)	Emi	Transitory	0:36
2	No 23. Chorus and Dance – 'O'er Mirlemont City the banners are flying'	E	Ternary	2:02
	No 23a. Exit of Guntran and Crowd	B \flat	Strophic	0:49
	No 24. Finale – 'Hail to the lord of our land!'	F-C	Potpourri	4:53

³¹⁵ Ibid.

As can be ascertained from the above tables, *The Beauty Stone* contains far more concerted music, is structurally more formal, though can be considered more fluid, when compared to what many consider, in terms of ‘serious’ craftsmanship, the apogee of Sullivan’s style, *The Yeomen of the Guard*.³¹⁶

After the production of *Iolanthe*, a noticeable addition of more concerted music can be detected in Sullivan’s operas, particularly in quasi-romantic works such as *Princess Ida* and *Yeomen of the Guard*. This can be considered Sullivan’s attempt to diverge from the formulae governing his earlier collaborations with Gilbert, wishing to evolve and escape the criticism of repetition:

I want a chance for the music ... to intensify the emotional element not only of the ... words but of the situation. I should like to set a story of human interest ... where ... humorous words would come in a humorous situation ... where, if the situation were a tender or dramatic one, the words would be of a similar character ... There would then be a feeling of reality about it.³¹⁷

³¹⁶ Nigel Burton, ‘The Yeomen of the Guard’: Apogee of a Style, *The Musical Times*, Vol. 129, No. 1750 (Dec., 1988), 656.

³¹⁷ Sullivan to Gilbert, 1st April 1884, Morgan Library.

Figure 24 – ‘The Art of ‘Savoy Fare.’’ *Punch*.³¹⁸



As Gilbert did not wish to partake in any serious divergence from their regular formulae, Sullivan began to force more sections of continuous music, uninterrupted by dialogue, into their works.

Drawn-out Act I finales are a key feature of most of the G&S works. Structurally, most are purely a series of self-contained pieces strung together. *The Sorcerer*, *Iolanthe*, *Ruddigore*, *The Pirates of Penzance*, *H.M.S Pinafore*, and *The Mikado* (although exhibiting a move to a more horizontal through-composed style), are no exception. The Act I finale of *Yeomen of the Guard*, though containing reminiscences of its predecessors, particularly the insertion of the self-contained ensemble, ‘To thy fraternal care,’ more earnestly strives towards the contemporary definition of ‘through-composed.’ This style is also closely followed in the Act II finale of

³¹⁸ *Punch*, 28th October 1893, 204. Anne Stanyon, *Sad Dregs or New Directions*, 12.

Princess Ida, although the ending, ‘To yield at once to such a foe With shame were rife,’ exhibits a self-contained rondo structure.

It is interesting that within these quasi-romantic works, Sullivan attempts to do something different when compared to his purely comic works. As before, they can be considered the structural ancestors of *The Beauty Stone*. *Haddon Hall* does allude to this framework, in part; however, there is something strangely deficient in the result, more closely aligned to the framework of *The Mikado* Act I finale. In neither is the grand operatic fusion convincing, interrupted too frequently by self-contained individual choruses with little to connect them.

Aside from moments within *Yeomen*, the most noticeable attempt can be found in the opening of *The Gondoliers*, ‘List and learn.’ Though potpourri in complexion, a succession of songs with little to connect them, in terms of key-structure relationships, the underlying framework alludes to modified established type-3 sonata form.³¹⁹ The primary theme appears in D major, followed by the secondary theme in Bb major. After a series of connected chorus ensembles and solos, which form a quasi-development section, both keys are reasserted before the conclusion of the movement, and, in the final forty-nine bars, the primary theme concludes the movement in the tonic. More explicit essays in sonata form can be found in the overtures to *Yeomen of the Guard*, *Macbeth*, and *The Light of the World*, but its continued intrusion within concerted pieces of music in these later compositions hints towards a more formal approach to the compositional process.

³¹⁹ James Hepokoski, Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata*, (Oxford University Press, 2006).

In relation to Sonata theory, it has been necessary to explore and cite the work of Hepokoski and Darcy given the entire body of theory which has developed over the past twenty years.

The concerted pieces in *Haddon Hall* do not exhibit this same level of structural framework, although the tonal structure of Finale Act II reveals a sense of tonal-dramatic resolution (not unconventionally commencing in A minor and resolving in C major), mostly returning to Sullivan's previous emphasis on potpourri form. The opening movement does allude to modified sonata form; whilst the second subject does conclude the movement, it does not resolve in the tonic. Perhaps owing to his illness, faults with Grundy's libretto, and pressure from the Carte's to complete the work for a September premiere, Sullivan could not devote enough time to create a score which sustained such formal structures.³²⁰

Intricacies of key-structure relationships within *The Beauty Stone*, combined with a greater sense of structural-thematic narrative, are more confidently deployed. Though still modified, a more explicit arrangement of type-3 sonata form can be found in the beauty contest.

Strikingly freeform on first inspection, the ensemble opens with a *scenic motif* which forms the primary theme:

Example 6 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 8. Scene: The Beauty Contest. Bars 2-3.



The secondary theme embarks in B major, 'I am Loyse from St Denis':

³²⁰ Sullivan completed Act I, No. 1, on 8th March, 1892, before his illness became critical. Sullivan, Diary, 8th March 1892.

Example 7 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 8. Scene: The Beauty Contest. Bars 60-95.



When compared to the opening of *The Gondoliers*, Sullivan imposes a stricter variation of sonata form within this movement. The development comprises a more overt imitation of the rhythmic and intervallic nuances of the primary theme, returning to the tonic. Before further development, the primary theme is briefly reasserted and modulates back to the orbit of E \flat major (Bars 206-208). Following a brief modulation to C major towards the end of the development, the primary theme is once again reasserted; this time in the dominant (Bars 265-267), B \flat major, allowing for an easy route back to the tonic. Rather than reiterating the primary theme to conclude the movement, as is expected, Sullivan reintroduces the secondary theme:

Example 8 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 8. Scene: The Beauty Contest. Bars 272-286.³²¹



Now modified, melodic fragments from the original secondary theme transition to a new melodic idea which mimics the atmosphere aroused by the first subject, resolving the ensemble, firmly grounded in the tonic, Eb major.

Though impeded by the insertion of dialogue, the overarching structural element of *Ivanhoe* is not entirely absent in *The Beauty Stone*. When afforded the opportunity, Sullivan confidently reasserted his skill of organic, through-composed, musical invention. Alexander Geoghegan, writing for *The Scotsman*, noted the intrusion of this practice:

Sir Arthur Sullivan ... has written numbers in the *Durchkomponierte's* style suggestive of modern grand opera, and others in conventional strophic form ... The result ... is rather puzzling and full of surprises.³²²

In particular, the music ascribed to Saida can be considered a notch above the rest of the cast and is almost entirely freeform in character. Although her Act III aria, 'Mine, mine at last,' contains recurring melodic fragments, the underlying concept is fluid, and the same can be said of her later confrontation with the Devil, 'So all is lost forever.'

Saida's Dance, a focal point of his later style, combines Sullivan's dexterous understanding of tonal and thematic metamorphosis with the teleological; reminiscent of the binding

³²¹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 161-162.

³²² Alexander Geoghegan, *The Scotsman*, 30th May 1898, 9.

element of the Saxon *recurrent theme* in Act I, Scene 1, of *Ivanhoe*. Following an initially oblique introduction, suggestive of the whole-tone scale, B \flat minor is not established until bar 17. After a choral ensemble, accompanied by an orchestral component derivative of ballet music, Sullivan strikingly transitions to the tonic major. Saida's poetical lyrics drive the teleological element forward, entirely freeform and bound by motivic fragments. As the opening ballet music is echoed by the chorus, a modulation to C \sharp minor, and subsequently its enharmonic major, allow the dramatic tension to build. Throughout, the opening woodwind scalic invention is merged into the texture, and, eventually, the material is worked into a choral climax. Interrupted by Laine's entrance, accompanied by her *recurrent theme*, a new atmosphere is established; B \flat is held in the background and the dominant, F major, governs the foreground. By retaining F major, this lack of resolution foreshadows Laine and Philips later estrangement, further enhanced by a modulated repetition of Saida's *recurrent theme* which acts as a melancholy reminder of lost love.

Other concerted sections of *The Beauty Stone*, except finale Act III, again emphasise the teleological, as each are connected and bound almost freeform. Carr's verses are seldom repeated and continuous streams of melody, like in *Ivanhoe*, allow the drama to continue. It is interesting that the Act I finale concludes with a standard classical form, modified ternary. Several of his stage works, including *Iolanthe* and *Princess Ida*, close in this way; however, owing to an adaptation of the material in 2/4, instead of 6/4, and the addition of a coda, initial observation is, again, freeform.

Given the derogative dismissal of *The Beauty Stone*, it can assumed scholars have almost universally surveyed the general layout of the vocal score, noticed the potpourri-style of Act III finale together with several strophic pieces, and have rejected it without further analysis.

However, deeper analysis of the score, concurring with Geoghegan's remarks, reveals that it is actually 'full of surprises.'³²³

3.3 Harmony: Tonality, Modulation, and Chromaticism

One of the distinct components of *The Golden Legend* is a clear sense of tonal association and governance. The tonal structure of the work is tightly knit, and unification is achieved in the wider context of dramatic enhancement via the association of characters with certain keys. In both *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone* Sullivan reuses this technique, although the comparative complexity of design is suggestive of maturity:

Table 23 – *The Golden Legend* Tonal Scheme

<i>The Golden Legend</i> Tonal Scheme		Key:	
Scene:		Opening:	Close:
Prologue		F# Axis	F major
1		A minor	C major
2		F major	
3		A minor	Db major
4		A minor	A major
5		E major	
6		Db major	Db major
Epilogue		E major	

Table 24 – *Ivanhoe* Tonal Scheme

<i>Ivanhoe</i> Tonal Scheme		Key:	
Act	Scene	Opening:	Close:
I	1	C major	
	2	A minor	C minor
	3	Bb major	G major
II	1	D major	
	2	Bb minor	Gb major
	3	Eb minor	Ab major
III	1	F major	E minor
	2	G major	D major

³²³ Ibid.

	3	G major	B major
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Whilst select scenes within *Ivanhoe* occasionally deviate from absolute tonal unification, tonal association between characters takes a more prominent role. The tonalities which accompany Ivanhoe and Rowena's discourse centres around D major and F major, and it is no surprise that these tonalities are quickly established in conjunction with their first exchange whilst Ivanhoe is disguised as a Holy Palmer:

Example 9 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 2. Bars 66-73.

Allegro con moto

Ivanhoe

Ah, la - dy fair! I know but

lit - tle of the knight I would 'twere more, since

Over the course of their duet the D axis is placed in the background, alluded to at rehearsal marking C, as F major governs the global harmonic structure. Once Rowena departs, D major, much like Ivanhoe's spirit, 'upward springs.' Having learnt that Rowena still loves him, the D major element of their tonal connection flourishes. Later, recovering from his wounds at the tournament, Ivanhoe sings himself to sleep, contemplating his love for Rowena. Again, D major is present in the background. To Sullivan, the bright sonority of D major clearly represented irrepressible passion as Rebecca's fervid declaration of love for Ivanhoe whilst he sleeps is also in D major. Within Act III, Scene II, once Rowena and

Ivanhoe have reunited and are alone, they rekindle their passion and D major takes its position in the foreground.

Dramatic continuity is also reached within Ulrica's material which is bound around an Eb/E minor axis. Interestingly, Ulrica's warning to Rebecca, 'Evil and dark thy fate shall be,' is accompanied by E minor before a climax is reached which illustrates her thirst for revenge. The significance of E minor becomes more apparent when Ulrica warns Rebecca to 'Look for thy bridal torches!' and is brought to the foreground at the end of Act III, scene 1, as she burns Torquilstone to the ground. Intricate levels of tonal association are also apparent in the music ascribed to the Templar. A major is established when he accepts Ivanhoe's challenge for combat and, suggestive of closure, the key is reasserted immediately after Ivanhoe kills him.

Combining the unity of the tonal scheme in *The Golden Legend* with the intricate level of tonal association in *Ivanhoe*, *The Beauty Stone* represents further maturation in this area:

Table 25 – *The Beauty Stone* Tonal Scheme

<i>The Beauty Stone</i> Tonal Scheme		Key:	
Act	Scene	Opening:	Close:
	Intro.	Bb major	A minor
I	1	A minor	E major
	2	A major	C major
II	1	E major	Bb major
	2	Db major	Db major
	3	C major	Bb major
III	1	F minor	E major
	2	C major	C major

There is a more confident deployment of recurrent materials (See section 3.4.2) and the density of such themes are entwined with an equally complex tonal structure.

The Devil's theme and the key which governs his material is more prominent. Shaped throughout by E major, the key explicitly, yet subtly, appears to be in the background of most scenes where the Devil has managed to cause harm, suffering, or exert influence:

Table 26 – *The Beauty Stone*. Tonal Map of The Devil's Material.

Tonal Map of The Devil's Material			
Act I	Piece:	Bar(s):	Comment:
Scene 1	No 5.	1-End	Devil's Song.
	No 5a.	1-4	Appearance of Laine.
Scene 2	No 9.	37-45	Laine reappears, transformed by the beauty stone, her <i>recurrent theme</i> emerges in E major.
Act II	Piece:	Bar(s):	Comment:
Scene 1	No 10.	1-End	The opening chorus of Act II is governed by E major as 'the Devil stands by Philip's side, advising in the conduct of the game.' ³²⁴
Scene 2	No 13.	46-53	Devil's <i>recurrent theme</i> in home key of E major
		180-182	E major is subtly brought to the fore as Saida declares 'All is gone' before the Devil reappears at rehearsal marking K.
Scene 3	No 18.	152, 166, 168	After the lure of the beauty stone has affected Laine's father, Simon, she implores Philip to help locate him. He declines, and once again E major momentarily returns.
Act III	Piece:	Bar(s):	Comment:
Scene 1	No 22.	26-End	Centred around E minor and E major. E minor transforms the repetition of Saida's material from 'Mine, mine at last,' and E major returns in bar 69 as the Devil's <i>recurrent theme</i> returns.

Crucially, the examples above are representative of Sullivan's highly developed sense of tonal association and unification. The upward trajectory of this technique in both *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone* is also suggestive of a maturity within Sullivan's compositional idiom, more confidently deploying these techniques as a means of dramatic characterisation and enhancement.

³²⁴ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 222.

Unsurprisingly, the animated nature of comic opera meant Sullivan primarily exploited major tonalities as a means of humorous expression. Interviewed before the premiere of *The Beauty Stone*, Sullivan confessed as much, stating that he felt he had to be ‘in a chronic state of high spirits’ throughout.³²⁵ Yet, even within his serious works such as *The Golden Legend*, *The Light of the World*, and *The Martyr of Antioch*, the minor is of little consequence.³²⁶ Sullivan clearly felt at home writing in the major, and, as before, there is a predominant use of this tonality during his final decade. Nevertheless, an interesting element within these later works is a more confident and liberal approach to the distribution of the minor.

Figure 25 – *The Tempest*.³²⁷



Before the 1890s, Sullivan had predominantly used minor tonality to comedic effect or associated it with anxiety, mystery, and gloom. Very few libretti and dramatic scenarios had

³²⁵ Arthur Lawrence, *London Daily News*, 25th May 1898, 3.

³²⁶ *The Light of The World*: There are two passages entirely in the minor: ‘In Rama’ and ‘Lord why hidest thou thy face’
Martyr of Antioch: There are no passages entirely in the minor; however, the ending of Margarita’s and Olybius’s duet ends in C minor.

³²⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 29th December 1860, 618.

offered a dramatic situation which demanded its use. In Sullivan's formative years, effective minor treatment can be observed within the sinister introduction to *The Tempest* (1861):

Example 10 – *The Tempest*. No 1. Introduction. Bars 1-3.

Andante con moto
solo

The musical score is for a section titled "Andante con moto" with a "solo" marking. It is written in 4/4 time and features the following instruments and parts:

- Oboe 1, 2:** Solo part starting with a triplet of eighth notes, marked *p* (piano).
- Bassoon 1, 2:** Enters in the second measure with a single note, marked *p*.
- Horn 1, 2 in D♭:** Plays sustained notes, marked *pp* (pianissimo).
- Timpani:** Plays a continuous tremolo, marked *sempre ppp* (sempre pianissimissimo).
- Bass Drum:** Enters in the second measure with a single note, marked *pp*.
- Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello:** All four strings play a tremolo pattern, marked *trem.* and *pp*.
- Contrabass:** Enters in the second measure with a single note, marked *pp*.

Differently, in *The Light of the World* Sullivan gave a notion as to how he could illustrate grief through pieces such as ‘Lord, why hidest thou thy face?’, which depicts Mary Magdalene’s exchange with the Angel at the sepulchre. At the Savoy, the incantation scene

from *The Sorcerer* (1877) similarly exhibited the precedents of *The Tempest*, offering a glimpse into the descriptive sound world Sullivan would later inhabit in *The Golden Legend* (1886) and portions of *Ruddigore* (1887). A very different departure when compared to the texts Gilbert, Burnand, and Stephenson, previously provided, *Ruddigore* explored the dominions of insanity, witchcraft, and apparitions. While deficient of emotional depth and primarily focused on comedic elements, Sullivan, when afforded an alternative set of circumstances, offered insight into how he could exploit the minor for different purposes. The significance of ‘When the Night Wind Howls,’ for instance, is not only owed to the presentation of Sullivan’s new harmonic capabilities, as he dexterously modulates from D minor to A \flat major, but the descriptive ingenuity and resource of the orchestration (which was undoubtedly influenced by the prologue of *The Golden Legend*). This matured relationship between vibrantly descriptive orchestration and the minor becomes a key feature within Sullivan’s final years, unmistakable in the opening bars of the *Macbeth* overture (1888). *Ruddigore* symbolised an evolved approach to how a minor key could not only portray the dramatic meaning of a piece of music, but also enhance it. In spite of the eerie setting, together with the psychosis presented in Mad Margaret’s aria ‘Cheerily carols the lark,’ Gilbert’s characters are primarily comedic, one dimensional and, under the circumstances, Sullivan was unable to explore the minor to any deeper emotional effect with this librettist.

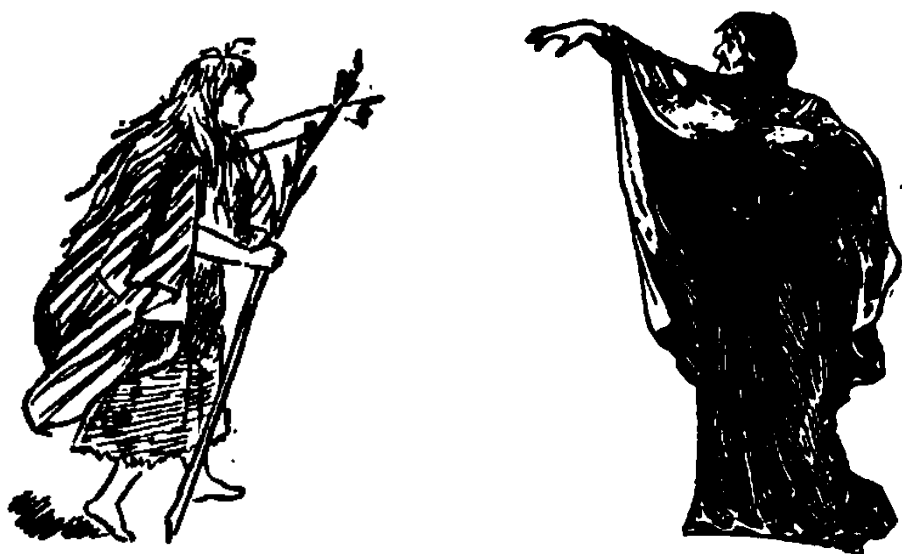
Tragic characters and scenes which required sustained deployment of the minor remained largely elusive to Sullivan until *Ivanhoe*.³²⁸ This production presented an entirely different set of characters and circumstances replete with tragedy, heartache, action, and insanity. Ulrica, an enslaved Saxon princess who witnessed the slaughter of her family and has been

³²⁸ The fate of Elsie within *The Golden Legend* was perhaps the closest that Sullivan came to tragedy prior to the misfortune which accompanies Ulrica and Rebecca in *Ivanhoe*; however, given Elsie’s self-sacrifice, she is not technically a *tragic* character.

repeatedly raped by the Normans, was undoubtedly the darkest individual Sullivan illustrated and is reminiscent of Verdi's Azucena. Enduring years of torture and isolation, she desires vengeance, a temperament which progressively descended from obsession into psychosis. Although Sullivan had previously illustrated insanity in Mad Margaret's aria, Ulrica's neurosis is unquestionably of a different nature. The music ascribed to Mad Margaret is nimbler and more eccentric, particularly given that Gilbert's character, as he specified, is 'an obvious caricature of stage madness,' a satirical burlesque of the psychosis exhibited in Shakespeare's *Ophelia* and Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*.³²⁹ On the other hand, Ulrica's condition, incited by her treatment at the hands of the Normans, is darker, wholly driven by her thirst for retribution. Sparsely orchestrated, the whirring accompaniment in the lower strings is juxtaposed with the wailing minor theme of Ulrica's dejected chant, augmented by several disturbing utterances by the trumpets and trombones (See Example 46). The product of these orchestral forces, in combination with little tonal movement from Eb minor, is a gruesome, blood-curdling, almost lifeless effect. Though Hughes believed that Sullivan, as a tone-painter, did not surpass the ingenuity of 'When the night wind howls,' provided some context, the orchestral complexion of Ulrica's aria is in fact far deeper and more harrowing than the relationship between orchestral colouring and the minor first exhibited in *Ruddigore*.

³²⁹ Ian Bradley, *The Complete Annotated Gilbert & Sullivan*, (Oxford University Press, 2016), 760.

Figure 26 – L-R: Mad Margaret (*Ruddigore*), Ulrica (*Ivanhoe*).³³⁰



Moving with more assurance, Sullivan also moulded this technique around the intensely animated siege of Castle Torquilstone. Aside from the touches of inspiration found in the opening bars of *Cox and Box* (1866) and ‘Death to the invader!’ from *Princess Ida* (1884), ‘Go away, madam’ from *Iolanthe* (1882), a parody of Saint-Saëns *Dance Macabre*, was perhaps Sullivan’s most animated use of the minor until 1891. The orchestral accompaniment, however, is conventional, primarily comprised of heavily scored homophonic chords. The driving force of the piece is the apposition of the chorus against a countermelody sung by Phyllis and the Fairy Queen, energised by the *Allegro Vivace* in triple time. In a comparable, but far more elaborate setting, Sullivan evolves his treatment of this type of scenario by combining the orchestral forces he first displayed in *Ruddigore* with the dramatic scenario of the siege of Torquilstone. Once Rebecca has been kidnapped by Sir Brian and Ivanhoe has safely escaped the crumbling ruin of the castle, Ulrica stands atop a solitary tower singing her lugubrious chant in E minor. In place of the taunting whirl which

³³⁰ Mad Margaret: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24th January 1887, 5.

Ulrica: *Manchester Times*, 6th February 1891, 8.

These two illustrations show the difference between Mad Margaret and Ulrica.

accompanies her second act aria, Sullivan utilises slurred dotted rhythms to attend the menacing legato phrase of Ulrica's death song. These two entities colligate to enhance the intensity and agitation of the drama before Ulrica plunges herself into the fiery abyss below.³³¹ This scene is also indicative of Sullivan's more tonally exploitative style. As Sullivan did so artfully in the second scene of *The Golden Legend* where Elsie resolves self-sacrifice, A minor is held in the background while allowing a range of keys, including the flat dominant minor, to colour the turbulent foreground.

In a sprightlier sense, 'Flash, lightning, flash,' from *Haddon Hall* touches upon this minor-orchestral colouring relationship. Via the chromatic runs between each verse, coupled with a *sforzando* on the tonic (F minor), Sullivan craftily illustrated a flash of lightning. Quickly, however, the atmosphere diffuses, modulating to Db major followed by F major, segueing into a love duet between Vernon and Manners. The climax of Finale Act II is reached as Sir George learns of Dorothy's elopement; yet, the music is incredibly uneven, particularly bars 660-662 where descending scalar figures in the woodwind dissonantly conflict with the syncopated vocal entries. Only onwards from bar 677 does the composer emulate an appropriate atmosphere paired with a modulation to the sharp mediant minor. Eventually, the music returns to the tonic, E minor, and energetically continues as the ensemble attempt to pursue Dorothy and Manners on horseback.

Alternatively, as Rowena apostrophises the moon in the second scene of *Ivanhoe*, meditating upon the absence of her lover (*Ivanhoe*), Sullivan uses the minor to an unusual, ruminative, effect. Rowena's soliloquy, which commences in A minor and later transitions to E major,

³³¹ The effect was so prodigious that one reporter for the *Dublin Daily Express* commented that Sullivan's setting was a 'remarkably imposing and realistic tableau.' *Dublin Daily Express*, 2nd February 1891, 5.

opens with an amalgamation of syncopated flutes with the mellow, pellucid, range of the oboe:

Example 11 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 2. Bars 1-6.³³²

The musical score for Example 11, Act I, Scene 2, Bars 1-6 of *Ivanhoe*, is written for four parts: Treble Flute in G, Flute 1, Flute 2, and Oboe 1, 2. The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The time signature is common time (C). The Treble Flute in G part starts in bar 4 with a series of eighth notes. Flute 1 and Flute 2 play a syncopated eighth-note pattern from bar 1 to bar 6. Oboe 1, 2 plays a melodic line starting in bar 2, marked with a first ending bracket. Dynamics include piano (p) for the Treble Flute and Oboe parts.

In stark contrast to Sullivan’s other uses of the minor, the soft gracefulness and austerity of the introductory passage is neither oppressive nor woeful. Instead, the product is a pensive, contemplative atmosphere. Sullivan also employed this practice in the Act III of *The Beauty Stone*. Laine, following Lord Philip’s rejection, sings a haunting melody in search of her father, Simon, outside the castle walls. As with Rowena’s aria, the introductory passage is delicately orchestrated, giving a notion to Laine’s emotional turmoil; yet, upon her recitative-like utterances, she is accompanied by static chords. Interestingly, certain attention has been paid to the poetical nature of Carr’s lines which are alternatingly accompanied by either *a piena voce* or *sotto voce*. As before, the general effect conjures a reflective atmosphere, a distinct use of the minor when compared to the arias of a similar context which have preceded it. Interviewed a week before the premiere of *The Beauty Stone*, Sullivan provided some insight into why he might have set the music for romantic characters in this way: ‘Love ditties are not absent, but it is not the traditional tenor part where the rapturous tenor is made to look – well – like a consummate idiot.’³³³ Although speaking of the male lead, it can be assumed that Sullivan applied this attitude to composing music for his leading ladies given

³³² Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 98.

³³³ Arthur Lawrence, *London Daily News*, 25th May 1898, 3.

how their arias, both orchestrally and atmospherically, are far removed from the burlesque melodrama found in ‘Sorry her lot who loves too well’ (*H.M.S. Pinafore*) or ‘Oh fool, that fleest my hallow’d joys’ (*The Mikado*).

In terms of the modulatory language which accompanies these later operas, Sullivan sustains the compositional language which formed the basis of his previous successes. A principal modulation is to the mediant, a well-established nineteenth-century harmonic device indebted to the music of Gounod, Donizetti, and Schubert.³³⁴ Frequently, Sullivan arrives at the mediant major rather than the mediant minor and, as the below list exemplifies, these later operas are not short of this well-worn modulation:³³⁵

Ivanhoe

‘O moon, art thou clad in silver mail’ (Bars 19-20) *Major Mediant*

‘Plantanagesta!’ (Bars 193-194) *Major Mediant*

Haddon Hall

‘When the budding bloom of May’ (Bars 307-308) *Major Mediant*

‘Mother, dearest mother’ (Bars 39-40) *Minor Mediant*

‘When yestereve I knelt to pray’ (Bars 232-233) *Minor Mediant*

The Beauty Stone

‘Nay wert thou more than all he said thou art’ (Bars 102-103) *Minor Mediant*

‘There he stands, the lord I knew’ (Bars 22-23) *Major Mediant*

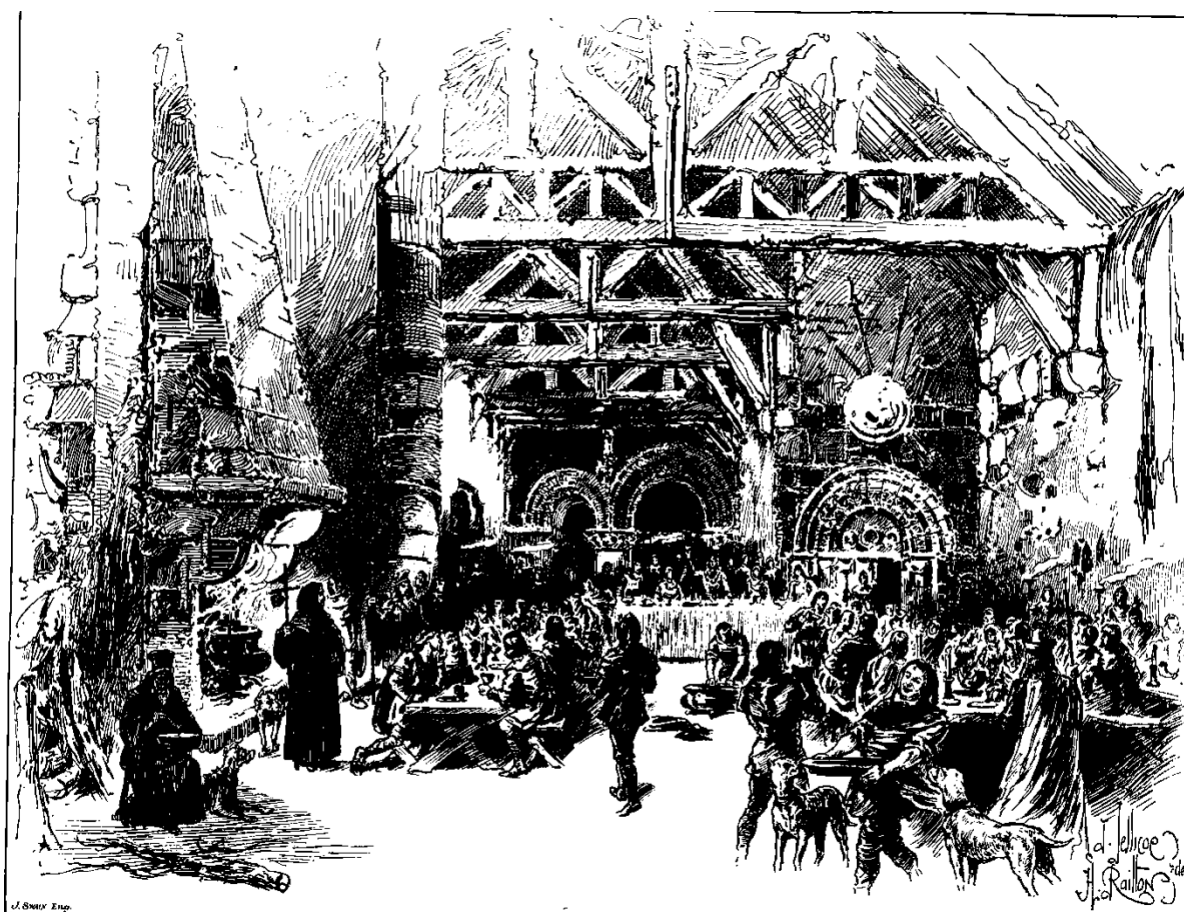
Laine’s prayer in *The Beauty Stone*, for example, modulates to the mediant major in preparation for the first verse. Modulating with more assurance, Sullivan bypasses the modulatory jargon used in ‘None shall part us from each other’ (*Iolanthe*) or ‘There lived a king, as I’ve been told’ (*The Gondoliers*), converting a chord of G minor to E major which is then used as a perfect cadence into A major. A theme ascribed to the Norman Knights in *Ivanhoe* follows the same harmonic principle; though, in this instance, Sullivan omits the modulation entirely, implying a chord of E major via the assignment of melodic grace notes.

³³⁴ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 58.

³³⁵ Ibid.

The love duet between Philip and Laine in *The Beauty Stone*, ‘I love thee, I love thee,’ is perhaps the archetype of Sullivan’s more liberal mediant treatment. After exploring several keys, and curiously modulating from the dominant to the sharp dominant, Sullivan returns to B♭ major. The expectation is a perfect cadence in either the tonic or dominant, yet Sullivan inserts a chord of D⁶ (spelt as D⁷ – although it does not act as a dominant) which suggests a return to the mediant. Instead, he cunningly modulates to G♭ major, the flat mediant major of E♭ major (the flat submediant of B♭ major), beautifully transitioning to an *Andante molto espressivo* movement as the oboe touches up this crucial modulation with a modified echo of the opening melodic remark.³³⁶

Figure 27 – Ivanhoe, opening Scene, Rotherwood.³³⁷



³³⁶ Chord of D⁶: Although written as a dominant 7th chord in the vocal score (perhaps to make it easier for a repetiteur to sight read), this chord acts as an augmented 6th.

³³⁷ *Illustrated and Sporting Dramatic News*, 21st February 1891, 796.

Moves to the relative minor (submediant) are peculiarly uncommon, although, when the transition is achieved, it is often by unconventional means. One such example is the introductory passage to *Ivanhoe*:

Example 12 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1. Bars 1-25.

Allegro pesante.

The musical score for the introductory passage of *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1, Bars 1-25, is presented in four systems. The tempo is marked *Allegro pesante.* The key signature is C major, and the time signature is 4/4. The score begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The first system shows the initial chords and a strong bass line. The second system continues the harmonic progression. The third system includes a *dim.* (diminuendo) marking and a *p* (piano) dynamic. The fourth system concludes the passage with a modulation to the relative minor, A minor, in bar 25.

Commencing triumphantly in C major, the harmony remains diatonic (transitioning to the subdominant and dominant) until a more colourful passage emerges in Bar 19 over a dominant pedal. This progression commences with a superimposed modulation to the secondary dominant minor, D minor, via E^{o7}. Returning to the dominant, the triad then slides down a semitone to F^{#7} which, acting as a dominant fifth, suggests a modulation to B major. Instead, the expectation is eschewed by the deployment of the substitute diminished dominant of A minor – a curiously complex, diffusive, approach to modulating to the relative minor.

Transitions to the submediant major, down a minor third, are more characteristic, often as a modification from one common chord to another. Rebecca's aria 'Ah, would that thou and I might lead out sheep Among the folded hills' from *Ivanhoe* is a prime example (Bars 151-153), replicating the transition found in Dame Carruthers' song, 'When our gallant Norman foes,' from *The Yeomen of the Guard*.

A transference to the flat submediant, a technique previously used with dramatic ingenuity by Verdi and Mendelssohn, is almost commonplace within Sullivan's later oeuvre and, in works such as *The Gondoliers*, becomes clichéd after its seventh use in the opening twenty minutes.³³⁸ In a lyrical sense, shifting to the flat submediant as a slick means of changing tonality seems to have almost become a mannerism, particularly in *The Beauty Stone*, appearing primarily as a means of modulation, but also, occasionally, a mechanism of harmonic colouring:

Ivanhoe

'Welcome Sir Knight!' (Bars 281-282)

'Will there be no more fighting?' (Bars 17-18)

'How canst thou know what pain it is to lie All helpless here' (Bars 437-438)

'Happy with winged feet' (Bars – 52-53)

Haddon Hall

'Twas a dear little dormouse' (Bars 139-140)

'Nor violet, lily, nor bluebell we bring' (Bars 226-227)

'Ribbons to sell' (Bars 90-91)

The Beauty Stone

Introduction (Bars 144-145)

'The bells are ringing over Mirlemont town' (Bars 51-53)

'Know ye all both great and small' (Bars 24-25)

'Nay wert thou more than all he said thou art' (Bars 122-123)

'When the roseleaf lies on the dew' (Bars 285-286)

³³⁸ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 62.

Although there is plentiful use of this hackneyed modulation, Sullivan was not without a trick up his sleeve. In *The Beauty Stone*, a particularly imaginative, yet strikingly abrupt, example can be located in the Devil's aria 'Since it dwelt in that rock:

Example 13 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 5. Recitative and Song. Bars 1-9.

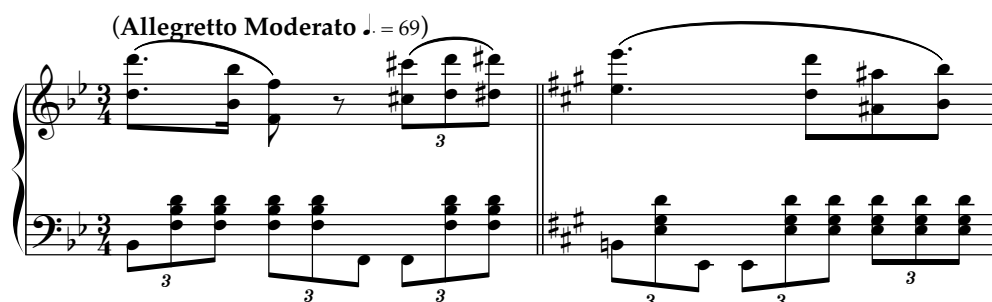
Allegretto comodo

Interrupting the expansive opening four-bar passage, the modulation – paired with the apposition of differing rhythms, a dynamic change to *forte*, and the addition of a small gong – creates an animated, welcome, change of atmosphere. Another curious use of the modulation can also be found in *Ivanhoe* during the duet 'If thou dost see him.' Instead of directly relating the harmonies to one another, as in Example 13, Sullivan modulates to the relative minor and then, using a sustained chord of A^{o7}, moves to the flat subdominant minor followed by a modulation to *its* mediant, D^b (the flat submediant of F). Likewise, within Laine's aria, 'Nay wert thou more than all he said thou art,' a chord of C major sets to conclude a plagal cadence in the tonic; however, the anticipation is abjured as Sullivan transforms the cadential subdominant into a chord of E^b.

Previously, modulations in the minor routinely follow threadbare conduits to the dominant and the mediant.³³⁹ In these later operas; however, transitions from a minor tonic are more explorative. This is not to say that Sullivan does not utilise these stock modulations, ‘An hour ago ‘twas the moon that shone’ (*The Beauty Stone*) and ‘Queen of the garden bloomed a rose’ (*Haddon Hall*) are characteristic examples.

Within Joan and Simon’s opening duet in *The Beauty Stone*, the music notably follows a different modulatory technique. Via voice leading, a chord of E⁺⁶ (spelt as E⁷ although, as before, it doesn’t act as a dominant) is transformed into A^bmi (L), the flat tonic minor, providing a grim dourness to the atmosphere of the opening scene and, appropriately, the listener is transported into the impoverished world of Joan, Simon, and their crippled daughter Laine. Another noteworthy modulation can be located in ‘Nay Father dear, speak not to me in anger’s cruel tone!’, (*Haddon Hall*) where the music is transported to the sharpened leading tone major, transformed from a chord of D^b. In his analysis of Sullivan’s chromatic idiom, Hughes coined this style of chromatic modulation the ‘semitone slide,’ and exemplified the following moment from Scene III of *The Golden Legend*, where Sullivan ‘calmly alters the key signature from 2 flats to 3 sharps:’³⁴⁰

Example 14 – *The Golden Legend*, Scene 3. Bars 46-47.



³³⁹ Ibid., 55.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 66.

Implemented by later composers including Richard Strauss, Delius, and Britten, modulatory treatment of this kind can be located throughout these later works.³⁴¹ Neo-Riemannian theory and the work of Richard Cohn can be utilised to describe such *transformations*. One example can be located in the introduction of *Haddon Hall*, after venturing to C# major from the tonic, E major, Sullivan required a quick route back for the repetition of the initial opening remark. This is achieved by transforming C# major to V of D, which then allows for a diatonic modulation to the tonic; an Eastern hexatonic progression.³⁴² On the whole, the dexterous and subtle nature of Sullivan's harmonic language result in elongated neo-Riemannian sequences and are easier to examine in terms of voice leading.

Example 15 – *Haddon Hall*. Introduction. Bar 19.



Plentiful examples of this chromatic modulation are likewise found in *The Beauty Stone*:

Example 16 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 8. Scene: The Beauty Contest. Bars 42-52.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Richard Cohn, *Audacious Euphony: Chromaticism and the Triad's Second Nature* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

(Allegro moderato)

Philip

Peace! Let us on, or ere the day_ be__ flown Our bud-ding ros-es shall be o-ver-blown. Sir, by your

Nicholas.

Tempo di Valse

leave! Sweet maid, I call on thee!

Allegretto grazioso

p

E \flat major is reasserted to conclude the previous section and, wishing to move from E \flat to B major, E \flat 's relative minor is inserted, followed by a 'semi-tone slide', up to A 7 major which temporarily tonicizes D major, allowing for a pivot to B major (via an augmented Chord, although, it is written as a dominant seventh in the piano-vocal score). Saida's colourful interjection in the second act quintet is similarly illustrated by this type of brief chromatic modulatory outburst:

Example 17 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 16. Quintett. Bars 20-28.

(Allegretto non troppo)

Saida

Wea - ver, hear me Wouldst thou wan - der Ev - er near me Till the day, Ris - ing

yon - der Through the gloam - ing Finds thee roam - ing Far a - way?

A \flat major is transformed to V of E major, B 7 major, which momentarily tonicizes E major.

Just as quickly as we got there, E major is transformed back to A \flat major, ready for a phrygian cadence in E \flat major.

Both Hughes and Strachan detail the following example from *The Martyr of Antioch*, suggesting it represents ‘an amateurish fumbling when dealing with chromatic key relationships.’³⁴³

Example 18 – *The Martyr of Antioch*. No 8. Duet. Bars 151-155.

³⁴³ Ibid., 65.
Strachan, *Style in the Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 177.

Margarita

die.

Callias

Be hold in yon-der space thy king enthroned

f con forza

As later suggested by Strachan, ‘complete technical assurance would only come with experience,’ and given the maturity of this style in *The Golden Legend*, similar moments of sustained chromatic movement are more confidently approached in these later works.³⁴⁴ Cedric’s drinking song in *Ivanhoe* is reminiscent of the protracted chromatic movement observable in Elsie’s aria, ‘The Night is Calm and Cloudless,’ from *The Golden Legend*:

Example 19 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1. Bars 384-389.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 178.

Cedric

at my arm - ed side, And

loud the ra - vens cried At scent of blood.

Example 20 – *The Golden Legend*, Scene 3. Bars

(Andante tranquillo ♩ = 72)

Elsie

In snow white robes up - ris - ing The ghost - ly choirs re -

spond And sad - ly and un -

ceas - ing The mourn - ful

This ‘technical assurance’ also served Sullivan remarkably well in *The Beauty Stone*, colourfully illustrating the *con energia* of Nicholas’s recitative warning Philip not to be deceived by Laine’s transformation. The insertion of $F\sharp^{o7}$ interrupts a plagal cadence in F major which subsequently ‘slides’ to Eb^7 , temporarily tonicizing $A\flat$ major via a perfect

cadence. A \flat is transformed to F \sharp minor which is then swiftly followed by the circle of fifths and a move back to A \flat , almost instantly tonicizing D \flat major. Sustaining this hurried harmonic movement, D \flat major momentarily governs the tonal structure of the subsequent five bars before it is transformed to B minor. Eventually, after an episode of similarly sustained modulatory language, D \flat major is firmly established in Saida's song, 'Oh, turn thine eyes away.'

Despite the continued use of this modulatory chromatic device, analysing the harmonic language of Sullivan's later works, Gervase Hughes characterised *Ivanhoe* and later his output more generally as 'almost entirely retrograde.'³⁴⁵ Over two short pages, Hughes dismantled these compositions and considered Sullivan's lack of further exploration into the sound world of the prologue to *The Golden Legend* and the *Macbeth Overture* representative of compositional regression. Martin Yates believed that Sullivan declined to follow the chromatic complexity of *The Golden Legend* in *Ivanhoe*, deeming the theatre was not 'the place for harmonic experiments.'³⁴⁶ It is more likely, however, that Sullivan's compositional philosophy, that 'music should speak to the heart ... not the head,' influenced his harmonic setting, and few moments within these works offer appropriate opportunity for such chromaticism.³⁴⁷

As Martyn Strachan determined in his wider analysis of Sullivan's chromatic idiom, 'elements such as chromatic harmony were weapons in his armoury or shades of colour on his palette,' which had evolved from his early exposure to English music as a chorister at the

³⁴⁵ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 70.

³⁴⁶ Martin Yates, *Chandos Ivanhoe Cover Notes*, February 2010), 24.

³⁴⁷ Sullivan, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22nd July 1885, 3.

Chapel Royal.³⁴⁸ Whilst the chromatic complexity of the prologue to *The Golden Legend* was not presented on the same scale within any of Sullivan's later works, there are brief moments of dramatically appropriate chromaticism, primarily accompanying solo and instrumental sections. Ulrica's description to Rebecca of her horrifying treatment at the hands of the Normans in *Ivanhoe* is momentarily evocative of this chromatic sound world, constructed of diminished chords held together via semitonal voice leading. Though the entire orchestra isn't used to the same extent as in *The Golden Legend*, the austerity and combination of orchestral sonorities appropriately serve to illustrate Ulrica's harrowing past:

Example 21 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 46-67.³⁴⁹

The musical score for Example 21 is set in 4/4 time with a tempo marking of 'Allegro vivace'. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes staves for Oboe 1, 2; Clarinet 1, 2 in Bb; Bass Clarinet in Bb; Bassoon; Bass Trombone (marked 'a2.'); and Tuba. These instruments play sustained, chromatic lines, often marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system includes staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass, which play a fast, rhythmic pattern. A vocal line for Ulrica is positioned between the woodwind and brass sections, with the lyrics: 'In this cur - sed place My fa - ther, and my'. The score is written for a full orchestra and a solo voice.

³⁴⁸ Strachan, *Style in the Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 192.

³⁴⁹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 364-368.

Ob.

Cl. in B \flat

B. Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

B. Tbn. Tuba.

Ulrica

bre - thren twain, Their fair curls clot - ted with their blood, Fought till they

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Ob.

Cl. in B \flat

B. Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

B. Tbn. Tuba.

Ulrica

fell; and ere the stair Was washed from that most hol - - - ly

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Fl. I

Ob.

Cl.
in B \flat

B. Cl.
in B \flat

Bsn.

Hn. 1, 2
in E

B. Tbn.
Tuba.

Ulrica
stain, I, the sole daugh - ter of their race,

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

170

In *Haddon Hall* the thunderstorm is equally suggestive in its harmonic construction. Again, using the same harmonic trick, the storm is replete with diminished seventh chords which are progressed via chromatic voice leading, yet there is no governing tonal axis in the first twenty-seven bars. The uncertainty which this conjures shrewdly allows the dramatic tension to build before the thunderstorm becomes more violent and eventually tonally centres around D major.

Despite these incidents, there are few appropriate moments within each libretto which require such intense chromatic illustration. Sullivan evidently still possessed the technique; however, he did not seek to overuse the practice in incongruous dramatic situations to discolour the palette. Consequently, Sullivan's decision not to include chromaticism *en masse* presents evidence of conscious compositional choices, as opposed to unconscious decline. Indeed, as this exploration into the harmonic structures of these romantic works has revealed, neither does Sullivan's tonal or modulatory faculty desert him. Predominantly in *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone* a discernible maturity can be ascertained in terms of tonal complexity; there is a more liberal and explorative use of the minor, and a sustainment of the traditional and chromatic modulatory language found in his previous works is also evident.

3.4 Thematic Material

Sullivan's style is not often paired with a dense thematic palette which shapes the contextual and subtextual nuances of his compositions, enhancing the action by way of characterisation, plot development, and locality. In terms of global functionality, two groups of recurring thematic techniques can be identified in his romantic operas: *Scenic Motifs* and *Recurrent Themes*. Given that Sullivan's distribution of thematic material has been accorded limited exploration, such themes have not been detailed by any of his analysts and the consensus has been that he was unable to fasten meaningful characterisation on individuals. Again following the precedents of *The Golden Legend*, there is an abundant use of each practice in *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone*, revealing a different element to Sullivan's compositional approach.

3.4.1 Scenic Motifs

In the wider context of thematic setting, *Scenic Motifs* are often used to picturesque effect, acting as a cohesive element to draw-out concerted sections or moments within each score:

Table 27 – *The Golden Legend* Scenic Motifs

Scenic Motifs:								
SCENES:	Pr.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ep.
On the road to Solerno								
Ursula's Cottage								

In *The Golden Legend*, a prevalent example of this can be observed in Scene III. Whilst Prince Henry, Elsie and their attendants are on the road to Salerno, a scenic motif is woven around the various aspects of their journey, showcasing Sullivan's dextrous contrapuntal skill:

Example 22 – *The Golden Legend*, Scene 3. Bars 5-7.

(Allegretto moderato ♩. = 69)

Elsie



On-ward and on-ward the high-way runs to the dis-tant ci-ty

The above material is then combined with the opening fragment of Elsie and Henry's duet:

Example 23 – *The Golden Legend*, Scene 3. Bars 68-73.

a tempo



p

Highly adaptable, Sullivan effortlessly passes the theme from melody to accompaniment, often recurring as transitional material within the scene. After an encounter with some travelling pilgrims, amongst whom Lucifer is disguised, the theme returns and, as the entourage 'reach a height overlooking the sea,' the theme is exquisitely moulded above the string section which, it can be assumed, depicts the distant crashing of waves:

Example 24 – *The Golden Legend*, Scene 3. Bars 249-257.

(Allegretto moderato $\text{♩} = 69$)

Figure 28 – ‘It is the sea’ – *The Golden Legend*, Longfellow.³⁵⁰



³⁵⁰ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Illustration: Birket Foster and Jane E. Hay, *The Golden Legend*, (London, David Bogue, 1854), 177.

Re-deployed in *Ivanhoe*, the technique is used to a far greater extent:

Table 28 – *Ivanhoe* Scenic Motifs.

Scenic Motifs:									
ACT:	I			II			III		
SCENES:	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Lists of Ashby									
Copmanhurst Theme									
The Dread of Torquilstone									
Ivanhoe's Slumber									
Judgement									

The Copmanhurst theme which frames the first half of Act II, Scene One, is a noticeable use of this technique:

Example 25 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 1. Bars 1-9.

Allegro con brio

Writing for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Lionel Monckton described the theme: ‘The musical atmosphere is deliciously exhilarating. The song of birds in the air, and every note proclaims the joy of woodland life.’³⁵¹ The Copmanhurst theme is interspersed between the dialogue of King Richard (disguised as the Black Knight) and Friar Tuck. As their conversation comes to

³⁵¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2nd February 1891, 2.

an end, Sullivan, transposing the thematic material to the minor, creates a fugal passage out of the material:

Example 26 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 1. Bars 230-256.³⁵²

(Allegro con brio)

The musical score is for a section of *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 1, bars 230-256. It is marked **(Allegro con brio)**. The score is in 2/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The instruments are Bassoon, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The Bassoon part begins with a forte (*ff*) dynamic and plays a melodic line with a slur and an accent (^) over the eighth measure. The Violin I and II parts are mostly rests, with Violin II and Viola entering in the fifth measure with a forte (*ff*) dynamic. The Violoncello and Contrabass parts start with a forte (*ff*) dynamic and play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with the Contrabass also featuring a slur and an accent (^) over the eighth measure.

³⁵² Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 258-260.

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

ff

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

a2.

f

f

f

f

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

dim.

dim.

dim.

dim.

dim.

Owing to extreme ill health during the gestation period of *Haddon Hall*, Sullivan's thematic usage is not as developed as *Ivanhoe*.

Table 29 – *Haddon Hall* Scenic Motifs.

Scenic Motifs:				
ACT:		I	II	III
SCENES:		1	1	2
Ye Stately Homes				
Tempest Music				

Despite this setback, it is conceivable that, in the composition's early stages, Sullivan did envisage a more complex thematic structure. A deployment of scenic motifs is evident in the first movement of the opera, a piece completed prior to his incapacitation³⁵³

Example 27 – *Haddon Hall*. No 1. Bars 317-326.



It is also interesting that the most dramatic section of the libretto, the elopement, is provided with a scenic motif, in the form of the storm. The long-concerted section afforded Sullivan the opportunity to employ this technique in a way that individual songs and choruses could not. Sullivan focussed on this scene because of its dramatic importance and interlaced the storm music throughout the first scene of Act II:

³⁵³ Sullivan, *Diary*, 3rd January 1892.

Example 28 – *Haddon Hall*. No 12. Introduction and Chorus of Puritans. Bars 1-10.

Allegretto

The musical score is written for piano and consists of four systems of staves. The first system shows the introduction, with a treble staff featuring a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system begins the chorus, marked with a forte (f) dynamic. The third system continues the chorus, and the fourth system concludes it. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

The use of this thematic technique was perhaps part of an imagined, pre-conceived, wider thematic structure, especially given the music for this scene was completed at the very beginning of his creative process on 13th January 1892.³⁵⁴ Similarly, Sullivan's setting of the Puritanical theme and Sir George Vernon's theme, both composed before his illness became critical, also returned later within the opera. Once Sullivan began to recover in July 1892, it is feasible that he abandoned any further sense of thematic unity, pressured by his conducting commitments at the Leeds Festival, as well as the necessity to complete the opera for the Savoy by September.

Deployed again in *The Beauty Stone*, this technique is predominantly used to embellish the beauty contest. The origin of the theme can be located in Act I, Scene 1, as a semi-chorus offstage convey the impending beauty contest to the populace of Mirlemont Town:

Example 29 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 2a. Semi-Chorus. Bars 4-11.³⁵⁵

Chorus

Mai-dens and men of Mirle-mont town, Hi-ther we come at your call Ye have
bid-den the fair-est, then needs must ye own We bring you the fair - est of all!___

Later, slightly altered, the theme is interlaced throughout both preparations for the contest and the contest itself:

³⁵⁴ Sullivan, *Diary*, 13th January 1892.

³⁵⁵ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 49.

Example 30 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 6. Full Chorus. Bars 145-159.

Mai-dens and men of Mirle-mont town, Hi-ther we come at your call! Ye have

bid-den the fair-est, yet needs must ye own We bring you the fair-est of all, then needs must ye

own We bring you the fair - - est, fair - -

- est, bring you the fair - est of all!

Within this libretto, as with *Haddon Hall*, there were few moments which allowed Sullivan to use *scenic motifs* to any great effect. The libretto, primarily comprised of songs and choruses interspersed with dialogue, did not afford him orchestral opportunity. Concerted sections of music, such as Saida's song and dance (which lasts c.10 minutes), intermittently exhibit a double meaning to a character's thematic material. Undoubtedly a *recurrent theme* ascribed to Saida, explored in more detail later, within the context of this concerted section the recurrent nature of this theme functions as a scenic motif (See Example 61). Later, in Act III, Scene 1, Philips's theme is similarly entwined around Saida's furious exchange with the Devil and, after both leave the stage, his thematic material provides cover for a scene change that segues into a chorus and dance.

Whilst composing these later works, despite the nature of the theatre for which he composed, the notion of *scenic motifs* was evidently still prevalent in Sullivan's mind, often taking a

prominent position in the context of concerted sections of *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone* in place of the opportunities offered in the through-composed *Golden Legend* and *Ivanhoe*.

3.4.2 Recurrent Themes

In the larger context of thematic material, what can be identified as *recurrent themes*, foreshadowed in *The Golden Legend*, function on a greater scale in terms of thematic structure and unity, particularly in *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone* – unified by repetition of thematic ideas and tonal association. Many have short-sightedly attempted to mould Wagner’s *leitmotif* principle around such themes.³⁵⁶ To some extent Wagner’s influence is undoubtedly present, though, holistically, it would be more appropriate to describe Sullivan’s thematic employment as *recurrent themes* as they are more closely aligned with the *idée fixe* style of Weber, Mendelssohn, Bizet, and Verdi. Sullivan had clearly studied Wagner’s music to some purpose, believing:

[Wagner’s] chief merit lies in having shown to the musical world the possibilities of operatic music. He has shown us a combination of the drama and the opera, but deviated from his theory or was at fault in practice in concentrating all dramatic effects in the orchestral portions of his work, and subordinating the stage and its notion to the orchestra. He has shown us a picture that can be painted, but has not painted it himself.³⁵⁷

Learning from Wagner, Sullivan did not cheat himself of his own individuality by obtruding certain themes irrelevantly.³⁵⁸ Instead of unravelling his themes symphonically into an ever-

³⁵⁶ Strachan, *Style in the Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 267.

Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 223.

Dunhill, *Sullivan’s Comic Operas*, 162.

³⁵⁷ *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22nd July 1885, 3.

³⁵⁸ In 1893, Herman Klein found Sullivan studying Wagner at Covent Garden: ‘Seven years later I saw Sir Arthur Sullivan alone in a pit tier box, at Covent Garden, listening to a performance of “Die Meistersinger.” After the second act I went to speak to him and noticed that he had before him a full score of Wagner’s work. Presently he pointed to it and remarked: “You see I am taking a lesson. Well, why not? This is not only Wagner’s masterpiece, but the greatest comic opera that was ever written.”’ Herman Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London*, (The Century co., 1903), 196. Sullivan was in attendance prepping the piece for the 1898 Leeds Festival.

evolving tapestry, Sullivan's thematic material serves a more solitary dramatic purpose and as a result, his themes are not superfluously repeated. As laid out by Robert Bailey, Wagner's motifs govern the overarching musical structure of the drama where his reuse of material involves a highly integrated network of developing ideas that are all symbolic.³⁵⁹ Though applied sparsely, Sullivan's themes create a more cohesive musical continuity by granting the principal characters and places with an emotional depth and identity only hinted at in earlier compositions. Rather than a Wagnerian and a non-Wagnerian binary, it would be more appropriate to see leitmotifs as fluid, more personal to a composer's technique, and despite Sullivan's rejection of Wagner, it would be remiss not to acknowledge that his later thematic material has strong Wagnerian resonances which can be observed in his use of expressive and associative tonality.³⁶⁰

The technique, though first used primitively, developed from Sullivan's 1870s oeuvre. *H.M.S. Pinafore*, (1878) for example, contains numerous *recurrent themes*. Whilst these themes do repeat, their purpose is more superficial than dramatic. They act as an *aide-mémoire* of the catchiest melodies bound together in a potpourri medley to form the Act II finale:

³⁵⁹ Robert Bailey, *The Structure of the ring and its evolution*

³⁶⁰ Robert Bailey, *The Structure of the ring and its evolution*

Example 31 – *H.M.S. Pinafore*. No 21. Finale.

HMS Pinafore Finale Act II

Allegro Vivace
 'Oh joy, oh rapture unforeseen!'

Oh joy, oh rap-ture un-for- seen! The cloud-ed sky is now se-rene, The god of day, the orb of love, Has hung his en sign high a bove; The sky is all a-blaze. With woo-ing words and lov-ing song We'll chase the lag ging hours a-long, And if he finds the maid-en coy, We'll 'For he's the captain of the *Pinafore*' mur-mur forth de-co-roud joy, In dream-y roun-de-lays. For he's the cap-tain of the *Pin-a-fore* And a right good cap-tain, too! Anthough be-fore my fall I was cap tain of you all, I'm amem-ber of the crew. and though be-fore his fall He wascap tain of us all, He's a member. of the crew. I shallmar-ry with a wife, In myhum-ble rank of life! And you, my own,are she. I mustwan-der to and fro, But wher-e ver I may go, I shall ne-ver be un-true to thee! What, ne-ver? No, ne-ver! What, ne-ver? Hard-ly ev-er! Hard-ly e-ver be un-true to thee. Then give three cheers, and one cheer more, For the for-mer cap-tain of the *Pin-a-fore*, Then

p 'I'm called little Buttercup'

give three cheers, and one cheer more, For the cap-tain of the Pin-a-fore. For he loves lit-tle

But-ter-cup, dear lit-tle But-ter-cup, though I could ne-ver tell why; — But still he loves But-ter-cup,

f

poor lit-tle But-ter-cup, Sweet lit-tle But-ter-cup, aye! For he loves lit-tle But-ter-cup, dear lit-tle

But-ter-cup, though I could ne-ver tell why; — But still he loves But-ter-cup, poor lit-tle But-ter-cup,

'I'm the monarch of the sea' *stringendo molto*

Sweet lit-tle But-ter-cup, aye! I'm the mon-arch of the sea, And when I've mar-ried thee, I'll be

true to the de-vo-tion that my love im-plants, Then good-bye to your sis-ters, and your

Vivace

cou-sins, and your aunts, Es-pe-cial-ly your cou-sins, Whom you reck-on up by doz-ens Then good

bye to your sis-ters, and your cou-sins and your aunts, Es-pe-cial-ly your cou-sins, Whom you

ff 'For he is an Englishman'

reck-on up by doz-ens, and your aunts! — For he is an Eng-lish-man! — For —

he him-self has said it, And it's great-ly to his cre-dit, That he

is an Eng-lish man! That he is — an — Eng — — — lish man!

Similarly, recurring themes are contained within most of Sullivan's Savoy compositions, yet these motifs have little dramatic relevance when compared to the thematic deployment found in Sullivan's romantic works.

Intriguingly, owing to the lack of exploration into Sullivan's romantic operas, no scholar has consulted Sullivan's intent for this thematic material. In 1897, during a visit to Bayreuth, following a performance of Wagner's *Siegfried* he wrote irritably:

I think it intolerably dull and heavy, and so undramatic—nothing but 'conversations', and I am weary of Leit Motiven ... What a curious mixture of sublimity and absolute puerile drivel are all these Wagner operas. Sometimes the story and action would disgrace even a Surrey pantomime.³⁶¹

Sullivan was clearly no admirer of the way in which Wagner practised his theories on music and drama. In early 1891, Herman Klein, a close friend, reported in the *Sunday Times* that Sullivan's *Ivanhoe* did 'not rely to any great extent upon the aid of "representative themes," but instead exploited, what Sullivan termed, musical 'references.'³⁶² Although Sullivan did not give an interview to corroborate Klein's account, it is plausible that Sullivan informed Klein when the pair met in the composer's Victoria Street flat 'two or three weeks before the production:'

To tell in full the story of that delightful afternoon would take too long. Enough that Sir Arthur was in wonderful spirits, obviously relieved that his task was nearly finished and no less anxious that none of the fine points, the fresh dramatic touches, and new effects in his elaborate score, should be missed by the critics or the public. 'But,' he said, 'you must promise not to print a word about the music until after the first night, or else there will be jealousy and consequent trouble for me.' I obeyed, of course, though the restraint was trying, because he played so much that sounded original and new — new, certainly, for Sullivan — and one or two numbers in particular that shed an altogether fresh light upon his genius.³⁶³

³⁶¹ Sullivan, *Diary*, 16th August 1897.

³⁶² Herman Klein, *The Sunday Times*, 25th January 1891, 7.

³⁶³ Herman Klein, *Radio Times*, 22nd March 1929.

In accordance with this, several critics, including Percy Betts (*Daily News*) and Edward Baughan (*Glasgow Herald*), reported that Sullivan ‘expressedly disowned the use of representative themes as “leit-motives” after the Wagnerian principle.’³⁶⁴ Following their afternoon together, Klein also recounted that these themes were a ‘marked effort at strong characterisation ... [and] found to enhance the dramatic effect.’³⁶⁵ Klein’s insight provides not only an understanding of the terminology of these themes, but also emphasises the significance of why they recur from Sullivan’s perspective. Also, given the vitriolic nature of ‘camps within music’ (explored in chapter one), Sullivan conceivably wished his music to be judged on his own merits rather than the aesthetic value judgements of camps of musical criticism.

Though discussed in relation to *Ivanhoe*, in a dramatic sense, the genesis of his *recurrent* thematic idiom commenced during the composition of *The Golden Legend*. Within this score, Sullivan afforded Elsie, The Devil, and Prince Henry with a thematic identity unlike that found in the pages of his previous compositions:

³⁶⁴ Edward Baughan, *Glasgow Herald*, 2nd February 1891, 9.

It is also conceivable that this information was learnt via an interview Sullivan gave to the *Boston Herald* on January 23rd, 1891. Unfortunately, there is currently no scanned record of this paper on PROQUEST, GALE, or the BNA. Sullivan, *Diary*, 23rd January 1891.

³⁶⁵ Herman Klein, *The Sunday Times*, 25th January 1891, 7.

Table 30 – *The Golden Legend* Recurrent Themes.

NAMES of the Principal Recurrent Themes in THE GOLDEN LEGEND in the order of their first appearance.	THE GOLDEN LEGEND								
	SCENES:	Pr.	1	2	3	4	5	6	Ep.
Lucifer									
The Maidens Blood Prescription									
Elsie's 'fear not' motif									
Elsie's Prayer									
Ursula									
Sunset Theme									

Lucifer is afforded an instantaneously recognisable theme upon his appearance ‘in the garb of a travelling Physician:’

Example 32 – *The Golden Legend*, Scene 1. Bars 99-106.

Allegretto ♩ = 168

Lucifer

All hail, Prince Hen-ry!

The fugal nature of Lucifer’s theme is appropriately menacing, whilst also curiously humorous, accompanying the Devil’s plan to gain possession of Prince Henry’s soul via Elsie’s sacrifice, and always attends him whilst masquerading as a physician.

Other themes, such as *The Maiden’s Blood*, a theme associated with the Salerno physician’s prescription that the blood of a maiden’s veins is required to save Prince Henry, are more

arbitrary references when compared to Wagner's *leitmotif*, especially with regard to their economy in construction. This treatment of material is more reminiscent of the technique used by Bizet in *Carmen*. The Act I duet between Don José and Micaela introduces the following theme as she brings news of his mother:

Example 33 – *Carmen*. No 7. Duet. Bars 58-73.



Later, in a tender moment of reflection, as Micaela tells Don José to return to his dying mother, the theme is repeated to enhance the dramatic effect. Bizet uses this practice throughout *Carmen* via the Fate Motif, the entrance of the bullfighters, and Toreador chorus, etc. Since Sullivan imagined these works, particularly *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*, as the English equivalent of the French *Opéra Comique*, it can be assumed his later thematic style took inspiration from Bizet.

Analysing the trajectory of this practice from *The Golden Legend* to *The Beauty Stone*, an evolution and more confident deployment is apparent, particularly in relation to characterisation which is aided by a greater degree of orchestral adaptation, influenced by the circumstances of each scene.

With Sturgis's adaptation of *Ivanhoe*, Sullivan explored this idiom to a greater dramatic effect, compiling a richer matrix of thematic material:

Table 31 – *Ivanhoe* Recurrent Themes.

NAMES of the Principal Recurrent Themes in IVANHOE in the order of their first appearance.	IVANHOE											
	ACT:			I			II			III		
	SCENES:			1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Saxon												
Cedric Drinking Motif												
Norman												
Isaac of York												
Wilfred, Knight of Ivanhoe												
Warfare												
Repartee												
Richard, Cœur-de-Lion, King of England												
The Templar's Concupiscence												
Ulrica's Psychosis												
Rebecca's Prayer												
Rebecca's Trepidation												
Rebecca's Intransigence												
Rebecca's Unrequited Love												

Sullivan's deployment of recurrent material is not overworked, but, instead, his themes emerge with regularity to impart dramatic significance to the numerous circumstances in which they are heard.

Certain themes function purely to signify certain characters and are more akin to the more static nature of Lucifer's *recurrent theme* in *The Golden Legend*. For example, Isaac of York, a timid character, is prescribed a reticent orchestral theme composed of *staccato* chords which imply a tonal amalgamation of E minor and C major:

Example 34 – Isaac of York. *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1. Bars 138-143.

Moderato

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

p

p

p

p

p

Similarly, King Richard's strains are dignified, graceful and melodious, befitting a nineteenth-century interpretation of the medieval King:

Example 35 – Richard, Cœur-de-Lion, King of England. *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 1. Bars 338-376.³⁶⁶

(Andante allegretto)
expressivo

I ask nor wealth nor cour - tier's praise That woos a wea - ry King

Despite slight alterations throughout, the purpose of these themes is more reminiscent than dramatic.

Differently, pivotal characters, such as Rebecca and Ulrica, are afforded a greater thematic depth. Rebecca, Walter Scott's heroine, is thematically illustrated by four *recurrent themes*:

Example 36 – Rebecca's Trepidation. *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 133-134.

(Andante lento)

O aw - ful depth be - low the cas - tle wall!

³⁶⁶ Richard's theme is rhythmically augmented during the battle at Torquilstone as Ivanhoe queries: 'What of the sable knight? Does he ride forth Like one who goes a-maying, with joy of battle and the pride of war?'

Example 37 – Rebecca’s Prayer. *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 183-190.

Un poco lento come Primo
Flute + Oboe: *p*



Rebecca: in mer - cy, guard O guard me!

Example 38 – Rebecca’s Intransigence. *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 230-235.

Allegro non troppo
f



Ah! as thou dost hope for mer - cy

Example 39 – Rebecca’s Unrequited Love. *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 128-132.

Allegretto pastorale e con moto
p



Ah! would that thou and I might lead our sheep A - mong the fold - ed hills!

Deployed sparingly, these themes provide the character with an overpowering sense of tragedy and a dense thematic identity not previously observed in Sullivan’s music.

Upon each repetition of Rebecca’s prayer, Sullivan’s orchestration distinguishes her moments of despair with those of defiance and bravery. The first deployment of this motif can be found in ‘Lord of our chosen race,’ initially suggested in bars 156-158:

Example 40 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 156-158.

(Andante moderato)



Guard me, guard me, Guard

Towards the end of the final verse, bars 156-158 are merged with the subsequent six as an ascending A \flat major scale accompanies the climax of Rebecca’s prayer:

Example 41 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 183-191.³⁶⁷

Un poco lento come Primo

Flute 1
Flute 2
Oboe 1, 2
Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat
Bass Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat
Bassoon 1, 2
Harp
Rebecca
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabass

me. Guard in mer - cy, guard O guard me!

Un poco lento come Primo

pizz. arco

Sparsely orchestrated, this quiet moment of anguish is heightened by a diminuendo to *pianissimo* as Rebecca's phrase ascends to B \flat , yielding a moment of heart-rending pathos.

The later rendition of this theme is altogether different, spurred by the subsequent dramatic episode where the Templar attempts to force himself upon Rebecca whilst she wrests herself from him, threatening to leap to her death: 'the Jewish girl would rather yield her soul to God than trust her honour to the Templar.' This passage of music is also notable for another of

³⁶⁷ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 387.

Rebecca's strains, which acts as the climax of her resistance (Example 38). Unswayed by her entreaty, Brian leaves at the sound of a distant bugle: 'A summons, as I live! I must be gone to see who sounds so bold!' Before he does, the pair sing a rousing duet. Once the Templar exits, alone, Rebecca kneels in prayer:

Example 42 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 542 – 553.³⁶⁸

(Andante maestoso)

Treble Flute in G

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe 1, 2

Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat

Bass Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat

Bassoon 1, 2

Horn 1, 2 in F

Horn 3, 4 in E \flat

Trumpet in E \flat

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Tuba

Timpani

Harp

Rebecca

Templar

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

bovel

O Je - ho - vah, guard, O guard!

Exit BRIAN. REBECCA kneels in prayer.

own!

(Andante maestoso)

³⁶⁸ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 442-444.

Flute in G

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Ob.

Cl. in B \flat

B. Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

Hn. 1, 2 in F

Hn. 3, 4 in E \flat

Tpt. in E \flat

Tbn.

Bass Trom. Tbn.

Timp.

Hp.

Rebecca

Templar

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

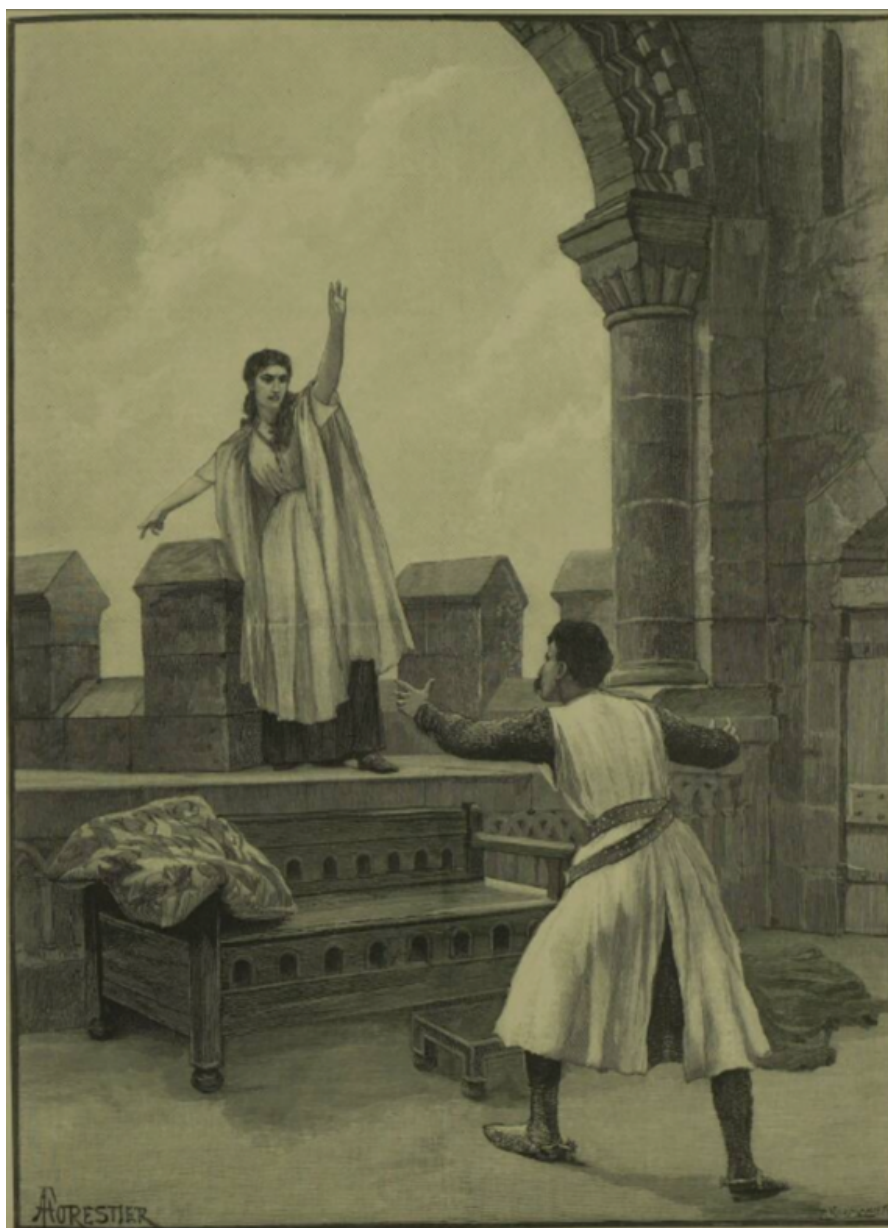
CURTAIN

ff

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score, page 197. It contains staves for various instruments and vocal parts. The woodwind section includes Flute in G, Fl. 1, Fl. 2, Oboe, Clarinet in B-flat, Bass Clarinet in B-flat, and Bassoon. The brass section includes Horns 1 & 2 in F, Horns 3 & 4 in E-flat, Trumpet in E-flat, Trombone, Bass Trombone, and Timpani. The keyboard section includes Harp. The vocal parts are Rebecca and Templar. The string section includes Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The score is written in a key with three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature. The woodwinds and strings play sustained notes with long lines. The brass section has more active parts, with the Trombone and Bass Trombone playing a rhythmic pattern. The Harp plays a complex, arpeggiated figure. The vocal parts are mostly silent, with a 'CURTAIN' instruction above the Violin I staff. A fortissimo (*ff*) marking is present in the Trombone part.

The octavo violins and woodwind coupled with tremolo lower strings create a stirring effect and, abruptly, an unexpected *fortepiano* (in bar 544) allows Rebecca's phrase to intensify as she *crescendos* from *piano* to *forte*. In this moment, Sullivan depicts both the breadth of Rebecca's fears, as well as her fortitude, utilising the entire orchestra to evocatively illustrate her prayer, exploiting her previously fragile strain in a *fortissimo* swell of despair and defiance.

Figure 29 – A. Forestier, *The Illustrated London News*. Rebecca threatens to jump from Torquilstone's walls.³⁶⁹



³⁶⁹ A. Forestier, *The Illustrated London News*, 21st March 1891, 20.

Rebecca's prayer is engaged a final time in the concluding scene of the opera where she is once again plunged into the midst of tragic circumstance; condemned to burn at the stake. Sullivan resourcefully fused Rebecca's prayer with a theme associated with the Templar, first heard in his lustful aria: 'Her Southern splendour, like the Syrian moon.'

Example 43 – The Templar. *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 2. Bars 254 – 261.

Andante con moto
p

Her south - ern splen - dour, like the sy - rian moon Draws the full tide of my re - bel - ious - blood;

Example 44 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 3. Bars 168-196.³⁷⁰

Andante con moto
Solo.
p

Flute 1

Oboe

Rebecca

The Templar (to REBECCA)
 Swear to be mine, and I will save thee now. My horse is nigh at

Violin I

Violin II

Viola con sord. div. **pp**

Violoncello con sord. div. **pp**

Contrabass

³⁷⁰ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 609-610.

Fl. 1

Ob.

Rebecca

The Templar

hand, Za-mor my horse Who ne-ver failed me yet; and he will bear___ thee, To

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Andante ♩ = ♩

Fl. 1

Ob.

Rebecca

The Templar

life and love. Oneword, and thou shalt live!___

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

con sord.

p

pp

trem.

unis.

pp

pp

As the Templar barter with Rebecca for her life, the orchestration of his theme is condensed to a delicate Flute solo accompanied by a *pianissimo* Viola-Cello tremolo. In this hypnotic passage, the brevity and delicacy of orchestration conjours, despite his evil intentions, a more humanised depiction of the Templar. He is not Scott's typical villain. Rebecca rejects his plea and once more her theme returns as she prays. Orchestrated similarly, the atmosphere aroused illustrates Rebecca's defiant acceptance of her fate: 'Rebecca offers her hands to the Servants. They bind her to the stake.'³⁷¹

Figure 30 – Rebecca bound to the stake, portrayed by Miss Percival Allen in the 1910 Beecham revival.³⁷²



³⁷¹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 610.

³⁷² *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 19th March 1910, 98.

Figure 31 – Ivanhoe slays the Templar. *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.³⁷³



Rebecca's most heart-breaking moment comes once she has been rescued from the flames. After slaying Sir Brian in a duel to the death, Ivanhoe, honour-bound, rejects Rebecca and chooses Rowena. The recurrent material which accompanies this tragic scene can be located within Rebecca's earlier aria 'Ah! Would that thou and I might lead our sheep Among the folded hills!' (Example 39). During this aria, Rebecca laments Ivanhoe's unreciprocated love: 'his eyes are not for me.' Thus, the reappearance of this theme as she is rejected creates an episode of intense grief and despondency:

³⁷³ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 14th February 1891, 770.

Example 45 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 3. Bars 288-296.³⁷⁴

Allegretto moderato

The musical score is arranged in a system of staves. The instruments and their parts are as follows:

- Flute 1:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* (piano) dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* (crescendo) and a *dim.* (diminuendo) in bar 295.
- Oboe 1, 2:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Clarinet 1, 2 in A:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Bass Clarinet in Bb:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Bassoon 1, 2:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Horn 1, 2 in F:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Horn 3, 4 in D:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Violin I:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Violin II:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Viola:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Violoncello:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.
- Contrabass:** Starts in bar 288 with a *p* dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* and a *dim.* in bar 295.

³⁷⁴ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 623.

Where Sullivan was only able to affix a limited identity to his previous characters, such as Lucifer and Elsie in *The Golden Legend*, in the broader context of *Ivanhoe*'s thematic matrix, Rebecca's thematic characterisation is atmospherically evolved via continued re-orchestration, offering a deeper sense of character development. An advancement on the method used within *The Golden Legend*.

Perhaps the most illustrative and dramatic example of this technique can be observed in Sullivan's thematic treatment of the witch, Ulrica. She is a demonic character who has been held captive in castle Torquilstone for decades, witnessed the murder of her family, and has been repeatedly raped by the Normans. Scarred by the events she has witnessed and endured, she harbours an intense hatred for her captors and her thirst for revenge gradually evolved into madness. Ulrica's theme is first presented whilst she spins in the turret chamber at Torquilstone (Act II, Scene Three):

Example 46 – Ulrica's Psychosis. *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 10-12.³⁷⁵

The musical score for Example 46, titled 'Ulrica's Psychosis. *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 10-12.³⁷⁵', is presented in a standard orchestral format. The tempo is marked '(Andante quasi Adagio)'. The score includes parts for the following instruments and voices:

- Trumpet in E:** The first staff shows a single note in the second measure, marked *pp*.
- Trombone 1, 2:** The second staff shows a whole note in the first measure, followed by rests.
- Bass Trombone/Tuba:** The third staff shows a whole note in the first measure, followed by rests.
- Ulrica:** The fourth staff shows the vocal line with the lyrics: 'Whet the keen axes, Sons of the Dragon!'. The melody is simple and repetitive, with a long note on 'gon!'.
- Viola:** The fifth staff shows a continuous, rapid sixteenth-note pattern, marked *p*.
- Violoncello:** The sixth staff shows a continuous, rapid sixteenth-note pattern, marked *p*.
- Contrabass:** The seventh staff shows a continuous, rapid sixteenth-note pattern, marked *p*.

³⁷⁵ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 357-358.

Repeatedly singing modified fragments of a lugubrious chant, combined with the taunting incessant whirl of the Viola-Cello accompaniment, Ulrica's unhinged state of mind is strikingly emulated by the orchestra.

The subsequent repetition of this theme succeeds *Ivanhoe's* Act III aria: 'Happy with winged feet.' Ulrica menacingly steals into the room followed by Rebecca, uttering: 'Tend thou the Knight thou lovest, another and a nobler work be mine!' Following this declamatory passage, fragments of her thematic material are teased by the orchestra and, upon her sinister warning to 'look for thy bridal torches,' Ulrica's theme is threateningly rendered by an amalgam of the Bassoon and Clarinet, accompanied by a diminished seventh in the Violas and Cellos:

Example 47 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 112-117.³⁷⁶

The musical score for Example 47, Example 47 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 112-117.³⁷⁶ is presented below. The score is in common time (C) and features a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The tempo is marked 'L'istesso tempo'. The score includes parts for Oboe 1, 2; Clarinet 1, 2 in A; Bass Clarinet in B; Bassoon 1, 2; Ulrica; Violin I; Violin II; Viola; Violoncello; and Contrabass. The score shows a complex orchestration with various dynamics (pp, p, f) and articulations (accents, slurs). Ulrica's vocal line includes the lyrics 'Look for thy bri - dal tor - ches!' and 'Exit ULRICA.'

³⁷⁶ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 461-462.

Cunningly woven around Ulrica's dialogue, Sullivan's harmonic and thematic placement sets a foreboding precedent for what is to come.

Once more, during the assault on Castle Torquilstone (Act III, Scene One), Ulrica's theme is entwined into the score as Rebeca catches sight of the flames consuming the castle and realises that Ulrica is responsible:

Example 48 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 501 – 516.

Allegro Vivace

Rebecca

But see! What an-gry red-ness Flush-es the heav'n a-bove us

The cas - tle burns with fire Now do I

know thee Fiend with thy wed - ding tor - - ches

Abruptly, the Templar enters and takes off with Rebecca whilst the castle walls fall around them. As the mass of ruins crumble, the warriors flee. Atop a solitary tower, Ulrica, burnt-out torch in hand, sings her unhinged song of vengeance and leaps down into the flames:

Example 49 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 2. Bars 575-586.³⁷⁷

Treble Flute in G

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe 1, 2

Clarinet in A

Bass Clarinet in Bb

Bassoon 1, 2

Horn 1, 2 in F

Horn 3, 4 in F

Trumpet 1, 2 in F

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone Tuba

Timpani

Bass Drum

Ulrica

Tenor

Bass

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

Whet the bright steel then, Sons of the Dra - gon! Kin-dle the tor - ches, Daugh-ters of Hen - gist!

³⁷⁷ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 529-531.

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Until now, the sinister nature of this theme created a foreboding effect. Here, aided by Sullivan's elaborate orchestral deployment, the theme adapts to intensify Ulrica's vengeance. Exalting over the ruin she helped to make, she sings a chromatically ascending counter melody against the violins and woodwind which render the principal fragment of her theme in triplet form. Juxtaposed with the accompanying lower strings, which conflictly play dotted rhythms, and swelling from *piano* to *fortissimo*, Ulrica's psychosis reaches an immense climax. As she plummets into the abyss, an orchestral postlude of tumultuous dissonant minor chords close the scene.

Figure 32 – Ulrica atop a solitary tower. *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.³⁷⁸



³⁷⁸ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 28th February 1891, 846.

Although most of Sullivan's themes do not subscribe to the Wagnerian method, where themes evolve with the drama, the *Norman Theme* does, in part. Sullivan's decision to utilise the Wagnerian method, limited though it is, alludes to the notion that this score would be a 'compromise' of different operatic methods which Sullivan intended this piece to be. The theme is subtly introduced as Cedric the Saxon, Thane of Rotherwood, laments the Norman conquest on his land:

Example 50 – Norman Theme. *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1. Bars 55-57.



Later, the theme is heard in full as Maurice de Bracy, Sir Brian du Bois Gilbert, and their entourage enter Cedric's Hall. Strikingly, the theme is more sophisticated than the Saxon motif which opens the opera. As opposed to the simple yet sprightly quavers of the Saxon theme, the Normans are accompanied by an arpeggiated triplet figure which evolves into a 36-bar interlude. The theme is ornamented with dotted figures, undoubtedly attempting to imitate the French element of Norman pageantry and refinement. This is the most common theme found within the opera and is only absent from two scenes. Like Wagner's *leitmotif*, to a large extent this theme develops symphonically as the action and drama unfold. One such moment can be observed during Rebecca's exchange with Ulrica who warns her 'Not e'en the presence of the mother of God can save thee from thy doom!' whilst they are held captive in Torquilstone. A loose adaptation of the original theme, it foreshadows the treachery of Sir Brian and the drama which is about to unfold:

Example 51 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 107-108.

Rebecca

sure - ly some pro-tec-tion in my need.

colla voce.

f a tempo.

Later, within Act III, Scene I, the theme symphonically evolves as Sir Brian drops his veneer of Norman sophistication, escaping from the burning ruin of Torquilstone with Rebecca as his captive. The once regal and grandiose theme is modified with chromaticism, rhythmically augmented to a great extent and, once the theme has been so corrupted, the music eventually transitions to a sustained A^{o7} which segues into an orchestral interlude depicting the desolation of Torquilstone:

Example 52 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 521-527.

con fuoco

Initially ambiguous, the bare bones of the original Norman Theme can be identified in the opening triplet motif, a chord of B major, which, as Sir Brian kidnaps Rebecca, is slowly torn apart via the insertion of chromaticism interspersed by agitated dotted rhythms.

As alluded to earlier, within *Ivanhoe*, Sullivan also uses associative and expressive tonality as a unifying element, bearing strong Wagnerian resonances. This can be observed within *The Golden Legend*, particularly Lucifer's theme which centres around A minor, occasionally transitioning to its dominant major when required by the plot development. Likewise, yet more complex, throughout *Ivanhoe* it can be observed that Sullivan attempted to tonally unify his thematic material to a greater extent.

Table 32 – *Ivanhoe*. Tonal Map of Recurrent Themes.

<i>Ivanhoe - Recurrent Themes - Tonal Map</i>									
Recurrent Theme:	ACT I			ACT II			ACT III		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Saxon	C F C B Dmi C		G Bb G						
Cedric's Drinking Motif	C A B								
Norman	Bb F C F		D->Bb		Bb->F	Cmi	B	B	B
Isaac of York	E Mi/C	Ab	Ab					D	D
Wilfred, Knight of Ivanhoe	C Db A Eb		Bb->D-> Gb->D B Eb						Eb
Warfare			C/G			Eb	F C C		
Repartee			Bb	F#					
Richard, Cœur-de-Lion, King of England				D			Eb	D	
The Templar's Concupiscence					Gb				F#
Ulrica's Psychosis						Ebmi	Ami Bmi Emi		
Rebecca's Prayer						Ab Ab			Gb
Rebecca's Trepidation						Ebmi	Ami Ami		
Rebecca's Intransigence						Db	Ami		
Rebecca's Unrequited Love							D		D

Most themes occasionally deviate off course, particularly Cedric's Drinking Motif and Isaac's theme which present no attempt at tonal association, often to accommodate the through-composed structure of the work. There is a clear effort within certain themes, such as the one ascribed to the Saxons, to travel to closely related tonalities. In other instances, if Sullivan cannot return easily to a themes original key nor a closely related tonality, he will modulate to a tonality often only a semi-tone away. Here then, it can be observed that Sullivan made strides in this opera's thematic tonal map; yet, the technique had not fully matured in *Ivanhoe*.

The pages of *The Beauty Stone* offer a more cohesive, confidently established, tonal thematic structure:

Table 33 – *The Beauty Stone*. Tonal Map of Recurrent Themes.

Recurrent Theme:	<i>The Beauty Stone - Recurrent Themes - Tonal Map</i>						
	ACT I		ACT II			ACT III	
	1	2	1	2	3	1	2
Laine's Prayer	F F E	E F	F	A ^b F	F		C
Joan and Simon	E->C E E B	F [#] B					
The Devil	Emi/E		E			Emi E	A
Philip, Lord of Mirlmont	B ^b	A Major			B ^b	Saida's Aria: C A ^b F <i>Scenic Motif:</i> Fmi-Ami-G Emi	
Crazy Jacqueline			G ^b			G ^b	
Saida		D ^b	B ^b B ^b D ^b F		G		

As in *Ivanhoe*, each theme occasionally wanders to a closely related key or modulates a semi-tone away, often for dramatic purposes; yet most of the *recurrent themes* repeatedly return to a definite governing tonal axis. The result in *The Beauty Stone*: a highly refined and well-structured piece of drama aided by distinct characterisation fastened on individuals.

Table 34 – *The Beauty Stone* Recurrent Themes.

NAMES of the Principal Recurrent Themes in THE BEAUTY STONE in the order of their first appearance.		THE BEAUTY STONE							
ACT:		I		II			III		
SCENES:		1	2	1	2	3	1	2	
Laine's Prayer									
Joan and Simon									
The Devil									
Philip, Lord of Mirlemont									
Jacqueline									
Saida									
Framing Themes:									
ACT:		I		II			III		
SCENES:		1	2	1	2	3	1	2	
Mirlemont Town Motif									
Marketplace/Townspeople of Mirlemont Motif:									

Whilst there are fewer thematic references within this work, possibly owing to the insertion of dialogue, in terms of functionality, the themes presented are used to equal effect as in *Ivanhoe* and, conceivably because of the smaller number of events these themes are used to a greater dramatic effect. Given the employment of fewer *recurrent themes* within, these motifs are proportionally used far more frequently, confidently transmuting dramatic situations and providing the principal characters with more interconnected thematic identities.

Laine, the crippled daughter of Joan and Simon, is afforded the first and most repeatedly employed piece of identifiable recurrent material. Praying to the Virgin Mary, she believes

her disfigurement prevents true love and craves for death. After Laine concludes her prayer, the Devil, under the guise of a friar, persuades her to accept and wear the beauty stone which will transform ‘an ugly item of humanity most beauteous.’ Immediately, the once crippled Laine is transformed into the fairest maid of Mirlemont. There is a singular tenderness in this aria, assisted by the orchestration of predominantly woodwind and string passages: ‘the prayer ... reached a genuine poignancy of expression; it has within it the “lacrymae rerum,” the sense of tears in human things.’³⁷⁹ Over time, a motif from the refrain is employed as the heroine’s *recurrent theme*:

Example 53 – Laine’s Prayer. *The Beauty Stone*. No. 3. Prayer. Bars 21-40.

(Andante con moto)

Mo-ther of Jesu, at thy feet I cry; I do but crave for love That so my

heart may live, Else what am I? Nay, and if God a-bove Hath nuaght of

love to give, That I may die! Mo-ther of Je - su, I fain would die

³⁷⁹ Vernon Blackburn, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30th May 1898, 30.

Figure 33 – Laine’s transformation from cripple to beauty. Alfred Ellis, *The Sketch*, 6th July 1898, pp. 454-455.³⁸⁰



Although the first impression of this theme is distinctly pathetic, its repetition during the beauty contest conveys an altered dramatic meaning. Organised by Lord Philip, he cannot find a maid worthy of awarding the silver girdle. Instead, the Devil, now disguised as a travelling Italian noble, suggests a contest of ugliness should replace the failed beauty contest – the town dwarf, Peppin, to be married to the ugliest girl in Mirlemont (by implication, Laine). Shortly after, Laine emerges out of the alley, accompanied by a beautiful variation of her recurrent material:

³⁸⁰ Alfred Ellis, *The Sketch*, 6th July 1898, 454-455.

Example 54 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 9. Finale – Act I. Bars 37-48.³⁸¹

The musical score for Example 54, Act I, Bars 37-48, is presented for a full orchestra and vocal soloist Philip. The score is in the key of F# major (three sharps) and 2/4 time. It begins with a tempo marking of *Andante* and a dynamic of *p* (piano). The woodwind section (Flute 1 & 2, Oboe, Clarinet 1 & 2 in Bb, Bassoon 1 & 2) plays a complex, flowing melody. The string section (Violin I & II) provides a harmonic foundation. The vocal line for Philip enters at bar 40, marked *Moderato* and *f* (forte). The score includes descriptive annotations in parentheses for the vocal entry and the scene context.

In the same way that Sullivan orchestrally adapted Rebecca’s thematic material in *Ivanhoe*, stunningly orchestrated, the delicacy of the opening woodwind remark is superseded by the violins which gracefully interject with Laine’s motif. Philip and the crowd look on, hypnotised by her beauty. Like Laine, her theme is transformed from one of pathos to one of exquisite tenderness. Wagner’s influence here is unmistakable, hinting at expressive tonality as laid out by Bailey, lowering a recurrent theme down a semitone to enhance the dramatic meaning of the situation.

After the onslaught of first-night reviews, a decision was made to cut many of the numbers which reveal the density of Laine’s thematic identity. One such moment can be observed in Act II (Scene Two). Laine rushes into the cottage of her parents who have narrowly escaped Lord Philip’s guards. Having witnessed her parents’ maltreatment by Lord Philip’s followers,

³⁸¹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 182.

and learning that Guntran, Philip's confidant, has persuaded the lord that martial glory should be his true goal, Laine is disenchanted by beauty and casts the stone at her parent's feet. A trio accompanies this realisation, concluding with a modified rendition of Laine's Prayer. Attempting to speak but hampered by her parent's happiness that she has returned, Laine's repetition of 'Mother' creates an effect whereby her prayer appears to be bubbling under the surface of the music. Upon each repetition, the force of the phrasing intensifies and, eventually, Laine's *recurrent theme* bursts through the musical texture. At first, Laine sings a countermelody against the orchestra who render her original melody in A \flat major. Swiftly moving to a quasi-recitative, Laine declares: 'Twas death, not life that came When beauty first was born. It brings not love but shame and hate and scorn.' Disgusted by the unhappiness beauty has brought her, the music crescendos, modulating to the theme's home key of F major, to a stirring *fortissimo* rendition of her prayer. Merged around Laine's quasi-countermelody, her theme functions to passionately elaborate her rejection of beauty. Sullivan, as before, modifies the dramatic meaning of Laine's well-established theme by providing her with a rhythmically opposing countermelody:

Example 55 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 14. Trio. Bars 119-131.³⁸²

Flute 1 *f*

Flute 2

Oboe *f*

Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat *f*

Bassoon 1, 2 *mf*

Horn 1, 2 in F *mf*

Cornet 1, 2 in B \flat

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Timpani *sempre pp*

Laine
Once more I fain_ would be_ crook-ed, As when to - day I knelt and prayed to thee. Once more, once more I fain_would be

Violin I *f*

Violin II *f*

Viola *f*

Violoncello *f*

Contrabass *mf*

³⁸² Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 352-353.

colla voce

Fl. 1 *p* *cresc.* *ff*

Fl. 2 *p* *cresc.* *ff*

Ob. *p* *cresc.* *ff*

Cl. in Bb *p* *cresc.* *ff* a2.

Bsn. *p* *cresc.* *ff*

Hn. in F *p* *cresc.*

Cor. in Bb *p* *cresc.* *ff*

Tbn. *p* *cresc.* *f*

B. Tbn. *p* *cresc.* *f*

Timp. *p* *f*

S. Solo *ad lib.*
crook-ed, As_ when to-day I knelt. and_ prayed to thee, Oh take this thing a-way, a-way, a-way.

Vln. I *p* *cresc.* *colla voce* *ten.* *ff*

Vln. II *p* *cresc.* *ten.* *ff*

Vla. *p* *cresc.* *ten.* *ff*

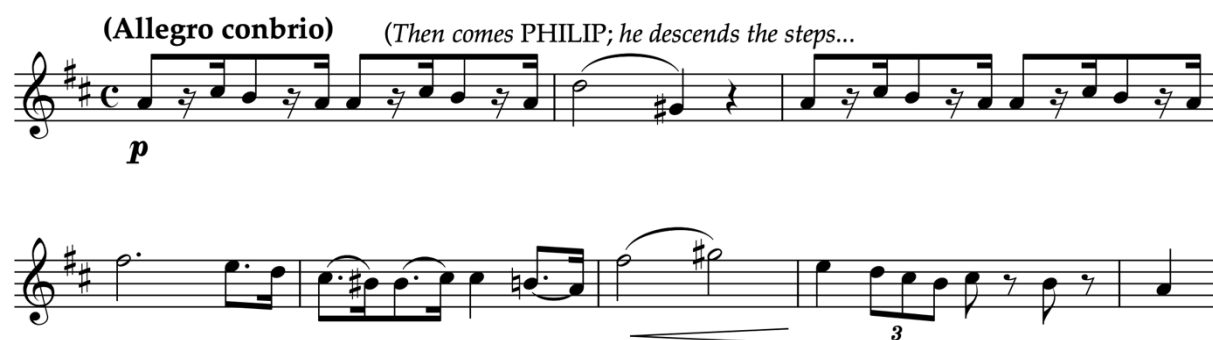
Vc. *p* *cresc.* *ten.* *ff*

Cb. *p* *cresc.* *ten.* *ff*

The conjunction of Laine's running quavers, attended by the expressive marking *con forza e con passione*, with her principal motif, enhanced by the woodwind, upper strings, and cornets, creates a rousing effect as Laine realises that a broken heart is more agonising than the burden of ugliness. Thematically, Laine's prayer has evolved from timid pathos to dramatic realisation.

Lord Philip is represented by a martial phrase, more akin to the type of theme ascribed to King Richard and Isaac in *Ivanhoe*, and first presented in the opera's potpourri-style *Introduction*. Later in Act I the theme returns when preparations for the beauty contest are underway. Whilst several characters enter the stage, Sullivan subtly hints that this theme symbolises Philip as it is rendered in conjunction with the stage direction 'he descends the steps ...':³⁸³

Example 56 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 7a. Entrance of Burgomaster and Crowd. Bars 80-87.³⁸⁴



The connection between Philip and this theme is made clearer in the finale of Act II which is devoted to his departure to the battlefield. At first, Philip sings his theme as a charismatic call to war, hastily followed by a short recitative and repetition of Laine's material as she pleads for the safe return of her father. Philip, after declining her request and mocking her once more deformed appearance, is then mounted on the shoulders of the townspeople, and his theme is

³⁸³ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 133.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 133-134

evolved into an effective ensemble. As the populace exit Mirlemont, the chorus grows quieter, and echoes of Philip’s recurrent theme slowly fade.

Philip’s theme recurs one final time (as a *recurrent theme*) in Saida’s Act III aria, ‘Ride on!’:

Example 57 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 21. Recitative and Song. Bars 37-40.

(Allegro vivace e brillante)

Saida

Ride on, my lord, ride

on! Ride on, and thou shalt find_____

Saida has acquired the talisman from Simon, who obtained it after Laine rejected beauty, and is wholly convinced of recapturing the love of Lord Philip, who is momentarily expected. Philip’s material is entwined into the orchestral texture, revealing Saida’s excited anticipation that he will return and, with her newfound youth and beauty, captivate him once more: ‘Ride on! ride on! Sweet love, these lips are longing to greet thy lips. Ride on.’ Subsequent repetitions of Philip’s theme serve, as described earlier, as a *scenic motif* to frame and enhance the drama of this concerted section.

Figure 34 – Philip, Lord of Mirlemont. *The Sketch*.³⁸⁵



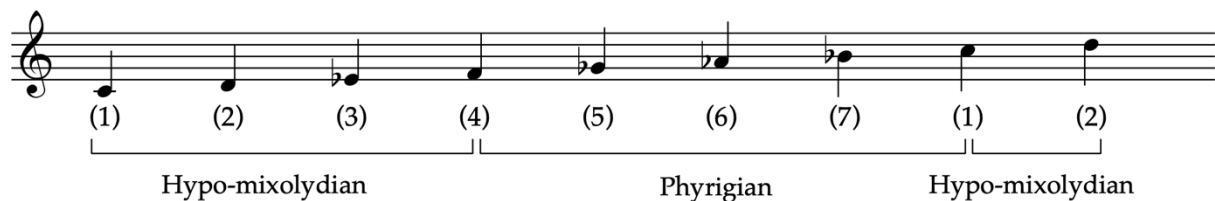
³⁸⁵ *The Sketch*, 6th July 1898, 459.

Saida is undoubtedly provided with the most original recurrent material in the opera. An exile from Cephalonia, she was brought to Mirlemont by Lord Philip after a campaign in the east. To capture her ‘oriental’ presence, Saida’s thematic and harmonic material is characterised by a scale of Sullivan’s invention:

I have tried to give it an unconventional colour by means of the languor of the music and by adapting a scale of my own, after a Greek mode ... It is quite my own secret invention ... it is a compromise between the Phrygian Mode and the Hypo-mixolydian.³⁸⁶

This was Sullivan’s attempt to compose in an original ‘oriental vein,’ as opposed to the conventional style adopted in *The Rose of Persia* and *The Mikado*.³⁸⁷ Fused together, Sullivan’s ‘compromise’ produced:

Example 58 – Saida’s Scale.³⁸⁸



Several scholars have identified Saida’s scalic material in conjunction with her Act II song and dance; however, it is first hinted at in Act I (Scene Two) during the beauty contest:

Example 59 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 8. Scene: The Beauty Contest. Bars 196-201.

Recit. **A tempo**

Aye, let her go! We waste the sun - ny hours Seek ing a rose a - mid these wind-sown flowers

Scale Degree: (4) (5) (6) (7) (1) (7)

³⁸⁶ Arthur Lawrence, *London Daily News*, 25th May 1898, 3.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Taken from the Phrygian portion of the scale, as Saida's first vocal interjection, it can be observed as a marked effort by Sullivan to provide the character with a vivid cultural identity.

Although in his interview with Arthur Lawrence Sullivan indicated that his scalic invention is only provided in the maidens' Act II song and dance, a chromatically abridged variation can be located when Saida implores Philip to 'turn thine eyes away' as Laine's transformed state has captivated his heart.³⁸⁹

Example 60 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 9. Finale – Act I. Bars 98-102.



Treating Saida's material in this way, Sullivan undoubtedly wanted to provide the character with a harmonic identity aside from the theme which represents her.

Saida's theme, in its entirety, is located in Act II when she attempts to lure Lord Philip back to her. Introduced by the oboe, clarinets, and bassoons, there is a breezy freshness to the modal tune as the listener is immediately transported to an 'oriental' realm:

³⁸⁹ 'One of the most striking scenes in which Saida figures is at the point where she endeavours to lure back the hero – Philip, Lord of Mirlmont, to her love. This is a fairly long piece of concerted music, written in an oriental vein... I have tried to give it an unconventional colour. The conventional oriental colour in music is gained by the use of certain intervals, such as the augmented second and diminished fifth, but I have rather tried to give it oriental colour by means of the languor of the music and by adopting a scale of my own after the Greek modes.' Arthur Lawrence, *London Daily News*, 25th May 1898, 3.

Example 61 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 11. Scene. Bars 1-7.³⁹⁰

Allegretto grazioso

Oboe

Clarinet 1, 2
in B \flat

Bassoon 1, 2

As Saida's dance begins to rekindle Lord Philip's passion, the theme is passed to her maidens, given renewed energy by returning to its original 6/8 time, and is worked into a brilliant climax. Unexpectedly, once Saida has half-reaffirmed her hold on Philip, the scene is interrupted by Laine, accompanied by her *recurrent theme*. Much to Saida's 'rage and despair,' 'Philip, entranced, moves towards' Laine. After the chorus warn Laine that 'love will come and go,' Saida's scalic theme menacingly returns in the clarinets and flutes as a melancholy reminder of lost love.

³⁹⁰ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 242.

Figure 35 – Saida. *The Sketch*.³⁹¹



³⁹¹ *The Sketch*, 6th July 1898, 458.

Pinero's 'Devil' is a grimly humorous character who acts as a *deus ex machina* with his own devious agenda throughout the opera. He provides his first victim, Laine, with the Beauty Stone after hearing her forlorn prayer. Once she is transformed, the Devil retells the journeys of the talisman, wherein his theme is established. Unlike Sullivan's standard use of recurrent material, subsequent repetitions of the Devil's theme are not a specific, recurring, section from this aria, but, instead, several portions are reiterated throughout the opera. Dramatically, the theme always returns, except for its recurrence as an *aide-mémoire* in the Act II Finale, when his powers of persuasion have caused suffering. For instance, after the Devil convinces Lord Philip to order his guards to beat Joan and Simon for wanting to join their daughter within the castle, Laine relinquishes her love for him and begs to be released. The Devil, knowing of the heartbreak this will cause both lovers, encourages Philip to let her go, accompanied by a theme taken from the conclusion of his refrain in his Act I aria:

Example 62 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 13. Scene. Bars 46-53.

Allegretto comodo

The Devil

Heed not what this poor do - tard

cries; 'Tis naught to thee thou hast Love's prize!___

rall. **f**

Figure 36 – The Devil. *The Sketch*.³⁹²



³⁹² Ibid., 453.

Later, in Act III, the Devil's music is employed once again as the stone has not had the effect that Saida desired upon Lord Philip – he has been blinded in the wars and remembering the sweet voice of Laine, and having grown weary of Saida, demands Guntran lead him 'forth to the weavers daughter [Laine].'³⁹³ Almost akin to a full stop, once Saida has returned the stone to the Devil ('It always comes back to me'), the main chorus of his Act I aria is repeated in its home key of E major, concluding his prescribed thematic material and identity.

Often achieved via an alteration in orchestration, the re-introduction of these themes within select moments reinforces the dramatic meaning of Pinero and Carr's libretto. As in his earlier works of a similar nature, these themes are not used too often to obtrude the dramatic relevance of certain dramatic situations. Yet, their deployment within *The Beauty Stone* is more confident, and commonplace, revolving around securely established home keys, illuminating the subtext to a greater extent than in *Ivanhoe* and *The Golden Legend*. Confidently deployed, Sullivan's characters have a firmly established thematic identity and enriched interrelated structure, representative of maturity in Sullivan's approach to thematic employment.

³⁹³ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 468.

3.5 Orchestration

Alluded to throughout this chapter, the orchestra played a significant role within Sullivan's later operas. During his April 1894 visit to Dublin, Sullivan was importuned by a reporter:

[Reporter]: 'Do you write chamber music?'

[Sullivan]: 'No, it does not appeal to me as the orchestra does. I like the colour of the orchestra. My ideas always come to me with a certain orchestral colouring ... I only care to write for the orchestra, the colouring of which I love.'³⁹⁴

In this interview, Sullivan gave notion to the significance of the orchestra to his process, suggesting its crucial role within his later oeuvre. Since *The Tempest*, above all else, Sullivan proved himself a deft orchestrator. Again, albeit occasional stand-alone orchestral pieces including introduction of *The Tempest* and the incantation scene from *The Sorcerer* are notable exceptions, the precedents of graphic orchestral expression found within these later works can be located in *The Golden Legend*.

Sullivan met with Franz Liszt during his visit to London in April 1886 and several scholars have noted the Hungarian composer's influence on *The Golden Legend*, particularly the vibrant chromaticism of the opening prelude.³⁹⁵ Hector Berlioz, however, undoubtedly had a greater influence on Sullivan's later orchestral idiom, which alludes to the French composer's descriptive style in pieces such as the *Marmion* overture (1867) and theatrical works such as *Iolanthe* (1882) and *Princess Ida* (1884).³⁹⁶ A focus on scenic depiction and dramatic enhancement, program music, is synonymous with Berlioz's music and it is conceivable that Sullivan found some inspiration for the descriptive role of the orchestra within *The Golden*

³⁹⁴ *Freemans Journal*, 11th April 1894, 5.

³⁹⁵ Sullivan, *Diary*, 3rd-9th April 1886.

Percy Young notes that the opening minor 3rd of Liszt's *Die Glocken* or *Ihr Glocken von Marlig* (1874) is likely related to Lucifer's opening recitative in *The Golden Legend*. Percy Young, *Sir Arthur Sullivan*, 224.

³⁹⁶ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 98-100.

Legend whilst conducting *Romeo and Juliet* (1839), a semi-programmatic work, at St. James's Hall in May 1885.³⁹⁷ Though a technique forged by earlier nineteenth-century composers, the practice evolved alongside contemporary harmonic and tonal developments. Richard Strauss would later pioneer program music in pieces such as *Don Quixote* (1898) amongst other tone poems and, although the technique became unfashionable in the early nineteenth century, this style of orchestral writing can be found in Gershwin's *An American in Paris* (1928) and Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf* (1936).

Despite the composer's clear affection for the orchestra, he took the decision to replace the overture in these romantic works with shorter introductory passages.³⁹⁸ Henry Wood suggested that Sullivan refused to write overtures after the Savoy audience talked through the overture to *The Yeomen of the Guard* in 1888 – *The Gondoliers* (1889) and *The Grand Duke* (1896) are the exception to the rule.³⁹⁹ Aside from speculation, Sullivan was also influenced by contemporary developments and trends. The overture was becoming unfashionable and although verismo opera composers were abandoning their use altogether, Sullivan was possibly influenced by precedents such as Verdi's *Otello* (1887) and Bizet's *Carmen* (1875). Thus, the short, almost explosive, orchestral introduction to *Ivanhoe* is typical of its era.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 348.

Jonathan Gregor, *Program Music*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 80-81

The opening prelude is also suggestive of Berlioz's *The Damnation of Faust* (1846); however, Sullivan would only conduct this later at the Leeds Music Festival on October 9th, 1889. Stanyon, *Arthur Sullivan, the 1898 Leeds Festival and Beyond*, 352.

³⁹⁸ Noted by Robin Gordon-Powell, re-telling the recording process of Chandos' *Ivanhoe*, the introductory passage of *Ivanhoe* is deceptive – the same can be said of *The Beauty Stone*: 'One lady first violinist, when I asked her if she'd had a chance to look at the music in advance (and what she thought of it), replied that she had glanced at the first two or three pages and thought they looked easy enough so she hadn't bothered with the rest...and this seemed to be a not unusual reaction from many players. It seemed clear that many of the musicians expected this job to be nothing more than a longer version of a Savoy opera – and therefore slightly low-brow, and not a little dull. Many a fine musician has walked unerringly into this routine trap and – talk about a short sharp shock! – at the end of every day many players could be seen taking their music home, to prepare for the next day... I lost track of the number of people who, over the week, said to me how much they had underestimated Sullivan's skill....whether singers or orchestral musicians.' Gordon-Powell, *Sir Arthur Sullivan Society Magazine*, Summer 2009 (Issue No. 71), 2-6.

³⁹⁹ Henry Wood, *My Life In Music*, (V. Gollancz, Limited, 1938), 39.

⁴⁰⁰ It is unlikely Sullivan would have been influenced by verismo operas such as *Cavalleria Rusticana* (1890) as it did not premiere in London until well after *Ivanhoe*.

Unique for Sullivan's theatrical output, *Haddon Hall's* introduction includes a chorus sung behind the curtain. Although many contemporary music critics saw the novelty in this idea, the style of orchestral writing is reminiscent of the opening passage to Sullivan's earlier work, *The Light of the World*. At first sight, the complexion of *The Beauty Stone's* introduction deceptively looks back to the earlier idiom Sullivan adopted in *The Gondoliers* and *Iolanthe* (1882) where appealing melodies form a potpourri-style introduction. Although unlike the orchestral setting within the remainder of the opera, exploration of Sullivan's score in greater detail reveals a thematic hierarchy in this introduction which centres around *recurrent themes* ascribed to the romantic protagonists, Philip and Laine, emphasising the thematic unity of Sullivan's later style and providing the work with an overarching musical continuity.

Albeit remnants of Sullivan's earlier styles were incorporated within the introductory passages of *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone*, these romantic compositions, predominantly *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone*, are replete with the graphic orchestral expression which evolved, in terms of Sullivan's interpretation of the technique, from the sound world of *The Martyr of Antioch* and matured in *The Golden Legend*.

Example 63 – Sunset. *The Golden Legend*, Scene 2. Bars 1-6.

Andante Tranquillo ♩ = 76

Violin I
 Violin II
 Viola
 Violoncello
 Contrabass

*p dolce e legato
 senza sord.*
*p legato
 senza sord.*
p legato
p legato
p

Like the material of these choral works, Sullivan often prioritised the orchestral medium and *colouring* over soloists and chorus. Reminiscent of the hierarchy of sonorities used in the prologue to *The Golden Legend*, the joust scene in *Ivanhoe* is emphatic of Sullivan's later highly descriptive orchestral ingenuity. The tumultuous and restless nature of this movement is emphasised by tremolo strings, after which a pause suggests preparation for battle. As a signal to the competitors, the trumpets play a short variation of the War Motif, followed by further tremolando in the strings and a commentary by the chorus. Abruptly, there is a fierce rush of ascending scales, evocative of the tramp of war horses, vividly recalling the idea of furious strife and the clash of arms.

Example 64 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 3. Bars 512-523.⁴⁰¹

(Allegro agitato)

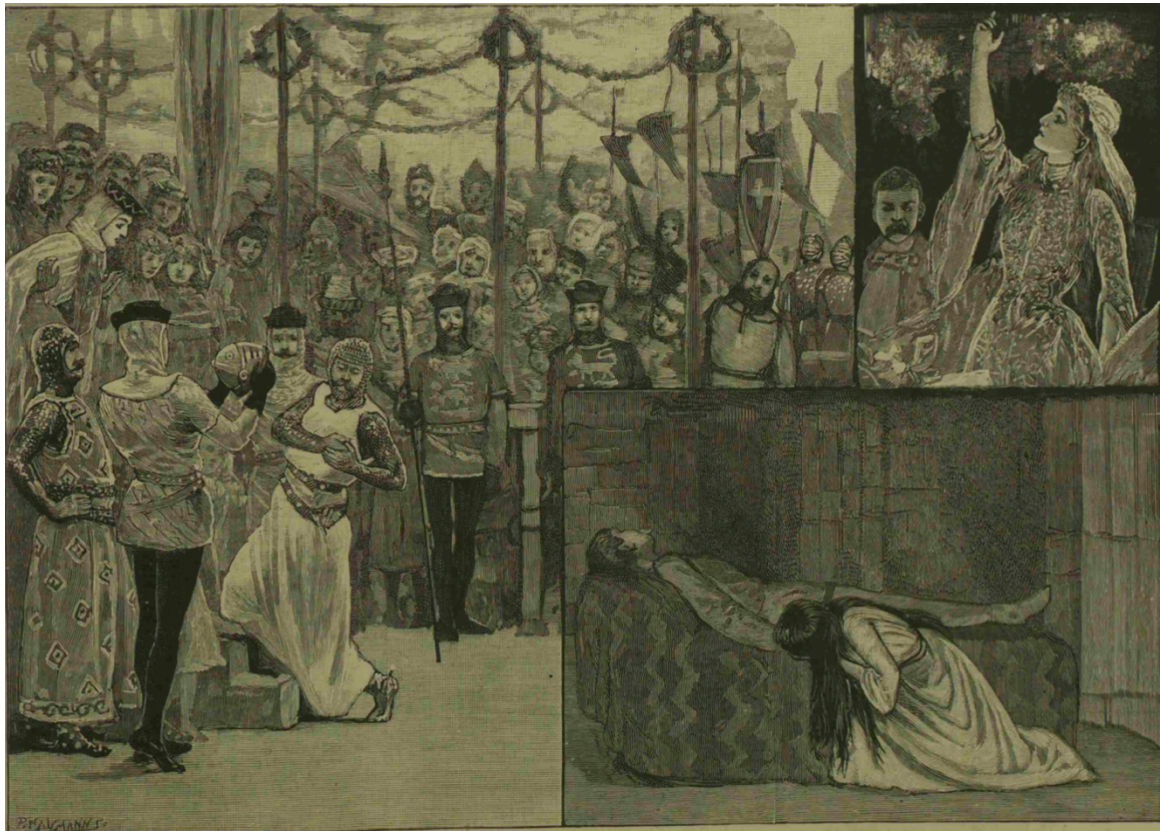
The score is for a full orchestra and vocal soloists. The instruments listed on the left are: Treble Flute in G, Flute 1, Flute 2, Oboe 1, 2, Clarinet 1, 2 in Bb, Bass Clarinet in Bb, Bassoon 1, 2, Horn 1, 2 in F, Horn 3, 4 in Eb, Trumpet 1, 2 in F, Trombone 1, 2, Bass Trombone/Tuba, Timpani, Cymbals, Bass Drum, Soprano/Alto, Tenor/Bass, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass.

The woodwinds and brass sections play sustained notes with a crescendo from *p* to *ff*. The percussion section, including timpani and cymbals, provides a rhythmic foundation. The vocal soloists enter in bar 512 with the lyrics: "The com-bat! the com-bat! They back their hor - ses; And now, like". The vocal parts are marked *unis.* (unison). The string section plays a rhythmic pattern, with Violins I and II marked *p* and *cresc.*, and Violoncello and Contrabass marked *p* and *cresc.*. The overall dynamic is *ff* (fortissimo) by the end of the passage.

⁴⁰¹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 216-218.

After an energetic climax is reached via the insertion of rhythmically complex choral interjections and steady amassing of orchestral sonorities as both knights are dismounted and forced to fight on foot, Ivanhoe is crowned the champion by Prince John and the scene concludes with a stirring chorus, ‘Saxon heart is bold for fight!’

Figure 37 – ‘Scenes from the new opera “Ivanhoe”.’⁴⁰²



Towards the end of *Ivanhoe*, the battle and destruction of Torquilstone is perhaps Sullivan’s masterpiece of vivid descriptive writing. A famous moment from Scott’s novel, Rebecca takes up Ivanhoe’s shield and describes the battle from a window. The steady approach of the Saxon rescuers is felt through the orchestra as the agitation increases in intensity with the gradual addition of wind and brass sonorities:

⁴⁰² *Illustrated London News*, 7th February 1891, 1.

Example 65 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 303-310.⁴⁰³

Allegro Vivace

Oboe 1, 2

Clarinet 1, 2 in A

Bass Clarinet in B \flat

Bassoon 1, 2

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Tuba

Rebecca

Allegro Vivace

Violoncello

Contrabass

1.

Ob.

Cl. 1, 2 in A

B. Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

Tbn.

B. Tbn. Tba.

Rebecca

I see them now; the

Vc.

Cb.

⁴⁰³ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 480.

Subtly woven into the texture, the Warfare motif is heralded by the bass trumpet, and, once the music steadily climaxes, Rebecca sings her Trepidation motif before the strings chromatically ascend towards a weighty entrance of the entire woodwind section as the chorus and bass trumpet reiterate the Warfare Motif, all of which is complemented by cyclic triplet figures in the lower strings:

Example 66 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 331-338.⁴⁰⁴

(Allegro Vivace)

Treble Flute in G

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe

Clarinet 1, 2 in A

Bass Clarinet in B \flat

Bassoon 1, 2

Bass Trumpet in F

Rebecca

Tenor

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

now the qui - ver ratt - leth; The noise of the cap - tains and the

⁴⁰⁴ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 485-486.

After Ivanhoe recognises King Richard's presence in the battle, the music takes on an even more disturbed energy as the string figurations rise in complexity and intensity:

Example 67 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bar 335.⁴⁰⁵

(Allegro Vivace)

Figure 38 – *Ivanhoe* and Rebecca.⁴⁰⁶



Describing the actions of the King, the music startlingly explodes as the palisades fall:

⁴⁰⁵ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 490.

⁴⁰⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 7th February 1891, 1.

Example 68 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 367-371.⁴⁰⁷

(Allegro Vivace)

Treble Flute in G

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe 1, 2

Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat

Bass Clarinet in B \flat

Bassoon 1, 2

Horn 1, 2 in F

Horn 3, 4 in F

Trumpet 1, 2 in E \flat

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Tuba

Timpani

Rebecca

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

fight!

(Allegro Vivace)

⁴⁰⁷ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 493.

Figure 39 – ‘The Storming of Torquilstone Castle.’ *The Illustrated London News*.⁴⁰⁸



The fight moves within the castle walls and the *whirlwind* of the battle, as detailed by Rebecca, is imitated by swelling triplet figures in the strings and woodwind, eventually climaxing via the introduction of percussion. Later within the scene, the castle is set alight by Ulrica, Rebecca is taken off by the Templar and the castle begins to crumble. Though simple compared to what has come before, Sullivan’s depiction of the desolation of Torquilstone is his most inspired and dramatic passage, intensely evocative of the collapsing fortifications:

⁴⁰⁸ *The Illustrated London News*, 7th February 1891, 4.

Example 69 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 536-544.⁴⁰⁹

(Allegro)

Treble Flute in G

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe 1, 2

Clarinet 1, 2 in A

Bass Clarinet in B \flat

Bassoon

Horn 1, 2 in F

Horn 3, 4 in F

Trumpet 1, 2 in F

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone/Tuba

Timpani

Bass Drum

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

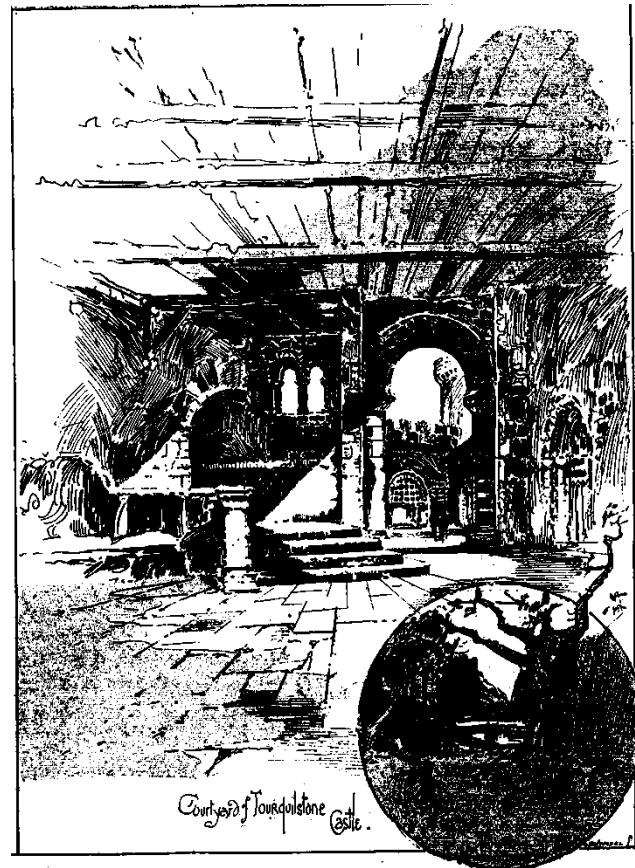
Contrabass

(Allegro)

⁴⁰⁹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 523.

The entire orchestra surges to *fff* and the homophonic chordal movement, complemented by tremolandos in the bass drum and timpani, is juxtaposed with the complexity of rhythm which precedes it, generating a monumental shift in atmosphere. Once completed, Sullivan noted in his diary: ‘Very satisfactory I think.’⁴¹⁰

Figure 40 – Courtyard of Torquilstone.⁴¹¹



Select moments within *Haddon Hall* also exhibit this type of orchestral writing, most notably the storm music which is interwoven as a *scenic motif* throughout Act II. Before the curtain rises the orchestra evocatively depicts a raging storm, signified by furious rushes of ascending chromatic scales together with sustained notes in the wind and brass. After the subsequent humorous passage of dialogue and music, the storm rears its head numerous times throughout the first half of finale Act II:

⁴¹⁰ Sullivan, *Diary*, 20th September 1891.

⁴¹¹ *The Illustrated London News*, 7th February 1891, 4.

Example 70 – *Haddon Hall*. No 16. Finale Act II. Bars 81-84.⁴¹²

(Allegro non troppo)

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe

Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat

Bassoon 1, 2

Horn 1, 2 in F

Cornet 1, 2 in B \flat

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Timpani

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

⁴¹² Harris (Ed.), *Haddon Hall Full Score*, 310.

Once the lovers, John Manners and Dorothy, have eloped, the storm intensifies and the orchestra, particularly the flutes and clarinet, cleverly reproduce the fury of lightning flashes and other elements of a great storm:

Example 71 – *Haddon Hall*. No 16b. Storm. Bars 367-370.⁴¹³

The musical score for Example 71, titled "Haddon Hall. No 16b. Storm. Bars 367-370," is presented in a standard orchestral format. The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes parts for Flute 1, Flute 2, Oboe, Clarinet 1, 2 in A, Bassoon 1, 2, Horn 1, 2 in F, Cornet 1, 2 in A, Trombone 1, 2, Bass Trombone, (Timpani/Bass Drum), Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The second system includes parts for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The music is in 2/4 time and features a variety of dynamics including *p*, *cresc.*, and *ff*. The score is written for a full orchestra, with the woodwinds and strings playing a prominent role in the storm scene.

⁴¹³ Harris (Ed.), *Haddon Hall Full Score*, 351.

Even though Sullivan had composed music descriptive of thunderstorms before in *L'Île Enchantée*, the introduction to *The Tempest*, and most notably *The Golden Legend*, his deft skill as an orchestrator is at a focus here, given the limitation of instruments available to him. Other than this picturesque movement, most of the orchestral treatment within *Haddon Hall* ranks with Sullivan's earlier Savoy works, since Grundy's book almost entirely avoids a sense of realism.

Contrastingly, *The Beauty Stone* constantly evokes the romantic sonorities of *Ivanhoe* and *The Golden Legend* as the orchestra take a prominent descriptive role throughout. Though the introductory passage of the opera is reminiscent of previous Savoy works, the similarity ends as the music transitions to the opening duet, 'Click Clack.' One music critic for *Music Hall and Theatre Review* noted, 'after a rather disappointing prelude (in the place of an overture), the opera opens, [and] was so strikingly pleasing, both in construction and effect'.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ *Music Hall and Theatre Review*, 3rd June 1898, 11.

Example 72 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 1. Duet. Bars 1-29. ⁴¹⁵

Andante con moto

The musical score is for a duet in bars 1-29 of 'The Beauty Stone' No 1. It is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. The tempo is 'Andante con moto'. The score is divided into three systems. The first system includes Flute 1, 2; Oboe; Clarinet 1, 2 in A; Bassoon; Violin I; Violin II; Viola; Violoncello; and Contrabass. The second system includes Flute; Oboe; Clarinet; and Bassoon. The third system includes Violin I; Violin II; Viola; Violoncello; and Contrabass. Dynamics include p (piano), mf (mezzo-forte), and p (piano). Articulation includes pizz. (pizzicato) and arco (arco). The score features various musical notations including triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings.

⁴¹⁵ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 22-23

The musical score is for the orchestral introduction of 'Click Clack'. It is written for a full orchestra. The woodwinds (Ob., Cl., Bsn.) and strings (Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., Cb.) all play triplet figures. The woodwinds start with a 'p' (piano) dynamic and a 'cresc.' (crescendo) marking, followed by a 'dim.' (diminuendo) marking. The strings also start with a 'p' dynamic and a 'cresc.' marking, followed by a 'dim.' marking. The score is in a key with one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and a common time signature.

The orchestral introduction of ‘Click Clack’ is suggestive of the scene, ‘a sombre ... wretched-looking dwelling,’ as the labouring lower strings echo the monotony of Joan and Simon’s poverty-stricken existence, succeeded by the flutes and clarinets whose triplet figures further add to the unhappiness of the panorama – Sullivan termed this a ‘duet of despair’.⁴¹⁶ This type of orchestral setting serves to conjure the undercurrent of pathos Sullivan attempted to create within *The Beauty Stone*. Simon’s plea for the Devil to give Laine the Beauty Stone is similarly effective with the cellos providing a mournful countermelody to his recitative:

⁴¹⁶ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 22.
Arthur Lawrence, *London Daily News*, 25th May 1898, 3.

Example 73 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 4. Quartett. Bars 88-97.

Quasi Recit.

Simon

we are worn, And bentwith years and toil-ing night and morn! Our

Violoncello

child is sick - ly Crip-pled she was born Be - stow it

Again, this atmosphere re-emerges in Laine's aria 'Nay, wert thou more than all he said thou art.' After a short, timid, introduction in the strings, the oboe pierces the texture, reminiscent of Wagner's use of the instrument for short passages of expression, complementing the sombreness of the texture.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 103.

This type of oboe deployment can also be found in:

Act I, Scene 2, Bars 1-10 (*Ivanhoe*)

Act II, Scene 1, Bars 353-358 (*Ivanhoe*)

No. 9. Finale – Act I, Bars 45-46 (*The Beauty Stone*)

No. 12 – Duet, Bars 43-47 (*The Beauty Stone*)

Unlike the habitual use of the instrument for solo purposes in *The Pirates of Penzance Overture* or within his *Symphony in E*, the tone colouring of the oboe is held back for some of the most expressive moments.

Example 74 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 13. Scene. Bars 84-89.⁴¹⁸

Andante espressivo **Rall.**

Oboe *f dim.*

Laine
(THE DEVIL, goes into the arcade and gives orders. The doors admitting to the arcade are shut by the attendants; and, one by one, other doors are heard to shut close with a clang and rattle.)
Nay, wert thou

Violin I *(p) più f dim.*

Violin II *(p) più f dim.*

Viola *(p) più f dim.*

Violoncello *(p) più f dim.*

Contrabass *più f dim.*

Later, the concerted ensemble which accompanies Saida's dance again evokes this atmospheric orchestral style. Idle quaver accompaniment in the strings provides vivid imagery of Mediterranean waves crashing against the hull of her ship as she describes her voyage to Mirlemont. Earlier, after a striking orchestral introduction, given the colourful nature of the orchestral accompaniment together with the choral performance direction 'Sung in a fashion to suggest a series of hushed asides,' the chorus is almost subservient to the orchestra, adding a further element to the texture of Saida's dance.

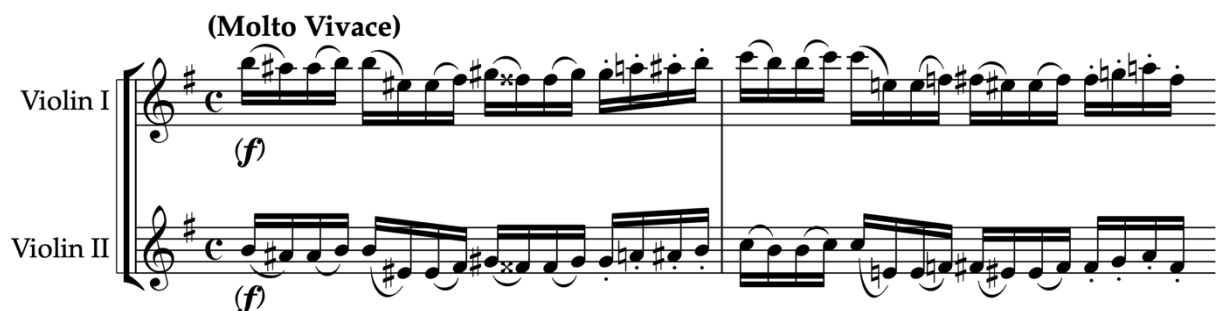
⁴¹⁸ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 311.

Another noteworthy moment occurs after Saida implores Lord Philip to ‘turn thine eyes away’ from Laine. Not having her desired effect, she declares Laine a witch and the Mirlemont populace, dumbfounded by Laine’s transformation, rush to burn her at the stake. The cyclical nature of the violin figurations combined with imposing trills in the woodwind, enhance Pinero’s and Carr’s stage direction:

They circle around her, advancing and retreating with alternating rage and fear. In the end they fall upon her and seize her, as Joan and Simon force their way through the crowd. Laine rushes to her mother in terror.⁴¹⁹

As the chorus declare they will burn Laine at the stake, the violins burst into action with an intense chromatic figuration:

Example 75 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 9. Finale – Act I. Bars 159-160.⁴²⁰



The chorus then declare Laine a witch, attended by an entrance of the trombones and triplet figurations in the woodwind and strings, generating an almost claustrophobic atmosphere, illustrative of the chorus tormenting and encircling an overwhelmed Laine:

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 197.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 195.

Example 76 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 9. Finale – Act I. Bars 161-164.⁴²¹

(Molto vivace)

Flute 1
Flute 2
Oboe
Clarinet 1, 2 in A
Bassoon 1, 2
Horn 1, 2 in F
Cornet 1, 2 in A
Trombone 1, 2
Bass Trombone
Timpani
Soprano Alto
Tenor Bass
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabass

Lyrics:
Soprano Alto: witch! a witch! Be-ware! be-ware! Or on a broom-stick she may fly, Up, up, and up, and thro' the air! A witch! a witch! then let her die! A
Tenor Bass: witch! a witch! Be-ware! be-ware! Or on a broom-stick she may fly, Up, up, and up, and thro' the air! A witch! a witch! then let her die! A

⁴²¹ Ibid., 196.

Comparable to the sound-world evoked in the tournament scene within *Ivanhoe*, more attention is evidently paid to the descriptive role of the orchestra in *The Beauty Stone*, and, in scenes of a similar nature, Sullivan's orchestration renders the text almost entirely superfluous.

Unlike in the pages of his comic works, there is a lack of orchestral support for the vocal line in Sullivan's later style, allowing for further textural variation and invention. Prince Philip's entrancement by Laine's beauty is also a noteworthy example, accompanied by intensely idiomatic *legato* string writing:

Example 77 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 9. Finale – Act I. Bars 195-204.⁴²²

The musical score for Violin I and Violin II, Example 77, shows bars 195-204. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is common time (C). The score is written for two violins. The first system shows the beginning of the passage with a piano (p) dynamic marking. The second system continues the melodic lines. The third system shows the strings playing in parallel motion, maintaining the legato texture.

⁴²² Ibid., 201.

In this same style, the strings later offer an unobtrusive counterpoint to the *Andante con moto* section of Laine, Joan, and Simon's Trio:

Example 78 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 14. Trio. Bars 73-89.⁴²³

Andante con moto

Laine: Then let me cast a - way this_ stone That made my Lord to use_ me_ ill. For

Joan: Stay, stay, hold fast to what is there, Though this false Lord hath used thee ill. That

Simon: Stay, stay, hold fast to what is there, Though this false Lord hath used thee ill. That

Andante con moto

Violin I: *p*

Violin II: *p*

Laine: all the past Still lin - gers there. All the past still lin - gers there, My heart is sore And a - ching

Joan: now is past; Still thou art_ fair, That is past, still thou art_ fair And life's re-ward a waits thee

Simon: now is past; Still thou art fair, That now is past, Still thou art fair, And life's re-ward a waits thee

Vln. I:

Vln. II:

⁴²³ Ibid., 347-348.

Laine
stil, My heart is ach-ing still, is a-ching still, is a-ching still.

Joan
still, Life's re-ward a-waits thee still, A-waits thee still, A-waits thee still.

Simon
still, Life's re-ward a-waits thee still, A-waits thee still, A-waits thee still.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Numerous solo passages, especially the succession of arias in the third act, are treated likewise, a defining feature of Sullivan's later orchestral deployment, situating the orchestra's role in *The Beauty Stone* apart from Sullivan's previous Savoy works and, instead, in the romantic territory of *Ivanhoe* and *The Golden Legend*.⁴²⁴

Sullivan's later style is also emphasised by a substantial amount of purely orchestral material. At the Savoy, the 'Melodrama' within *Ruddigore* provides an early glimpse of Sullivan's later orchestral deployment in *The Beauty Stone*, yet this is only a short, isolated, episode. Other orchestral episodes, such as the end of 'The Cachucha' in *The Gondoliers*, serve no dramatic or descriptive purpose other than as an accompaniment to the dance. Providing music for a scene change in Act II, Sullivan reuses the material of Joan and Simon's Act I duet, in combination with their later duet, to transport the audience back to their impoverished cottage after a charismatic chorus concludes the first scene of Act II. In *Ivanhoe*, a similar moment can be found after the Copmanhurst *scenic motif* concludes with a

⁴²⁴ It must be noted that Sullivan does occasionally leave the soloist open in his 1890s comic operas, an example can be found in *Utopia Limited*, 'Society has quite forsaken all her wicked courses;' however, it is more commonplace in this work.

fugal imitation of the material. Accompanied by the theme of St. Dunstan's Well, Friar Tuck watches the King 'with greedy eyes, munching on some dry beans:'

Example 79 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 1. Bars 267-275.⁴²⁵

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Violoncello

p

Figure 41 – ‘A little knockout business at Copmanhurst.’⁴²⁶



The sombre writing for lower strings and woodwind offers a relaxed atmosphere, charmingly descriptive of the meal in Copmanhurst forest. Interrupted by semi-tonal movement in the cellos and double bass's, an undercurrent of uncertainty is established, followed by Friar

⁴²⁵ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 260-261.

⁴²⁶ *Funny Folks*, 15th February 1891, 3.

Example 80 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 1. Bars 276-293.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁷ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 261.

The King placates the ‘rosy Friar’ and again the relaxed atmosphere returns via an expanded repetition of the friar’s previous thematic material in the strings. Fifteen bars later, Tuck again interrupts the conversation and once more challenges the King to a fight. Instead, a compromise is reached where the pair joust in the ‘peaceful art of minstrelsy’ – a song contest.

Within *The Beauty Stone*, accompanying the entrance of the Burgomaster and crowd, the orchestra depicts the preparations for the beauty contest. The episode begins with the scenic motif, suggestive of the animated entrance of the Mirlemont populace. Soon after the romantic element of Sullivan’s descriptive ability is given full force as a gorgeous melody in the violins and oboe is evocative of the medieval spectacle, suitably decorative of the preparations for the beauty contest:

Example 81 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 7a. Entrance of Burgomaster and Crowd. Bars 12-24.⁴²⁸

(Allegro con brio)

p

cresc.

ff *dim.*

⁴²⁸ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 123-125.

Sullivan called these extra pieces of music ‘fitting in’; nevertheless, the appropriate selection of thematic material, together with his meticulous orchestration, provides both thematic and atmospheric continuity.⁴²⁹

Figure 42 – L-R: Joan, Simon, and The Devil.⁴³⁰



Together with Sullivan’s descriptive ingenuity, these works also highlight Sullivan’s capability of dramatic enhancement, heightening and adapting the dramatic situations he envisaged. Ivanhoe’s Act III aria, ‘Happy with winged feet,’ for instance, demonstrates Sullivan’s firm understanding of dramatic characterisation, contrasting the bold, decisive, music which accompanied his entrance at the tournament in Act I. Though Ivanhoe is a daring and courageous knight, the music is strikingly illustrative of a man in love:

⁴²⁹ Sullivan to Pinero, undated. Rowell, *Sullivan Society Magazine*, August 1985.

⁴³⁰ *Leeds Times*, 4th June 1898, 3.

Example 82 – *Ivanhoe*, Act III, Scene 1. Bars 1-5.⁴³¹

Andante moderato

Flute 1
Flute 2
Oboe 1, 2
Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat
Bass Clarinet in B \flat
Bassoon 1, 2
Horn 1, 2 in F
Horn 3, 4 in F
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabass

p dolce
p dolce
p
p
p
a2.
p
p
a2.
p
p dolce
p
p
p
p

⁴³¹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 445.

Centred around F major, the expressive nature of this aria, abounding with expansive string writing and descending legato phrases in the cellos and violas, corresponds texturally to Ivanhoe's earlier duet with Rowena in Scene II, providing not only a deeper level of character development, but also continuity.

Sullivan's orchestration of Saida's rejection of *The Beauty Stone* is also noteworthy for its orchestral and thematic manipulation. Following a variant of the Devil's *recurrent theme*, thematic material from Saida's earlier aria, 'Ride on,' is transformed into E minor:

Example 83 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 22. Scene. Bars 33-39.⁴³²

Allegro vivace e agitato

The musical score for Example 83, titled 'The Beauty Stone. No 22. Scene. Bars 33-39', is set in F major and 4/4 time. The tempo is marked 'Allegro vivace e agitato'. The score includes parts for the following instruments and voices:

- Flute 1: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Oboe: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Clarinet 1, 2 in A: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Bassoon 1, 2: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Horn 1, 2 in E: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Saida: Sings the lyrics 'Mine own! mine own! What de - vil lurks in thee To mock my shame? And'. Her vocal line is marked with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Devil: Sings the word 'own!'. His vocal line is marked with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Violin I: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Violin II: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Viola: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Violoncello: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.
- Contrabass: Starts with a forte (f) dynamic, followed by a piano (p) dynamic, then a crescendo (cresc.) leading to a forte (f) dynamic.

⁴³² Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 475.

The strings, flute, and clarinet menacingly render this minor variation of the opening fragment whilst Saida sings a quasi-recitative above.⁴³³ The strings tremolando whilst swelling to *forte* as they double Saida's previous thematic material, complementing the tempo marking, *Allegro vivace e agitato*. Saida's melodic line intensifies, climaxing on a top B, interrupted by an inverted *sf* chord of E minor, and is escalated by an ascending chromatic scale in the strings:

⁴³³ Perhaps owing to the contrived nature of Carr's lyrics, Sullivan was forced to allot quasi-recitative over the top of thematic material derived from Saida's aria 'Ride on.' Forced or not, alike the expressive result of its use here, Sullivan also employed the technique in the Trio in Act II, Scene 2, as Laine rejects beauty: No. 14 – Trio, Bars 119-129 (*The Beauty Stone*).

Example 84 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 22. Scene. Bars 48-56.⁴³⁴

(Allegro vivace e agitato)

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe

Clarinet 1, 2 in A

Bassoon 1, 2

Horn 1, 2 in E

Cornet 1, 2 in A

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone

Timpani

Saida

In hell 'twas born, I yield it back to hell!

(Allegro vivace e agitato)

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

⁴³⁴ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 477-478.

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Ob.

Cl.
in A

Bsn.

Hn.
in E

Cor.
in A

Tbn.

B. Tbn.

Timp.

Saida

(She plucks the stone from her bosom and flings it to the ground, and rushes away, on the right)

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

Saida's fury at the Devil's trickery and uselessness of *The Beauty Stone* is brilliantly manifested within the orchestra. As this chromatic episode continues, Saida 'plucks the stone from her bosom and flings it to the ground and rushes away.'⁴³⁵

Achieved by simple means, the string writing of Rebecca's recitative and aria, 'Lord of our chosen race,' illustrates her frightened state of mind. After Ulrica's aria, 'Whet the Keen Axes,' Rebecca, left alone, gazes over the parapet attended by a tumultuous violin accompaniment, suggestive of the dizziness associated with acrophobia:

Example 85 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 125-134.⁴³⁶

Allegro

The musical score for Example 85 is presented in a system of staves. The top section includes staves for Cor Anglais, Clarinet 1 & 2 in Bb, Bass Clarinet in Bb, and Bassoon, all of which are marked with rests. Below these is a staff for Rebecca, also marked with rests. The bottom section includes staves for Violin I, Violin II, and Violoncello. The Violin I and II staves are marked with *pp* and feature a complex, rhythmic accompaniment. The Violoncello staff is marked with rests. The score is in 12/8 time and includes dynamic markings such as *pp*, *f*, and *dim.* *p*.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 478.

⁴³⁶ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 378-379.

Andante lento

C. A. *fp*

Cl. in B \flat *fp*

B. Cl. in B \flat *fp*

Bsn. *fp*

Rebecca

O aw-ful depth be-low the cas-tle wall!

Andante lento

Vln. I *f*

Vln. II *f*

Vc. *fp*

The violins are superseded by the woodwind which play a held G \flat major chord, creating a motionless effect, as Rebecca apprehends the bleakness of her fate. In her prayer, the agitated throbbing viola accompaniment which unceasingly pulsates throughout the first two verses vibrantly reveals Rebecca's worried state of mind:

Example 86 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 3. Bars 144-146.⁴³⁷

Andante moderato

Viola

p > *dim.* *p* > *dim.* *sim.*

In the second verse, the cor anglais is subtly added, undoubtedly utilised to evoke Rebecca's eastern quality. Combined with the viola ostinato, the effect creates a sobering atmosphere.

⁴³⁷ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 380.

The viola, an instrument Sullivan was clearly more than competent at playing (making up a quartet with Joseph Joachim and the Blagrove brothers), is also given particular attention in *The Beauty Stone*. The *Andante molto espressivo* section of Laine and Lord Philip's duet 'I love thee! I love thee!' is accompanied by an independent viola part which provides an impassioned counter melody:

Example 87 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 12. Duet. Bars 48-62.⁴³⁸

Andante molto espressivo

The musical score consists of four systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the duet, with Laine's part starting on a whole note and the Viola part starting on a half note. The second system continues the duet, with Laine's part starting on a half note and the Viola part starting on a half note. The third system continues the duet, with Laine's part starting on a half note and the Viola part starting on a half note. The fourth system concludes the duet, with Laine's part starting on a half note and the Viola part starting on a half note.

⁴³⁸ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *The Beauty Stone Full Score*, 289-291.

This style of writing is redolent of Sullivan's later romantic style, providing the orchestra with an independence aside from the idle accompaniment of most of his Savoy works.

In his interview with Arthur Lawrence, Sullivan specified that he attempted to provide an air of 'grim levity' to the music which accompanies the Devil, similar to the *recurrent theme* which accompanies Lucifer in *The Golden Legend* (See Example 33). Differently, the Devil's facetious nature is detailed by a descending legato phrase in the cellos doubled by quavers in the double basses. Later, as the Devil mocks his victims, his lyrics are accompanied by sprightly semiquaver movement in the upper strings, coupled with syncopated movement in the lower strings, further highlighting the atmosphere Sullivan hoped to create:

Example 88 – *The Beauty Stone*. No 5. Recitative and Song. Bars 49-53.⁴³⁹

(Allegretto comodo)

The musical score for Example 88 is written for a full orchestra. It consists of seven staves, each representing a different instrument. The tempo is marked as (Allegretto comodo). The time signature is 2/4. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The dynamics are indicated by *p* (piano), *sf* (sforzando), and *fp* (fortissimo). The Clarinet 1, 2 in A part starts with a *p* dynamic. The Horn 1, 2 in E part starts with a *fp* dynamic. The Violin I and Violin II parts start with a *sf* dynamic. The Viola part starts with a *sf* dynamic. The Violoncello part starts with a *sf* dynamic. The Contrabass part starts with a *p* dynamic.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 79.

This type of dramatic enhancement is similarly exemplified in the Templar's aria, 'Her Southern Splendour, like the Syrian moon' from *Ivanhoe*. As Maurice De Bracy exits the scene, the Templar enters accompanied by a menacing syncopated phrase in the Cellos and Double Basses:

Example 89 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 2. Bars 237-241.⁴⁴⁰



Later, the opening recitative of the aria unexpectedly modulates from D major to G \flat major, the aria begins with a not unconventional syncopated string accompaniment. Sullivan evidently saw a correlation between this rhythmical orchestral accompaniment and stirring passion, employing its use in the opening of Rowena's aria, 'O moon, thou art clad in silver mail,' and in the quintet 'Haste thee! Haste thee!' (*The Beauty Stone*) as Simon, in his youthful, transformed state, has been entranced by Saida's beauty. In the Templar's aria, Sullivan builds tension via the addition of various sustained chords in the woodwind and occasional intricate orchestral details, such as numerous intermittent responses from the horns and cellos or bass clarinet and lower strings, which save the aria from monotony and drive the dramatic narrative forward. Alike its expressive treatment within Elsie's aria, 'My Redeemer and my Lord' from *The Golden Legend*, Sullivan's restrained deployment of the cor anglais provides an impassioned counterpoint to the Templar's phrase:

⁴⁴⁰ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 339.

Example 90 – *Ivanhoe*, Act II, Scene 2. Bars 254-269.⁴⁴¹

Andante con moto

Cor Anglais

Templar

pp

Her south-ern splen-dour, like the Sy - rian moon, Draws the

full tide of my re bel-lious blood Though Death should clasp me

close ere set of sun, This hour is mine! _____

The whole effect of the Templar's aria conveys subdued fervour, intensified by the throbbing accompaniment which is expressive of insuppressible passion. Interestingly, Sullivan's orchestral interpretation provides the character with more dimensions, he is more than just Scott's typical villain, particularly as the eerie postlude of material which follows his forceful recitative unnervingly foreshadows the events which are about to take place.

Within *Ivanhoe*, Sullivan was able to further expand his use of orchestral colour, afforded the luxury of auxiliary instruments such as the bass clarinet, cor anglais, bass trumpet, treble G

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 341-343.

flute, and harp. Used to greater effect than in *The Golden Legend*, the dark tones of the bass clarinet are employed to striking effect within *Ivanhoe*. A prominent passage can be located in the duet between Rowena and The Templar; ‘Forgive Fair Maid,’ where the mellow sonority of the instrument provides an underlying rich counterpoint to the Templar’s melody:

Example 91 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1. Bars 332-339.⁴⁴²

(Andante espressivo)

Bass Clarinet in B \flat

Templar

p

p

Forgive, fair maid, the vo-ta-ries of the sun, That on thy beau-ty

they too bold-ly gaze; Or, if thou need'st must veil, dec-lare it done

Immediately after, Cedric invites his guests to drink to the bold deeds of heroes. An altogether different employment of the Bass Clarinet is exploited. United with *pizzicato* strings and horns, a tumultuous accompaniment is created full of intense animation:⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Ibid., 40-41.

⁴⁴³ Precedents of this piece can be located in Sullivan’s earlier work, *The Prodigal Son* (1869): ‘Let us eat and drink.’

Example 92 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1. Bars 364-368.⁴⁴⁴

(Allegro pesante)

Bass Clarinet in B \flat

Horn 1, 2 in E

Horn 3, 4 in E

Cedric

Drink, drink ye all In this our an - cient hall To the bold deeds of he - roes

(Allegro pesante)

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

pizz.

sempre f

pizz.

sempre f

div. pizz.

sempre f

div. pizz.

sempre f

pizz.

f

This drinking song climaxes whilst the chorus sing ‘glory to those,’ accompanied by a *f* entrance of the brass:

⁴⁴⁴ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 43.

Example 93 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 1. Bars 469-476.⁴⁴⁵

(Allegro pesante)

Treble Flute in G

Flute 1

Flute 2

Oboe 1, 2

Clarinet 1, 2 in A

Bass Clarinet in Bb

Bassoon 1, 2

Horn 1, 2 in E

Horn 3, 4 in E

Trumpet 1, 2 in E

Trombone 1, 2

Bass Trombone/Tuba

Timpani

De Bracy

Templar

Cedric

Tenor

Bass

(Allegro pesante)

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

Glor - ry to those who fight, who... fight... for the Cross!

Glor - ry to those who fight, who... fight... for the Cross!

Glor - ry to those who fight, who... fight... for the Cross!

Glor - ry to those who fight, who... fight... for the Cross!

Glor - ry to those who fight, who... fight... for the Cross!

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 60-61.

Sullivan's adept skill as a dramatic orchestrator is exemplified here, utilising a subdued, reticent, use of the brass, reserving use of orchestral force for later scenes of strife.⁴⁴⁶

An interesting addition to the brass section in *Ivanhoe* is the Bass Trumpet, 'made expressly for the production, and consisting of the old-fashioned slide trumpet ... with modern valve appliances.'⁴⁴⁷ Two to four of these instruments were to be played on stage, accompanying the heralds, signalling both the Warfare motif and the commencement of the Joust:

Example 94 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 3. Bars 395-399.⁴⁴⁸

The musical score for Example 94 consists of two staves. The top staff is for the Bass Trumpet in F, and the bottom staff is for the Heralds. The music is in common time (C). The lyrics are: 'Love of la - dies! Death of cham-pions' and 'On, gal - lant knights! Bright eyes ap - prove your deeds.' The score includes a triplet of eighth notes in the Heralds part.

Orchestral modernisation was clearly at the forefront of Sullivan's mind whilst composing *Ivanhoe*, also introducing the treble G flute, instead of the piccolo. Robin Gordon-Powell's perusal of the autograph full score details how the part was originally intended for piccolo, but, before the opening night, Sullivan decided to rewrite the part for treble G flute, perhaps

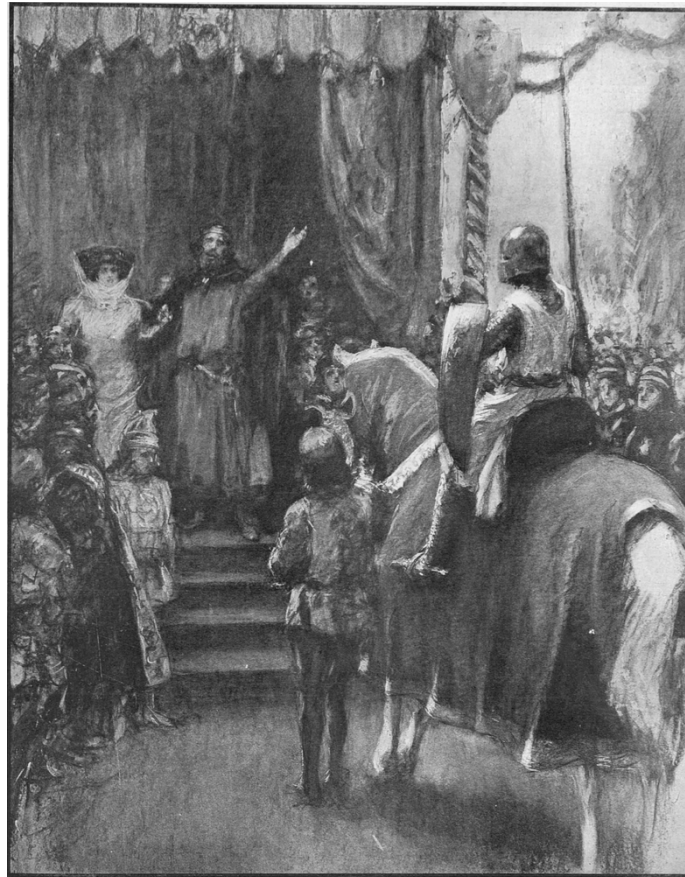
⁴⁴⁶ Speaking more broadly of Sullivan's orchestration, Joseph Bennett at *The Daily Telegraph* commented: 'We admire it so much for its reticence as for the manner of its speech. It is not to be represented, as are too many modern scores, by an organist who plays continually with all the stops out. Sir Arthur makes his orchestra sonorous enough when the need arises, but at other times he shows too much love for, and appreciation of, his instruments to waste their varied voices in mere filling up.' Joseph Bennett, *The Daily Telegraph*, 5th February 1891, 5.

⁴⁴⁷ Fuller-Maitland, *The Times*, 6th February 1891, 14.

⁴⁴⁸ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 197-198.

because it has ‘the brightness of the piccolo without the harshness of its upper notes or the weakness of its lower.’⁴⁴⁹

Figure 43 – ‘The meeting of Ivanhoe and his father, Cedric the Saxon.’⁴⁵⁰



The glitter and sparkle of the harp is also employed distinctively within the second scene, accompanying Rowena and Ivanhoe’s duet, ‘If thou dost see him.’ Within Sullivan’s earlier compositions, the harp is used to great orchestral effect. The chorus of angels in *The Light of the World* are supported by the orchestra, supplemented by the scintillation of the harp and so too is Elsie’s aria, ‘When Christ Ascended’ in *The Golden Legend*. In *Ivanhoe*, alike its more predominant use in *Macbeth* (prelude to Act II) and *Kenilworth* (Introduction), the harp takes

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., XVI.

Fuller-Maitland, *The Times*, 6th February 1891, 14.

⁴⁵⁰ *The Graphic*, 12th March 1910, 5.

a more noticeable role, reversing the hierarchy of sonorities as the remainder of the orchestra supplement the harp with various orchestral techniques and responses:

Example 95 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 2. Bars 110-112.⁴⁵¹

(Andante allegretto)

Oboe 1, 2

Clarinet 1, 2 in B \flat

Bassoon 1, 2

Harp

Rowena

Ivanhoe

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

Hope is for all the

And shall I bid him hope?

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

pizz.

⁴⁵¹ Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 116.

Consequently, this scene is remarkable for its subdued intensity of expression and wealth of melodic charm. In Prince Henry's aria, 'It is the Sea,' from *The Golden Legend*, we are also transported into a world sonorous of the elements detailed by *Ivanhoe*. The harp, accompanied by a deeply chromatic episode and the expressive, richness, of the lower strings, illuminates the seascape of which *Ivanhoe* details:

Example 96 – *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 2. Bars 136-144.⁴⁵²

The musical score for Example 96 from *Ivanhoe*, Act I, Scene 2, Bars 136-144, is presented in a standard orchestral format. The score includes parts for Flute 1, Flute 2, Oboe 1, 2, Harp, Ivanhoe (soprano), Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The music is marked 'p' (piano). The Harp part features a continuous chromatic arpeggiated pattern. The strings provide a harmonic foundation with sustained notes and light movement. Ivanhoe's vocal line is melodic and expressive, with lyrics: 'Ah! then if he be - yond the o - cean foam,'.

⁴⁵² Gordon-Powell (Ed.), *Ivanhoe Full Score*, 121-122.

Fl. 1

Fl. 2

Ob.

Cl. in B \flat

B. Cl. in B \flat

Bsn.

Hp.

Ivanhoe

Stare like a ghost a - cross the bar - ren sea, Yet

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Cb.

The dark tones of the bass clarinet are employed once more, in conjunction with the bassoon and clarinet, to tenderly conclude the duet as Ivanhoe and Rowena bid each other farewell.

Though the use of auxiliary instruments was certainly out of the question given the cramped confines of the Savoy pit, Sullivan's deft skill as an orchestrator allowed him to produce unusual orchestral effects. Within *Haddon Hall*, given the Scottish element, Sullivan successfully created an orchestral imitation of bagpipes via appropriately placed grace notes:

Example 97 – *Haddon Hall*. No 13. Song. Bars 1-4.⁴⁵³

Allegro comodo

The score is for the song "Haddon Hall" (No. 13), bars 1-4. It is in D major (two sharps) and 2/4 time, marked "Allegro comodo". The orchestration includes Flute 1, Flute 2, Oboe 1, Oboe 2, Clarinet 1, 2 in A, Bassoon 1, 2, McCrankie (vocals), Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabass. The woodwinds (Flute 1, Oboe 2) and strings (Violin I, Violin II) play a melody with grace notes, marked *pp* (pianissimo). The woodwinds (Flute 2, Oboe 1) and strings (Viola, Violoncello, Contrabass) play sustained notes, also marked *pp*. The vocal part (McCrankie) has the lyrics: "My name it is Mc - Cran-kie, I am lean an' lang an' lan - ky, I'm a".

⁴⁵³ Harris (Ed.), *Haddon Hall Full Score*, 269.

Both ‘My Name it is McCrankie’ and ‘The Scotch Dance – Hech, mon!’ employ this method, coupled with a carefully orchestrated tonic and dominant pedal which idiomatically imitate the drone of bagpipes, furthered coloured by allusions to the pentatonic scale. Similarly, in *The Beauty Stone*, the Devil’s recitative and song, ‘Since it dwelt upon that rock,’ contains an amalgam of a small gong with pizzicato strings and ornamented woodwind which successfully form a curious imitation of a bell, mocking the pious nature of the friar he mimics.

Orchestral colouring, as Sullivan emphasised in 1894, is a defining element of these late romantic works. In each opportunity offered by his librettists, be it the destruction of Torquilstone in *Ivanhoe*, the storm in *Haddon Hall*, or the beauty contest in *The Beauty Stone*, Sullivan repeatedly emphasised his skill as an orchestral illustrator. It is also notable that each work encapsulates a sound-world that is individual to its subject - their own *fach*. Although *Haddon Hall* represented what can be termed a *decline* in terms of Sullivan’s later romantic style, within *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone* Sullivan gave full force to the type of orchestral creativity found in *The Golden Legend*.

3.6 The Apotheosis of Sullivan’s Style: *The Beauty Stone*

At first glance, in complexion and layout, the vocal score of *The Beauty Stone* is redolent of Sullivan’s previous Savoy works. Individual songs and choruses are divided by dialogue and the potpourri style introduction points toward Sullivan’s earlier style. Here, the similarities end. Sullivan composed *The Beauty Stone* on ‘serious lines’ and, when explored in relation to works of a similar nature, the work represents a maturation of the compositional practices Sullivan first employed in *The Golden Legend*.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁴ Arthur Lawrence, *London Daily News*, 25th May 1898, 3.

In 1988, Nigel Burton argued that *The Yeomen of the Guard* (1888) represented the apogee of Sullivan's style. Burton believed the intrusion of 'serious' elements, learnt from works such as *The Light of the World* and *The Martyr of Antioch*, resulted in a 'stylistic fusion.'⁴⁵⁵ *The Golden Legend* was left unexplored. Perhaps owing to its place in Sullivan's compositional timeline, composed two years earlier, the chronology disrupted the pattern Burton wished to illustrate. Whilst Sullivan undoubtedly incorporated some of the serious elements found in his previous works – particularly in terms of orchestration – the thematic, tonal, and harmonic complexity of *The Golden Legend* cannot be identified within *The Yeomen of the Guard*. *Yeomen* may have signified a fusion of the disparate elements of Sullivan's harmonic practices, but, as this study has highlighted, the harmonic skills displayed in *The Golden Legend* and the *Macbeth* overture did not desert Sullivan in his final decade. Though not as extravagant as the opening prelude of *The Golden Legend*; *Ivanhoe*, *The Beauty Stone*, and extracts of *Haddon Hall* exemplify the same level of dexterous harmonic ingenuity, decorating the limited scenes where Sullivan deemed such writing contextually appropriate.

Compared to *The Golden Legend*, *Ivanhoe* represented further complexity in terms of orchestral ingenuity, particularly graphic orchestral *colouring*, and metamorphosis of recurrent and scenic thematic material, held together by a more sophisticated sense of tonal association between characters, places, and scenes. *Haddon Hall*, although indicative of some of the precedents found in *The Golden Legend* and *Ivanhoe*, was severely hampered by Sullivan's illness and, unsurprisingly, the practices within this work are symbolic of compositional regression. Though hindered by severe depression in 1898, the convergence of stylistic elements found in *The Yeomen of the Guard* with the compositional trajectory of

⁴⁵⁵ Nigel Burton, 'The Yeomen of the Guard': Apogee of a Style, *The Musical Times*, 656.

stylistic practices found in *The Golden Legend* and *Ivanhoe* amalgamated to produce *The Beauty Stone*, the apotheosis of Sullivan's style.

Sullivan in the Twentieth Century

4.1 The Lost Grand Opera: *St. Cecilia*

Sullivan, though experiencing more regular episodes of ill-health during the 1890s, did not expect to die. He showed no signs of retirement, writing to James Davies in 1898:

I am quite willing to ... work with you ... although ... I had ... made up my mind to give up comic ... opera writing but as I want to devote the next three or four years to making money and nothing else and as there are very few ways open to a composer, I might as well go on.⁴⁵⁶

Smarting from his experience with the Cartes in December 1897, it appears – as early as January 1898 – Sullivan was considering a grand opera for the contralto Clara Butt. In an interview with Emmie Avery Keddell for *Black and White*, Butt stated that Sullivan intended to compose an opera for her and hoped the story would be based on Rider Haggard's *Cleopatra*.⁴⁵⁷ Although only in the early stages of development, in 1898, diary entries appear to corroborate elements of Butt's account. Several meetings with French librettists in Paris are noted towards the end of January.⁴⁵⁸ Whilst nothing came from these interviews, the project clearly remained in Sullivan's mind, and rumour continued to circulate until his death.

An interview with Clara Butt in early 1900, implied Sullivan intended to follow Stanford's 1896 precedent with *Shamus O'Brien*: forming a limited liability company and renting a theatre:

Sir Arthur Sullivan is at present preparing an opera for me, which we hope to produce at Covent Garden next season.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ Sullivan to James Davis (Owen Hall), 1st July 1898, Morgan Library, ID: 108252. Stanyon, *Sad Dregs*, 6.

⁴⁵⁷ Emmie Avery Keddell, *Black and White*, 19th February 1898, 16.

⁴⁵⁸ Sullivan, *Diary*, 20th-22nd January 1898.

⁴⁵⁹ *Dundee Evening Post*, 17th February 1900, 4.

In September 1899, the following press release was circulated throughout the papers:

It may be said that Sir Arthur Sullivan and Captain Basil Hood will write together a one act grand opera on an English historical subject.⁴⁶⁰

Hood and Sullivan worked well together on *The Rose of Persia* (1899), and, in a later interview, the librettist confirmed Sullivan's intention to compose a grand opera was more than just a press rumour:

[Interviewer]: Would you have continued to work with Sullivan had he lived?
[Hood]: We had arranged to do a work together. He paid me one of the highest compliments I have ever received in my life by asking me to write a grand opera with him.

[Interviewer]: Did you agree?

[Hood]: certainly. I had finished the libretto, and he had sketched the music before his death occurred.

[Interviewer]: So that *The Emerald Isle* was not the only thing he had to leave unfinished?

[Hood]: That is so. He was very anxious to write another grand opera before he died.

[Interviewer]: Have you decided to do anything further with the opera?

[Hood]: I have not decided upon anything at present. I have the book completed, but Sullivan's death was such a heavy blow to me that I felt no further interest in it. I was quite ill for some time after his death. He had done so much work for *The Emerald Isle* that I felt it only right that it should be published.⁴⁶¹

Again, in April 1902, in an interview with a correspondent for *The Sketch*, Hood reasserted the existence of the project and noted its subject material:

Sir Arthur Sullivan wrote a note to Captain Hood and asked him to furnish the libretto for... "The Rose of Persia." ... Comic opera did not by any means represent the whole scheme of the composer and his librettist. They decided to do a grand opera together ... Captain Hood finished the libretto, ... Sir Arthur ... made a good many notes for the music, [his] death cut short the possibility of the

⁴⁶⁰ *Daily Mail*, 13th September 1899, 3.

⁴⁶¹ Ernest A. Bryant, *Black and White*, 8th Jun 1901, 786.

scheme being carried into effect. The subject of the opera was to be “St. Cecilia.”⁴⁶²

These frequent interviews with Hood and Butt were specific and detailed; *St. Cecilia* was a reality. Unfortunately, how much of the score Sullivan completed is unknown.

St. Cecilia, possibly, would have combined Sullivan’s later style with the verismo models of Puccini, Leoncavallo, and Mascagni. Though rumour, it was believed Hood and Sullivan’s opera would be one act, composed along the structural lines of *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Whilst retaining what the contemporary consensus considered *sullivan-esque art*, unceasing melodic invention, Sullivan kept abreast of contemporary developments throughout his life. It seems impossible that ‘Tears, Idle Tears’ (1900) could have been written by the same composer as ‘Sweethearts’ (1875), both delightful pieces in their own right, though hardly comparable in style. Importantly, Sullivan’s oeuvre contains a varied continental influence unequalled by his contemporaries, perhaps because as an avid, multi-lingual, theatre and concert goer, he spent so much time in Europe, particularly in Paris and the south of France. In *The Golden Legend*, the duet for Elsie and Prince Henry, ‘Dear Elsie,’ shows the influence of both Gabriel Fauré and Camille Saint-Saëns, in one of the most tenderly exquisite moments of Sullivan’s oeuvre. Noted by Hughes, the Epilogue sees a similar amalgamation of styles, instead between Bizet and Mendelssohn ‘in a hearty atmosphere of muscular Christianity.’⁴⁶³ In several ways, Sullivan’s later style pre-empted dominant early-twentieth century styles: ‘All is darksome, All is dreary’ from *The Grand Duke* (1896) atmospherically looks forward to Mahler and, similarly, ‘Tears Idle Tears’ (1900) is peculiarly Straussian in concept. A letter to his old music teacher Thomas Helmore in 1889, reveals how advanced Sullivan’s compositional vision anticipated early twentieth century practices:

⁴⁶² *The Sketch*, 9th April 1902, 464.

⁴⁶³ Hughes, *The Music of Arthur Sullivan*, 66.

It sounds paradoxical, but there are times to me when the music would be more beautiful and more complete without notes. I suppose it is that diatonic and chromatic scales are so limited. How often have I longed to be free of fixed intervals! More especially in the prologue to *The Golden Legend*, I felt myself hampered by having to express all I wanted to say by voices and instruments of limited means, and definite, unchangeable quality.⁴⁶⁴

What is clear, is that *St. Cecilia* would have been more experimental than *Ivanhoe*. Forming a limited liability company would have allowed Sullivan to compose to his own specification as with *The Golden Legend* at Leeds. Unfortunately, Herbert Sullivan, who sorted his uncle's autograph material following the composer's death, may well have disposed of incomplete or unpublished works, likely including *The Sapphire Necklace*. As such, Sullivan's final operatic essay, and the final stage of his development, defies investigation.

⁴⁶⁴ Sullivan to Thomas Helmore. Jacobs, *Arthur Sullivan*, 410.

Conclusion

Contrary to popular belief, the resurrection of this material counters most of the narrative which has surrounded *Ivanhoe*, *Haddon Hall*, and *The Beauty Stone* since the early twentieth century. Each work may be flawed, but they do contain merit and insight into the development of Sullivan's later style. It is now possible to contend that Sullivan's compositional method did not decline, and the broader context allows us to understand the importance of Sullivan's place in the history of British Opera, one which can no longer be confined to his collaborations with W.S. Gilbert at the Savoy Theatre.

On a smaller scale, the taste of audiences towards the end of the Victorian period throughout the British Isles demonstrated a diametrically opposed viewpoint in London, specifically at the Savoy Theatre, when compared to the provinces. Outside of London *Haddon Hall* was a smash hit and *Ivanhoe* was far more lucrative than previously acknowledged. *The Beauty Stone* was barely given a chance in the provinces; yet, when it was performed, it must be restated that critics and audiences believed 'there was still some magic in the name of Sir Arthur Sullivan.'⁴⁶⁵

Given such curious primary source material, this study has emphasised the need to re-examine the established verdict of EMR musicologists (and those who did not seek to re-evaluate their source material) and contemporary audiences, who have hampered both the musicological discourse of late nineteenth century opera studies and an awareness of Sullivan's later stylistic abilities.

⁴⁶⁵ *Northern Whig*, 14th December 1901, 6.

What became apparent during this investigation is how the ideological element of EMR critics became vitriolic over the course of the 1890s, dismissive because Sullivan did not subscribe to their aesthetic. Many published books on English Music History during the early twentieth century, influencing several generations of critics as well as Sullivan's biographers and analysts. The genesis of this can be traced to Fuller-Maitland's EMR driven agenda at *The Times* and his various successors through to Frank Howes who denigrated most aspects of Sullivan's output in *The English Musical Renaissance*.⁴⁶⁶ In terms of Sullivan's later period, modern scholars have made the same error in not questioning the validity and bias of source material. Whilst *Ivanhoe* has acquired recent minor attention, the omission of *Haddon Hall* and *The Beauty Stone* in Rodmell's history of *Opera in the British Isles*, and the apparent disinterest in modern biographies and histories of British music, imply that the unchallenged twentieth century unanimity remains factual. Even an ardent Sullivan supporter, Dunhill, suggested that Sullivan's non-G&S oeuvre should be dismissed.

With such academic consensus, why does this area of Sullivan's oeuvre require re-examination? As noted in the opening of this thesis, recent recordings by Chandos and Dutton Epoch made an aural case for these works, and the contemporary secondary literature inevitably aroused a need to re-examine these operas in more detail; both historically and analytically. Indeed, this exploration of *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone* has undoubtedly demonstrated that there is an observable progression in the maturity of Sullivan's later romantic style; as such, any notion of compositional decline can no longer be sustained.

Given the overt dismissal of Sullivan's oeuvre and the uncritical approach of recent musicological investigation, attempting to reach conclusions first involved an enquiry into

⁴⁶⁶ Howes, *The English Musical Renaissance*.

contemporary audiences together with late nineteenth-twentieth century musical criticism. More interesting was the broader critical reception of these works; the verdict for each was favourable. Only 28% of critics viewed *The Beauty Stone*, Sullivan's greatest box-office failure, negatively, most of whom can be associated with New Criticism or the EMR. Unable to captivate the public as the G&S works had, audience reception has been equated with compositional decline. Though deficient of evidence, this view has been unchallenged, apart from Stanyon and Taylor, for over a century.

An intriguing feature of this inquiry was the contemporary perception of *The Beauty Stone* in relation to *Ivanhoe* and *The Golden Legend*. Critics who could not be aligned to a movement in music saw it as their successor, albeit the through-composed aspect was hampered because of the theatre in which it premiered. As such, an investigation into the precedent of *The Golden Legend* was necessary to understand Sullivan's later romantic style.

Although Paul Anderson offered the first comprehensive analysis of *The Golden Legend*, detailed exploration of the cantata's technical practices remained absent. As none have inquired into what binds Sullivan's later romantic works, this analysis has involved re-evaluation of the neglected cornerstones of Sullivan's post-1886 style. Using contemporary criticisms as a starting point, this investigation has defined Sullivan's style into four fundamental categories: melody (form and structure), harmony, thematic material, and orchestration.

A noticeable maturity of these techniques can be discerned from *The Golden legend* to *Ivanhoe* and finally *The Beauty Stone*. Each score presents a more confident approach to graphic orchestral expression and thematic material. Despite *The Beauty Stone* lacking the

teleological element of contemporary grand opera, when afforded the opportunity, concerted sections offer insight into how Sullivan would have treated the work if it had premiered at Covent Garden. As such, there is no evidence to illustrate a decline in craftsmanship, rather highlighting the difficulties of producing a ‘serious’ piece at the Savoy Theatre.

Haddon Hall could not be categorised this way and it was necessary to understand why it did not conform to the trajectory of Sullivan’s romantic style. Scattered throughout *Haddon Hall*, stylistic elements found in *Ivanhoe* and *The Golden Legend* can be located; however, most occur in pieces written before his serious illness. In this respect, it can be assumed Sullivan viewed *Haddon Hall* in a similar vein. Given commitments as Conductor of the Leeds Festival and a necessity for the score to be completed by mid-September, Sullivan likely abandoned these larger stylistic frameworks.

Exploring these constraints stimulated a wider investigation regarding how Sullivan’s health impacted *Ivanhoe* and *The Beauty Stone*. Identifying weaknesses in each work, it was necessary to understand how this issue, together with circumstances beyond his control, may have influenced his processes and subsequently each opera. Building on Stanyon’s scholarship, it became clear that the dispute between Carte and Gilbert – the Carpet Quarrel – over the Savoy expenses, seriously hindered the gestation period of *Ivanhoe*. This is corroborated by Sullivan’s diary notes. Though this dispute was resolved in September 1890, the Carte’s then fined Sullivan for the late delivery of his score. As such, these events can be held to account for some of the weaknesses within *Ivanhoe*, particularly the final scene which contains several sections of recycled material.

Stanyon's research determined the impact of Sullivan's relationship with his librettists and the Savoy management during the gestation period of *The Beauty Stone* and on the 1898 Leeds Festival. Naturally, this encouraged further emphasis on how such incidents impacted the compositional period of *The Beauty Stone*. Although depressed and mentally unstable but determined to complete the work, *The Beauty Stone* is undoubtedly the apotheosis of Sullivan's style, a stylistic fusion of the disparate elements of *Yeomen of the Guard*, *The Golden Legend*, and *Ivanhoe*.

The question of Sullivan as dramatist versus Sullivan as composer is also important to contextualise whether his operas work appropriately on the stage. Whilst subjective, Sullivan's use of the orchestra is undoubtedly the key to understanding Sullivan as a dramatist post-1886: 'I like the colour of the orchestra. My ideas always come to me with a certain orchestral colouring ... I only care to write for the orchestra, the colouring of which I love.'⁴⁶⁷ The storming of Castle Torquilstone in *Ivanhoe*, or Saida's dance in *The Beauty Stone* are crucial examples of how Sullivan was able to enhance drama through an orchestral *colouring*. Within these romantic operas, more so than in his comic operas, thematic metamorphosis, tonal practices, together with graphic orchestral expression are all focussed on one goal: dramatic enhancement. Sullivan as a composer and Sullivan as a dramatist are inextricably linked; as his compositional style matured, so did his ability to transmute dramatic scenarios with increasing success. Whether such practices are successful remains subjective; however, the examples analysed can be seen as Sullivan's earnest pursuit of dramatic enhancement.

⁴⁶⁷ *Freemans Journal*, 11th April 1894, 5.

The overarching narrative which has arisen from this research is that Sullivan's place in the annals of British Music History must be rethought. Although some neglected elements of his career have been re-examined, such as his vibrant career as a conductor which has been assessed by Stanyon, investigation into his oeuvre aside from that of W.S. Gilbert has either been left untouched or has not been adequately assessed. Whilst Sullivan's choral music requires a complete re-evaluation, the most significant area that remains to be investigated is *The Rose of Persia* (1899). Sullivan's note after the premiere gives a notion to its initial reception:

I conducted as usual. Hideously nervous, as usual – great reception as usual – great house as usual – excellent performance as usual – everything as usual – except that the piece is really a great success I think, which is unusual lately.⁴⁶⁸

Recent biographical material has afforded the opera limited assessment, while Vernon Blackburn at the *Pall Mall Gazette* crowned Sullivan 'Mozart's legitimate successor' – he was not the only critic to make that analogy.⁴⁶⁹ The thematic style exhibited in Sullivan's romantic works creeps its way into the score, illustrating the direction of his later comic style. Another area of Sullivan's oeuvre that requires further exploration is *The Emerald Isle*, posthumously premiered in 1901 and completed by Edward German. Although German biographers have credited him with much of the score, Sullivan's diary comments and an interview with Basil Hood, the librettist, suggest that Sullivan completed more than has previously been acknowledged:

He [Sullivan] had done so much work for *The Emerald Isle* that I felt it only right that it should be published.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ Sullivan, *Diary*, 29th November 1899, Stanyon, *Sad Dregs*.

⁴⁶⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30th November 1899, Stanyon, *Sad Dregs*, 13.

⁴⁷⁰ *Black and White*, 8th June 1901, 15.

Such investigation would provide further context to Sullivan's later compositions, exploring the final stages of his broader style and expanding the growing corpus of works furthering understanding of Sullivan as a composer over and beyond his work with W.S. Gilbert. Sullivan's position as the 'Great Man' of English music, as opposed to one half of a bicephalous 'Gilbert and Sullivan,' has not been sufficiently acknowledged or appreciated, and, as such, his influence on subsequent generations of English operatic composers such as Ethel Smyth and Benjamin Britten has been overlooked. Although Carte's scheme to establish a tradition of English Grand Opera failed, parallels between *Ivanhoe* and *Gloriana* (1953), as laid out by Martin Yates, are profound and suggest Sullivan's influence.⁴⁷¹ Towards the end of his life, he formed a friendship with Ethel Smyth, who would see him whenever she could for guidance.⁴⁷² Smyth would later compose *The Wreckers* (1906) and *The Boatswain's Mate* (1913/14) where critics noted Sullivan's influence:

The composer is a learned musician: it is learning which gives her the power to express her natural inborn sense of humour... Dr. Smyth knows her Mozart and her Sullivan: she has learned how to write conversations in music...⁴⁷³

This is particularly noticeable in the theme lifted from the anthem of the Suffrage movement, *March of the Women* (1910), a Sullivan-esque approach to orchestration, and, upon its subsequent repetition in the latter half of the overture, unravelled in what can only be described as characteristic Sullivan. It would have been impossible for the figurehead of English music not to have left his mark, despite the discontent of the EMR, and, although a prolonged nadir of Sullivan's reputation existed throughout the twentieth century owing to the philosophy espoused by the EMR, this study highlights how erroneously Sullivan's

⁴⁷¹ Yates, *Chandos Ivanhoe Cover Notes* (February 2010),

⁴⁷² Ethel Smyth, *Impressions that remained: memoirs*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), 459.

⁴⁷³ *The Illustrated London News*, 18th March 1922, 386.

contribution to English music, and more specifically English Opera, has been portrayed. Until standard histories of British music acknowledge Sir Arthur Sullivan as the 'Great Man' of nineteenth century English music, a complete history of English opera, and English music more generally, will remain absent.

Appendix 1.

Haddon Hall – Provincial Tour (1892-1894).

Key:

Visited Venue Twice

Year:	Critic:	Newspaper:	View:
1892	Cambridge – Theatre Royal, 24th – 26th Nov. (3)		
		<i>Cambridge Independent Press</i>	Positive
	Leamington Spa – Theatre Royal, 10th Dec. (2)		
	Cheltenham – Opera House, 14th – 17th Dec. (5)		
		<i>Gloucestershire Echo</i>	Positive
		<i>Gloucestershire Chronicle</i>	Positive
		<i>Cheltenham Looker-On</i>	Positive
	Gloucester – Theatre Royal, 21st – 24th Dec. (5)		
		<i>Gloucester Citizen</i>	Positive
		<i>Gloucester Journal</i>	Positive
1893	Glasgow – Royalty Theatre, 26th Dec. 1892. 2nd – 7th Jan. 1893 (11)		
	J. J. Brodie	<i>Glasgow Evening Post</i>	Neutral
	Alexander Geohegan	<i>The Scotsman</i>	Positive
	Mr. Davidson	<i>Glasgow Herald</i>	Negative
	Portsmouth – New Theatre Royal, 2nd – 14th Jan. (17)		
		<i>Portsmouth Evening News</i>	Positive
	Edinburgh – Royal Lyceum Theatre, 11th – 29th Jan. (21)		
		<i>The Scotsman</i>	Positive
	Torquay – Royal Theatre and Opera House, 18th – 21st Jan. (5)		
		<i>Torquay Times</i>	Positive
		<i>Western Morning News</i>	Positive
	Exeter – Theatre Royal, 25th Jan. – 5th Feb. (12)		
		<i>Western Times</i>	Positive
		<i>Western Morning News</i>	Positive
		<i>Express and Echo</i>	Positive
	Middlesbrough – Theatre Royal, 30th Jan. – 4th Feb. (6)		
		<i>Northern Echo</i>	Positive
		<i>Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough</i>	Positive
	Carlisle – Her Majesty's Theatre, 6th – 11th Feb. (6)		
		<i>Carlisle Journal</i>	Positive
	Taunton – Assembly Rooms, 6th – 7th Feb. (3)		
		<i>Taunton Courier</i>	Neutral
	Yeovil – Town Hall, 10th – 11th Feb. (3)		
	Bath – Theatre Royal, 13th – 18th Feb. (6)		
		<i>Bath Chronicle</i>	Neutral
	Belfast – Theatre Royal, 20th – 22nd Feb. (4)		
		<i>Northern Whig</i>	Neutral
	Limerick – Theatre Royal, 2nd – 4th Mar. (4)		
		<i>Dublin Evening Telegraph</i>	Positive
	Wrexham – St. James's Hall, 3rd Mar (1)		
	Cork – Opera House, 6th – 8th Mar. (4)		
		<i>Cork Constitution</i>	Positive
		<i>Cork Daily Herald</i>	Positive

Cardiff – Theatre Royal, 15th – 18th Mar. (4)		
	<i>South Wales News</i>	Positive
	<i>Western Mail</i>	Positive
Birmingham – Prince of Wales Theatre, 20th – 29th Mar. (10)		
	<i>Warwickshire Herald</i>	Positive
Rochdale – Theatre Royal, 20th – 25th Mar. (7)		
	<i>Rochdale Observer</i>	Positive
Dublin – Gaiety Theatre, 3rd – 15th Apr. (14)		
	<i>Irish Independent</i>	Positive
	<i>Freemans Journal</i>	Positive
	<i>Evening Herald</i> (Dublin)	Positive
	<i>Irish Society</i>	Positive
Burnley – Victoria Opera House, 17th – 20th 22nd Apr. (5)		
	<i>Burnley Express</i>	Positive
Liverpool – Royal Court Theatre, 17th – 27th Apr. (12)		
	<i>Liverpool Echo</i>	Positive
	<i>Liverpool Weekly Courier</i>	Positive
Bangalore – Cubbon Rooms, 29th Apr. – The Willard Opera Co. (1)		
Manchester – Theatre Royal, 2nd – 13th May (14)		
	<i>Manchester Times</i>	Positive
	<i>Manchester Daily Examiner</i>	Positive
	<i>Manchester Evening News</i>	Neutral
South Shields – Theatre Royal, 8th – 13th May (6)		
	<i>Shields Daily Gazette</i>	Positive
	<i>Newcastle Journal</i>	Positive
Sunderland – Avenue Opera House, 15th – 21st May (6)		
	<i>Sunderland Daily Echo</i>	Positive
Bradford – Theatre Royal, 15th – 21st May (6)		
	<i>The Era</i>	Positive
Hartlepool – Theatre Royal, 22nd – 27th May (6)		
	<i>Northern Guardian</i> (Hartlepool)	Positive
	<i>Northern Weekly Gazette</i>	Neutral
Hull – Theatre Royal, 22nd – 27th May (6)		
	<i>Hull Daily Mail</i>	Neutral
Croydon – Theatre Royal, 24th – 28th May (5)		
	<i>Croydon Chronicle</i>	Positive
	<i>Surrey Mirror</i>	Positive
Leeds – Grand Theatre, 29th May – 3rd June (6)		
Fredeick Toothill	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>	Positive
Herbert Thompson	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	Positive
	<i>Yorkshire Evening post</i>	Positive
Middlesbrough – Theatre Royal, 29th May – 3rd June (6)		
	<i>Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough</i>	Positive
Darlington – Theatre Royal, 5th – 10th June (6)		
Sheffield – Theatre Royal, 5th – 10th June (6)		
Newport – Victoria Theatre, 6th – 9th June (4)		
	<i>Star of Gwent</i>	Positive
Nottingham – Grand Theatre, 12th – 13th June; 16th – 17th June (5)		

	Nottingham Evening Post	Positive
Swansea – Theatre Royal, 13th – 16th June (4)		
	South Wales Daily Post	Positive
	Cambria Daily Leader	Positive
Preston – Theatre Royal, 19th – 23rd June (6)		
	Preston Chronicle	Positive
	Preston Herald	Positive
Taunton – London Hotel Assembly Rooms, 21st June (1)		
	Taunton Courier	Positive
Newton Abbot – Alexandra Hall, 23rd June (1)		
	East & South Devon Advertiser	Positive
Bristol – Princess Theatre, 26th June – 1st July (6)		
	Bristol Times and Mirror	Positive
	Western Daily Press	Positive
	Bristol Mercury	Positive
Plymouth – Grand Theatre, 26th June – 1st 4th 6th July (8)		
	Western Morning News	Positive
Cardiff – Theatre Royal, 3rd – 5th July (3)		
Teignmouth – Assembly Rooms, 10th July (1)		
	Teignmouth Post and Gazette	Positive
Barnstaple – Barnstaple Music Hall, 14th July (1)		
Reading – Royal County Theatre, 17th -19th 22nd July (5)		
	Berkshire Chronicle	Positive
Guernsey – St. Julian’s Hall, 31st July – 1st Aug. (2)		
	The Star	Positive
Isle of Man – 2nd – 3rd 5th Aug. (3)		
Blackpool – Winter Gardens, 7th – 12th Aug. (6)		
	Blackpool Gazette and Herald	Negative
Weymouth – Theatre Royal, 8th – 9th Aug. (2)		
Ryde, Isle of White – Theatre Royal, 14th – 15th Aug. (2)		
	Isle of Wight Observer	Positive
Edinburgh – Royal Lyceum Theatre, 21st – 26th Aug. (6)		
	Edinburgh Evening News	Positive
Alexander Geohegan	The Scotsman	Positive
Scarborough – Londesborough Theatre, 21st – 25th Aug. (5)		
Glasgow – Royalty Theatre, 28th Aug. – 2nd Sept. (7)		
	Glasgow Herald	Positive
	Glasgow Evening Post	Neutral
	North British Daily Mail	Neutral
Harrogate – Town Hall Theatre, 31st Aug. – 2nd Sept. (3)		
Stockton – Theatre Royal, 6th 9th Sept. (3)		
Dundee – Her Majesty’s Theatre, 5th - 16th Sept.		
	Dundee Evening Telegraph	Positive
	Dundee Courier	Positive
Scarborough – Londesborough Theatre, 12th – 13th 15th Sept. (3)		
Sheffield – Theatre Royal, 18th – 23rd Sept. (6)		
	Sheffield Daily Telegraph	Positive

	York – Theatre Royal, 19th – 21st Sept.		
	Hull – Grand Theatre and Opera House, 25th – 30th Sept.		
		<i>Hull Daily Mail</i>	Negative
	Portsmouth – New Theatre Royal, 2nd – 4th Oct.		
		<i>Portsmouth Evening News</i>	Positive
	Leeds – Grand Theatre, 9th – 14th Oct.		
	Exeter – Theatre Royal, 11th – 14th Oct.		
	Pakistan – Railway Theatre, 23rd 27th Oct. - <i>The Willard Opera Co.</i>		
	Nottingham – Grand Theatre, 16th – 21st Oct. – <i>Farewell Visit</i>⁴⁷⁴		
		<i>Nottingham Journal</i>	Positive
	Chester – Royalty Theatre, 16th – 18th 21st Oct.		
		<i>Cheshire Observer</i>	Neutral
	Liverpool – Royal Court Theatre, 23rd – 28th Oct.		
		<i>Liverpool Echo</i>	Positive
	Manchester – Theatre Royal, 30th Oct. – 4th Nov.		
		<i>Manchester Courier</i>	Positive
		<i>Manchester Evening News</i>	Neutral
	Cheltenham – Opera House, 2nd – 4th Nov.		
		<i>Cheltenham Looker-On</i>	Positive
		<i>Cheltenham Chronicle</i>	Positive
	Gloucester – Theatre Royal, 9th – 11th Nov.		
	Lincoln – Masonic Theatre, 13th – 16th Nov.		
		<i>Lincolnshire Echo</i>	Positive
	Dublin – Gaiety Theatre, 13th – 15th 18th Nov.		
		<i>Freemans Journal</i>	Positive
		<i>Irish Independent</i>	Neutral
	Worcester – Theatre Royal, 17th – 18th Nov.		
		<i>Worcester Chronicle</i>	Positive
	Birmingham – Prince of Wales Theatre, 20th – 26th Nov.		
		<i>Warwickshire Herald</i>	Positive
	Leamington Spa – Theatre Royal, 23rd – 25th Nov.		
	Bristol – Princes Theatre, 4th – 6th 9th Dec.		
		<i>Bristol Mercury</i>	Positive
		<i>Bristol Magpie</i>	Positive
	Preston – Theatre Royal, 18th – 20th Dec.		
	Huddersfield – Theatre Royal, 26th – 27th 30th Dec. 1893 1st 4th – 5th Jan. 1894		
		<i>Huddersfield Chronicle</i>	Positive
		<i>Huddersfield Daily Examiner</i>	Positive
1894	York – Theatre Royal, 11th – 13th Jan.		
		<i>Yorkshire Evening Press</i>	Positive
	Hartlepool – Theatre Royal, 18th – 20th Jan.		
		<i>Northern Guardian (Hartlepool)</i>	Positive
	Wigan – Court Theatre, 29th – 30th Jan. 2nd – 3rd Feb.		
		<i>Wigan Observer</i>	Positive

⁴⁷⁴ Nottingham Evening Post, 17th October 1893, p. 1.

Appendix 2.

English Music and Drama Critics of the 1890s			
Critic:	Journal:	Dates:	Birth-Death:
Alexander Geohegan	mc The Scotsman Evening Dispatch	1885-1916 1885-1916	???-1916
Alfred E. T. Watson	mc The Standard	1872-post 1909	1849-1902
Alfred Kalisch	mc The Star ("Staccato") Manchester Courier	1897-1932 c.1890s-c.1899	1863-1933
Arthur G. W. Johnstone	mc Manchester Guardian	1896-1904	1861-1904
Arthur Hervey	mc Morning post	1892-1908	1855-1922
Benjamin Findon	mc Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News	c. 1890s	1859-1943
Charles Carson	dc The Stage	1881-1901	???-1901
Charles Francis Lloyd	mc Newcastle Daily Chronicle	c.1880s-c.1890s	1852-1917
Charles George Fremantle	mc Manchester Guardian	1867-1895	???-1895
Charles L. Graves	mc Daily Graphic	1870s-1898?	1856-1944
Charles Palmer	mc The People	1890s-1910s	1869-1920
Edgar Frederick Jacques	mc Observer	1894-???	1849-1905
Edmund Hart Turpin	mc Musical News	1891-???	1835-1907
Edward Baughan	mc Glasgow Herald Musical Standard ("Arpeggio")	???-1919 1892-1902	1865-1938
Ernest Kuhe	amc The Daily Telegraph	c.1890s-c.1930s	1871-1936
Francis E. Barrett	amc Morning post	1891-1908	1869-1925
Frank Desprez	dc The Era	1882-post 1914	1853-1916
Frederick (Frank?) Toothill	mc Leeds Mercury	1896-1932	???-???
George Bernard Shaw	mc The World The Saturday Review	1890-1894 1895-1898	1856-1950
Henry A. H. Howe	mc Morning Advertiser	pre 1880-1894	1833-1894
Henry Coward	mc Sheffield Independant	c.1890-1898	1849-1944

Henry F. Frost	mc	The Standard Athenaeum	1888-1901 1888-1898	1848-1901
Henry Hersee	mc	Observer	1870-1894	1820-1896
Herman Klein	mc	Sunday Times	1881-1901	1856-1934
J. J. Brodie	mc	Glasgow Evening News	1887-1917	???-???
James Jonathan Monk	mc	Liverpool Courier Liverpool Express	1880s-1890s 1880s-1890s	1846-1900
John Alexander Fuller Maitland	mc	The Times	1889-1911	1856-1936
John F. Runciman	mc	The Saturday Review	1894-1909	1866-1916
John Smith Shedlock	mc	The Academy Athenaeum	1879-1898? 1898-1916	1843-1919
Joseph Bennett	mc	The Daily Telegraph	1870-1906	1831-1911
Leonard Rees	amc	Sunday Times	1897-1917	1856-1932
Lionel Monckton	dc*	Pall Mall Gazette	c.1891	1861-1924
Max Beerbohm	mc	The Saturday Review	???-c.1898	1872-1956
Mr. Davidson	mc	Glasgow Herald	???-c.1898	???-???
Rev. Hugh R. Haweis	mc	Pall Mall Gazette Truth	1884-??? ???-???	1835-1901
Richard Lee	dc	The People	c.1891-1909	???-???
Robert Buckley	mc	Birmingham Gazette	1886-1926	1847-1938
Robert S. Hickens	mc	The World	1894-c.1897	1864-1950
Robin H. Legge	amc	The Times	1891-1906	1862-1933
Stephen Samuel Stratton	mc	Birmingham Post	1866-1906	1840-1906
Thomas Lea Southgate	mc	Musical Standard Musical News	1871-1891 1891-1900	1836-1917
Thomas Percival Milbourne	mc	Daily News Truth	1886-1902 1898?-c.1900	?1851-1904?
Vernon Blackburn	mc	Pall Mall Gazette	1893-1907	???-1907

Walter MacFarren	mc	Queen	1863-1905	1826-1905
William Alexander Barrett	mc	Morning post	1869-1891	1836-1891
William Barclay Squire	mc	The Saturday Review Globe	1888-1894 1894-1901	1855-1927

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Cheltenham Looker-On

Cheshire Observer

Clarion

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ClassicalSource.com
Classica Magazine
Cork Constitution
Cork Daily Herald
Cornhill Magazine
Croydon Chronicle
Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough
Daily Mail
Daily News
Dublin Evening Telegraph
Dundee Courier
Dundee Telegraph
East and South Devon Advertiser
Edinburgh Evening News
Evening Dispatch
Express and Echo
Fanfare
Financial Times
Fono Form Magazine
Freemans Journal
Glasgow Evening Post
Glasgow Herald
Globe
Gloucester Citizen
Gloucester Journal
Gloucestershire Chronicle
Gloucestershire Echo
Gramophone
Graphic
Huddersfield Chronicle
Huddersfield Daily Examiner
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Nottingham Evening News
Nottingham Evening Post
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Torquay Times
Truth
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