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***THE CHORAL MUSIC OF
CHARLES VILLIERS STANFORD (1852-1924)
AND THE PRESS c.1875-1925***

Thesis submitted by

PETER JOHN SMITH

for the degree of

MMus

in the University of Durham

June 2008

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08 APR 2009



Abstract

This detailed survey of Stanford's choral music is divided into two parts. Part One outlines those influences in the composer's family background and career path that encouraged him to produce so much music for choirs, both sacred and secular, and seeks to contextualise the British cultural environment in which he lived and worked. The sight-singing movement of the 1840s and the rapid spread of choral singing, the development of parish church choirs, choral societies and musical festivals, the slower improvement of musical standards in cathedrals and college chapels, and the growth of music publishing are each examined in turn, with frequent reference to Stanford himself. A complete chapter is devoted to the rapid expansion of the press and the steady evolution of musical journalism during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Part Two contains a chronological examination of Stanford's choral output with particular emphasis on the reception of individual works by critics and the general public, making direct and extensive reference to critical articles in more than forty different newspapers and journals. From this evidence attempts are made to identify the most and least successful of the composer's choral works. A concluding chapter refers to the English Musical Renaissance and Stanford's recognised status as one of its chief protagonists, and also examines the concept of academicism (or 'cleverness') and its impact upon critical appraisal of the composer's works, especially from Shaw and his disciples. Three appendices provide statistical and factual information on Stanford's choral output, and include some material not previously available in published writings on the composer.

Contents

Preface	1
Part One: Stanford and the Cultural Context	
Ch. 1: Stanford and the English Choral Tradition in the Nineteenth Century	6
Ch. 2: The Press and Musical Criticism, c.1840 – c.1925	45
Part Two: Stanford’s Choral Music and the Press	
Ch. 3: Stanford’s Choral Music and the Press I: The Cambridge Years, 1870-1893	85
Ch. 4: Stanford’s Choral Music and the Press II: Years at the Top of His Profession, 1893-1910	159
Ch. 5: Stanford’s Choral Music III: Years of Increasing Neglect, 1911-1924	234
Conclusion	255
Appendix I: List of Press References to Stanford’s Choral Music (incorporated into accompanying database)	272
Appendix II: Chronological Lists of Stanford’s Choral Works	311
Appendix III: List of Newspapers and Journals with Details of Editors and Music Critics	323
Bibliography	330

List of Illustrations

Illustration 1: Advertisement pages from <i>The Musical Times</i> , 1872-94	16
Illustration 2: Service lists from <i>The Musical Standard</i> , 31 January 1880	18
Illustration 3: Service lists from <i>Musical News</i> , 9 October 1897	19
Illustration 4: Service lists from <i>Musical News</i> , 24 October 1897	20
Illustration 5: C.V. Stanford and Edward Lloyd, from <i>Musical Opinion</i> , 1 November 1891	147
Illustration 6: Birmingham Festival, 1897 – sketches from <i>Daily Graphic</i>	175
Illustration 7: Leeds Festival, 1901 – sketch from <i>Musical Opinion</i>	201

Illustration 8: Music reviews from <i>Musical News</i> , 11 May 1912	240
Illustration 9: Comparative table showing eighteen different interpretations of the 'dark age' and 'renaissance' in English music	257

List of Tables

Table 1: Statistical comparison of new Novello publications, 1869-89	91
Table 2: Extracts from a cathedral music list survey, 1906-7	93
Press reception comparisons of new festival works by Stanford and others (Tables 3 to 12):	
Table 3: Stanford <i>Elegiac Ode</i> and Mackenzie <i>Rose of Sharon</i> (Norwich 1884)	99
Table 4: Stanford <i>The Three Holy Children</i> and Gounod <i>Mors et Vita</i> (Birmingham 1885)	114
Table 5: Stanford <i>The Revenge</i> and Sullivan <i>The Golden Legend</i> (Leeds 1886)	124
Table 6: Stanford <i>The Voyage of Maeldune</i> and Parry <i>St Cecilia Ode</i> (Leeds 1889)	135
Table 7: Stanford <i>Eden</i> and Dvořák <i>Requiem</i> (Birmingham 1891)	152
Table 8: Stanford <i>Phaudrig Crohoore</i> and Mancinelli <i>Hero and Leander</i> (Norwich 1896)	169
Table 9: Stanford <i>Requiem</i> and Somervell <i>Ode to the Sea</i> (Birmingham 1897)	183
Table 10: Stanford <i>Te Deum</i> and Elgar <i>Caractacus</i> (Leeds 1898)	195
Table 11: Stanford <i>Songs of the Sea</i> and Walford Davies <i>Everyman</i> (Leeds 1904)	208
Table 12: Stanford <i>Stabat Mater</i> and Vaughan Williams <i>Toward the Unknown Region</i> (Leeds 1907)	220

Explanatory notes to Tables 3 – 12
(Festival works by Stanford and others, 1884-1907)

1. All works chosen were first performed at a major regional musical festival.
2. Each Stanford work has been set alongside another choral work first performed at the same festival.
3. The content of each review consulted has been examined for any of five specific features, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive.
4. Since the number of reviews available for perusal differs from one work to another, the number of reviews actually consulted is given in every case.
5. For each festival date, the work chosen for comparison with Stanford's seemed the most sensible or obvious choice from amongst the other new music performed at the same festival. Although the paired works may differ in style, length and scope, they were all being heard for the first time (thus sharing the fascination of the new), and will have been reviewed by the same set of critics, thus ensuring a certain degree of critical parity.
6. In every case, the number of Stanford reviews consulted exceeds the number available for the paired work, sometimes by a considerable margin. This is, to a large extent, unavoidable, since in the case of the Stanford works reviews of certain performances subsequent to the festival premier (and especially first London performances) have been included. Although these later reviews most often confirmed initial impressions after the first performance, there were a few occasions when a critic would modify his view somewhat. A small number of the later reviews might also come from critics or papers that did not attend or review the first performance.
7. Of the chosen types of critical judgement, 'Wholly laudatory' and 'Laudatory with reservations' are self-explanatory. 'Critical' is applied only where substantial negative comment is found, though there are a few instances where praise and criticism are handed out almost evenly to different aspects or sections of a work. For this reason the same review might register in both the 'Laudatory with reservations' and 'Critical' columns.
 'Comments on technique/cleverness' has been included because of the frequency with which comments of this type crop up in reviews of Stanford's choral music: he was clearly regarded by large numbers of musicians as the most technically skilled of composers, and there are many observations on his choral works which include words or phrases such as 'clever(ness)', 'masterly', 'scholarly', 'phenomenal fluency' or 'consummate workmanship'. Other composers also received occasional comments on their sheer technical accomplishment. Such remarks were often made in a positive and laudatory manner, but in Stanford's case his 'cleverness' was sometimes referred to in a somewhat disparaging way – as though his technical skill hampered and impoverished musical invention, originality and vitality.
 Linked with this view of some Stanford works was a perceived lack of emotional involvement – even of unemotional coldness – in the music. Several commentators remarked upon this on more than one occasion, though similar comments have not been discovered with reference to any composers of the other works set alongside those of Stanford in these comparisons.

Abbreviations used in the text

<i>Ath</i>	<i>Athenaeum</i>
<i>BDG</i>	<i>Birmingham Daily Gazette</i>
<i>BDM</i>	<i>Birmingham Daily Mail</i>
<i>BDP</i>	<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i>
<i>CamChr</i>	<i>Cambridge Chronicle</i>
<i>CamDN</i>	<i>Cambridge Daily News</i>
<i>CamRev</i>	<i>Cambridge Review</i>
<i>Choir</i>	<i>The Choir</i>
<i>ChMus</i>	<i>Church Musician</i>
<i>ChT</i>	<i>Church Times</i>
<i>ContRev</i>	<i>Contemporary Review</i>
<i>CUMS</i>	<i>Cambridge University Musical Society</i>
<i>DChr</i>	<i>Daily Chronicle</i>
<i>DGr</i>	<i>Daily Graphic</i>
<i>DN</i>	<i>Daily News</i>
<i>DTel</i>	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>
<i>Exam</i>	<i>Examiner</i>
<i>FortRev</i>	<i>Fortnightly Review</i>
<i>GBS</i>	<i>George Bernard Shaw (in various journals: all references taken from Shaw's Music, Bodley Head, 3 vols.)</i>
<i>Graph</i>	<i>Graphic</i>
<i>Guard</i>	<i>Guardian</i>
<i>Haz</i>	<i>Hazell's Annual (all references taken from Lewis Foreman's 'Music in England 1885-1920')</i>
<i>LM</i>	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>
<i>ManGuard</i>	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
<i>MusL</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MMR</i>	<i>Monthly Musical Record</i>
<i>MN</i>	<i>Musical News</i>
<i>MO</i>	<i>Musical Opinion</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Morning Post</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Musical Standard</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>Musical Times</i>
<i>MW</i>	<i>Musical World</i>
<i>NatRev</i>	<i>National Review</i>
<i>O&C</i>	<i>Organist and Choirmaster</i>
<i>PMG</i>	<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>
<i>SatRev</i>	<i>Saturday Review</i>
<i>Strand</i>	<i>Strand Musical Magazine</i>
<i>T</i>	<i>The Times</i>
<i>WestRev</i>	<i>Westminster Review</i>
<i>Wo</i>	<i>World</i>
<i>YM</i>	<i>Year's Music</i>
<i>YP</i>	<i>Yorkshire Post</i>

CDRom Database

An accompanying CDRom provides a database (created on Microsoft Access 2002) duplicating Appendix I and also giving a sample list of 240 general articles concerning British music and musicians c.1880-1925. Over 60 of these articles are by or contain definite references to Stanford, and the remainder concern subjects or musicians of some relevance to Stanford's own musical career.

Preface

This detailed study of the choral music of Charles Villiers Stanford and its reception in the press covers a period of approximately fifty years, from the public appearance of the composer's first significant choral piece in 1875 to performances and publications of his choral music around and just after the time of his death in 1924.

The study is divided into two parts. Part One (chapters 1 and 2) examines the social and cultural climate forming the background to Stanford's choral music, while Part Two (chapters 3 to 5) examines the choral works themselves.

Part One, chapter one begins with a brief examination of the elements in Stanford's family background, upbringing and subsequent career that encouraged his production of such a large body of choral music, both sacred and secular (constituting over half of his huge total output). Consideration is next given to those social and cultural developments in Victorian England that fostered and encouraged an ever-increasing demand for and consumption of new choral music. A brief summary of the sight-singing movement – perhaps the most fundamentally important innovation for the growth of choral music – leads naturally to an investigation of the reform and growth of music in parish churches, and the consequently ever-escalating demand for new anthems and service settings. A section on the rapid proliferation of choral societies and musical festivals (the latter dealt with in chronological order of foundation) incorporates titles of some of the significant new works commissioned by festival committees, and gives some indication of works performed alongside those of Stanford. The growth of music publishing and the production of cheap choral music are examined with particular reference to those firms that published works by Stanford. Finally, a brief examination of the condition of



cathedral and collegiate musical establishments during the Victorian and Edwardian eras attempts to give a background to the conditions in which Stanford found himself working for twenty years at Trinity College, Cambridge, together with a reminder that, for some time during the mid-Victorian years, musical progress and rising standards in ordinary churches far outstripped that in cathedrals and college chapels.

The second chapter of Part One focuses on the development of the English press and of music criticism in particular during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and attempts to give some background information on most, if not all of the papers and journals referred to in Part Two of this study. Significant daily and weekly newspapers – both London-based and, to a lesser extent, from those major provincial cities closely connected with significant Stanford performances – are represented alongside those weekly and monthly arts and musical journals, and one or two church newspapers, which have proved to have some significance in their coverage of Stanford's choral music. A substantial section dealing with the development of musical criticism attempts to identify some of the principal figures whose writings on Stanford are examined more closely in the second part of this study, providing some basic information concerning their careers, styles and musical preferences.

Part Two of the study explores Stanford's large output of choral music and its reception in the press. It has been found convenient to survey the works chronologically, and to divide the composer's productive working life into three sections: the years of rising fortune and reputation spent living and working in Cambridge (chapter 3); a 'middle period' during which the composer was at the height of his powers and much in demand (chapter 4); and the final years, following his resignation from the Leeds conductorships and his gradual decline in the public eye (chapter 5). A collection of just over 1600 press references to Stanford's choral works (including some advertisements) taken from over forty newspapers and journals is

provided with a system of classification from 1 – 5, adopted in both Appendix I (a complete list of all the references) and the accompanying database, indicating the degree of critical content (and, to a lesser extent, the approximate length) of each individual reference. Press references bearing no classification number contain no element of critical content, but can nevertheless be useful in identifying the performance or publication of a work.

It is to be expected that new works should receive the greatest quantity of critical attention upon their first appearance, either in print or in public performance. Consequently, particular attention is given to reviews of first performances, and of subsequent performances occurring within the first few months of a premier. It is evident that not all London-based newspapers reviewed first performances in the provinces, but would often compensate in full measure by reviewing at length a subsequent performance in the capital. Press references to performances of works further removed from their initial appearance tend to be less frequent and detailed, sometimes merely giving notice that a performance has taken place, but on other occasions giving voice to noteworthy comments upon content or style, however brief. Such comments can enhance our total view of the continuing fortunes of particular works.

Although the major daily newspapers did occasionally analyse or review a newly published score in the days immediately before a first performance, the overwhelming majority of reviews of printed scores are to be found in the musical journals, supplemented by certain weekly newspapers and arts journals such as the *Athenaeum*.

The search for review material has embraced most of the chief London-based daily newspapers, several prominent weekly newspapers and arts journals, and those musical journals whose bias favoured choral music. A search through several church newspapers has revealed *The Guardian* as the only significant and regular source of

serious music reviewing during the relevant period. For reasons of manageability, provincial newspaper reviews have been sought only for performances in their own locality.

During the course of chapters 3 to 5 an attempt is made to identify the most and least successful of the choral works belonging to the early, middle and late phases of Stanford's career, both in terms of their initial reception and of their continuing popularity or disappearance from public view, and possible reasons for the varying fortunes of different works are briefly examined. In an attempt to widen the context, press reactions to ten of Stanford's most significant choral works, all first performed at regional musical festivals, have been set alongside the reactions to choral works by other composers premiered at the same time, and a series of bar charts provides interesting comparisons from which some tentative conclusions may be drawn.

The final chapter not only draws general conclusions, but also suggests reasons for the much smaller number of reviews of printed scores in comparison with the huge number of concert notices, and includes a brief reference to the often-quoted slur 'Das Land ohne Musik', its effective rebuttal in many writings on music published from the 1880s onwards, and Stanford's recognised status as one of the leaders of an English Musical Renaissance. An examination is also made of the concept of 'cleverness' that crops up with some frequency during the critical appraisal of Stanford's music.

The three appendices at the conclusion of the thesis provide a complete list of the press references to Stanford's choral music collected for this study, together with a full, though not completely exhaustive list of his choral works, and as complete a list as could be constructed of music critics and the papers or journals for which they wrote. Taken together, these appendices include some material not previously available in any earlier published study of Stanford's music.

Part One

Stanford and the Cultural Context

Chapter One

Stanford and the English Choral Tradition in the Nineteenth Century

This study of Stanford's choral music and its treatment in the press begins with a brief survey of a rapidly changing social and cultural background in Victorian England. First and foremost comes an enquiry into Stanford's motivation for producing such an enormous quantity of choral music. There follows an investigation of various developments in English society of the period which created an ever-increasing supply of choral singers and a consequent escalation in the demand for new choral music. The critically important (though idiosyncratic and surprising) sight-singing movement, and the growth of parish church choirs, choral societies and musical festivals are outlined, as is the development and growth of music publishing. The chapter concludes with a short section on the more leisurely improvement of musical standards in cathedral and collegiate establishments – a sphere in which Stanford himself worked for two decades.

Charles Villiers Stanford: family background and musical influences

The only child of musically highly gifted parents, Charles Villiers Stanford unsurprisingly displayed considerable musical talent from an early age. From his earliest childhood, the boy was surrounded, both in the Stanford family home and further afield in his native Dublin, by musicians and music of various kinds.¹ Amongst these early influences were those of music in church. As staunch Irish protestants, the Stanfords regularly attended their local parish church of St Stephen. The state of the music here during Charles's formative years he does not record, though reference is

¹ Such first-hand biographical information as exists about Stanford's early life and musical influences is to be found chiefly in two sources: Stanford's own autobiographical *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, Arnold, London 1914, and the account, gathered partly from personal contact and partly from others (including Stanford's boyhood friend, Raoul de Versan) by Stanford's close friend, musical colleague and first biographer, the baritone Harry Plunket Greene in *Charles Villiers Stanford*, Arnold, London 1935.

made to a row created by the attempted (and wholly practical) removal of the church choir from its western gallery to a position in the chancel next to the organ. The family also attended, however – apparently on a fairly regular basis – services at one or other of the city’s two Anglican cathedrals, where the music made a considerable impact on the young Charles.² Despite there being no evidence that he ever sang in a church choir as a child, the choral music in these two establishments clearly interested him deeply, and he was, in time, to benefit greatly from the musical expertise and wisdom of Robert Prescott Stewart, principal organist of both cathedrals.³ Stewart took Charles under his wing, teaching him to play the organ, and showing him, by example, how to use the instrument in a colourful and orchestral manner, a style of playing which greatly influenced the pupil’s own vivid manner of accompanying psalms and the orchestral conception behind many of his written organ parts to anthems and services.⁴

Another significant mentor in these early years was the gifted singer and conductor Joseph Robinson, a close friend and singing partner of John Stanford, and a man of whose musical gifts (like those of Stewart) Charles later speaks with warmth and affection. From Stewart and Robinson Stanford learned a great deal about singing, conducting, organ playing, composition and orchestration. The sheer breadth of his early musical experience was striking, and encompassed most genres including opera. Perhaps the one type of music in short supply in Dublin during the 1850s and 60s was the orchestral concert (for want of sufficient good players), but trips to England from Stanford’s tenth year onwards began to repair this deficiency. Thus by the time, in the spring of 1870, that Charles Stanford informed his father of his determination to be a

² Stanford, *Pages*, 3, 36-51.

³ Greene, *Stanford*, 29, states unequivocally that Charles ‘had not his father’s magnificent physique, nor could his greatest admirers have claimed him as a singer’. This makes all the more surprising the claims by some more recent writers that he later entered Queen’s College, Cambridge as a *choral* scholar, when Stanford himself states quite clearly that he was awarded the *organ* scholarship at the college (*Pages*, 106-7).

⁴ Stanford, *Pages*, 45-51, 131.

professional musician,⁵ his musical interests embraced all genres – orchestral and chamber music every bit as much as vocal and choral, and with a particular enthusiasm for opera. From this breadth of musical scope and interest sprang his innovatory approach to church music, and in particular the use of symphonic structures in his settings of the Anglican liturgy.

Stanford's election as organ scholar of Queen's College, Cambridge (1870), and three years later as organist of Trinity College (a post he was to occupy for twenty years) involved regular contact with church choirs, and encouraged his production of service settings, anthems and motets during a period of more than two decades. His resignation from the Trinity organistship and move to London (1892/3), ended for good Stanford's professional connection with the Anglican Church, and for a decade or more he produced hardly any liturgical music.⁶ The fact that, in later life, Stanford was once again motivated to compose for the church was the result of two main factors: firstly, his support for the newly-established music publisher Stainer and Bell, which needed to build up a catalogue of modern church music, and secondly, from increasing personal financial need, as other sources of income declined.

At Cambridge, another of Stanford's self-appointed tasks was to rejuvenate the Cambridge University Musical Society (CUMS) – a process which involved broadening the scope of its chorus by the inclusion of women. This in turn encouraged his production of new works for the re-constituted chorus to sing, and his settings of Klopstock's *Die Auferstehung* (1875) and of *God is our hope and strength* (Psalm 46) (1877) were amongst his early successes.

As time progressed, Stanford felt ever more drawn to the wider world of music, beyond the confines of a provincial university town. His appointment as Professor of

⁵ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶ The sole exception to this abstention appears to be his completion, in the mid-1890s, of the *Service in A*, *Op. 12*, in response to persistent requests from Novello.

Composition at the newly founded Royal College of Music in 1883 brought him to London on a regular basis, and it was not long before he was given the opening awaited by all seriously-intentioned English composers of his time in the shape of opportunities to compose for the provincial musical festivals. These festivals, which will be studied in greater depth presently, centred on works for chorus and orchestra, and a certain number of new works would be sought for each of them from established composers and newcomers alike. It was therefore almost inevitable that Stanford should seek and gain wider recognition through his provision of music for these prestigious and much-reported events, and it was his series of choral works in the 1880s and 1890s which did so much to secure and seal his reputation as one of the most significant and gifted musicians of his generation, although, as will be seen in later chapters, his various cantatas, ballads and oratorios were frequently criticised for being more cerebral than heartfelt. Kevin O'Connell has recently suggested, however, that it is only through a proper understanding of Stanford as teacher, theorist and (by implication) technician that we can gain a full understanding of him as a composer.⁷

The part-song was another popular vocal medium in Stanford's day, and a form which he cultivated with some degree of popular success throughout his career, a small handful of examples retaining their popularity long after the composer's death.⁸

Stanford's success as a teacher of composition was to become, in one sense, a cause of his gradually declining reputation as a composer after 1900: as the first generation of his pupils reached maturity and struck out along their own paths, with fresh ideas and modes of expression, their music began to receive greater public and critical attention than that of their revered teacher. The First World War furthermore acted as a catalyst in artistic matters as much as in other spheres of life, and Stanford's final years were

⁷ 'Stanford and the Gods of Modern Music', *MT*, Spring 2005, 33-44.

⁸ Three or four of the early *Elizabethan Pastorals*, together with later examples such as *The Blue Bird* and *Chillingham* proved especially popular with small choirs and vocal ensembles.

spent in an atmosphere of changing tastes and values to which he was unable to adapt. Thus it was that some of Stanford's final choral works lay unperformed and neglected, while the musical world moved on.

Developments in education: the sight-singing movement and the growth of choral singing

Preaching in St Paul's Cathedral soon after the death of William IV in 1837, that amiable and eccentric cleric, the Reverend Sydney Smith, author of many a *bon mot*, recommended that the new Queen 'should bend her mind to the very serious consideration of educating the people', since it presented 'the best chance of national improvement'.⁹ The Reverend Canon was doubtless quite sincere in this statement of belief, but it is tempting to think that it was, at least in part, influenced by current events – specifically the rise of the Chartist Movement: a uniting force for the labouring classes to clamour for better living and working conditions.¹⁰ That England, alone among the leading European nations of the period, escaped revolution or violent political unrest on several occasions between the 1790s and 1870s was no accident, but the result of pre-emptive measures by government to prevent revolution by the disenfranchised. The gradual introduction of improvements in the education system and its availability to a larger proportion of the population, especially the poorer classes, was seen as a positive way forward which could eventually lessen causes of discontent. In terms of general schooling, such improvements took several decades to achieve, culminating in the 1870 Education Act which made elementary schooling compulsory for all.¹¹ Within the first decade of Victorian rule, however, came an innovation which

⁹ Sydney Smith, *The New Reign: the Duties of Queen Victoria*, 2nd ed., 1837, cited in E.D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, Routledge, London 1964, 153.

¹⁰ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians*, Hutchinson, London 2002, 34-47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 113-20, 273-94, 363-4.

would prove of almost immediate and long-lasting benefit to thousands of working-class people throughout the country.

Amongst the earliest educational reforms came a provision for the widespread tuition of singing within schools.¹² As Bernarr Rainbow has pointed out elsewhere:

That the government of this country early in Victoria's reign should have taken the improbable step of lending its support to popular instruction in vocal music would perhaps appear merely eccentric, unless one realised that the activity formed an integral part of a larger scheme to develop education upon a national scale.¹³

This provision was, moreover, supplemented by evening classes in singing for adults, run in various parts of the country by John Hullah and Joseph Mainzer. To the stupendously successful efforts of these two men must be added the work of John Curwen, whose major contribution to the sight-singing movement was the perfection of the tonic sol-fa system of notation.¹⁴ Success came rapidly, and by July 1842 a statement in the House of Lords revealed that there were 'no fewer than 50,000 persons attending the singing classes of Mr. Hullah and his pupils'.¹⁵

The enormous scale of success of the massed-singing movement begun in the 1840s is demonstrated by the steady improvement and development of singing in churches, from both congregations and choirs, and by the foundation of numerous choral societies, both of these activities being evident in all parts of the country.

A third development affected in no small measure by the ever-increasing demand for choral music was the foundation of several provincial choral festivals, often held on a triennial basis.

¹² Bernarr Rainbow, 'Music in Education', *Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, vol.5, 'The Romantic Age, 1800-1914' (ed. Nicholas Temperley), Blackwell, Oxford 1988, 40.

¹³ Bernarr Rainbow, *The Choral Revival in the Anglican Church, 1839-1872*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1970; reissued by Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2001, 43.

¹⁴ Detailed accounts of the development of the sight-singing movement and of the work of Hullah, Mainzer and Curwen may be found in Rainbow, *The Choral Revival*; Frances Hullah, *Life of John Hullah*, Longmans, Green & Co., London 1886; Johann Mainzer, *Singing for the Million* (1841), reprint by Boethius Press, Kilkenny, ed. with introduction by Bernarr Rainbow, 1984.

¹⁵ Frances Hullah, *John Hullah*, 35.

An eloquent testament to the extraordinary results of the massed choral singing movement in England comes from an unexpected American source, quoted with some pride in an untitled column (probably by the editor) in *The Musical Times* for October 1884:

In "Notes on the Cultivation of Choral Music and the Oratorio Society of New York," by H.E. Krebiel, a volume recently published in the States, the author says that "one hundred and fourteen years ago there was not in all musical Europe a single amateur Choral Society, and only ninety six years ago was the first public singing society (composed of amateurs) established. What the cultivation of Handel's music in England has done for that country is not to be measured; and the fact that in the manufacturing towns of Great Britain thousands of men and women might be assembled on a day's notice to sing 'The Messiah' without the notes, tells more of the gentleness and refinement of the working classes in that country than hundreds of learned essays on social science." This warm tribute to the state of musical progress in England is supplemented by the observations of the critic of the work in an American paper, who says, "Here is something which the writer can vouch for, as he has been present at many such meetings, and knows by actual sight that this is so. Miners and workmen of all sorts, who can neither read nor write, are able to take the bass or tenor (and sometimes the alto) part in 'The Messiah,' 'Elijah,' 'Samson,' 'The Creation,' and this with an accuracy of intonation and time (aside from vigour and fervency) that is truly astonishing, considering their general ignorance in other matters. This is a phenomenon, of course, but it has tended to make England especially famous for its choral singing." As both the author and reviewer of this book fully agree in the rapid spread of choral music, we have much pleasure in recording the fact, especially as in this, the 500th number of our journal, we may be pardoned for looking back through a number of years with a feeling of pride at the part we have ever taken in popular musical progress.¹⁶

Of the vital role played by *The Musical Times* and its publisher Novello in the provision of choral music at affordable prices more will be said in due course.

The reform and growth of music in parish churches

Between the 1840s and the end of the nineteenth century there were huge developments and improvements in the provision of music in Anglican churches, accompanied by a consequent demand for a steady stream of new musical compositions for use by choirs and congregations – a demand for which Charles Villiers Stanford was, from the late 1870s until well into the next century, to provide a considerable quantity of high quality music. Tracing these developments in fine detail is a huge and complex task which, for reasons of space, cannot be undertaken in the present study. The subject has, however,

¹⁶ *MT*, October 1884, 577.

been investigated with some thoroughness by at least four authors: Bernarr Rainbow,¹⁷ William Gatens, Dale Adelman, and, most extensively of all, in Nicholas Temperley's two-volume study which, unlike other books, concentrates on the music of the parish church rather than the musical traditions of cathedrals and college chapels.¹⁸ Only the briefest of summaries can be given here.

In contrast to the elaborate music performed by professional choirs in cathedral and collegiate establishments, the music found in the parish churches of England was, until well into the nineteenth century, notable mainly for its simplicity.¹⁹

By the early years of the nineteenth century it was, moreover, becoming increasingly apparent that the general state of parish church music left much to be desired, and in many places the *status* afforded to music was also ill-defined and unsatisfactory. When reform came, it was often swift and dramatic, and was brought about not only by individuals with a strong desire to provide their churches with more edifying and seemly standards of music, but also, during the 1830s and early 1840s, by the chance coincidence and confluence of various initiatives and developments on a broader, national scale.

Of these national initiatives, the government-sponsored developments in education, and, most particularly, the singing-class movement, were of considerable significance.²⁰ Another crucial factor – some might argue *the* most crucial – in the reform of Anglican church music and the wholesale establishment of robed church choirs, was the so-called 'Oxford Movement' – a sea-change of thinking amongst high-church Anglicans. A re-awakened consciousness of the Anglican Church's ancient roots combined with

¹⁷ Bernarr Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, and 'Parochial and Nonconformist Church Music', *Blackwell History*, vol.5 (ed. Temperley), 144-67.

¹⁸ William Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music in Theory and Practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1986; Dale Adelman, *The Contribution of Cambridge Ecclesiologists to the Revival of Anglican Choral Worship 1839-62*, Ashgate, Aldershot 1997; Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1979.

¹⁹ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 5, 97, 101-2, 112, 117, etc.

²⁰ Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 48-9.

forebodings for its future led to the production of a series of *Tracts for the Times* – papers which urged a reform of liturgical practice and a return to the original spirit and letter of the Prayer Book.²¹ The spread of Tractarian zeal amongst the clergy combined with the effects of the singing-class movement and teacher-training initiatives amongst the ordinary people to produce an overwhelming desire for church services enshrining well-conducted liturgy, ritual and music.²² It was not long before organisations were formed with the specific intention of promoting high quality church music, notably the Musical Antiquarian Society (1840-7, later the Motett Society), and the Society for Promoting Church Music with its journal, the *Parish Choir* (1846-51).²³

Despite friction between High and Low Church factions in the early years of reform, matters had largely calmed down by the mid-1850s, and, as Temperley has pointed out, despite occasional disagreements over the role of music in worship, all parties agreed that it had its place there, and robed choirs sitting in chancels became ever more common in Anglican churches, urban and rural, throughout the land. This proliferation of choirs was further encouraged by the early- and mid-Victorian passion for building new churches, particularly in urban areas.²⁴

There was, naturally, a good deal of diversity in the nature of parish church music, ranging from those institutions such as St Andrew's, Wells Street, London (under organist Joseph Barnby) and Leeds Parish Church (under S.S. Wesley) where the services were very much in the cathedral tradition, with the congregation treated largely

²¹ Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 7-8.

²² The spread of Tractarian initiatives in Cambridge is fully documented in Adelman, *Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, and similar developments in London are described in Rainbow, *Choral Revival*.

²³ See Adelman, *Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, 31-4, 43-6; Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 64-5, 95-114, and 'Parochial and Nonconformist Church Music', 147-8; Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 258-60; Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music*, 25-6.

²⁴ See Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 281-2, 233-4; Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 263-6.

as auditors, to those where there was no choir and the singing was exclusively congregational.²⁵

By the end of the 1870s almost all churches had a choir of some kind, however, and in many places the music was of a professional standard. Evidence of this appears increasingly in the advertisement pages of the *Musical Times*, which carried an ever-expanding list of vacancies for church choristers – boys, men and women – some paid, others not. Illustration 1 shows a random selection of these.

By the middle years of the century, many church choirs began to give occasional concerts in addition to their Sunday service duties, giving further profitable opportunities for the comparison and evaluation of choral standards and repertoire.²⁶ There can be little doubt, however, that the evolution, from the mid-1850s, of the diocesan or regional choral festival was the development which, by enabling many church choirs in a particular area to meet, rehearse and sing together, generally in the diocesan cathedral, helped to reinforce the enthusiasm of individual choirs and to disseminate high standards in the choice and performance of Anglican church music.²⁷

At the end of a lengthy chapter entitled ‘The Victorian Settlement (1850-1900)’, Temperley draws the following conclusions:

... the rivalries between high- and low-church parties, and between supporters of Anglican and Gregorian chants, are seen to be a side issue in the parish church music of the Victorian period. ... Organs and choirs were established in almost every church, and provided music that was emphatically of the professional variety. Efforts were made, sometimes genuine, sometimes perfunctory, to draw the congregation into the performance, and the music was composed or adapted in such a way that the congregational singing would not detract from the artistic standards now to be maintained. But in many churches the music was in reality a performance by robed choir and organ in the chancel. The cathedral service was the principal model for the new style of parish church music ...²⁸

²⁵ See Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 274-5.

²⁶ The growing number of musical journals at this time, and especially those such as *MT*, *MS* and *MN* with a strong interest in church music, reported dozens of choral concerts and special choral services in every issue. Walter Hillsman's *Traits and Aims in Anglican Church Music 1870-1906*, unpublished Oxford DPhil Thesis, 1985, 58 refers to the anxieties of some High Church clergy over the introduction of elaborate music, and their justifications of it.

²⁷ Adelman, *Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, 205-11.

²⁸ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 314.

ST. ANNE'S, SOHO, Westminster.—There are vacancies in the Voluntary Choir of the above Church, for a **TENOR** and **BASS**. A good voice and thorough knowledge of music are indispensable. Applications should be made by letter to the Choir Secretary, A. C. Curtis-Hayward, Esq., 17, Mount-street, Grosvenor-square.

. The duties of this choir (a surplined one, numbering nearly sixty voices) are to attend Morning and Evening Service on Sundays, and a Rehearsal on Thursday evenings at eight o'clock, conducted by Mr. Barnby, Director of the Choir.

CHORISTER BOYS for Eton College Chapel.—**TWO** or **THREE** are WANTED, to fill vacancies. Salary from £25 to £40 per annum, according to proficiency, and education free in the chorister's school. Duties, daily service. Applications to be made to Dr. Maclean, Eton College, Windsor. This advertisement applies only to trained choristers.

LEADING SOPRANO REQUIRED for a Church near Notting-hill-gate station. Morning and evening service, and weekly rehearsal. Stipend not to exceed £15 or £20. Apply by letter, stating full particulars, to Conductor, care of Messrs. Novello, Ewer and Co., 1, Berners-street, W.

ST. LAWRENCE, JEWRY.—WANTED, FOUR LEADING TREBLES for this Choir. Must read fairly. Services—Sunday, morning and evening, Holy Days, and Thursdays; Practices on Friday evenings. Remuneration £5 a year. Apply personally at the Church, or by letter to the Choirmaster, Robert A. Turner, Esq., 9, Essex-villas, East Down-park, Lee, S.E.

AN experienced **SOPRANO** would lead a Choir in return for Harmonium Practice. A. B., 283, King's-rd., Chelsea.

ALTO BOYS WANTED at St. Mary's, Park-street, Grosvenor-square. Salary £5. Two services. Apply to Organist, after morning service.

ALTO and **TENOR** WANTED for the Choir of a West End Church. Stipend from Ten to Twelve Pounds per annum. Apply to A. E., 18, Springfield-road, St. John's-wood.

ALTO and **BASS** WANTED at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury. Morning and evening Service, and weekly Practice. Stipend, Alto £8, and Bass £5 per annum. A few **BOYS** also WANTED, from £2 to £3 per annum. Apply to the Rev. G. L. Collins.

WANTED GENTLEMEN (Altos, Tenors, Basses) to sing in the Choir of St. Thomas's Church, Stamford-hill. No stipend is offered, but travelling expenses to and from the Church will be paid upon all occasions of rehearsals and services. The rehearsals will be once a week; the services twice on Sundays. Applications to be made to Mr. Willing, 8, Montague-place, Russell-square, under whose direction the choir is placed.

WANTED, for the VOLUNTARY CHOIR of St. Mary's, Crown-street, Soho, **ALTO, TENOR, and BASS** Voices; also **BOYS** (of poor parentage), living in the neighbourhood. Salary for these £2 per annum, and, if desired, education in the Parish School. Address the Praecentor, St. Mary's, Soho, W.C.

CHURCH of ST. JOHN the DIVINE, Kennington, S.W.—The Voluntary Choir for the Permanent Church (to be opened, D.V. early next year) is now forming. Communicants possessing **BASS, TENOR, or ALTO** Voices, and willing to assist, are requested to apply to the Rev. the Praecentor, 10, Winterslow-place, Vassall-road, S.W. Music from the grand works of Handel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, etc. Attendance at least at two Services on Sundays, and the Practice on Friday nights, is expected.

A **TENOR, good Voice, and fair Reader, wishes to** join a Voluntary Surplined Choir, for Sunday morning and evening full Choral Service. Address Phalon, Messrs. Novello, Ewer and Co., 35, Fenchurch-street, E.C.

BASS Voice WANTED immediately in Salisbury Cathedral for the next two months. Liberal salary. May lead to a permanent engagement. Apply, stating particulars as to character and musical ability, to the Rev. Praecentor Lear, Bishopstone, Salisbury.

TREBLE VOICE.—LEADING BOY WANTED, for a West-End Church Choir. Salary, £10. Apply to the Rev. R. W. Burnaby, 17, Blandford Square, Regent's Park.

CHESTER CATHEDRAL.—LAY CLERKSHIP vacant, £75. **ALTO** voice. Candidates, who must be under 30 years of age, and well versed in Cathedral music, should apply at once to the Rev. The Praecentor, Abbey Court, Chester.

AN ALTO (Male) requires an **ENGAGEMENT** in Church Choir. Address, with particulars, to H. E., 116, Brockley Road, New Cross, S.E.

WANTED, for Voluntary Surplined Choir, S. Peter's, Great Windmill Street, ALTOS, TENORS, and BASSES. Apply, Rev. A. Morley, 15, Archer Street, Haymarket, W., or at the Church, Wednesday evening, nine o'clock.

ALTO WANTED, for St. Margaret's, Lee. Must possess a good Voice and be a good Reader. Duties: two Sunday services and Saints' days at 8 p.m. Practice on Friday evening. Salary, £20. Address, Mr. G. F. Geaussett, 6, Park Place, Blackheath.

ALTO WANTED, for Christ Church, Lee Park. Stipend, 12 guineas. J. T. Field, 3, Essex Villas, Lee, S.E.

ALTO and **TENOR** WANTED, for All Saints', Blackheath. Salary, £20 and £15 respectively. Apply, by letter, to A. Goddard Jones, 3, Talbot Place, Blackheath, S.E.

TENOR and **BASS** WANTED, for the Choir of Bedford Chapel, Bloomsbury. £10. Apply to Dr. Bradford, at the Vestry, on Friday evenings, at 7.

TENOR VOICES.—Two required for St. German's Church, Blackheath. Semi-choral. Salary, £15, to good readers. Apply, by letter, to Organist, Junior Garrick Club, Adelphi, W.C.; or personally at the Church, on Fridays, between 8 and 9.30 p.m.

TENOR WANTED, S. Paul's, Herne Hill, S.E. £10 a year. Address, H. M., 3, Camden Terrace, Gypsy Hill, Upper Norwood.

SOLO BOY WANTED, with good voice and experience, for St. George's, Bloomsbury. Salary according to ability. Apply, Mr. Gifford-Allen, 36, Pepys Road, S.E.

WANTED, for Church Choir, FOUR BOYS. Salary according to ability. Apply, Berkeley Chapel, John Street, Mayfair, W., Friday evenings, at 7.30.

ALTO WANTED, for Church on South Coast. Young voice preferred. Two Cathedral services on Sundays and one weekly practice. Sunday trial allowed. Apply, Alfred Buckoke, 8, Dresden Road, Hornsey Lane, N.

ALTO and **TENOR** WANTED, for St. Paul's, Kilburn, N.W. Salary, £15 per annum. Good readers. Apply, stating qualifications, Mr. Leonard Butler, 1394, Alexandra Road, Abbey Road, N.W.

TENOR WANTED, for Solo and Quartet work, at St. George's, Bloomsbury. Apply, Mr. Gifford-Allen, 36, Pepys Road, S.E.

TENOR WANTED, for Christ Church, Victoria Road, Kensington. Two Sunday Services, and Friday Rehearsal at 8. Stipend, £20. Applications to be sent to Mr. E. Brooks, 41, Fawe Road, West Kensington, not later than May 12.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.—WANTED, LAY CLERK, with superior **TENOR** Voice of good quality and compass, thoroughly acquainted with church music (old and new), and competent to sing solos and take part in Choir Services. Stipend, £100 per annum. For further particulars, apply to Mr. E. M. Underwood, Chapter Clerk, Hereford.

BASS (not Baritone), **PARIS.**—There is a **VACANCY** for a **BASS** Voice in the Choir of the American Church, Paris. Candidates must have good voices, and thorough experience in Church music. Liberal stipend. Applications at once, to Mr. Stedman, Musical Agency, 58, Berners Street, W.

MR. W. BLACKWELL (Alto) desires **RE-ENGAGEMENT** in good Church Choir, or would join Quartet Party. Address, Church Lane, Hendon, N.W.

Illustration 1: Advertisement pages from *The Musical Times* showing the demand for Choristers of all ages and both sexes in church choirs

Further evidence of the sophisticated level of much Anglican church music is provided by the increasing number of churches, especially in London, that chose to advertise their Sunday music programmes week by week, alongside those of cathedrals, in various journals, including *The Musical Standard* and *Musical News*, both of which appeared each Saturday, and carried details of music for services the following day. Three sample ‘Service List’ columns of particular interest in connection with Stanford’s music are reproduced as Illustrations 2, 3 and 4.²⁹

The proliferation of church choirs was accompanied by a parallel expansion and evolution of musical repertoire. During the 1840s, 50s and early 60s, when the influence of the Tractarians and Ecclesiologists rose to its peak, there was much revival of and emphasis on the church music of earlier centuries, particularly pieces deemed to be in a ‘dignified’ and ‘restrained’ style (which assumed the absence of vocal solos), and of Gregorian plainsong.³⁰ The steady increase in the provision of organs in churches brought with it a change in musical tastes, however, and led to the introduction of many more accompanied anthems and service settings. Choruses and solos from oratorios by Handel and Haydn were adapted for performance in services with organ accompaniment, soon to be joined by numerous compositions of Mendelssohn, Spohr and Gounod. At the same time, a steadily increasing number of Victorian musicians – not merely those working within the Church as organists and choir-trainers, but also many outside it – felt it a worthy occupation to compose music for use in cathedrals and parish churches alike.

²⁹ Illustration 2, from *MS*, 31 January 1880, shows a performance of Stanford’s complete B flat service, published only the previous summer, at St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin – the city of the composer’s birth. This is possibly the second complete performance outside Cambridge – a performance at St Paul’s Cathedral, London had taken place on 11 January. Illustration 3, from *MN*, 9 October 1897, shows a very rare performance at St Paul’s Cathedral of a chorus from Stanford’s first oratorio, *The Three Holy Children*. Illustration 4, from *MN*, 24 October 1897, demonstrates the popularity of Stanford’s service settings and, like Illustration 3, lists a rich variety of churches, including one with the delightfully thought-provoking locality ‘Victoria Station’.

³⁰ See Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 312-18 for the musical items published in the *Parish Choir*, and Adelmann, *Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, 218-21 for the repertoire performed by the Ecclesiological Motett Choir under Helmore between 1853 and 1862.

Service Lists.

SEXAGESIMA SUNDAY.

FEBRUARY 1st.

London.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Barnby in E; Introit, O saving victim (Miller); Communion Service, Barnby in E. Even.: Service, Barnby in E; Anthem, He in tears that soweth (Hiller).

ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET.—Morn.: Service, Te Deum and Benedictus, Stainer; Communion Service, Miller in D; Offertory, I praise Thee, Lord (Mendelssohn). Even.: Service, Martin in C; Anthem, The heavens are telling (Haydn).

ST. AUGUSTINE AND ST. FAITH, WATLING STREET.—Morn.: Service, Tours in F; Offertory, Barnby. Even.: Service, Hopkins in F; Anthem, Sing and rejoice (Barnby).

ST. MARGARET PATTERNS, ROOD LANE, FENCHURCH STREET.—Morn.: Service, Te Deum, Dykes in F; Benedictus, Stainer; Communion Service; Offertory Anthem, The marvellous work (Haydn); Kyrie, Credo, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei, and Gloria, Hoyte in D. Even.: Service, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Garrett in F; Anthems, In splendour bright, and, The heavens are telling (Haydn).

LEWISHAM (ST. MARK'S).—Morn.: Service, Aitwood in F; Communion Service, Tours in F (throughout); Offertorium, Whoso hath this world's good (Barnby). Even.: Service, Arnold in A; Anthem, In Jewry is God known (Whitfield).

ST. MARY'S, STOKES NEWINGTON.—Morn.: Service, Te Deum, Hopkins in G; Anthem, Jesu, Word of God (Gounod). Even.: Service, Anthems, Come unto Him, and, The Spirit of the Lord (Leslie).

ST. MICHAEL'S, CORNHILL.—Morn.: Service, Te Deum and Jubilate, Sullivan in D; Anthem, How dear are Thy counsels (Crotch); Kyrie, Evison; Creed, Goss. Even.: Service, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Hopkins in F; Anthem, O where shall wisdom (Boyce).

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, GREAT PORTLAND STREET.—Morn.: Service, Te Deum and Jubilate, Garrett in D. Even.: Service, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Hoyte in B flat; Anthem, How lovely are Thy dwellings (Spohr).

ST. PETER, VAUXHALL.—Morn.: Service, Holy Communion, Stanford in B flat; Benedictus and Agnus Dei, Monk in C; Paternoster, Stainer. Even.: Service, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Parisian Tones, Stainer.

LINCOLN'S INN CHAPEL.—Morn.: Service, Gibbons in F; Anthem, Sing to the Lord a new made song (Mendelssohn). Aft.: Service, Gibbons in F; Anthem, Blessed is the man (Goss).

Country.

ST. ASAPH CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Boyce in C; Anthem, The Lord is king (Trimnell). Even.: Service, The Litany; Anthem, The Lord is very great (Beckwith).

ASHBURN'S CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—Morn.: Service, Garrett in B; Kyrie and Credo, Garrett in D. Even.: Service, Garrett in D; Anthem, O how amiable (Barnby).

BIRMINGHAM (ST. PHILIP'S).—Morn.: Service, King in C; Communion Service, Smart in F. Even.: Service, Tours in F; Anthem, How lovely are the messengers (Mendelssohn).

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Elvey in B flat; Introit, I will love thee (Macfarren); Kyrie, Elvey in B flat; Nicene Creed, Harmonized Monotone. Even.: Service, Stainer in A; Anthem, The Lord is righteous (Handel).

DUBLIN, ST. PATRICK'S (NATIONAL) CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Te Deum, Jubilate, Introit, Kyrie, and Creed, Stanford in B flat; Anthem, As pants the hart (Handel). Even.: Service, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, Stanford in B flat; Anthems, Sleepers, wake (Mendelssohn), and, O Lord, Thou art my God (Haydn and Gaudry).

ELY CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Barnby in E; Kyrie, Credo, and Gloria, Jackman in D; Anthem, Great and marvellous (Monk). Even.: Service, Barnby in E; Anthem, In the beginning God created, &c. (from Haydn's "Creation").

EXETER CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Boyce in A; Holy Communion, Hopkins in F; Introit, O Lord, my God (Malan). Even.: Service, Garrett in D; Anthem, I will wash my hands (Hopkins).

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Garrett in E; Sanctus, &c., Wesley in E. Even.: Service, Goss in E; Anthem, O where shall wisdom (Boyce).

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Ouseley in G; Kyrie and Creed, Bridge in G; Anthem, As pants the hart (Spohr). Aft.: Service, Ouseley in G; Anthem, Hear my prayer (Mendelssohn).

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Boyce in A; Introit, Give ear (Mozart); Communion Service, Armes in A. Even.: Service, Turle in D; Anthem, Wherewithal (Elvey).

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.—Morn.: Service, Kyrie and Creed, Ouseley in A; Anthem, O Lord, my God (Malan). Even.: Service, Ouseley in A; Anthem, Praise the Lord (Garrett).

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.—Morn. Service: Oakeley in E flat; Introit, Macfarren; Kyrie and Creed, Oakeley; Offertory, Frost. Even. Service: Oakeley in E flat; Anthem, "O come let us worship," Mendelssohn.

SOUTHWELL COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NOTTS.—Morn. Service: Gates in F; Kyrie, Gounod; Creed, Nares in F. Even. Service: Mag. Nunc., Elvey in A; Anthem, "Plead thou my Cause," Mozart.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.—Morn. Service: Aldrich in G throughout. Even. Service: Aitwood in F; Anthem, "In that day," Elvey.

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.—Morn. Service: Ouseley in D; Creed, Arnold in B minor. Even. Service: Ebdon in C; Anthem, "O where shall wisdom," Boyce.

WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.—Morn. Service: Craft in A; Kyrie and Creed, Elvey and Goss; Anthem, 103, "How dear are Thy counsels," Crotch. Even. Service: Elvey in A; Anthem, 693, "I saw the Lord," Stainer.

YORK MINSTER.—Morn. Service: Service, Travers in F; Introit, No. 10, Macfarren; Kyrie, Travers in F; Creed, King in F. Even. Service: Anthem, "Then shall the righteous," Mendelssohn.

Service Lists.

SEVENTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

LONDON.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.—M.: T. D., etc., Walmisley in D. H. C., Hoyte in D. E.: Smart in F. An., "The heathen shall fear Thy name," Stanford.

TEMPLE CHURCH.—M.: T. D. and Jub., Nares in F. An., "Acquaint thyself with God," Greene. E.: Nares in F. An., "O Lord, how manifold are Thy works," Barnby.

ST. SAVIOUR'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, S.E.—M.: H. C., Collis in F. E.: Calkin in F. An., "O God when Thou appearest," Mozart.

ALL SAINTS', MARGARET STREET, W.—M.: T. D., Stanford in B flat. Bene., Cobb in G. H. C., Haydn's Mass in B flat (No. 1). An., "Come unto Him," Leslie. E.: King Hall in E flat. An., "My song," "Ye nations," Mendelssohn.

ASHLEY PLACE, S.W., ST. ANDREW'S.—M.: Barnby in E. An., "Lead kindly Light," Stainer. E.: Lee Williams in F. An., "Sing praises unto the Lord," Gounod.

BATTERSEA, ST. PHILIP'S.—M.: H. C., Mozart in B flat. An., "Praise the Lord," Goss. E.: Smart in B flat. An., "While the earth remaineth," Tours; Mendelssohn's "Lauda Sion."

BROMLEY, E., ALL HALLOW'S.—(Harvest Festival.)—M.: Smart in F. H. C., Agutter in G. E.: Roberts in C. An., "Ye shall dwell in the land," Stainer.

CORNHILL, E.C., CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL'S.—M.: T. D. and Bene., Stainer in B flat. An., "We will rejoice," Reynolds. E.: Hoyte in B flat. An., "Awake, awake, put on thy strength," Wise.

HORSELYDOWN, S.E., ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.—M.: Int., "O Lord, my God," Malan. Ky., Cr., Bene., etc., Woodward in E flat. E.: King in F. An., "Ye shall dwell in the land," Stainer.

HOXTON, N., HOLY TRINITY.—M.: T. D., Sullivan in D. H. C., Maunder in G. E.: Stanford in B flat. An., "I am Alpha and Omega," Stainer.

KANTISH TOWN, ST. LUKE'S, OSNEY CRESCENT.—M.: H. C., Tours in F. E.: An., "Sing praises," Gounod.

SOHO, ST. ANNE'S.—M.: T. D. and Bene., Barnby in E. An., "God is a Spirit," Bennett. E.: Baruby in E. An., "Praise the Lord," Goss.

ST. MARGARET PATTERNS, E.C.—M.: H. C., Mozart in C. An., "How dear are Thy counsels," Crotch. E.: Attwood in F. An., "Seek ye the Lord," Roberts.

VICTORIA STATION, ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.—M.: H. C., Stainer in E flat. E.: Ferial. Mug., Walmisley in D.

COUNTRY.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.—M.: Walmisley in D. An., "Thou visitest the earth," Greene. A.: Walmisley in D. An., "I will give thanks," Hopkins.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.—M.: Bennett in B flat. An., "He that shall endure," Mendelssohn. H. C., King in C. A.: An., "Blessed be the God and Father," Wesley.

LIVERPOOL CATHEDRAL.—A.: Cooke in C. An., "Sing unto the Lord," Sydenham. E.: Chipp in A. An., "As I live, saith the Lord," Chipp.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS.—M.: Stainer in B flat. An., "I waited for the Lord," Mendelssohn. E.: Garrett in F. An., "Sing, O Heavens," Sullivan.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.—M.: Selby in A. E.: Selby in A. An., "O God, when Thou appearest," Mozart.

BRISTOL, BEDMINSTER PARISH CHURCH.—M.: H. C., Stainer in E flat. Bene. and Ag. Dei, Agutter in B flat. E.: Stanford in B flat. An., "Holy, Holy, Holy," Crotch.

BRISTOL, CHURCH OF THE HOLY NATIVITY, KNOWLE.—M.: H. C., Monk in C. An., "O Solutaris Hostia," C. W. Stear. E.: M. and N. D., Clarke in E. An., "Plead Thou my cause," Mozart.

HALIFAX PARISH CHURCH.—M.: Dykes in F. An., "Ye shall dwell in the land," Stainer. E.: Steggall in G. An., "Rejoice in the Lord," Parcell.

HALIFAX, HOLY TRINITY CHURCH.—(Harvest Festival.)—M.: T. D. and B., Barnby in B flat. Jub., Clarke-Whitfield in D. An., "Ye shall dwell in the land," Stainer. E.: M. and N. D., Harper in G. An., "The Wilderness," Goss. T. D., Dykes in F.

HAMPTON COURT PALACE, CHAPEL ROYAL.—M.: Tours in F. An., "O rest in the Lord," Mendelssohn. A.: Martin in C. An., "O come let us worship," Mendelssohn.

Service Lists.

NINETEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

LONDON.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—M.: Garrett in E flat. Continuation, Agutter in A flat. An., "If ye love me," Tallis. A.: Smart in B flat. An., "By Babylon's wave," Gounod. E.: An., "Judge me, O God," Mendelssohn.

TEMPLE CHURCH.—M.: T. D. and Jub., Cobb in G. An., "Praise the Lord, O my soul," Purcell. E.: Attwood in D. An., "Praise the Lord, O my soul," Croft.

ALL SAINTS', MARGARET STREET, W.—M.: T. D., Ambrosian. Bene., Simcox. H. C., Schubert's Mass in B flat. An., "If with all your hearts," Mendelssohn. E.: Gadsby in C. An., "Sing to the Lord," Smart.

ASHLEY PLACE, S.W., ST. ANDREW'S.—M.: Stanford in B flat. An., "Thou visitest the earth," Greene. E.: Stanford in A. An., "Rejoice in the Lord," Martin. T. D., Martin in A.

BATTERSEA, ST. PHILIP'S.—M.: H. C., Eyre in E flat (throughout). E.: Bruce Steane in E flat. An., "I will give thanks," Barnby.

CORNHILL, E.C., CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL'S.—M.: T. D. and Jub., Thorne in G. An., "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace," Wesley. E.: Stainer in B flat. An., "O where shall wisdom be found," Boyce.

HORSLEYDOWN, S.E., ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.—M.: Int., "Blessed be the Lord God," Nares. Ky., Cr. and Bene., Woodward in E flat. E.: King in F. An., "As the hart panteth," Marcello.

HOXTON, N., HOLY TRINITY.—M.: T. D., Dykes in F. H. C., Smart in F. E.: Arnold in A. An., "O taste and see," Goss.

KENTISH TOWN, ST. LUKE'S, OSENEY CRESCENT.—M.: H. C., Stanford in B flat. E.: An., "God of Light," Haydn.

LONDON WALL, E.C., ST. ALPHAGE.—(Harvest Festival).—M.: T. D. and Jub., Sullivan in D. An., "Blessed be the name of the Lord," Gadsby. Ky., etc., Garrett in D. E.: Cobb in C. An., "Sing to the Lord of Harvest," Maunder.

LOTHURBY, E.C., ST. MARGARET'S.—M.: T. D., Smart in F. H. C., Dykes in F. E.: Bunnett in F. An., "I waited for the Lord," Mendelssohn.

SOHO, ST. ANNE'S.—M.: T. D. and Jub., Croft in A. An., "Praise the Lord O Jerusalem," Hayes. E.: Garrett in D. An., "O where shall wisdom be found," Boyce.

ST. MARGARET PATENS, E.C.—M.: H. C., Schubert in G. An., "He that shall endure," Mendelssohn; "O Sacred Banquet," Curshmann. E.: Hoyte in B flat. An., "The radiant morn," Woodward.

VICTORIA STATION, ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.—M.: H. C., Garrett in E flat. E.: Stainer in A.

WESTMINSTER, ST. MARGARET'S.—M.: H. C., Schubert in B flat. Ky., T. D., Stainer in E flat. An., "Forsake me not," Spohr. E.: Garrett in F. An., "Ascribe unto the Lord," Wesley.

COUNTRY.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.—M.: Turle in D. An., "How goodly are Thy tents," Ouseley. A.: Turle in D. An., "Praise the Lord, O my soul," Garrett.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.—M.: Tours in F. An., "As the hart pants," Gounod. H. C., Stanford in B flat. A.: An., "Lift thine eyes," Mendelssohn.

LIVERPOOL CATHEDRAL.—A.: Tuckerman in F. An., "O praise our God," Buhler. E.: Barnby in E. An., "The healing of Bartimews," Burstall.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS.—M.: Stanford in B flat. An., "Remember not, Lord," Purcell. E.: Stanford in B flat. An., "I will sing of Thy great mercies," "O great is the depth," Mendelssohn.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.—M.: Wesley in E. E.: Wesley in E. An., "The Lord is my shepherd," Stanford.

BRISTOL, BEDMINSTER PARISH CHURCH.—M.: H. C., Ky., Cr., etc., Tours in F. Bene. and Ag. Dei, Cox in B flat. E.: Arnold in A. An., "The Heavens are telling," Haydn.

HALIFAX, HOLY TRINITY CHURCH.—M.: T. D., Jackson in F. Jub., Clarke-Whitfield in D. An., "I will magnify Thee," Baptiste-Calkin. E.: Stainer in D. An., "Blessed be the God and Father," S. S. Wesley.

HALIFAX PARISH CHURCH.—M.: An., "Be merciful unto me," Sydenham. E.: Smart in G. An., "If we believe," Goss.

HAMPTON COURT PALACE, CHAPEL ROYAL.—M.: Stanford in A. An., "We will rejoice," Croft. E.: Nares in F. An., "All we like sheep," Handel.

LEATHERHEAD, ST. JOHN'S SCHOOL.—M.: T. D., Cobb in G. E.: Parry in D. An., "Turn thee again," Attwood.

LIVERPOOL, ST. NICHOLAS PARISH CHURCH.—M.: Chipp in A. An., "Thy word is a lantern," Purcell. E.: Dykes in F. An., "Blessed is the man," Whitfield.

PRESTON PARISH CHURCH.—E.: An., "They were lovely and pleasant," Stainer.

RAINFHILL, ST. ANN'S PARISH CHURCH.—M.: Wallis in C. E.: Goss in A.

READING, ST. LAURENCE MUNICIPAL CHURCH.—M.: T. D., Woodward in E flat. H. C., Ky., etc., Deacon. Cr., Marbecke. E.: Battison-Haynes in E flat. An., "The Lord gave the word," Turner.

SOUTHAMPTON, ST. MARY'S CHURCH.—M.: Dykes in F. H. C., Dykes and Gray in F. E.: Dykes in F. An., "O praise God," Trippell.

SOUTH SHIELDS, ST. AIDAN'S CHURCH.—M.: T. D., Stephens in G. E.: An., "Send out thy light," Gounod.

WIGAN PARISH CHURCH.—E.: Smart in F. An., "Father of Heaven," Walmisley.

WIMBORNE MINSTER.—M.: Sullivan in D. E.: King in F. An., "Great is the Lord," Hayes.

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As one would perhaps expect, much of the best and most durable church music of this period came from the pens of experienced cathedral musicians such as Attwood, Goss, Wesley and Stainer, to whom must be added the Collegiate organists Walmisley, George Elvey, Garrett and Stanford.³¹ A careful perusal of the three ‘Service List’ columns in Illustrations 2, 3 and 4 clearly shows the change in emphasis of the routine church music repertoire by the last two decades of the century.³² The thousands of ordinary citizens who attended churches provided with new organs wished to hear them used, and they found much of the newly-written music far more interesting to listen to than unaccompanied anthems from the distant past. Temperley sums up the situation thus:

We may conclude that the advance of choralism was in no sense a victory for the Oxford Movement, or, indeed, for any idealistic group of churchmen. Rather, it was an expression of secular middle-class values and tastes, a part of the immense growth in appreciation of professional musical performance that marked the age. As we might predict, the music that these choirs performed was, for the most part, neither the austere Gregorian chant revered by the Tractarians, nor the heartfelt melody beloved of the Evangelicals. It was a music primarily harmonic in conception, with as much variety of colour as circumstances allowed, echoing the rich orchestral and operatic sonorities of Spohr, Meyerbeer, and Mendelssohn, or later of Gounod, Liszt, Brahms, and Wagner.³³

Even more remarkable than the large quantity of new music written for church choirs during the Victorian period, however, was the tremendous outpouring of new hymns and hymn tunes.³⁴ Of the many hymn books published during the period, it was *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, first published in 1861, that overtook all others in terms of popularity. Reprinted in ever expanded editions (1868, 1875, 1889), the balance of the book became ‘increasingly modern rather than ancient’,³⁵ helping it to maintain its supremacy until well into the second half of the twentieth century. Even repeated

³¹ Others whose church music gained wide popularity in the later Victorian period included Barnby, Dykes, Tours, E.J. Hopkins, Henry Smart and Sullivan.

³² A majority of the pieces listed here are by nineteenth century English composers, many of them still living, but Spohr, Gounod, and especially Mendelssohn are also present, as are also Handel, Haydn, Mozart and Schubert. Most of the music would require organ accompaniment, and the percentage of music composed before 1650 is very small indeed.

³³ Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, 286.

³⁴ Temperley, *ibid.*, 296, speaks of ‘The deluge of hymns’.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 298-9.

denigration of many Victorian hymn tunes, including a particularly vitriolic attack from Stanford in 1914, failed to destroy their popularity.³⁶

One final noteworthy feature of the church choral revival in the later nineteenth century was the increasing frequency of the use of orchestras to augment the organ in special services. Following his appointment to St Paul's Cathedral in 1872, Stainer introduced an orchestra as a regular feature of the annual Festival of the Sons of Clergy, and occasionally at other special services, especially the Patronal Festival in January. An early commission for one of these services was Stanford's *Evening Service in A*, first sung at the Sons of Clergy Festival in May 1880. Perusal of the 'events' columns in musical journals of the 1860s onwards reveals occasional reports of special services in churches around the country where orchestras, or at least a number of additional instruments, were used to supplement the organ, and such examples increased noticeably in the final years of the century.³⁷ The culmination of this late Victorian trend took shape in the formation in 1894 of a body based in London and known as the Church Orchestral Society.³⁸ The aim of the society was to establish an orchestra of competent amateurs who would rehearse regularly orchestral accompaniments to a core repertoire of cantatas, oratorios and service music, with a view to providing interested parties with a body of musicians capable of producing accompaniments of a high musical standard after a single combined rehearsal. To this end, the Society delayed the acceptance of engagements until it had its full complement of players and had

³⁶ Stanford, *Pages*, 310-11.

³⁷ Two examples are provided, firstly by *MT*, May 1894, 339: an Easter Day Communion Service with orchestra at St John's, Wilton Road, London, conducted by G.J. Bennett, with the note that a further Dedication Festival service with orchestra was planned; secondly by *MN*, 24 September 1898, referring to orchestrally accompanied Harvest Festival services, with Stanford's *Evening Service in A*, at St Thomas' Church, Newcastle. See also Hillsman, *Traits and Aims in Anglican Church Music*, 239-50.

³⁸ References to the early days of the Society may be found in *MN*, 4 November 1893, 1, and 4 August 1894, 98, and in *MT*, August 1894, 545.

sufficiently rehearsed its core repertoire.³⁹ George Bennett (later to be Organist of Lincoln Cathedral) was appointed conductor in 1895, and by the summer of 1897 the new president, Frederick Bridge (of Westminster Abbey) was able to report ‘remarkable progress’ and a great number of applications for the use of the orchestra.⁴⁰ It is most likely that many of the occasions on which the Church Orchestral Society played were not reported by the press, but there is still occasional mention of its activities, and it was certainly still in existence shortly before the First World War, when Stanford was elected its president.⁴¹

The Victorian enthusiasm for choral singing became so powerful, indeed, that it spread far beyond the confines of church choir-stalls and choral services. The desire to sing choral works of larger dimensions led not only to the increasing tendency to perform cantatas and oratorios, or parts of them, in church, at specially devised concerts or ‘musical services’, but also to the formation of hundreds of choral societies throughout the land and, alongside them, the development of regional Musical Festivals in major cities.

The development of the choral society and the musical festival

In the later years of the eighteenth century the most evident signs of choral activity, outside church and chapel, lay, firstly, in various madrigal, catch and glee clubs for middle- and upper-class gentlemen, and secondly in the numerous music clubs formed, mostly in the north of England, for the regular practice and performance of vocal and instrumental music.⁴² Large-scale choral performances, exemplified particularly by the Handel Festivals, beginning in 1784, were comparatively rare occurrences, and

³⁹ Notices in *MN*, 18 May 1895, 98; 27 July 1895, 69; 28 September 1895, 259; and *MT*, August 1895, 548; October 1895, 698; December 1895, 802.

⁴⁰ *MT*, September 1897, 623.

⁴¹ *MT*, January 1914, 30.

⁴² Percy M. Young, *History of British Music*, Ernest Benn, London 1967, 402, 411-12.

restricted in the main to professional performers. This situation saw a rapid transformation during the nineteenth century.

Between 1813 and 1854 numerous choral societies were formed, mostly in the north and midlands,⁴³ and this rapid development of choral activity in the northern half of the country proved beneficial to other areas of England, where numbers of singers for large choral performances could be reinforced by the importation of extra forces. London's Sacred Harmonic Society (founded in 1833) was one of the first choral groups to benefit from such an arrangement, bringing down singers from Yorkshire and Lancashire to assist in large-scale performances, and finding them local employment during their stay in the capital.⁴⁴

Soon, however, the great benefits of the singing-class movements began to reflect upon the membership of an ever-increasing number of choral societies, and even the Handel Festival choirs moved largely from professional to amateur singers.⁴⁵

The towns and cities which became the homes of Musical Festivals, mostly triennial, (to be discussed presently), naturally established their own choral societies which performed independently of the Festivals themselves but, by the final decades of the century, there were literally hundreds of choral groups throughout the country, many of them in quite small towns, giving regular concerts.⁴⁶ Joseph Bennett, in one of a series of articles tracing the development of music during sixty years of Queen Victoria's reign, summed up the proliferation of choral societies with the words: 'now [1897] you can hardly fling a stone in any part of the country without risk of hitting a member of some choral society'.⁴⁷

⁴³ Ibid., 427.

⁴⁴ Henry Davey, *History of English Music*, Curwen, London 1895, 449-50.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 457; also Donald Burrows, 'Victorian Music', *The Late Romantic Era* ed. Jim Samson, Macmillan, London 1991, 277.

⁴⁶ Examples of this spread and diversity are evident in Appendix 1.

⁴⁷ Joseph Bennett, 'Victorian Music', *MT*, January 1897, 11.

The earliest of London's several choral societies was the afore-mentioned Sacred Harmonic Society. Flourishing for half a century from 1832 to 1882, and conducted first by Joseph Surman, later by Michael Costa, it presented oratorio on a large scale, including the first London performances of Mendelssohn's *St Paul* in 1837, and the revised version of *Elijah* ten years later.⁴⁸

The Royal Albert Hall Choral Society was formed by Gounod in 1871, the year of the Hall's opening, but he soon handed over the conductorship to Joseph Barnby, who remained in the post until his death in 1896, after which the task fell to Sir Frederick Bridge, Organist of Westminster Abbey. The repertoire of this society – re-named 'Royal Choral Society' in 1888 – broadened to cover a full range of contemporary works.⁴⁹ Its number of singers remained large, to fulfil the demands of the vast building.

Another choir founded together with its host building was the Alexandra Palace Choral Society (1873), its programmes including revivals of lesser-known Handel oratorios.⁵⁰ In the first decade of the twentieth century the Society earned a high reputation under the conductor Allen Gill, performing not only Handel and Bach, but also Elgar, Dvořák and Coleridge-Taylor.⁵¹

The Bach Choir was formed by Otto Goldschmidt in 1875 to give the first English performances of Bach's B minor Mass. Goldschmidt's main object during his decade as conductor was to bring the major choral works of Bach before the British public, and his successors have all continued to regard Bach's music as the cornerstone of the choir's repertoire. Stanford took over in 1885, but by the turn of the century a decline

⁴⁸ Young, *History of British Music*, 438. This society ceased to exist, however, before the emergence of the first of Stanford's significant choral works.

⁴⁹ Barnby championed several of Stanford's earlier choral works, including *The Revenge*, *The Voyage of Maeldune* and *Eden*. Three performances of the *Songs of the Sea* and one each of *Songs of the Fleet* and *Stabat Mater* are recorded by Frederick Bridge in *A Westminster Pilgrim*, Novello/Hutchinson, London 1918, 351.

⁵⁰ *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Macmillan, London 2001, vol.15, 143.

⁵¹ William J. Galloway, *Musical England*, Christophers, London 1910, 118-9.

in membership and a consequent falling of standards caused him to resign in 1902. At this point the choir's future looked very uncertain, but in 1903 Walford Davies took over the choir and resurrected its fortunes, handing over to Hugh Allen in 1907. Allen remained until 1920, when he was succeeded in turn by Vaughan Williams. Under successive conductors the choir's repertoire broadened to encompass a wide range of music, but Bach has retained, to this day, an important place in its performance schedule.

After the turn of the century, in 1903, the London Choral Society was formed with the aim, under its conductor Arthur Fagge, of performing new choral works by British composers and reviving older works that were unjustly neglected. By 1910 concerts had included several Elgar works, Walford Davies's *Everyman*, Parry's *Pied Piper of Hamelin*, and works by Julius Harrison and Granville Bantock.⁵²

One other London-based choral venture of a slightly different nature was of considerable significance to audiences at the time. From 1867-72 the music publisher Novello sponsored a series of choral concerts, conducted by Barnby. At first the intention was to present the best examples of smaller-scale choral pieces, such as part-songs and glees, better served by a chamber-sized choir, but in 1869 the scheme was extended into a series of 'Oratorio Concerts', the main purpose of which was to give London audiences access to good choral music at a cheap price: entrance was one shilling.⁵³ In 1872 Barnby's choir was amalgamated with the new Royal Albert Hall Choral Society. In 1885 a new series entitled 'Novello's Oratorio Concerts' was instituted, with Alexander Mackenzie as conductor. Although established works were performed, a main purpose of this second burst of concert-giving was to give London audiences their first opportunity to hear some of the firm's most recently published

⁵² *Ibid.*, 117.

⁵³ [Joseph Bennett (?)], *A Short History of Cheap Music*, Novello, London 1887, 96-7, 103-7.

choral works.⁵⁴ One of the earliest of these concerts (14 December 1886) included Stanford's *Revenge*, but this second venture lasted only until 1889.⁵⁵ In 1905 a 'Novello Choir' was formed under the conductorship of William McNaught, performing works of large and small dimensions. It survived until 1924, giving in its final concert (May 1st of that year) a performance of Stanford's part-song *Corydon, arise*, possibly as a memorial gesture to the recently deceased composer.⁵⁶

Outside London, despite the ever-growing number of choral societies in all corners of the land, it was the provincial Musical Festivals that were of the greatest significance, attracting considerable attention nationwide. These festivals, most of which occurred on a triennial basis, will be considered in chronological order of their establishment.

The oldest of these choral events was, in fact, in London: the Festival of the Sons of Clergy, established in 1665 for charitable purposes, and held annually in St Paul's Cathedral right up to the present. Generally held in May, it consists of a single Festival Service with sermon. Music was originally centred around Purcell and Handel, but John Goss began to introduce a wider range of music in the 1830s, and from 1873 John Stainer re-introduced orchestral accompaniment and began to commission new pieces from contemporary composers. Stanford contributed his *Evening Service in A* for the 1880 Festival and the anthem *The Lord of Might* in 1903.

Most senior amongst the regional festivals is that of the three cathedral cities of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester. In existence by 1720, the 'Three Choirs' meetings took place from the outset in each of the cities in rotation.⁵⁷ From 1824 the annual Festivals were officially linked, like so many subsequently founded festivals elsewhere, to a charitable cause. The eighteenth-century meetings were dominated by the music of

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 138-9; *MT*, June 1885, 328, December 1885, 717.

⁵⁵ *MT*, October 1889, 600-601, in an article by Joseph Bennett, gives a complete list of works performed between 1885 and 1889.

⁵⁶ *MT*, June 1924, 553, gives the complete concert programme.

⁵⁷ See Anthony Boden, *Three Choirs, A History of the Festival*, A. Sutton, Stroud 1992, 1.

Handel, whose *Messiah* 'remained safely anchored to the Festivals for the whole of the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries'.⁵⁸ Originally a straightforward combination of the three cathedral choirs, during the nineteenth century, with the formation of mixed adult choral societies in each of the three cities, the Festival Choir grew in size and contained a mixture of professional and amateur forces.⁵⁹

In the later Victorian era the Three Choirs Festival increased in length and changed the emphasis of its repertoire, performing many more works by living composers, often specially commissioned. For the greatest number of first performances at these Festivals, the palm must be awarded to Parry (twelve between 1880 and 1912). Elgar, the composer most closely associated with the Three Choirs from 1877, when he first played in the orchestra, until his death, had only five first performances, yet the longest list of works performed, Parry coming a close second. Stanford, never so closely involved with the Three Choirs as these other two men, had only three first performances at the Three Choirs.⁶⁰ For their range and quality of music, the Three Choirs Festivals became ever more serious rivals to the Birmingham and Leeds Festivals, which had earlier established reputations for forward-looking policies in musical repertoire. This was especially the case following the appointment of a new triumvirate of Three Choirs cathedral organists in the 1890s.⁶¹

Whereas the Three Choirs Festivals occurred annually, though rotating between the three cathedral cities, the other important provincial festivals were held only once every three years. Such was the case with the next in seniority – the Birmingham Festival,

⁵⁸ Ibid., 93.

⁵⁹ The engagement of extra singers, many of them amateur, from other parts of the country began before the 1830s and continued for most of the century. See Boden, *Three Choirs*, 47-8. Watkins Shaw, *The Three Choirs Festival*, Baylis, Worcester and London 1954, 50, quotes an instance, in 1854, when a team of soloists sang the same works in three successive weeks at Worcester, Norwich and Liverpool.

⁶⁰ Figures from Shaw, *Three Choirs Festival*, 136-148. The three Stanford works commissioned for, or first heard at the Three Choirs were *Festival Overture* (1877), *The Last Post* (1900), and *Ye Holy Angels Bright* (1913), although the official 'first performance' of *The Last Post* at Hereford was, in fact, preceded by a private hearing at Buckingham Palace on 25 June 1900.

⁶¹ See Shaw, *Three Choirs*, 84-6; Boden, *Three Choirs*, 130-1.

which, beginning on a regular basis in 1784, and moving its concerts to the new town hall from 1834, had established a formidable reputation by the mid-nineteenth century. The seal of its success had been provided by the visits of Mendelssohn in 1837 and again, with his newly commissioned oratorio *Elijah* in 1846.⁶² This work was immediately recognised as a masterpiece and rapidly became the most popular oratorio after *Messiah* with English audiences – a position it retained well into the twentieth century.

Following Mendelssohn's early death, the Festival engaged well-known outside conductors to add lustre to the occasions: first Michael Costa (1849-1882), then Hans Richter (1885-1909), and finally Henry Wood for the last Festival in 1912. The formation of a permanent choral society from 1811 to serve the Festivals and, in the intervening periods, to give additional concerts, gave further stability to the Festivals themselves. Under William Stockley, the gifted chorus-master from 1855-1895, the performances of the Birmingham Festival Choral Society gained a high reputation.⁶³

From the 1860s onwards a steady stream of new works, many of them specially commissioned, was to adorn the festival programmes. The list of composers is long and includes both British and foreign musicians.⁶⁴ Stanford had three important first performances at Birmingham Festivals: his oratorios *The Three Holy Children* (1885) and *Eden* (1891), and the *Requiem* (1897). After 1897 Stanford's connection with Birmingham ceased, but Elgar's began at the 1900 Festival with the disastrous first performance of *The Dream of Gerontius*. Subsequent performances showed the true qualities of the work, however, and Elgar wrote three further choral works for Birmingham: *The Apostles* (1903), *The Kingdom* (1906) and *The Music Makers* (1912).

⁶² Anne-Elliott, *The Music Makers: A Brief History of the Birmingham Triennial Musical Festivals 1784-1912*, Birmingham Library Services, Birmingham 2000, 5-7.

⁶³ Nicholas Temperley, 'Birmingham', *New Grove Dictionary*, 1980 edition.

⁶⁴ Elliott, *Music Makers*, 32 gives a complete list of works first performed at Birmingham Festivals between 1834 and 1912.

The Birmingham Festivals did not survive the 1914-18 war, but achieved, together with Leeds, pre-eminent status amongst national musical events during their last couple of decades, with an ever more forward and outward looking repertoire.

The opening of the Norfolk and Norwich General Hospital in 1772 gave rise to sporadic fund-raising musical events during the next five decades. Eventually, in 1824, a Norwich and Norfolk Triennial Music Festival was established, with concerts based mainly in St Andrew's Hall – a converted medieval church – and St Peter Mancroft, rather than in the cathedral. A series of well-known conductors from London were engaged to add prestige to the events: Sir George Smart (1824-36), Julius Benedict (1845-78), Alberto Randegger (1881-1905) and Sir Henry Wood (1908-30). The orchestra and soloists, plus some of the chorus singers, were likewise drawn from outside East Anglia.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century Spohr's name was almost as central to the Norwich Festivals as Mendelssohn's was to those in Birmingham. The 1830 Festival included the first English performance of Spohr's *Last Judgement*, followed by his *Calvary* in 1839, conducted by the composer, and *The Fall of Babylon* in 1842.⁶⁵ The first of these works became a firm favourite at most, if not all of the English Festivals during the next few decades.

Almost from their inception, the Norwich Triennial Festivals became noted for their promotion of recent or newly-composed works, most of them by native composers. Parry, Mackenzie and Stanford all wrote works for Norwich, Stanford's contributions being the *Elegiac Ode* in 1884 and *Phaudrig Crohoore* in 1896. Of the 1884 Festival, Legge and Hansell state:

⁶⁵ See Galloway, *Musical England*, 94; Robin Legge & W.E. Hansell, *Annals of the Norwich and Norfolk Triennial Music Festivals, 1824-93*, Jarrold, Norwich 1896; *Grove II*, vol.III, 391-2 (W. Barclay Squire); *New Grove*, 2nd ed. 2001, vol.18, 68-9 (N. Temperley & others).

By common consent the Norwich meeting of 1884 was the best English festival of the year, not only because of the superior excellence of the performances, but also by reason of the fact that the two principal novelties were by native composers.⁶⁶

A further significant first performance at Norwich was that of Elgar's *Sea Pictures* in 1899. Unlike the Birmingham Festivals, which were never revived on a regular basis after the 1914-18 war, those at Norwich survived two world wars and continued into the later twentieth century.

The last of the major Triennial Musical Festivals to be founded was that at Leeds, coinciding with the opening in 1858 of the new town hall. Here too, profits were donated to local charities.⁶⁷ Sullivan became Festival Conductor from 1880 to 1898, during which period the Festival gained an important status and reputation, commissioning new works from, amongst others, Raff, Dvořák, Massenet, Humperdinck, Parry, Stanford, Elgar and Sullivan himself. Stanford's first Leeds offering was his choral ballad *The Revenge* (1886), where it shared the limelight with Sullivan's *Golden Legend*. Subsequently *The Voyage of Maeldune* (1889), the *Te Deum*, Op.66 (1898), the *Songs of the Sea* (1904), the *Stabat Mater* (1907), and the *Songs of the Fleet* (1910) all had their first hearings at Leeds Festivals. Such an impressive list of first performances, added to Stanford's appointments as chief conductor of the Leeds Festivals (1901-1910) and of the Leeds Philharmonic Society (1897-1909), undoubtedly make his connection with the city more significant than those with other provincial centres.⁶⁸ Despite a falling popularity and financial troubles in the later years of Stanford's conductorship, the Leeds Festivals introduced some English works of lasting significance to the repertoire, notably Elgar's *Caractacus* (1898) and *Falstaff* (1913), and Vaughan Williams's *Sea Symphony* (1910) before the First World

⁶⁶ Legge & Hansell, *Annals*, 238. The two new works were Stanford's *Elegiac Ode* and Mackenzie's *Rose of Sharon*.

⁶⁷ For details of the early history of the Leeds Festivals see *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 2001, vol.14, 462 (Percy M. Young), and *Grove II*, vol.II, 663.

⁶⁸ The Leeds chorus became one of the most respected of the northern choirs, often supplying singers to augment choirs at other festivals. See Shaw, *Three Choirs*, 73.

War, which temporarily halted all the musical festivals. After the war the Festival was revived, continuing until 1970.

None of the several other provincial festivals inaugurated during the period 1870-1910 achieved the status of those already discussed, although Stanford's ode *The Bard* was commissioned for the Cardiff Festival of 1895, and his *Wellington Ode* received its first hearing at the Bristol Festival of 1908. One further festival is worthy of mention in the context of this study, however, partly because of its promotion of Stanford's works, but also because of its unusual nature and setting.

The Hovingham Festivals were the creation of a country parson, Canon Percy Pemberton, in 1886. Vicar of Gilling, a small parish in rural Yorkshire, roughly midway between Malton and Thirsk, and a keen amateur musician, Pemberton discussed with Sir William Worsley, squire of the adjoining village of Hovingham, the possibility of attempting a musical festival in the large Riding School of Hovingham Hall. As a result of Pemberton's enthusiasm and persistence, a series of successful festivals followed, almost annually, until his retirement in 1906. These festivals were the more remarkable in that the chorus and orchestra were formed in the main from local talent, only vocal and instrumental soloists – and the best-known, at that – coming from further afield. The list of works performed is impressive, and contemporary reviews were often highly complimentary. Stanford figured in several programmes, and was represented by *The Revenge*, *The Three Holy Children* (part 1), the *Te Deum*, *Op.66*, and *The Last Post*.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ See Galloway, *Musical England*, 100-102; Herbert Thompson, 'The Hovingham Festival', *MT*, November 1903, 739-41 gives a brief history as well as a report of the 1903 Festival. *MT* the following month (December 1903, 792) gives a list of works performed at the Festivals between 1887 and 1903.

The growth of music publishing and the production of cheap choral music

This rich profusion of choral activity could not have developed without an ever-increasing supply of printed music, and nineteenth century England saw a parallel growth of choral singing and music publishing. Despite the existence, in the early years of the century, of numerous music publishing concerns, it was the firm established in London from 1811 by Vincent Novello which, by its perception of a need for a plentiful supply of good choral music at prices which were within the reach of the lower and lower-middle classes, to a large extent cornered a huge market. The story of the production of affordable music for choirs of all kinds is effectively, though not entirely, the story of Novello's publishing ventures. Much has been written about the history and fortunes of this firm, and the following brief summary will draw on sources both well-known and more obscure.⁷⁰

Although Vincent Novello was himself a musician and business man of energy and vision, it was during the proprietorship of his son James Alfred (from 1829-1866) that the Novello publishing business evolved from an unpretentious family concern into one of the leading British music publishing houses. Greatly expanding the business during the 1830s and 40s, readily embracing new advances in printing technology, and accurately predicting an imminent sharp rise in demand for copies of choral music at a cheap price, Alfred Novello pioneered the octavo size for choral scores – a format which proved so convenient to choral singers that it was subsequently adopted by many

⁷⁰ [Bennett (?)], *A Short History of Cheap Music*; Laurence Swinyard, *A Century and a Half in Soho: A Short History of the Firm of Novello, 1811-1961*, Novello, London 1961; Michael Hurd, *Vincent Novello – and Company*, Novello, London 1981; Victoria Cooper, *The House of Novello – Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829-1866*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2003. Various articles and columns from the musical journals of the period fill out the story further. These include items from *MS* and *MN*, but of particular interest is the firm's celebration of its centenary in *MT* for June 1911, which includes both an interview with the current head of the firm, Alfred Littleton, and a 21 page supplement giving a brief history of the firm and its achievements.

other firms.⁷¹ The ever-increasing demand for choral scores led to longer print runs, and a consequent lowering of sale prices was greatly assisted by the removal, during the 1850s, of the taxes on paper and printing.⁷²

Alfred Novello, anxious not only to link his firm with the choral festivals, but also to expand publication to embrace modern works, began this process by securing the English copyright for Mendelssohn's *St Paul* in advance of the first English performance at the Liverpool Festival in October 1836.⁷³ The firm's list of choral music grew rapidly, and in addition to the expanding lists of cantata and oratorio scores, various other series of choral publications were added.⁷⁴ By 1866, when Henry Littleton took over as head of the company, Novello had become known as the main English publisher of sacred music.⁷⁵ An indication of the extent of increase in the firm's output may be seen in the fact that the 1893 House catalogue is approximately four times the size of that of 1858, and embraces huge quantities of music by living or recently dead composers, both English and foreign. English composers, indeed, were being given every encouragement, and the 1893 catalogue abounds in new cantatas, oratorios, anthems and part-songs of native provenance.⁷⁶

Stanford was one of the new composers promoted and encouraged by Novello in the earlier years of his career (roughly from 1877-1895), and amongst the choral works published during this period two in particular – the B flat Service (1879) and *The*

⁷¹ The octavo format evolved originally from its use for the music supplements issued with each number of *MT*, the Novello house journal, from its inception in 1844. See Cooper, *The House of Novello*, 72, 126; *A Short History of Cheap Music*, 39-40.

⁷² Cooper, *The House of Novello*, 12-13, quotes some interesting statistics to demonstrate how the more modest prices placed music scores within the reach of an ever wider social range of people. The campaign for, and eventual removal of the 'taxes on knowledge' is documented in *Cheap Music*, 59-67; Cooper, *House of Novello*, 115-120; *MT*, Novello Centenary Supplement, June 1911, 10-11.

⁷³ Hurd, *Vincent Novello*, 41.

⁷⁴ These included the Novello Part-song Book, Octavo Anthems, Octavo Choruses, Parish Choir Book, Church Services, Short Anthems, and Musical Times (the musical supplements available independently of the journal). Tonic solfa editions were also produced where there was a market for them.

⁷⁵ *MN*, 2 December 1891, 503, refers to the fact that the words 'The Sacred Music Warehouse' appeared in gold letters on the Novello premises in Dean Street.

⁷⁶ Hurd, *Vincent Novello*, 68-70.

Revenge (1886) – became enormously popular, selling many thousands of copies during the next few decades.⁷⁷ Stanford's somewhat argumentative nature and mercurial temper caused strained relations with various publishers from time to time, and Novello was one of the casualties.⁷⁸

Although no other British music publisher of the Victorian and Edwardian era in any way rivalled Novello in its degree of dedication to serious choral music or the sheer volume of its choral publications, several other firms merit brief attention for their work in this field.⁷⁹

Boosey & Co., originally founded in 1816, became known during the later nineteenth century chiefly as a publisher of popular ballads, but the business also produced a small amount of choral music.⁸⁰ Stanford had several choral works published by the firm at intervals throughout his working life, beginning with the anthem *Awake my heart* (1881) and concluding with *At the Abbey Gate* (1921).⁸¹

The firm of Chappell had its origins in London from 1810, and specialised in popular dance music and light opera. Its relatively small list of choral music included, however, Stanford's first published choral work, *The Resurrection (Die Auferstehung)* (1875).⁸²

⁷⁷ A list of Stanford's choral works and their publishers will be found in Appendix 2. The two recent biographies of the composer quote sales figures for vocal scores of *The Revenge* as over 60,000 by 1897; 120,000 by 1914; 195,000 by 1939: see Jeremy Dibble, *Charles Villiers Stanford, Man and Musician*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002, 178; Paul Rodmell, *Charles Villiers Stanford*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2002, 119.

⁷⁸ In the closing years of his life, however, Stanford returned to Novello for the publication of some short anthems, the most lastingly successful of them being *How beautiful are their feet* (1923).

⁷⁹ The establishment of Stainer & Bell in 1907 launched Novello's closest rival in this field. In the early years of the twentieth century Curwen also built up a sizeable catalogue of choral music: an article in *Musical Opinion (MO)*, August 1923, 1075, one of a series on 'Popular Editions', devotes itself to the Curwen Edition, listing 25 contemporary composers, including Stanford, Walford Davies, Holst, Ireland and Vaughan Williams, whose works appeared in the catalogue.

⁸⁰ See *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 2001, vol.3, 885.

⁸¹ Boosey also published most of Stanford's operas and reprints of choral works originally issued by other firms, e.g. the *Elegiac Ode* and *The Three Holy Children*.

⁸² Thomas Chappell (1819-1902) expanded the firm, and played a leading role in the fight against musical piracy – a cause also vigorously supported by Stanford – and influencing the effective Copyright Act of 1906. See *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 2001, vol.5, 492.

Robert Cocks (1798-1887) established his London music publishing firm in 1823, and the business continued in the family until 1904. As well as an involvement in concert management and the publication of over 16,000 works, Cocks managed a large circulating library and issued cheap scores of oratorios, and it was these aspects of the firm's work that had the greatest impact upon the world of choral music.⁸³

Stanley Lucas, Weber & Co. was a business whose high-minded aspirations for the publication of good quality serious music could not be sustained, in the prevailing crowded music-publishing market, for more than twenty years (1873-93). Stanford's *Elegiac Ode* and *The Three Holy Children* were first published by this firm.

The English firm of Augener began in 1853 as importers of music, and from 1867 produced cheap editions of the classics, together with modern works, in the Augener Edition. Although the firm was not particularly noted for choral music, its house journal, *Monthly Musical Record* (1871-1960), earned a considerable reputation for coverage of musical life and events around the country. Augener absorbed the business of Robert Cocks in 1904.⁸⁴

In 1907 a group of London-based musicians and musically-minded businessmen established in Berners Street a new firm, called (at random) Stainer and Bell, with the express purpose of publishing new music – choral and instrumental – by English composers.⁸⁵ The new venture quickly established a reputation, and from its beginning published numerous sheet editions of choral music in series such as the Choral Library, Church Choir Library, Modern Church Services and Unison Songs. The firm was ideally suited to Stanford's needs at this time, and he gave the firm his full support, assisting in the search for financial investment in its first years. From 1908 onwards

⁸³ *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 2001, vol.6, 79.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vol.2, 168.

⁸⁵ Richard Walthew, a former pupil of Parry, was a founder member of the board, and the singer Harry Plunket Greene, a close associate of Stanford and Parry's son-in-law, joined within a year.

most of Stanford's smaller-scale choral pieces were published by Stainer and Bell. The connection continued after his death with some posthumously published anthems, including the most dramatic work for church choir in his entire output – *For lo, I raise up* (1939). It is highly likely, moreover, that the firm's decision to publish works by Holst, Vaughan Williams, and other former Stanford pupils was in some degree due to the older man's influence.⁸⁶

Stanford was unceasing in his efforts to gain fair treatment from publishers, not only for himself but for others, and here his belligerent nature often proved advantageous. In 1904 he almost bullied fellow musicians, including Elgar, into supporting a Musical Defence League for the purpose of lobbying Parliament for a change in the law. The result was the Copyright Act of 1906, which secured more advantageous terms and rights for composers.⁸⁷ He would have been additionally heartened by the passing of a further Copyright Act in 1911 and by the formation of the Performing Right Society in 1914.

The condition of Cathedral and Collegiate music in the Victorian and Edwardian era

The existence, in the cathedrals of England, of often ancient endowments and statutes making provision for the maintenance of daily choral services with professional choirs and organists did not of itself guarantee excellence of musical standards. The general malaise in the Church of England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries affected cathedrals as much as parish churches: untidy, neglected buildings and services conducted in a slovenly manner were features to be found everywhere. A general complacency in matters of ritual combined with a taste for lengthy sermons meant that

⁸⁶ Dibble, *Stanford*, 383–4; *New Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 2001, vol.24, 262–3.

⁸⁷ Dibble, *Stanford*, 339–41. Stanford also waded in to the debate concerning the financial plight of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's family following his premature death in 1912. See Dibble, 400 and Rodmell, *Stanford*, 276–8.

musical considerations were often side-lined to the point where such music as there was, even in cathedrals, was of a poor and unworthy standard.⁸⁸ Even misappropriation of the financial provisions for cathedral music was by no means unknown.⁸⁹

The large number of surviving eye-(and ear-)witness accounts from the period present a generally dismal account of the state of cathedral music, making it clear that it was certainly not before the last decades of the nineteenth century that any widespread improvement took place. Reports of gabbled, untidy psalm singing,⁹⁰ poor attendance or unpunctuality of lay-clerks, bad behaviour (of lay-clerks and choristers) during services, filthy and torn surplices, lack of processions in and out of services, and numerous other failings are all too frequent.⁹¹

Poor standards were, moreover, not restricted to provincial cathedrals, but were also to be found in the capital: the music at both St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey left a great deal to be desired until the 1870s and 80s.⁹²

In the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, standards of musical performance were hampered not only by lack of rehearsal, but also by the absence of proper planning.⁹³ The earliest surviving cathedral music list – a handwritten one – is to be found at Hereford and shows the service music for two weeks in August 1851.⁹⁴ It was to be another two decades or more before printed cathedral music lists became at all widespread.

⁸⁸ Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 204, 245-6 etc. gives details of considerable variations in musical standards from one cathedral to another.

⁸⁹ Nicholas Temperley, 'Cathedral Music', *Blackwell History*, vol.5, 171.

⁹⁰ The first reported use of a pointed psalter was at Ely in 1837. For further information on haphazard and unrehearsed psalm-singing see Temperley, 'Cathedral Music', 176-7; Philip Barrett, *Barchester, English Cathedral Life in the Nineteenth Century*, SPCK, London 1993, 149-150.

⁹¹ Barrett, *Barchester*, 115-215; Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 243-262.

⁹² See Barrett, *Barchester*, xiii & 173 and Temperley, 'Cathedral Music', 172.

⁹³ Salisbury was one of several cathedrals where the music was chosen actually *during* the service. Such a system precluded any possibility of rehearsal and enforced a very limited repertoire. See Barrett, *Barchester*, 151.

⁹⁴ Reproduced in Barrett, *Barchester*, between 236 & 237.

Cathedral choir repertoire in the earlier nineteenth century was dominated by verse anthems and services, mostly from the eighteenth century. Prevailing taste favoured the solo voice, and many cathedral lay-clerks thought of themselves primarily as soloists. The result was that in many cathedrals, especially at Sunday Evensong, the music could be more suggestive of the opera-house than of a solemn church service.⁹⁵ As the century wore on, the emphasis on verse music declined, though more choruses from oratorios were introduced. Much of the new church music written in the latter decades of the century was intended primarily for the parish church market, although gradually more contemporary music found its way into cathedral repertoires.⁹⁶

One of the first to identify an urgent need for reform in cathedral music was Maria Hackett (1783-1874), a determined lady who devoted her life to visiting cathedrals throughout the country and pressing for improvements to the welfare and education of choristers and in the conduct of services.⁹⁷

In the 1830s and 40s others joined the fray, notably John Peace,⁹⁸ John Jebb,⁹⁹ S.S. Wesley,¹⁰⁰ and Frederick Ouseley.¹⁰¹ Of these four, Wesley, the only practising cathedral musician, was perhaps the most outspoken, arguing for far-sighted reforms to make the business of cathedral music a truly worthy and rewarding profession.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Barrett, *Barchester*, 178-9; Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 245-6; Stanford, in *Pages*, 36-8, describes his boyhood experiences (in the 1850s and 60s) at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Later in life, Stanford found himself battling against the remnants of a similarly solo-orientated repertoire, with contributions from lay-clerks long past their best, at Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁹⁶ Hand-written part-books and the printed eighteenth century collections by Boyce and others remained in regular cathedral use for many years, and in a few places (Durham amongst them) were still in occasional use as late as the 1950s, 60s and early 70s. Such late usage at Durham is verified by Alan Thurlow, assistant cathedral organist in the 1970s.

⁹⁷ Already at work (at St Paul's) in 1811, she remained an influential figure for several decades. See Barrett, *Barchester*, 197.

⁹⁸ 'Apology for Cathedral Service' (1839), summarized in Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 246-51.

⁹⁹ 'The Choral Service of the Church' (1843), summarized in Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 252-3.

¹⁰⁰ S.S. Wesley, *A Few Words on Cathedral Music*, London & Leeds 1849.

¹⁰¹ Finally and most notably with the foundation of Ouseley's model college for Cathedral Music at St Michael's, Tenbury Wells in 1856.

¹⁰² Barrett, *Barchester*, 177-8.

The appointments at St Paul's of Canon (later Dean) Robert Gregory (1868) and John Stainer (organist from 1872) marked the beginning of an era of reform in English cathedrals. The great improvements achieved within a decade by Stainer and Gregory in the conduct and music of the services at St Paul's were soon to be emulated in many provincial cathedrals.¹⁰³ Choirs were strengthened in numbers, choir schools improved, lay-clerks' pay increased, repertoire expanded to include a wider range of music, including newly written anthems and settings, the music more adequately rehearsed, and cathedral services conducted in a more seemly and dignified way, with clean-surpliced singers and clergy processing to and from their stalls, responses properly intoned, and psalms sung from pointed psalters.¹⁰⁴ At St Paul's it was Precentor Simpson's determination to encourage young composers for the church by giving their works a hearing that assisted Stanford in his early years.¹⁰⁵ Simpson was, moreover, a devotee of octavo choral editions, and equipped the St Paul's music library with a large quantity of new copies, replacing worn out folio and part-book editions.¹⁰⁶

The College Chapels at Oxford and Cambridge had suffered a period of neglect perhaps even more acute than the cathedrals, for in many cases the ancient provision for choral services had become totally ignored, chapel services being read, either in an undignified gabble or in a desultory and lethargic manner. Since daily attendance at services was compulsory for all undergraduates, a large percentage of whom would eventually become ordained priests, such a situation was serious in that it set a

¹⁰³ Timothy Storey, *The Music of St Paul's Cathedral 1872-1972*, unpublished University of Durham MMus. Thesis, 1998, gives a detailed account of the reforms achieved at St Paul's by Gregory, Stainer and W. Sparrow Simpson (Precentor).

¹⁰⁴ Barrett, *Barchester*, 166-215 gives numerous examples of the laxity in choirs of the mid-century and of the many strenuous efforts at improvement in later decades.

¹⁰⁵ Stanford's B flat Service was performed complete at St Paul's in January 1880, a mere six months after its publication, the A major Evening Service was commissioned for the Sons of Clergy Festival in May 1880, and several of Stanford's later anthems and settings were taken into the St Paul's repertoire very soon after appearing in print.

¹⁰⁶ Storey, *Music of St Paul's*, 56.

deplorable example – so much so that many of those present resorted to ‘preparing lectures’ during services to relieve their boredom.¹⁰⁷

At Oxford three choral foundations had survived intact into the nineteenth century. At Christ Church, with its unique dual function as both college chapel and cathedral, the appalling state of the music during Thomas Gaisford’s years as Dean (1831-55) led many to regard its choir as amongst the worst in the country. Of the other two college choirs in the 1840s, Magdalen had been under the care of Walter Vicary since 1797. By the 1840s he was past his prime and standards had slipped. New College had perhaps the best maintained choir in Oxford at this time, run by Stephen Elvey, though here, as at Christ Church and Magdalen, the behaviour of the boys apparently left much to be desired.¹⁰⁸

The condition of music in the Oxford college chapels began a slow process of improvement only following John Stainer’s appointment as organist of Magdalen in 1860. As he was later to do at St Paul’s, Stainer immediately insisted upon regular practices for the lay-clerks, overhauled the repertoire, and, with his combination of personal charm and determination, raised standards considerably within a relatively short period. After his move to St Paul’s in 1872, his successor Walter Parratt continued the quest for the highest standards.¹⁰⁹

Within the University of Cambridge there was a roughly similar situation in the 1840s and early 1850s. As at Oxford, most of the colleges had neglected their ancient provisions for choral services, and the three surviving choral foundations were to be found at King’s, Trinity and St John’s. Although King’s College had its own treble

¹⁰⁷ Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 201-2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 202-10.

¹⁰⁹ Peter Charlton, *John Stainer and the Musical Life of Victorian Britain*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot and London 1984, 22-25.

choristers, Trinity and St John's shared the same boys, and all three colleges were served by the same six lay-clerks, some of them elderly.¹¹⁰

The Trinity and St John's choirs were both run by Walmisley until his death in 1856, and as a result of his energy, kindness and excellent musicianship, the standard of singing in these two colleges was relatively good, although the effects of the choristers having to move quickly on a Sunday from one college to another for a lengthy round of services could hardly have been beneficial. Walmisley himself had to officiate at seven services each Sunday, running between his two colleges and the University Church.

At King's College, however, under the 'infirm and tyrannical' organist John Pratt, a far worse situation is described by Adelman, quoting at some length from two eye-witness accounts, and concluding that 'the much-vaunted music at King's in 1842,3 was radically bad'.¹¹¹

Despite Pratt's increasing reliance on deputies, he retained his post at King's until his death in 1855. His successor, William Amps, was not a strong character, moreover, and sweeping improvements at King's did not occur until the appointment of Arthur H. Mann as organist in the 1870s. After Walmisley's death in 1856, the choirs of Trinity and St John's were separated. During the long tenure of George Garrett (1857-97), the St John's choir was able to establish its own tradition with an increased number of services in its splendid new chapel. At Trinity, John Larkin Hopkins embarked upon a similar course, establishing the newly independent college choir, rebuilding the organ, and instituting regular series of organ recitals. These arrangements were continued by Stanford when he succeeded Hopkins in 1873. Inheriting several worn-out lay-clerks,

¹¹⁰ Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 206-7; Adelman, *Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, 34, quotes an article (probably by Benjamin Webb) from *The Ecclesiologist*, September 1843, which describes the situation at Cambridge as 'disgraceful' with 'a few miserable and effete singers running from choir to choir'.

¹¹¹ Adelman, *Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, 48-9, quoting from W.E. Dickson, *Fifty Years of Church Music*, Ely 1894, and T. Case, *Memoirs of a King's College Chorister*, Cambridge 1889.

Stanford negotiated pensions for them with the college authorities, enabling him to appoint younger, fresher voices.¹¹² Gradually, too, choral services were revived in other Oxford and Cambridge colleges, though sometimes on an unpaid basis, with undergraduates supplying the music. The notion of undergraduate choral scholars slowly took root in one college after another, though lay-clerks were employed in the principal collegiate choral foundations for several decades to come.

The reform and improvement of choral services in the college chapels of Oxford and Cambridge became, at Cambridge in particular, a matter of great and immediate concern to those clergy and theological students involved in the Ecclesiological Movement from the early 1840s onwards. In 1853 an article in the *Edinburgh Review* had drawn attention to the discrepancy between ‘dormant’ cathedrals and ‘revitalised’ parish churches. The slowness of change, both here and in the cathedrals – lagging several years behind the vigorous reforms in parish churches – is, however, accounted for quite simply. In Bernarr Rainbow’s words:

The fruits of the Oxford Movement were first carried beyond the confines of the University as young, newly-ordained curates applied the Movement’s practical influence to their first incumbencies. It was thus for many years in the urban or rural parish – rather than the cathedral – that direct impact was felt. ... [Cathedrals] had often perforce to wait the appointment of new residentiaries whose earlier experience as parish priests had persuaded them of the merit of such reform as they sought to introduce in their new spheres of office.¹¹³

By the final decade of the century, the quality of cathedral and collegiate choirs had radically improved, choir schools were better run, lay-clerks could more readily be pensioned off, and repertoires were greatly enlarged. Not everything was quite as it could have been, however, and Stanford gave eloquent voice to the concerns of many a cathedral and collegiate organist in a paper read to the Church Congress of 1899.¹¹⁴ His main concerns were the absence from service lists of sufficient good music of earlier centuries, and too great a prominence of contemporary music of poor quality and

¹¹² Stanford himself tells an amusing anecdote concerning this process in *Pages*, 131-2.

¹¹³ Rainbow, *Choral Revival*, 259-60.

¹¹⁴ Reprinted in Charles V. Stanford, *Studies and Memories*, Constable, London 1908, 61-9 as ‘Music in Cathedral and Church Choirs’.

foreign music not suitable for the Anglican liturgy. This, he contended, was the unfortunate result of the power invested in precentors to have sole charge of choosing the music to be sung. He argued his case well, and quite possibly caused many a dean and chapter, or college master, to consider his words carefully.

That the nineteenth century was one of sweeping changes and rapid developments in every aspect of British life has long been recognised. The purpose of this present chapter has been to demonstrate the enormous extent of this spirit of development in the sphere of choral music. It has been seen that musical developments came most quickly where there was little or no tradition upon which to build. It was, indeed, in cathedral music, where a venerable tradition existed, dating back several centuries, that change took place most slowly. Radical change and improvement came at last even here, however, and the close of the nineteenth century saw a level of choral activity throughout Britain, much of it of a high quality, infinitely greater than at any previous period in history. The Victorian obsession with self-improvement was as marked in the sphere of music as in any other aspect of daily life.

Chapter Two

The Press and Musical Criticism, c.1840-c.1925

Before commencing an examination of press reaction to Stanford's choral music it is necessary to make a brief investigation of the enormous growth of journalism and the vast expansion in the number of newspapers and journals published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter seeks to provide some background information on most, if not all of the sources from which material referring to Stanford's choral music has been selected. The development of musical journalism in particular provides a focus for attention, and the chapter concludes with a brief evaluation of the qualities of some of the more prominent critics of Stanford's music.

The rapid expansion of the press and journalism

'The news' as we understand it is a nineteenth-century creation.¹

If one were forced to encapsulate in a single short sentence the enormous expansion and development of journalism during the Victorian era, Lucy Brown's definition in the introduction to her 1985 study of the subject could hardly be bettered.

Although the closing decades of the eighteenth century had seen the establishment of several daily newspapers, including the *Morning Chronicle* (1770), the *Morning Post* (1772), the *Morning Herald* (1781) and, most significantly, *The Times* (1788), that 'great representative of journalistic dignity, power and ... mystery',² readership was limited to the literate and better-off classes. The repeal, during the 1850s, of various taxes on publication and paper made a sudden and dramatic change in the fortunes of the press. The most significant single event was the abolition of the newspaper stamp

¹ Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1985, 1.

² J.D. Symon, *The Press and its Story*, Seeley, Service & Co., London 1914, 166.

duty in 1855.³ This paved the way for the introduction of fresh newspapers at a price cheap enough for the less well-off to afford, and the ‘penny press’ was born. Moreover, as the century progressed, advances in education provided ever greater numbers of literate men and women – all of them potential purchasers of daily newspapers.

Of the newer papers, the *Daily News* was founded in 1846, shortly before the reforms of the 1850s, under Charles Dickens as editor. The *Daily Telegraph*, destined to gain, by the end of the century, the largest readership of any daily paper,⁴ followed in 1855, together with the *Clerkenwell News and Daily Chronicle* (renamed simply *Daily Chronicle* following a change of ownership in 1877), both papers selling at one penny.⁵

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, its title inspired by Thackeray, first appeared in 1865 and was, from the first, a daily evening paper ‘written by gentlemen for gentlemen’.⁶ By 1860 there were in London nine morning and six evening daily papers (three of them selling at a penny), while the provinces had sixteen dailies, sixteen papers published twice weekly and one (the *Leeds Mercury*) which appeared three times a week. By the 1880s the total number of daily papers throughout the country had increased to about one hundred and fifty.⁷ During the second half of the century newspapers became an established ‘part of the normal furniture of life for all classes’, implying the ownership of a daily paper by almost every household in the country.⁸ Some papers were issued in the morning, some in the early evening, a few twice a day, but evening papers were often lighter and more relaxed in style than morning ones.⁹ As the number and circulation of newspapers increased, their content also expanded to reflect the widening

³ *Ibid.*, 277-89 and Dennis Griffiths, *Fleet Street: Five Hundred Years of the Press*, The British Library, London 2006, 92-113 give detailed accounts of these reforms, while James Curran and Jean Seaton, *Power without Responsibility*, sixth edition, Routledge, London 2003, 18-22 provides a shorter commentary.

⁴ Brown, *Victorian News*, 52 gives the *DTel* readership in 1888 as 300,000.

⁵ Symon, *The Press*, 186-206.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 146-151; also Griffiths, *Fleet Street*, 114-9.

⁷ Brown, *Victorian News*, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁹ ‘the one is ... for the man going to work, the other essentially for the man whose day’s work is done’. See Symon, *The Press*, 141.

standards of literacy and range of interests amongst readers. This came increasingly to include coverage of events in the fields of art, literature, drama and music.

Alongside this great expansion of activity in provision of daily reportage of news and events the Victorian era saw an even more remarkable proliferation of weekly, fortnightly and monthly journals. Intended for more leisurely, recreational reading, such publications catered for an enormous range of interests, perhaps the majority of them being aimed at a particular select readership.¹⁰

For the purposes of this present study it is but a tiny proportion of this deluge of journals which will be of interest: those publications which dealt either solely with musical matters, or with the arts in general. Chief among the general arts journals for consideration here will be the *Saturday Review*, the *Fortnightly Review*, and, most prominently, the *Athenaeum*, for two of them published both general articles on musical subjects and detailed reviews of particular concerts or works, whilst the *Fortnightly Review* published, during the 1890s, several musical articles of a controversial nature.

The most significant of the musical journals was *The Musical Times* (established 1842), but also of considerable importance for their reviewing of concerts and publications were *Musical World*, *Musical Standard*, *Musical News* and *Musical Opinion*. The basic nature and content of these will be examined in due course.

Coverage of music in the daily press

Most of the Victorian daily papers developed some form of critical coverage of the arts, some on an occasional basis, but others more regularly. Some papers employed one critic to cover two or more fields (art, drama, music), but the larger and more prestigious papers came to engage separate critics for each area of the arts, and a few,

¹⁰ The eventual sheer number of these journals – at least 50,000 according to a 1978 estimate – elicited from Christopher Kent the comment that ‘Victorian Britain was above all a journalizing society’. See Christopher Kent, Introductory chapter to *British Literary Magazines – The Victorian and Edwardian Age*, ed. Alvin Sullivan, Greenwood Press, Connecticut and London 1985, xiii.

such as *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* in London, and the *Manchester Guardian*, *Yorkshire Post*, and *Birmingham Post* in the provinces, employed regular salaried critics. The chief music critic of a paper, once appointed, was generally free to choose his own assistant(s).

One noteworthy general feature of Victorian journalism, affecting music and arts coverage just as much as any other area, was the consistency of linguistic style in otherwise very different papers.¹¹ Another convention of the period – persisting in many cases well into the twentieth century – was that of anonymity amongst journalists. Although initials or pseudonyms were occasionally used, signed columns and articles were rare, making the attribution of material to specific writers in many cases problematic, and sometimes impossible.¹² The chief music critics of the more significant papers can often be identified from other contemporary sources,¹³ but the names of assistant critics can be somewhat more elusive.¹⁴

Before the middle of the nineteenth century, *The Times* was firmly established as the most widely read and most influential English daily newspaper – a position it retained until eclipsed in terms of numerical readership by the *Daily Telegraph* during the 1850s.¹⁵ The paper, known colloquially as ‘The Thunderer’, earned its nickname by taking a strong line on important issues of the day, such as Irish Home Rule, and ‘thundered’ also in its promotion of English music during the Victorian period. *The Times* maintained a regular coverage of music throughout the later decades of the Victorian era, reporting, with few exceptions, all major concerts, musical festivals and operas, reviews invariably appearing within forty-eight hours. Music was regarded as

¹¹ Brown, *Victorian News*, 100-102.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3 and Kent, *Introduction to British Literary Magazines*, xix.

¹³ Joseph Bennett’s autobiographical *Forty Years of Music, 1865-1905*, Methuen, London 1908, is a mine of such information, albeit of somewhat suspect accuracy, especially regarding exact dates.

¹⁴ Appendix III gives a list of music critics listed by journal, compiled from various sources.

¹⁵ Brown, *Victorian News*, 52 gives 1861 readership of the two papers as follows: *DTel* 141,700; *T* 65,000.

an essential ingredient in the paper's format, with a generous allocation of column space, enabling lengthy and detailed treatment of individual works when deemed necessary.¹⁶ Although its long-serving music critic James Davison (1846-78) 'elevated the craft of music journalism',¹⁷ he lived to see few of the mature works of the Parry, Mackenzie and Stanford generation, but his successors at *The Times* – Hueffer and Fuller Maitland – provided much thoughtful and useful commentary on the productions of the 'Parry Group' (so-called by some contemporaries).¹⁸

From its very beginnings in 1855 the *Daily Telegraph* set out to address a mass audience with a popular and readable broadsheet paper, selling at one penny. By the 1860s it had developed its own journalistic style (known as 'Telegraphese'). The 'sparkle and vigour of its style' gave it a unique character and helped it towards its domination of the newspaper market.¹⁹ The *Daily Telegraph* became of great importance to the development of the English Musical Renaissance by virtue of its position as the largest-selling quality daily from the late 1850s onwards, and had as its music critic from 1870 to 1906 the redoubtable Joseph Bennett, whose sympathies were, in the main, sympathetic towards the aims of the 'Renaissance' group of composers. So conscientious, indeed, was Bennett, and so generous of space his paper, that important first performances of English works were sometimes given advance attention in substantial articles based upon careful study of a score and, where possible, attendance at one or more rehearsals. Several of Stanford's major choral works were treated in this way.

The oldest of the papers surveyed here, *The Morning Post* had, in the early years of the nineteenth century, established a reputation for literary excellence – Lamb,

¹⁶ Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music*, Ashgate, Aldershot 2002, 13-14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁸ Robert Stradling & Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940*, 2nd edition, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2002, 54.

¹⁹ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 42.

Coleridge, Southey and Wordsworth all being regular or occasional contributors. Later in the century it also became known for its treatment of foreign news.²⁰ From the 1840s *The Morning Post*, once described as an ‘organ of the aristocracy and the fashionable world’, established a worthy tradition of music criticism, first with the critic Charles Gruneisen (1844-67), and subsequently with his successors William Barrett (1867-91) and Arthur Hervey (1892-1908).²¹ Column space was generous, and all major concerts and festivals were covered.

The *Daily News* had, in its early days under the editorship of Charles Dickens, pioneered the newspaper supplement devoted to some important current issue. Dickens’s time as editor was brief, but he did leave an enduring legacy to the paper of a generous and sympathetic coverage of literature, and this influence spread to the sphere of music. Following a reduction of its price to one penny in 1868, the circulation of the paper increased rapidly, reaching over 70,000 copies daily by the early 1870s.²² In the final decades of the century the coverage of music was fairly generous, most major concerts being reported. In one or two instances, too, advance information of works, including some by Stanford, was given from the evidence of a rehearsal. During the first years of the new century, the paper’s music critic, Edward Baughan, wrote articles in support of Elgar.²³

Coming into existence somewhat later than the papers mentioned so far, the *Daily Chronicle* was ‘famous for large-heartedness’, always supporting the oppressed and alive to new developments. Despite ample coverage of such events as the Dockers’ Strike in 1889, and the Greco-Turkish war, it never allowed items such as book reviews

²⁰ Symon, *The Press*, 182-4.

²¹ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 66.

²² Symon, *The Press*, 186-95; Griffiths, *Fleet Street*, 85, says of the *Daily News* under Dickens: ‘From the outset, costs were deemed secondary, and a large staff, with corresponding salaries, was engaged’. The paper made a highly successful beginning.

²³ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 176.

to be crowded out.²⁴ In the closing decades of the Victorian period its coverage of musical events was fairly generous, carrying reviews of most important concerts, sometimes at length. In common with the *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily News*, new works, again including some by Stanford, were occasionally previewed either from a score or from a rehearsal.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, a daily paper designed for the more refined and educated classes, and often, indeed, carrying quotations in Greek,²⁵ naturally carried articles dealing in depth with important current issues and affairs. Its arts coverage was also generous in space and searching in quality, and most of its reviews of musical events are substantial. George Grove secured for J.A. Fuller Maitland his first journalistic post on the paper as music critic (1880-84), and he and his successors Hugh Haweis (1884-?) and Vernon Blackburn (1893-1907) were anxious to support the development of new English music. Blackburn in particular became an ardent Elgarian.²⁶

Last of the London daily papers to be noted here is the *Daily Graphic*. Set apart from its fellows by carrying illustrations in the form of line drawings, the *Daily Graphic* was one of a number of illustrated papers, and was established some time after its sister paper, the *Graphic* – a weekly paper founded in 1869. The *Daily Graphic* represented ‘the first attempt in England to carry on a *daily* pictorial chronicle of current events’ (my italics). Its illustrations were ‘powerful pen and ink sketches that made little pretence to finish’.²⁷ Despite the brevity of some of its news articles, it sometimes reported at reasonable length on artistic subjects including music. There are some

²⁴ See Symon, *The Press*, 203-5. Griffiths, *Fleet Street*, 107-8, describing editor Edward Lloyd as the ‘father of the cheap press’, states that under his guidance the paper became ‘a great and prosperous journal’.

²⁵ Symon, *The Press*, 149.

²⁶ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 174.

²⁷ The paper aimed at ‘giving in small compass all the news of the day’, but nevertheless earned a reputation for its excellent reportage of foreign news. See Symon, *The Press*, 235-6.

substantial reviews of concerts, and the Birmingham premiere of Stanford's *Eden* was awarded a brief preview from the final rehearsal.

Although many of the London daily papers reported diligently upon major musical events both in the capital and around the country, the overwhelming majority of first performances of Stanford's largest and most significant choral works took place at provincial festivals, especially those in Birmingham and Leeds. It is therefore necessary to examine briefly the principal newspapers for these two major provincial cities.

The *Birmingham Daily Post*, generally regarded as the most significant of the city's three daily newspapers, was adapted from a weekly journal into a daily penny paper in 1857, dropping the word 'Daily' from its title at a later stage.²⁸ By the 1870s it was providing arts criticism on a regular basis, Stephen Stratton serving as music critic for nearly thirty years (1877-1906). Birmingham Festivals were reported in great detail, with first performances, including Stanford's two oratorios and the *Requiem*, attracting prime attention.

Birmingham's other two daily papers, the *Birmingham Daily Gazette* and *Birmingham Daily Mail*, although less well known nationally, both gave special coverage to Birmingham Festival events, providing substantial reviews, particularly for new works, including those by Stanford.

The elder of Yorkshire's two great newspapers, the *Leeds Mercury*, came into existence as early as 1720, making that city one of the earliest in the provinces to have its own paper.²⁹ A long-established and highly regarded paper by the 1870s, its reports on important national and international events carried some authority, and coverage of the arts was of some significance. Musical events in a wide surrounding area were reported, but special treatment was reserved for the Leeds Festivals, where new works were given substantial reviews, and first performances were often previewed as well,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 160.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

either from score or from rehearsal. Stanford's Leeds premieres received fulsome treatment.

The *Yorkshire Post* was a much younger paper, founded by a group of 'North-Riding squires' in 1886 as a rival to the *Leeds Mercury*.³⁰ Covering the news in similar depth to its rival, the *Yorkshire Post* also developed regular arts coverage of a good standard. Herbert Thompson, the paper's music critic from its inception, served it for half a century (1886-1936), providing extensive cover of Leeds Festivals. Stanford's *Stabat Mater*, first performed at the 1907 Festival, received exceptional treatment from Thompson, who published a detailed analysis of the score and a report of a *London* rehearsal prior to the first performance in Leeds.

One other great newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian*, warrants attention, for in the years following its foundation in 1821 it gained a formidable reputation and a pre-eminent position amongst provincial papers, revealing what has been described as the 'Oxford manner' – an enlightened, refined and highly educated direction from its editor and staff.³¹ It commanded respect for its coverage of the arts, including authoritative book reviews and music criticism of a high standard from Arthur Johnstone (1896-1904) and his successors Ernest Newman (1905-6) and Samuel Langford (1906-27). J.A. Fuller Maitland was London critic for the paper between 1884 and 1889, and Neville Cardus became assistant music critic for a ten-year period from 1917. As it happens, however, there was never a significant first performance of a Stanford choral work in the city, and surprisingly few performances of any of his music. The importance of the *Manchester Guardian* to the present study is therefore very limited.

The Cambridge newspapers were of some significance for Stanford's music during his years of residence in the city, though after his move to London and his resignation from the conductorship of the University Musical Society following the Jubilee

³⁰ Ibid., 159.

³¹ Ibid., 157-9.

celebrations of 1893, his music was only occasionally mentioned in the Cambridge press, and then generally in connection with a Cambridge performance. The Cambridge papers appear to have attempted no regular or detailed coverage of musical events in the country as a whole, and even local concerts were sometimes given little column space. The two principal sources for information on musical activity in the city and university were the *Cambridge Chronicle and University Reporter* – a daily publication which attempted to cover all aspects of town and gown life – and the *Cambridge Review*, described as ‘A Journal of University Life and Thought’ and published weekly during university term only, beginning in the autumn of 1879. This latter journal was impressive in its comprehensiveness, and a generous coverage of sporting activities rubbed shoulders with articles of academic interest, including lecture schedules and meetings of various clubs and societies. ‘College Correspondence’ listed scholarships and fellowships, general college information, and obituaries. Other regular features were ‘University Intelligence’, ‘University Pulpit’ and ‘Paper Knife’, a section devoted to book reviews.³² Despite the brevity of some of its concert notices, the *Cambridge Review* does contain a fair amount of useful information concerning Stanford’s activities with CUMS,³³ and it also possesses another valuable feature, for it published the weekly music lists for the chapels of King’s, Trinity and St John’s colleges. Just very occasionally, another local paper would carry a worthwhile concert review, as, for example, an account of A.H. Mann’s June 1898 performance of Stanford’s *Requiem* in King’s College Chapel (in the *Cambridge Examiner*), and a report of the special service in King’s Chapel on 16 June 1920 including part of Stanford’s *Via Victrix* Mass (in the *Cambridge Daily News*).

³² Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines – The Victorian and Edwardian Age*, 55-7.

³³ Rodmell, *Stanford*, 74-156 makes numerous references to articles and reviews in the paper.

The national weekly journals

Amongst the vast number of weekly journals referred to earlier in this chapter, the *Athenaeum* gained, within three or four years of its inception in 1828, a pre-eminent position, surpassing its rivals in the depth and breadth of its coverage of its named subjects – literature, art and science. Its early success was due to the vision and enterprise of its first owner/editor, Charles Dilke. Reaching a peak of circulation (at about 18,000 copies per week) in the late 1830s, it held its leading position for several decades to come, not merely for the quality of its journalism, but also for its broad range of subject matter. The journal changed little over the years, and a typical issue of mid-century (price 4d) would consist of either twenty-four or thirty-two pages, one third of which contained advertisements. The ‘Reviews’ section dominated, with about eight pages; general features occupied a couple of pages; ‘Our Weekly Gossip’ a further two; ‘Fine Arts’ one page; ‘Music and the Drama’ about two pages; and ‘Miscellanea’ about one page. The final years of the century saw the beginnings of a slow but steady decline, however, and by the outbreak of war in 1914 the *Athenaeum* was but a shadow of its former self. It finally amalgamated with the *Nation* in 1921.³⁴ Music criticism had early on become an essential and valued ingredient in the weekly content of the *Athenaeum* in the hands of Henry Chorley (1833-68), who established full and regular coverage of musical events as well as general articles on musical subjects. His successors, Campbell Clarke, Charles Gruneisen, and Ebenezer Prout, continued his high standard of musical journalism. These men, moreover, like Chorley, rarely employed deputies, covering a wide range of musical events themselves, although Prout did engage Henry Frost, probably to cover those concerts where the chief critic, a man of strong views, felt himself particularly out of sympathy with the musical content. After Prout’s departure from the paper in 1898, however, the music columns gradually

³⁴ Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines – The Romantic Age*, Greenwood Press, Connecticut and London 1984, 21-3; Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 65-6.

declined in both quality and quantity in the hands of Frost and John Shedlock.³⁵ Despite this eventual falling off in quality, the *Athenaeum* rarely missed an important concert or festival, and is a source of some worthwhile commentary upon new works, including those of the 'Parry Group', well into the Edwardian era.

Perhaps the closest rival to the *Athenaeum* amongst the literary journals finally arrived with the establishment of the *Saturday Review* in 1855.³⁶ The journal's aims were partly explained in its full title: the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, and it set out to be a periodical 'not bound by party ... and to be the mouthpiece of moderate opinions of thoughtful and educated society'.³⁷ The *Saturday Review* 'scorned the correspondence and gossip features of the *Spectator* and filled its columns exclusively with full-scale articles ... dealing with subjects from British foreign policy to critiques of individual poems by Tennyson'.³⁸ In common with the *Athenaeum*, the *Saturday Review* regularly carried a 'music' or 'recent concerts' column, reporting most major concerts in London and the provinces, and occasionally reviewing scores – the second set of Stanford's *Elizabethan Pastorals* being one example. With the arrival of the colourful John Runciman as music critic in 1896, however, the policy changed, and concert reviews were abandoned in favour of regular substantial articles on musical subjects.³⁹

Other leading literary journals did not regard music as a priority, but the *Fortnightly Review* (established 1865 through the efforts of Anthony Trollope and others), whilst never reviewing concerts and giving greatest prominence to politics and international affairs, did, under the editorship of Frank Harris (1886-94), take some interest in

³⁵ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 66-8, 76-81.

³⁶ Founded by the wealthy Cambridge-educated ecclesiologist and Member of Parliament, A.J. Beresford Hope. See Adelman, *Cambridge Ecclesiologists*, 115-123.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

³⁸ Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines – The Victorian and Edwardian Age*, 379.

³⁹ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 83.

musical developments, publishing occasional articles by prominent musical figures.⁴⁰ Three such articles were contributed by Stanford: substantial essays on Parry's *Judith* (1888) and Verdi's *Falstaff* (1893) and a third entitled 'Some aspects of Musical Criticism in England' (1894). This last article, in which Stanford made suggestions for improving the lot of critics and standards of criticism, prompted a further article soon afterwards in the same journal, entitled 'Musical Criticism and the Critics'. In this essay – more than twice the length of Stanford's at fourteen pages – John Runciman set out an exposition of a 'new' style of criticism, and ways in which it differed from the 'old'. These two articles were but part of a chain of events during 1894 that caused much correspondence and discussion of the subject in a variety of newspapers and journals, and form an interesting topic to which we shall return presently.

One further weekly paper of a general nature warrants a brief mention. Established in 1869 by William Thomas, a former engraver for the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic* soon 'became a household word in Victorian journalism'.⁴¹ Its illustrations were of a high standard, and its early popularity was helped fortuitously by the Franco-Prussian war, which began within a year of the paper's inception, and naturally lent itself to illustrative treatment. The *Graphic* provided coverage of many important concerts, both in London and the provinces, though substantial articles were rare. James Davison served as the first music critic until his death in 1885, but was assisted by Joseph Bennett from the mid-1870s. Bennett continued to contribute reviews until his retirement in 1906, assisted after Davison's death by Percival Betts.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 83-4; Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines – The Victorian and Edwardian Age*, 131-3.

⁴¹ Symon, *The Press*, 229-32.

The Musical Journals

As in so many other subject areas, the number of weekly or monthly journals devoted to music during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was huge.⁴² Many of them were, however, short-lived, and some dealt only with limited areas of the complete sphere of musical activity. Only the longer-lived and more successful journals will be surveyed here.

The oldest of the musical journals relevant to our purpose is *The Musical World: A Weekly Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence*, which appeared regularly from 18 March 1836 to 24 January 1891. Although it began life as the first house journal of Novello, this arrangement was short-lived, and during its first nine years the paper experienced five changes of publisher, three changes in format, and a succession of five editors from Charles Cowden Clarke (1836-7) to J.W. Davison (1843-85). The most distinguished years for *The Musical World* were those before about 1860, when the journal contained serious articles by well-known figures including S.S. Wesley, Henry Gauntlett and Edward Rimbault and, from 1842, signed musical reviews. Subjects promoted and discussed in these earlier years included the works of Bach, late Beethoven, antiquarian movements, the singing classes of Hullah and Mainzer, the impact of Chopin and Mendelssohn, and both Roman Catholic and Anglican church music. During the 1860s, however, under Davison's editorship, the serious nature of the journal was undermined by an element of flippancy which lessened its stature and eventually contributed to its demise.⁴³ This decline was clearly evident at the time of Joseph Bennett's first association with *The Musical World* as sub-editor from 1868, for he refers to the 'Bohemian' atmosphere and disorganised state in the editorial office, as well as to Davison's invention of comic names for the various

⁴² The *New Grove Dictionary* (2001) lists 326 British musical periodicals established between 1800 and 1924, the year of Stanford's death.

⁴³ Leanne Langley, 'Music' in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. J.D. Vann & R.T. VanArsdel, Toronto 1994, 117.

members of staff.⁴⁴ The journal experienced a sudden revival under the brief editorship of Francis Hueffer (1886-8), who brought it up to date by instigating a much greater interest in contemporary music, including that of English composers. Hueffer's premature death from cancer came too soon, however, for his reforms to take lasting hold, and *The Musical World* survived for only another three years under his successor Edgar Jacques (1888-91).⁴⁵ Despite its general significance at the time, however, the journal is of only limited value to the reception history of Stanford's choral music, since it ceased to exist before some of the composer's finest works were written. The next significant musical journal to be established, chronologically speaking, – *The Musical Times* – is far more important in this respect, since approximately one-third of all the press references to Stanford's choral music collected in connection with this survey emanate from it. A somewhat fuller account of its history will therefore be appropriate.

Alfred Novello's purpose in establishing *The Musical World* in 1836 was, at least in part, to act as a vehicle for the promotion of Mendelssohn's *St Paul*, published by Novello in that year. This task accomplished, Novello sold the new journal to Frederick Davison but, observing its growing success over the next few years, reconsidered the need for a Novello house journal.⁴⁶ Eventually, in 1844, he purchased *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, a paper established two years earlier by Joseph Mainzer to promote and support his singing classes. Although soon referred to simply as *The Musical Times*, the second part of its original title was not officially dropped until 1904.

Under its new ownership, *The Musical Times* retained its chief features: a 'musical intelligence' column, a piece of printed choral music, and monthly publication at a cheap price (one and a half pence). Alfred Novello shrewdly recognised its potential for

⁴⁴ Bennett, *Forty Years of Music*, 222-5.

⁴⁵ Hughes, *English Renaissance and the Press*, 27-8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 85-6.

promoting his firm's publications to the ever-expanding numbers of amateur choral singers, and under his editorship the format of the journal changed little, although the number of pages doubled from the original eight to sixteen. In these early years articles, news and reviews were regarded as of secondary importance to the advertisements (about forty per cent of each issue) and the piece of printed choral music, both of which were designed to promote sales of the company's publications. Support for new English music was very partisan during its owner-editor's reign: if Novello published a work, it would be promoted, but if a work emanated from a rival firm, it might well be ignored. For this and other reasons, *The Musical Times* was overshadowed, during the 1840s and 1850s, by *The Musical World* which, at this point in its history 'excelled in its verve and controversial edge'.⁴⁷ With the appointment of Henry Lunn as editor in 1863, the fortunes of *The Musical Times* began to change, and during the next few years it became the market leader amongst general musical journals. Lunn's years at the helm (1863-87) saw the number of pages nearly treble – from twenty to fifty-six – and the content broaden. A typical issue of the later Lunn years would contain twelve pages of concert and festival reviews, twelve pages of features, four pages of music and book reviews (no longer restricted to Novello publications), four pages of correspondence and 'country news', a four-page choral piece from the Novello catalogue, and eighteen pages of advertisements (still mostly of Novello products). In his earlier years, Lunn wrote most of the major festival reviews himself, but commissioned feature articles from a number of different journalists, including the prolific Joseph Bennett, whose contributions included several series of articles studying the music of particular classical and early romantic composers. By 1880 much of the concert reviewing had also been passed to Bennett. Under Lunn's successful leadership, the readership of *The Musical*

⁴⁷ Ibid., 86-8.

Times doubled to 14,000 between 1850 and 1870.⁴⁸ Foreign musical news had become a regular feature since its introduction in 1877.⁴⁹

Lunn's editorial successors maintained the established prestige of *The Musical Times*. William Barrett (1887-91) followed the general course set by his predecessor, and gave his support to the 'Renaissance' group of English composers. One of the last works he reviewed was Stanford's oratorio *Eden*, which, according to Barrett, possessed 'ingenuity' and a 'wonderful cleverness'.⁵⁰ Barrett's early death at the age of fifty-seven left a vacancy in the editorial chair which was filled by the experienced Edgar Jacques (1892-7), ex-editor of the recently defunct *Musical World*. Despite his leanings towards French and Indian music, Jacques made few changes to *The Musical Times*, retaining the existing size (now sixty-four pages) and pattern of content. Like his predecessors, he was sympathetic to the 'English Renaissance' group of composers, but he did instigate greater coverage of French and Russian music. Joseph Bennett remained a regular contributor.

Following Jacques's departure after only five years, Frederick G. Edwards was appointed as editor. Unlike his two immediate predecessors, Edwards was a man who placed himself at the centre of activity and put his personal stamp on *The Musical Times* in various ways. His devotion to the task he had undertaken was evident from the many articles he wrote under his own initials, in addition to the regular editorial columns. He wrote substantial reviews of London concerts and of provincial festival performances, and occasionally wrote obituary notices. His ardent support for the English Musical Renaissance soon expressed itself in a series of substantial biographical articles on leading musical figures. The series began in January 1898 and continued on a fairly regular basis until at least 1904. The first year featured, amongst others,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 88-94.

⁴⁹ Langley, 'Music', 118.

⁵⁰ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 94-6.

Mackenzie, Parry, Cowen and Stanford.⁵¹ Later subjects included Elgar in 1900, Walter Parratt in 1902 and Edward German in 1904. Each article was preceded by a full-page photograph of the subject, and the text ran to an average of six or seven full pages. A second series of illustrated articles reflected further Edwards's anxiousness to promote all that was good in English music. Each of these articles was of similar length to the biographical series, but described an English cathedral or college chapel and its music, invariably including photographs of the building, the organist, and possibly the organ. As if all this, including detailed and positive reviewing, and articles by younger writers (such as Rutland Boughton and Arthur Johnstone) as well as the veteran Bennett, were not enough, the Edwards era also introduced, on a regular basis, an *extra* musical supplement of choral music, ensuring that each published edition of *The Musical Times* carried at least eight pages of choral music, most of it new and by English composers. In Meirion Hughes's words, 'Edwards effectively placed the *Musical Times* at the disposal of the Musical Renaissance'.⁵²

The Edwards era was a high point for *The Musical Times*, and after his death in 1909, his successor, William McNaught carried the journal forward along much the same lines, though without the same personality and flair. In the hands of McNaught coverage of new English music declined in both quality and quantity, and the blandness of some of the editor's major festival and concert reviews suggests that he was somewhat ill-equipped for such responsibilities.⁵³ The Leeds Festival of 1910 saw the first performances of two major works for chorus and orchestra, both destined to become firm favourites with the musical public. The *Sea Symphony* was one of the early successes of Vaughan Williams, whilst the *Songs of the Fleet* represented the last truly successful major choral work of his teacher Stanford. Both works received

⁵¹ Ibid., 98-9.

⁵² Ibid., 99.

⁵³ Ibid., 102.

middling, matter-of-fact reviews from McNaught. The younger composer had plenty of time in which to recover, but by the time of McNaught's death in 1918, Stanford was generally regarded as yesterday's man, and was himself in the twilight of his career. Despite this dimming of its lustre for a while after 1910, however, *The Musical Times* played a vital role in the promotion and projection of new English music from at least the 1860s into the opening decade of the twentieth century.

A less ambitious musical journal than either of the two already discussed, *The Musical Standard*, was founded in 1862 by the amateur A.W. Hammond as an independent general magazine for church musicians, organists and general music lovers. Its long run is broken up into four series: 1862-71; 1871-93; 1894-1912 and 1913-33, and publication fluctuated between fortnightly, weekly and monthly. Unattached to any music publisher, and claiming to be independent and non-partisan, it contained biography, correspondence, reviews, musical gossip, and a good deal of material concerning church music, including the regular publication of the weekly music lists of cathedrals and other churches. This early bias towards church and organ music and its advocacy of a college for church musicians was a factor leading to the establishment of the College (later Royal College) of Organists in 1864. Edwin Turpin, a prominent founder member of this College, was later to become editor and music critic of the journal (1880-90). From the early 1870s the scope of *The Musical Standard* broadened to include more foreign news and other topics of a more sophisticated nature.⁵⁴ Although not of the same stature as *The Musical Times*, *The Musical Standard* did publish some substantial reviews of new English music, including that of Stanford, and is therefore of significance in the present context.

The music publishing firm of Augener established *The Monthly Musical Record* as its house journal in 1871. Surviving until 1960, it rapidly became, under its first editor,

⁵⁴ Langley, 'Music', 120.

Ebenezer Prout (1871-4), one of the most distinguished musical periodicals of its time. Original articles on historical and analytical subjects, together with high quality reviews of European music (some of it published outside England) were regular features. English music was not excluded, however, and reviews of London and provincial concerts appeared alongside educational news. From 1880 Augener included a piano piece from its catalogue in each issue to attract teachers and pupils. Prout was followed as editor by Charles Barry, William Barrett and John Shedlock.⁵⁵ Although the main purpose of the journal was not that of supporting the new productions of the 'English Renaissance' composers, some worthwhile reviews of such music were published, including several concerning first performances of major choral works by Stanford and others.

The Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review first appeared in October 1877 as a monthly journal for the music trade. Its early origins remain obscure, though a certain J.F. Reid appears to have been business manager. Much of the publication was filled with advertisements from music publishers and instrument manufacturers, and these were supplemented by articles on keyboard actions, frames, stringing and other similar subjects. Matters pertaining to copyright law, performing rights, new musical patents and the trade balance of imports and exports also found a place, as did bills of sale, business expansions and the like. New musical publications were listed by publisher and many of them reviewed, albeit with great brevity. By the 1890s a broader coverage of music was evident, including articles and letters on choral, historical and educational topics. In the early years of the twentieth century, articles appeared featuring particular publishers or series of publications, amongst them the recently established firm of Stainer and Bell – the publishers of many of Stanford's later compositions. Concert reviews were rather a secondary consideration, however, and although most important

⁵⁵ Ibid., 122-3.

London and provincial concerts were mentioned, sometimes at length, the material was often taken, either in full or in a condensed version, from other sources.⁵⁶ Because of its primary function as a trade journal, *The Musical Opinion* is an excellent source for tracing at least approximate dates of publication for new music. Many music publishers advertised in and sent review copies to the journal, one notable exception being Novello (who, after all, had their own mouthpiece in *The Musical Times*).

The birth of a new weekly musical journal, *Musical News*, in 1891 was the direct result of agitation in the English musical world at attempts by the University of Trinity College, Toronto to award music degrees to British citizens on payment of a fee. Such 'degrees' were regarded by the British universities and colleges as being of a dubious and inferior nature, and the decision by the proprietors of *The Musical Standard* to publish advertisements for these suspect qualifications caused the resignation of almost all of that journal's staff, including its editor, E.H. Turpin, and Thomas Lea Southgate. These two men immediately formed a syndicate of well-known musicians (including Stainer, Garrett, Sullivan, Grove, George Elvey, Barnby and several others) with the intention of establishing a new musical weekly paper. Consideration was given first to purchasing *The Musical World*, just on the point of demise, then to amalgamating with another paper called *The Choir*, but eventually the decision was taken to inaugurate a completely new journal, the first edition of which appeared on Friday 6 March 1891, under the joint editorship of Turpin and Southgate, with the title *Musical News*.

Broadly similar in style and content to *The Musical Standard*, with a leaning towards church and organ music, *Musical News* nevertheless campaigned vigorously against 'bogus' degrees.⁵⁷ It also took over from its rival paper the unofficial role of journal for the Royal College of Organists, and published weekly cathedral and church

⁵⁶ Ibid., 123-4. The *Athenaeum* was a favourite source of material.

⁵⁷ Thomas Lea Southgate, *The Inception of "Musical News"*, article published in *MN*, 30 April 1910, 456-8. Southgate gives the date of the first issue erroneously as 8 March 1891.

music lists. The size of each issue tended to be sixteen to twenty pages, and regular items would include Comments on Events (including some foreign news); London Concerts; The Provinces; information from the music colleges, including the RCO and the Royal Military School; The Associated Board; Miscellaneous Notes; Reviews (some very brief, others more extensive, and including both concerts and publications); Obituary; Correspondence; Answers to Queries; Provincial; Among the Churches; Organ News; Appointments; and Cathedral Service Lists. There are a great many references to performances of new English works. The journal ceased publication in 1929.

The Church Newspapers

The large number of church newspapers (mostly weekly) published during the Victorian and Edwardian periods⁵⁸ supplies another area of the press to be explored for musical criticism, though it must be said that the results, at any rate from a brief survey, are disappointing. Many church papers, especially those primarily connected with the Evangelical wing of the Church of England, with the free churches or with missionary matters, had a fairly narrow and restricted scope, and did not concern themselves with artistic matters at all. A small number of journals gave space to book reviews, and fewer still to musical concerns. *The Guardian*, established in 1846, was an Anglo-Catholic publication which became 'the authoritative newspaper of the Church of England',⁵⁹ giving official reports of the annual Church Congress and of Convocation and, in its leading articles, providing authoritative treatment of current religious and social questions. It also devoted a considerable amount of space to reviews of literature, music and art. *The Church Review and Church News* (1873-1902) was a Mid-to-High-Church paper which carried some correspondence on plainsong, chanting, hymn-tunes

⁵⁸ Symon, *The Press*, 272 gives the number for London alone in 1914 as twenty-four.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 272.

and other similar topics and from time to time reported on Choral Festivals. Occasional brief reviews of newly published church music appeared, one example being some Novello items in November 1879. The *Church of Ireland Gazette* (established in Dublin, 1900) was a broad, all-embracing weekly paper with substantial articles on a wide variety of church matters, including music, though little in the way of formal reviews. It published the weekly music lists for Dublin's two Anglican cathedrals as well as for Trinity College chapel and St Stephen's church.

Most disappointing, however, is the *Church Times* (established 1863). Despite its claim, by the early twentieth century, to have the largest circulation of any church journal,⁶⁰ this High-Church paper, at least in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, became so absorbed in the minutiae of church ritual, theological argument and allied matters that it paid scant attention to wider issues, and music was pushed largely to one side. Although some cursory reviews of new publications of church music appeared from time to time, and book reviews on a more regular basis, concerts, even of sacred music, were never mentioned, and festival services, even where reported, gave little or no attention to the music.

The development of musical criticism

Criticism is by its very nature a controversial pursuit.⁶¹

Nigel Scaife's succinct comment is a shrewd and accurate assessment, and his further contention that the value and nature of music criticism were under regular discussion and review during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is supported by a large corpus of contemporary writing upon the subject, mostly in music and general arts

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁶¹ Nigel Scaife, *British Music Criticism in a New Era: Studies in Critical Thought*, unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1994, 2.

journals, but occasionally in books.⁶² Some of this literature will be examined briefly in the following pages, alongside a consideration of the work of some of the most prominent critics of the period.

The first generation of music critics – in many senses the ‘founding fathers’ of the art in England – consists principally of three men: Henry Chorley (1808-72), James Davison (1813-85) and, perhaps with a somewhat slighter reputation, Charles Gruneisen (1806-79). Under these men music criticism first gained hold as a reputable occupation during the 1840s and 50s, and between them they held posts on the most important papers of the day, wielding considerable influence. They were all, however, musical conservatives for whom Mendelssohn was the god and the model for new music. Their careers, moreover, were virtually (and in Chorley’s case, entirely) over before the appearance of any of the mature works of the ‘English Renaissance’ group of composers headed by Parry, Mackenzie and Stanford. Thus their relevance to the present survey is negligible.

From the next generation, however, comes one of the most significant and long-serving of all the Victorian music critics: Joseph Bennett (1831-1911). Having begun his working life as a schoolteacher and chapel organist, Bennett himself recounts how he came to journalism almost accidentally in the mid-1860s.⁶³ Within five years he found himself contributing articles on music to several newspapers, including the *Sunday Times*, *Graphic*, *Pictorial Times* and *Pall Mall Gazette*, and also to the *Musical Standard* and *Musical World*. In 1870 he began his thirty-six year tenure as chief music critic of the *Daily Telegraph*, and it was from this base that he became, in due course, the most celebrated and widely read critic of his generation. He also became very active as a librettist, working most particularly with Cowen and Mackenzie, for each of whom he produced five texts. Ultimately, however, his most successful opus in this field was

⁶² An example of the latter is F.J. Crowest’s *Phases of Musical England*, Remington, London 1881.

⁶³ Bennett, *Forty Years of Music*, 1-8.

his adaptation of Longfellow's *Golden Legend* for Sullivan, a cantata which, following its first performance at the Leeds Festival in 1886 (alongside Stanford's *Revenge*), quickly became the most popular English secular choral work of its time.⁶⁴

Upon his appointment to the *Daily Telegraph* Bennett ceased writing for other newspapers, but continued to work unceasingly for musical journals. He virtually took over editorship of the *Musical World* during the final years of his ailing mentor Davison, and became a very regular contributor to the *Musical Times* until his retirement in 1906, not only reviewing concerts, but also supplying signed articles on a variety of musical topics.

Bennett, like Davison, was conservative in his musical tastes and opinions. He did, nevertheless, keep an open mind, and gradually warmed to the music of Schumann – a composer regarded with distaste and suspicion by the previous generation. It was, in fact, an early article of Bennett's on Schumann in the *Pall Mall Gazette*⁶⁵ that brought him to the attention of George Grove, who saw it as marking 'an epoch in musical criticism'.⁶⁶ Never able to gain a full appreciation of Wagner, he nevertheless recognised the genius of the controversial composer.

While fixed in his adulation of Mendelssohn and the 'classical' school of composers, Bennett nevertheless sought ceaselessly for new English music to which he felt able to lend his support and approval. He championed the music of Sullivan, even when fellow critics berated it,⁶⁷ and it was, in fact, he who first used the word 'renaissance', with its implications of rebirth or resurrection, in his description of a new English work – Parry's *Symphony No.1* – upon its first performance at the 1882 Birmingham Festival.⁶⁸ Meirion Hughes identifies in Bennett's support of Sullivan a

⁶⁴ A list of Bennett's libretti was printed in a biographical article in *MT*, December 1910, 771.

⁶⁵ 'Robert Schumann', *PMG*, 30 November 1868.

⁶⁶ See Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 45.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 115-37.

⁶⁸ *DTel*, 4 September 1882.

wish to portray himself as ‘the people’s critic, a journalist free of elitism and snobbery who had his finger on the pulse of the musical public’.⁶⁹ In a *Musical Times* article of 1884, Bennett advanced his support of new English music a stage further by identifying four young composers – Cowen, Stanford, Mackenzie and Goring Thomas – who had ‘the immediate future of English music in their hands’ with a duty to ‘conserve everything distinctively English’ and to reject ‘modern and unproven theories’.⁷⁰ From this Hughes concludes:

There is no clearer statement of the critic’s reception strategy for English music. Bennett, a Christian moralist and patriot, was a ruthless power-broker who tried to shape the future of national music in his journalism.⁷¹

From his chosen English composers (to which Parry must be added), Bennett favoured first one, then another as being the brightest prospect. He had reservations in respect of both Parry and Stanford, regarding the former’s Wagnerian sympathies with suspicion, and the music of the latter as too academic and lacking in real fire and emotion. This did not prevent him, however, from regularly welcoming new works from their pens – on occasion with considerable enthusiasm. As Parry moved away from Wagnerian influence, however, Bennett’s support became whole-hearted, and with the appearance of Stanford’s *Revenge* in 1886 his support of the Irishman turned a corner too. Hughes comments that, as Bennett became increasingly disillusioned with contemporary musical trends, he ‘learned to ignore Stanford’s academicism and appreciate the solid conservative (Schumann-Brahms) values enshrined in his work.’⁷²

From the 1880s onwards, as a new approach to the whole business of musical criticism began to develop amongst younger men, Bennett found his conservative views challenged with increasing frequency, and he came to be regarded by the ‘new’ critics as an outdated relic from the past. His regular readership did not desert him, however,

⁶⁹ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 45-6.

⁷⁰ ‘English Music in 1884’, *MT*, June 1884, 324-6.

⁷¹ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 47.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 51.

and he was still widely read and respected until the time of his retirement. Although somewhat fixed in his views, his sense of justice and tolerance, and his magnanimity of spirit is shown in a *Musical Times* article of 1898 – the third of a series entitled ‘Some Present Aspects of Music’ – devoted to the subject of criticism. As well as ridiculing the habit of anonymity in musical journalism, and defending those critics, himself included, who lack the official stamp of degrees or diplomas, pleading that the true critic is ‘born, not made’, he maintains that the musical criticism of the day is ‘generally speaking, honest and able, ... not, as a rule, warped and distorted by prejudice’. He continues with an appeal for tolerance and charity, asking ‘May I also urge, in my position as a senior, that an improvement in the attitude of critics toward each other is not beyond the limit of possibility?’.⁷³ Following his death, one obituary notice after another referred to the sincerity and honesty that earned him respect, and noted his great contribution to the promotion of new English music. One of the greatest accolades awarded to Joseph Bennett during his lifetime came from Elgar, who had much reason to be grateful to the critic for his support. The composer, speaking on the subject of critics in the fifth of his Peyton Lectures in Birmingham, gave pride of place to Bennett: English criticism should be – honest, fearless and reasonable. There are many younger writers of whom I could write ... but I instance Mr Bennett as the patriarch and head of the profession.⁷⁴

Such a recommendation cannot be too lightly regarded. Even those who have questioned his lasting qualities as a critic of stature have conceded on some point or other. Gerald Cumberland’s often-quoted jibe at Bennett, commenting that he ‘was a fluent writer who contrived to say less in a full column than a man like Ernest Newman or R.A. Streatfeild or Samuel Langford can say in a couple of lines’ and that ‘he footled gaily for many years’ and was ‘a raconteur, a gossip, a chatterer’, has to admit that ‘he

⁷³ *MT*, May 1898, 303-5.

⁷⁴ Birmingham University professorial lecture, 1905, reprinted in Percy Young, *A Future for English Music and Other Lectures by Sir Edward Elgar*, Dobson, London 1968, 181.

was the public' and that 'people read him'.⁷⁵ Henry Colles commented that Bennett clung to 'a repressive style of dogmatic criticism' for far too long.⁷⁶ For a more recent assessment of Bennett's qualities we can turn to Nigel Scaife:

[Bennett] had a facile pen, yet his verbose literary style could not disguise the poverty of his critical thought. ... His writing serves to exemplify the kind of conservative opinion, expressed in dull prose, that dominated the critical scene during the 1880s and continued to appear well into the twentieth century.⁷⁷

and elsewhere:

Often a critic's contemporary significance far exceeds his present reputation.⁷⁸

Of Joseph Bennett's significance during his lifetime there can be little doubt: his reviews and articles were read by many thousands of ordinary music-loving people over the forty-year span of his journalistic career. As Cumberland said:

If [Bennett] damned a work – well, that work *was* damned. No music critic of today wields such power as his, though there are a score of writers on music who have ten times his gifts.⁷⁹

Other critics of broadly similar outlook to Joseph Bennett included Henry Lunn (*Musical Times*) and William Barrett (*Morning Post* and *Musical Times*).

One of the first critics to show a distinctly new approach was the German-born Francis Hueffer. Hermann Klein declared that 'with [Hueffer's] arrival in 1878 the ultra-orthodox attitude of *The Times* towards music underwent a complete *volte-face*, the effect of which was not only startling in itself but remarkable in the extent of its influence over the rank and file of rising critics and, indeed, over general musical thought throughout these islands'.⁸⁰ Davison's conservatism found its antithesis in the thirty-five year old enthusiast for Wagner, who wished for English music to develop along progressive lines. Hueffer had published articles on Wagner in the *Fortnightly Review* prior to his appointment to *The Times*, and thus his views did not come as a surprise. Placing his main hopes for new English music upon the establishment of a

⁷⁵ Geoffrey Cumberland, *Set Down in Malice*, Grant Richards, London 1919, 143-4.

⁷⁶ Henry C. Colles, article on 'Robin Legge' in *Grove III*, vol.iii, 129.

⁷⁷ Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 57-8.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁹ Cumberland, *Set Down in Malice*, 143-4.

⁸⁰ Hermann Klein, *Musicians and Mummies*, 1925, quoted in Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 25-6.

national operatic tradition, Hueffer at first identified Mackenzie as the most promising contender in this field, and set out to assist him by writing libretti for two operas, and then promoting them vigorously in *The Times*. The failure of *Columba* and *The Troubador*, despite his and Mackenzie's best efforts, dampened the critic's hopes for English opera, but he still had hopes of a symphonic triumph, praising in particular the symphonies of Cowen.⁸¹ In the field of large choral works, Sullivan's *Golden Legend* and Cowen's *Ruth* were awarded special praise. Parry's music was looked upon favourably at first by Hueffer, an enthusiasm which cooled as the composer moved away from Wagnerian influence, and his support for Stanford's music was somewhat muted, perhaps because of this composer's Brahmsian roots. Hueffer was, nonetheless, anxious to assist the development of English music wherever possible, and gave critical support to several less talented figures, notably Goring Thomas and Corder.⁸² Hueffer's contributions to *The Times* and, briefly, to the *Musical World* between 1878 and 1888 did much to encourage the English Musical Renaissance, although, due to strained relations with Grove and his coterie, his early death from cancer was not greatly mourned in South Kensington.⁸³

From the late 1870s articles referring to and discussing various aspects of music criticism began to appear with some degree of frequency. Amongst the first to appear were two articles by Edmund Gurney entitled *On Music and Music Criticism*.⁸⁴ In the first of these Gurney examined the basic elements of music, attempting an assessment of their emotional effect,⁸⁵ while the second article touched upon some of the considerations involved in critical evaluation, attempting definitions of what constitutes good and bad in music, connecting them directly to the pleasure (or lack of it) felt by

⁸¹ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 21-4.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 24-6.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 27-9; Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 26.

⁸⁴ Published in *The Nineteenth Century*, July 1878, 51-74, and June 1879, 1060-1078.

⁸⁵ A process carried much further some eighty years later by Deryck Cooke in *The Language of Music*, Oxford University Press, London 1959.

the listener. He states that ‘the true *interpreter* of music must always be the performer, not the critic’, adding that the critic who feels that he must explain something ‘is in constant danger of mistaking his vocation’. Gurney’s insistence upon the ‘pleasure’ factor as the sole criterion for the judgement of music is repeated in his book *The Power of Sound* (1881), rendering its chapter on music criticism ‘not particularly enlightening’.⁸⁶

On January 3rd 1881 Stainer, among the foremost of those interested in the theory of criticism, and ‘one of the most industrious and widely read musicians of his day’,⁸⁷ presented a paper entitled *The Principles of Music Criticism* to members of the Musical Association.⁸⁸ During his discourse, he identified some questionable developments in the sphere of newspaper criticism, declaring that the art was ‘at the present moment oscillating between the two extremes of dogmatic conventionalism [i.e. the ‘old school’ of Bennett *et al*] and unblushing nihilism’. Warning against the judgement of music solely on grounds of personal pleasure (the view of Gurney and others), he contended that ‘the standard of merit in music is, and ever will be, determined by the *consensus* of that body of educated listeners and thinkers whose intellect and emotions are equally trained and refined, and who are silently elected to a sort of “board of taste” ’.

Later the same year, Frederick Crowest devoted a chapter of his book *Phases of Musical England* to an examination of musical criticism.⁸⁹ Voicing his low opinion of the current state of the art, he identifies the principal aim of criticism as the edification and education of the public, adding that ‘the future of Musical Art in England is in the hands of the Musical Press’. He stresses the need for adequately qualified critics who will write more of the *music itself* than of the qualities of a particular performance, but furthermore warns against the error of over-technicality in writing on music. In these

⁸⁶ Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 53.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁸⁸ Published in *Proceedings of the Musical Association, 1880-1*, London 1881, 35-52.

⁸⁹ Crowest. *Phases of Musical England*, 1-30.

views he was echoed by other writers, but upon the subject of the *critical approach* to musical works he is silent. It is therefore unclear whether he favoured the traditional objective view or the developing subjective approach to critical writing.

The challenges to the staid conventions of traditional criticism identified by Stainer as ‘unblushing nihilism’ were soon to turn into a joyous assault in the hands of George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), whose first mature writing on music appeared in the *Dramatic Review* during 1885. Shaw, an ardent socialist who became a music critic *before* he wrote plays, hated humbug and pretence of any kind, and perfected a style of earnest, lively, yet totally irreverent criticism written with a linguistic brilliance which still makes it irresistible reading today. ‘I could make deaf stockbrokers read my two pages on music,’ he once wrote of his criticism in *The World*, ‘the alleged joke being that I knew nothing about it. The real joke was that I knew all about it’. And he did. As Laurence points out, Shaw’s life was full of music from the beginning. His early novels and his later plays are full of musical references, many of them displaying detailed technical knowledge (mostly self-taught).⁹⁰

Shaw’s upbringing taught him, amongst other things, a detailed knowledge of voice-production (his mother was a fine singer) and a deep affection for nineteenth-century Italian opera. Added to these as he grew to manhood were a passion for Wagner and a love of literature that sparked his own intuitive genius as a writer of prose. His journalism was so peppered with his brilliant and ironic wit that it caused a great stir amongst the newspaper-reading public.

Central to Shaw’s purpose was reform. He was deeply concerned for the poor in all aspects of their lives, including their access to good music, and in this respect he called for series of cheap concerts independent of the fashionable ‘seasons’.⁹¹

⁹⁰ See Dan H. Laurence (ed.), *Shaw’s Music*, 3 volumes, Bodley Head, London 1981, Introduction.

⁹¹ Stephen Banfield, ‘Aesthetics and Criticism’, *Blackwell History*, vol.5, 470.

Shaw detested academicism in music, and this manifested itself most clearly in his loathing of the English oratorio and cantata traditions, fostered by the provincial music festivals. In Stephen Banfield's words:

English composers, notably Parry and Stanford, and Brahms, all suffered from his oratorio- and cantata-hating pen, which would beat the genre with any stick.⁹²

His withering criticisms of Parry's *Job* and *Judith* may seem unprincipled, but Shaw always maintained his personal admiration for the composer, and it was his serious purpose 'to stamp out oratorio and release Parry's genius from an unnatural venal alliance'.⁹³

Scaife describes Shaw's achievement as defining most clearly the new 'temper' in British musical criticism:

Historically, his position is of the utmost importance, for he put into reverse the whole critical momentum of the late Victorian era, attacking the cult of Mendelssohn worship and placing Wagner as heir to the Beethoven tradition and redeemer of opera through the introduction of social themes. ... Shaw's distaste for academicism and falsity in art ... placed him in direct opposition to those university-based composers such as Parry and Stanford who were held in high public esteem and whose work, both literary and musical, dictated to a large extent the prevailing taste. Indeed, he attacked Parry, Stanford and Mackenzie as a mutual admiration society.⁹⁴

Shaw did, nevertheless, wish to encourage the development of English music, and expressed his hope to see an English Wagner before too long. Eventually he recognised in Elgar his eagerly-awaited messiah for English music.⁹⁵

Although Shaw's main period of music journalism lasted (with the exception of some early, unsigned articles) for just under a decade (1885-94), the total number of articles is huge, and his influence upon the world of music criticism was profound and long-lasting.

1894 could aptly be termed, in the sphere of English music, the Year of Critical Controversy, for it saw much lively and heated discussion in the press of the basic principles of music criticism. The fiery debate was ignited by a critical account, in the

⁹² Ibid., 471.

⁹³ Ibid., 472.

⁹⁴ Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 60-61.

⁹⁵ Banfield, 'Aesthetics and Criticism', 472-3.

Pall Mall Gazette, of a Bach Choir performance, in the Queen's Hall, of Bach's *St Matthew Passion* on 15th March. In a savage review, Vernon Blackburn took both choir and conductor (Stanford) to task for poor singing and lethargic speeds.⁹⁶ Stanford was outraged, and goaded Grove, Parry, Goldschmidt, Mackenzie and Parratt to sign a letter of protest to the paper drawn up by Fuller Maitland.⁹⁷ Shaw also wrote a scathing review for the *World*, but it was not published, the editor fearing litigation.⁹⁸ His subsequent letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* was published, however, and in it Shaw supported Blackburn's view of the Bach Choir's performance as a thoroughly bad one, despite the protestations of Stanford's colleagues; so bad, in fact, that he had left half way through.⁹⁹ Comments on this exchange of views, mostly favourable to the Stanford camp, rumbled through the musical press during the ensuing weeks.

Stanford's own written response to the controversy was delayed – very wisely, considering his impetuous nature – until June, when he published an article entitled *Some Aspects of Musical Criticism in England* in the *Fortnightly Review*.¹⁰⁰ In, for its author, a peculiarly mild manner, the article criticised not the critics themselves, but the baneful conditions under which they were compelled to work, citing in particular the undue haste with which so many reviews had to be written, the plurality forced upon critics by meagre financial reward, and the unfortunate effects of musically ignorant editors appointing equally ignorant critics simply because they possessed a gift of literary style.¹⁰¹ One immediate reaction to this article (in *Musical News*) expressed disappointment that Stanford had missed a golden opportunity to instigate useful discussion upon different *approaches* to criticism by his refusal to criticise the critics

⁹⁶ *PMG*, 16 March 1894, 3.

⁹⁷ *PMG*, 20 March 1894, 3.

⁹⁸ Shaw's article, entitled 'Murder by the Bach Choir', was typeset and may be seen in Laurence, *Shaw's Music*, 2nd (revised) edition, Bodley Head, London 1988, vol. 3, 775-80.

⁹⁹ *PMG*, 21 March 1894, 3.

¹⁰⁰ *FortRev*, vol.55 (Jan.-June 1894), 826-31.

¹⁰¹ Shaw identified this last comment as aimed at himself (as it might very well have been) and said so in the *World* on 13 June.

themselves. It was, moreover, pointed out that the professor's contention that reviews written hastily after a concert for immediate publication must inevitably be flawed and incomplete was one that failed to recognise the true situation: namely that, before all important first performances, critics were allowed access both to scores and to rehearsals, and therefore had ample time to form a proper opinion of the music in question.¹⁰²

Another, more substantial response appeared in the *Westminster Review* in the form of an article by Dr. Jacob Bradford entitled *Musical Criticism and the Critics*.¹⁰³ His examination of the history of musical criticism in England concludes with four recommendations: (i) that articles should be signed, (ii) that sufficient time be allowed for important reviews, (iii) that critics should study scores of new works, and (iv) the establishment of a 'Council of Critics, from whom a consensus of opinion would be obtainable'.

A far more combative reaction, however, appeared in the columns of the *Fortnightly Review* in August, for John F. Runciman's article *Musical Criticism and the Critics*¹⁰⁴ set out the rationale of a 'new criticism', at the same time chiding Stanford for having avoided a direct confrontation: 'My only complaint against Dr. Stanford is that, having the chance to snub us thoroughly, he carefully evaded it'. Before setting out his ideals for a new direction in criticism, he thoroughly berates the 'old criticism' of the Davison school as hanging 'like a millstone round the neck of English music'. But things were changing. Of Shaw he says that his column in the *Star* 'did most of all to send the old criticism out of date' and that with his move to *The World* the new criticism has 'come to stay'. The 'old' criticism, he says, was formed 'by the application of general rules to

¹⁰² *MN*, 9 June 1894, 529.

¹⁰³ *WestRev*, vol.CXLII (July-Dec. 1894), 530-6.

¹⁰⁴ *FortRev*, vol.56 (July-Dec. 1894), 170-83.

particular circumstances', whilst the 'new' criticism is 'based on personal tastes, personal likes and dislikes'.

Runciman's article prompted further comment in the musical and general press. An unsigned article (editorial?) in *The Saturday Review* likens Stanford and Runciman to combatants in an 'arena for sport', summarising their arguments, but roundly criticising Runciman for his 'excessive abuse' and 'tactless scolding'.¹⁰⁵ Comment rumbled on for a few months more, and in February 1895 *Musical News* published a letter from 'An Old Critic' stating his astonishment that the very paper (*The Saturday Review*) which had castigated Runciman a few months earlier (in the article quoted above) had now installed him as its music critic.¹⁰⁶

It was in fact Frank Harris, who, upon his appointment as editor of the *Saturday Review* in November 1894, immediately recruited Runciman to the paper, the latter soon becoming his personal assistant, and remaining with the paper for the rest of his life. John Finlay Runciman (1866-1916), a native of Northumberland, began his career as an organist and composer, but abandoned these occupations when he found it possible to make a living from journalism. Closely associated with Shaw's circle during the 1890s, the Shavian legacy is found in his sharp wit, assertive manner, Fabianism and crusading spirit. Shaw took a personal interest in his career, and claimed to have taught him how to write.¹⁰⁷ Hughes characterises Runciman as 'a colourful and controversial critic who held the achievements of the English Musical Renaissance in utter contempt'.¹⁰⁸ Runciman himself wrote in 1900 that 'the English musicians of today remind me chiefly of a pack of querulous, gossiping, afternoon tea old ladies ... the history of English

¹⁰⁵ *SatRev*, 'Musical Critics and Musical Criticism', 11 August 1894, 155-6.

¹⁰⁶ *MN*, 9 February 1895, 132.

¹⁰⁷ Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 64; Bernard Shaw, 'How I discovered Frank Harris' in *Collected Letters*, vol.1, ed. Dan Laurence, Reinhardt, London 1965, 476.

¹⁰⁸ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 83.

music in the nineteenth century is a blank page'.¹⁰⁹ Like Shaw, Runciman regarded the continuing oratorio tradition and the continuing popularity of the choral festivals as the greatest obstacles to true progress in English music, feeling that, to become truly national, it should stop imitating German models and rid itself of academic influences. Opera was the brightest hope for the future.¹¹⁰ Runciman's eagerness and strongly held opinions sometimes led him into the error of being abusive and insulting, and this occasionally cost him dear.¹¹¹ Appearing as an influential force on the scene of musical criticism just as Shaw left it, Runciman took his natural place as unofficial leader of the 'new', subjective critical style.¹¹² In Scaife's words:

His highly personal and impressionistic criticism was governed by a forceful temperament expressed with a literary vivacity that marked it out from the frequently dreary writing that posed as criticism during the early years of the twentieth century. Ultimately it was this marked degree of temperament that gave his best criticism its incomparable force and vigour.¹¹³

Another critic of considerable importance in any assessment of the achievements of the Stanford/Parry group is John Fuller-Maitland (1856-1936). Cambridge educated, from a wealthy family and a great personal friend of Stanford, he became a 'gentlemen critic' – a term which could also be applied to the Oxford-educated Hadow, Tovey and Walker. Fuller-Maitland was 'a music zealot, a critic who dedicated his professional life to building a national music revival of which England could be proud'.¹¹⁴ Music critic first of the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1880-84), then London critic for the *Manchester Guardian* (1884-89), and finally chief critic of *The Times* (1889-1911), Fuller-Maitland championed the English Renaissance composers, and most particularly Parry and Stanford, at every possible opportunity, often giving their works extravagant praise. His

¹⁰⁹ 'English Music in the Nineteenth Century', *SatRev*, 13 January 1900, 45-6.

¹¹⁰ Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 71-3.

¹¹¹ Runciman actually lost two court cases for libel brought by Mackenzie in 1896-7, and was declared bankrupt in January 1898 – see Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 71.

¹¹² Edward Dent, 'Corno di Bassetto', reprinted in *Selected Essays*, ed. Hugh Taylor, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979. Dent astutely points to the major difference between Shaw and Runciman: 'Mr Shaw could handle the bludgeon as doughtily as any when occasion demanded. But he was never systematically truculent ... and wielded his weapon always with his own humorous grace. Runciman was rancorous and spiteful; his personal animosities were self-evident ...'.

¹¹³ Scaife, *British Music Criticism*, 80.

¹¹⁴ Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 29.

108-page study of these two composers¹¹⁵ provides further evidence of this partisanship, as does his far more substantial history of nineteenth century English music,¹¹⁶ in which the various composers of the ‘Parry group’ are given pride of place as ‘The Leaders of the Renaissance’, and eulogistic comments are thick on the ground. His particular view of critics as being ‘doorkeepers’ of the ‘citadel of music’ is reflected in the title of his autobiography, published in 1929.¹¹⁷

Other critics of a newer stamp (though not necessarily direct disciples of the Shaw/Runciman school) included Arthur Johnstone, the much respected critic of the *Manchester Guardian* from 1896 until his early death in 1904, and Ernest Newman (real name William Roberts), who first succeeded Johnstone at Manchester, but after a year moved to the *Birmingham Post*, where he remained until 1919. Both these men achieved considerable reputations in their day, and both gave their whole-hearted support to Elgar, but their importance in connection with Stanford’s coterie is small, since they rarely wrote of their music, being more concerned with the next generation – men such as Bantock and Holbrooke.¹¹⁸ Newman did, however, write copiously on musical matters, including some articles on criticism, in one of which he propounded the idea of a school for the training of music critics,¹¹⁹ a suggestion which prompted further articles from Michael Calvocoressi¹²⁰ and Arthur Hervey.¹²¹

Stanford himself wrote copiously on musical matters, though only three times in the official role of a critic. His detailed reviews of Sullivan’s *Golden Legend*¹²² and Parry’s *Judith*¹²³ praise the respective works warmly, while showing the insights of a fellow

¹¹⁵ John A. Fuller-Maitland, *The Music of Parry and Stanford: An Essay in Comparative Criticism*, W. Heffer, Cambridge 1934.

¹¹⁶ John A. Fuller-Maitland, *English Music in the XIX Century*, Grant Richards, London 1902.

¹¹⁷ John A. Fuller-Maitland, *A Doorkeeper of Music*, Murray, London 1929.

¹¹⁸ Notable exceptions are Johnstone’s reviews of Stanford’s *Requiem* and *Te Deum*.

¹¹⁹ Ernest Newman, ‘A School for Music Critics’, *MT*, January 1911, 16-17.

¹²⁰ Michael D. Calvocoressi, ‘Can Musical Criticism be Taught?’, *MT*, May 1911, 300-302.

¹²¹ Arthur Hervey, ‘Concerning Musical Criticism’, *MT*, June 1911, 373-5.

¹²² ‘Sullivan’s “Golden Legend”’, *NatRev*, vol.8 (1886-7), 400-407.

¹²³ ‘Mr Hubert Parry’s “Judith”’, *FortRev*, vol.44 (1888), 537-45.

composer, but perhaps his proudest moment as a critic was the invitation to attend the first performances in Italy of Verdi's *Falstaff*, following which he produced an extended review which placed Verdi's final opera appreciatively in the context of nineteenth century opera as a whole.¹²⁴

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Stanford was born at a fortunate and auspicious time for the development and practical application of his particular musical talents and inclinations. His youthful years in Dublin were spent in a congenial atmosphere where ambitious music-making on an almost daily basis was the norm. He arrived in Cambridge at a time when the musical life of the university was ripe for change and advancement, and where the resident community proved ready to take a brilliant, energetic and ambitious young musician to their hearts. Ten years later, Stanford's appointment to a professorship at the newly-founded Royal College of Music provided the next logical step in his developing career, with a base in London and a general widening of scope and opportunity.

By the mid-1870s, when Stanford began in earnest his musical career, the sight-singing movement had done its work, choirs and choral societies flourished in abundance throughout the land, all the major provincial musical festivals were well established, and the demand for new choral music, especially from church choirs and the committees of the various triennial festivals, was approaching its zenith. The rapid expansion of music publishing, and the production of cheap choral music (pioneered by Novello) was a pragmatic and logical response to the steadily increasing demand for, and supply of new choral works for church, cathedral and chapel, singing club, choral society and concert hall – a situation to which Stanford and many of his contemporaries found it congenial and fulfilling to respond in plentiful measure.

¹²⁴ 'Verdi's "Falstaff"', *FortRev*, vol.53 (1893), 445-53.

A parallel expansion in the general and musical press, combined with the steady development of musical criticism as an art, would ensure that, by the 1870s, few new compositions of stature and worth would escape the notice of the musically-inclined public, even if merely through an advertisement or the briefest of comments in a newspaper or journal. It is a detailed consideration of this phenomenon, especially in connection with the choral output of Stanford, to which we shall turn our attention in Part Two.

Part Two

Stanford's Choral Music and the Press

Chapter Three

Stanford's Choral Music and the Press I: The Cambridge Years, 1870-1893

Stanford's years of residence in Cambridge saw his development from an eager and energetic young undergraduate with unsurpassed musical flair to a highly regarded member of the English musical establishment whose services as composer, conductor and teacher were much in demand. His work with the Cambridge University Musical Society (hereafter referred to as CUMS) provided a platform for his earlier compositions, gaining for him a rapidly expanding reputation. As well as receiving constant encouragement from some of his Cambridge near-contemporaries, notably Fuller Maitland and Barclay Squire, Stanford was fortunate in gaining the lasting friendship and interest of established figures such as Joachim and Richter, who were of enormous assistance in fostering and advancing his reputation.

The publication of the *Service in B flat* in 1879 very quickly made Stanford's name in the field of Anglican church music, but it was the larger choral works of the mid-1880s – the *Elegiac Ode*, *The Three Holy Children* and *The Revenge* – which truly established his national reputation.

From the moment of Charles Villiers Stanford's arrival in Cambridge as a new undergraduate in October 1870 his close association with choral music was a foregone conclusion. Despite the fact that his official purpose in the university was to read for a degree in classics, his family background and his unofficial tutelage from Robert Prescott Stewart in Dublin had armed him with an extensive knowledge and love of choral music, and his new position as organ scholar of Queen's College required him to take charge of all music in chapel services.

Early choral works

The story of his rapid rise to musical prominence in Cambridge University circles, and of his zealous reformation of CUMS has been amply chronicled elsewhere,¹ but he was soon to write a setting of the evening canticles for the Queen's College choir, and, after his transferral to Trinity College, a second evening canticle setting and two Latin commemoration motets for the choir there. Since, however, Stanford never sought publication for any of these pieces, they remained unknown outside his immediate circle. The earliest of his choral pieces to receive any critical comment in print appears to have been a part-song or 'madrigal', *To Chloris*, probably written about 1873, but sung in a CUMS concert in May 1880, after which the *Cambridge Review* commented:

Mr Stanford's 'Chloris' is a happy combination of antique form and modern colour: it has the flavour of age, without the pedantry of the imitation-old. It well deserved its warm reception.²

By September 1874, during his first spell of musical study in Germany, Stanford had completed a more ambitious work for tenor solo, chorus and orchestra – a setting of Klopstock's poem *Die Auferstehung*. This was given its first performance at a CUMS concert on 21 May 1875, sung in an English translation beginning 'Rise again', and received a brief mention the following day in the *Cambridge Chronicle*.³ Known as *The Resurrection*, the piece was later published by Chappell, and was sung as an anthem (with organ accompaniment) in Trinity college chapel on at least four occasions.⁴

It could well have been the success of *The Resurrection* that began to spread Stanford's reputation beyond the confines of Cambridge, for when his next choral work was first produced in May 1877, the performance was reported more widely. Dedicated to CUMS, Stanford's setting of Psalm 46 – *God is our hope and strength* – was a larger

¹ By Stanford himself, in *Pages*, and also by Greene, Dibble and Rodmell.

² *CamRev*, 26 May 1880, 121. The same concert also included performances of a *Quartet in F* by Stanford, as well as music by Gibbons, Brahms and Schubert.

³ *CamChr*, 22 May 1875, 4. The same concert included the first hearing in England of Schumann's music to *Faust*.

⁴ Dibble, *Stanford*, 71, cites a performance on 10 May 1886; *CamRev* lists further performances in Trinity chapel on 6 May 1888, 19 May 1889 and 22 May 1892.

work than *The Resurrection*. Scored for four soloists, chorus and orchestra, the work is in five movements, finishing with a choral fugue.⁵ The CUMS concert of 22 May 1877 in Cambridge's Guildhall featured Stanford's psalm-setting in the company of another choral work receiving its first hearing in England: the *Alto Rhapsody* of Brahms, and the programme was completed by Wagner's *Mastersingers' Overture* and Schumann's *Fourth Symphony*. The local press, in the guise of the *Cambridge Chronicle*, is enthusiastic, in a review of moderate length, describing Stanford's work as 'the performance of the day', praising particularly the third (choral) movement, and predicting that the work will 'ere long take a prominent place in the repertoire of the Sacred Harmonic and other first-class Musical Societies'.⁶

A review in *The Examiner*, informs us that, while the audience 'remained cold' to the Brahms *Rhapsody*, it reserved its warmest applause for Stanford's work, describing him as 'the able conductor of the Society, to whose energy and intelligence the laudable results attained are mainly due'. The first chorus of the Psalm is described as a piece 'as full of feeling as it is technically perfect', the following quartet being 'melodiously attractive and exceedingly well written for the voices'. The next chorus is judged, however, as being 'somewhat loud', and ending in 'a Maestoso hardly in keeping with the dignity of sacred art' – a definite contrast with the *Cambridge Chronicle's* unreserved praise for the same movement. The final choral fugue is reckoned as 'somewhat conventional in melodious conception, but evincing accomplished musicianship', and the whole work 'does great credit to its author'.⁷ A similar reservation as to the appropriateness of the second chorus is expressed in a brief column

⁵ Dibble, *Stanford*, 75-6, suggests that this work, completed in Germany in November 1875, represents in one sense Stanford's 'unofficial' Mus. Bac. exercise, since its overall design, including both solo and choral writing, and culminating in a choral fugue, reflects the requirements for such compositions. He also points out, however, that Stanford's patently more modern approach to composition 'questioned the lamentably outdated expectations of the degree's examination rubric and thereby challenged the university to consider major reforms'.

⁶ *CamChr*, 26 May 1877, 8.

⁷ *Exam*, 26 May 1877, 622-3.

in *The Musical World*, whose critic finds the movement ‘somewhat boisterous’, selecting the opening chorus as the most immediately impressive movement, but describing the whole work as betraying ‘the accomplished musicianship of its composer’.⁸

The June 1877 number of *The Musical Times* carries both a notice of the CUMS concert and a detailed review of the score (published by Novello), and from the former article we learn that the orchestra broke down completely at one point in Stanford’s Psalm – the result, it was thought, of insufficient rehearsal. A brief summary of the performance begins, however, with an interesting comment on the composer, giving some indication of how Stanford is beginning to be noticed by the musical world at large:

The Psalm naturally excited a great deal of interest. Its composer appears to be a favourite in the musical circles of the University, and as he possesses talent which may some day confer upon his Alma Mater a large increase of artistic renown, the eagerness with which his work was heard requires no explanation.⁹

An actual description and evaluation of the work is, predictably, reserved for the second article, which occupies two-and-a-half columns and includes musical examples.¹⁰ Reflecting the dominance, at this period, of Mendelssohnian influence, especially in choral composition, the (anonymous) reviewer first poses the question ‘Will [the psalm] ostentatiously proclaim its independence of Mendelssohn, or reflect that master’s style and spirit?’. He concludes that, while it is clear that Stanford has studied Mendelssohn, his work avoids any semblance of ‘mere copying’. The fugal writing in the first and last movements is given some detailed discussion, and some ‘advice’ is proffered to the young composer (one of innumerable manifestations of nineteenth-century English musicians’ obsession with fugues!). The ‘picturesque and suggestive’ accompaniment to the solo quartet is praised, as are the ‘happy touches’ in the second chorus, which

⁸ *MW*, 26 May 1877, 366.

⁹ *MT*, 1 June 1877, 280.

¹⁰ *MT*, 1 June 1877, 291-2.

‘strengthens our opinion that Mr. Stanford has the making of a good descriptive composer’. The fourth movement (baritone solo) is reckoned the weakest, and reservations are expressed concerning the form of the finale. The final paragraph, however, praises Stanford’s scoring, noting ‘an exuberance about it characteristic in some degree of the entire work, and natural to the composer’s years’. The concluding two sentences express hope in a composer of great promise.

Not every review is as complimentary, however, and the reviewer of *Truth* does not conceal his impatience with the work:

Mr. Stanford’s composition met with a very flattering reception, more flattering than it would have received anywhere out of Cambridge where he has done so much for music. This energetic young composer would do well to let his wings grow longer before he tries such high flights. The introduction and opening chorus have some good and skilful work, and the quartet is pretty and well harmonised; but the rest of this long psalm is pretentious and commonplace, and there is not an original idea from first to last. It would be better taste of Mr. Stanford not to take up so much of these programmes with his own works.¹¹

A further brief review of the score in the *Athenaeum* describes the work as a ‘very clever production, the only fault of which is too great a tendency to elaboration and amplification’, but judges the composer as ‘a young and most promising musician’ of whom ‘great hopes are entertained’.¹²

Hans Richter’s choice of *God is our hope* for performance at one of his London concerts in May 1881 must have provided a further welcome boost to Stanford’s reputation as a composer, for it appears to have been the first concert performance of any of his choral compositions in the metropolis. Following the concert on 30 May, the *Pall Mall Gazette* describes the work as ‘musicianly and duly modern in style’,¹³ and *Athenaeum* judges it ‘of somewhat unequal merit’, though ‘pleasing and musicianly .. of no special individuality, but by no means destitute of merit’,¹⁴ while the *Monthly Musical Record* feels that it reflects badly on English concert-givers that ‘the work of a

¹¹ *Truth*, 31 May 1877, 684, cited in Rodmell, *Stanford*, 52.

¹² *Ath*, 12 January 1878, 64.

¹³ *PMG*, 3 June 1881, 11.

¹⁴ *Ath*, 4 June 1881, 760.

native writer which has sufficient merit to secure a hearing from a German master should have been on the shelf for more than five years.’¹⁵ That the concert was not recorded in the Cambridge press calls forth a letter of protest to the editors of the *Cambridge Review*.¹⁶ The writer (‘C’) reports the great success of the performance, and concludes with a comment that ‘even the earlier works of our composer [Stanford] are now recognised by competent judges as being representative works of the best English Music’. One further contemporary comment upon this psalm setting, although made in a private diary, is of considerable interest: Hubert Parry, after attending the Richter performance, noted ‘Parts of the psalm are fine ... and the scoring fine. Some parts are dull and wanting in vitality, even Mendelssohnian’.¹⁷

Despite its shortcomings, *God is our hope* was occasionally revived (as at Ripon in 1904), and remained in print until 1930. It was certainly a piece which helped the young Stanford to become known outside Cambridge as a composer of choral music on a moderately large scale.

Two landmark settings for the Anglican Church

The next choral work of Stanford’s to appear was the *Morning, Evening and Communion Service in B flat*, published by Novello in June 1879, and first sung, in stages, in Trinity College Chapel during the summer of that year. There is, however, a mystery attached to the rapid rise to popularity of these particular settings of the Anglican liturgy. The *Musical Times* carried advertisements for the newly published Service in the issues for June, July and August 1879, but the journal never printed even the briefest review of it. Neither, so far as can be ascertained following an extensive search, did any other journal or newspaper. Yet it is clear that the complete Service was

¹⁵ *MMR*, 1 July 1881, 139.

¹⁶ *CamRev*, 8 June 1881, 372.

¹⁷ Diary of Hubert Parry, 30 May 1881, cited in Dibble, *Stanford*, 121.

sung at St Paul's Cathedral, London as early as 11 January 1880 – a mere seven months after its publication – and at St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin on 1 February following.¹⁸ The fact that it appears never to have been reviewed could be simply a matter of chance. The sheer quantity of church music being produced at this period was so great that the task of reviewing it all would surely have been beyond the time constraints of any critic and the space available in any journal. An indication of this constantly growing supply of new music may be seen in Table 1, which illustrates the growth, over a thirty year period, of new publications from Novello.

Table 1
Statistical comparison of new music publications by Novello, 1869-1889
as listed in *The Musical Times*

Year	choral	vocal	instrumental	total
1869	207	57	91	355
1879	273	48	46	367
1889	282	37	51	370
1899	461	143	113	717

These numbers are approximate only, and are taken from the 'during the past month' column in each monthly issue. A few items are not clearly enough described to ascertain their genre, and some 'new' publications are re-issues or further instalments of a previously issued work, e.g. a vocal score and a full score of the same work being issued in different months.

Almost nothing is known about any criteria governing the choice of items to be reviewed, but Novello's would surely have better reason than most to find space for reviews of as many of their own publications as possible in their own journal. *The Musical Times* had, after all, carried extensive reviews of other Stanford works, including one of his A major cello sonata at about the same time as the publication of the B flat Service. This Service rapidly became one of the most widely used settings in Anglican churches and cathedrals throughout England and as far away as the Antipodes, yet how did it become so popular in such a short space of time? One possibility is that the musicians at St Paul's had something to do with it, because it is known that both

¹⁸ Information from music lists published in *MS*, 10 & 31 January 1880.

Stainer and Sparrow-Simpson were always on the look-out for worthwhile new church music by younger composers. They were shortly to commission a new service setting from Stanford for the 1880 Sons of Clergy Festival: was it his B flat Service that prompted them to do so? And did they pass the word around about a new young composer of first-rate church music? Perhaps we shall never know, but it is certain that the B flat Service was to make Stanford's name known to virtually every church musician throughout the Anglican Communion. Increasingly frequent press references to performances of various parts of the B flat Service attest to its growing popularity, as does a survey of canticle and communion settings found on cathedral music lists for the year 1906-7, published in full in *Musical News* and shown in abridged form in Table 2. The *Te Deum* became a standard choice for festivals, and was used (in a revised version with organ and orchestra) at the 1902 Coronation. The morning and evening canticles have never been out of print since their first publication, and are widely used to this day. Church musicians know 'Stanford in B flat' even if they know nothing else at all by him. Features contributing an attractive freshness to Stanford's *Service in B flat* could well have been its ground-breaking development and re-use of thematic material and an overall structure more akin to symphonic music than the usual episodic treatment of these liturgical Anglican texts – an approach developed further in the A major evening canticles of the following year, and years later in the service settings in G and C.¹⁹

The *Evening Service in A* is a very different proposition, for although the score was never reviewed, there are several accounts of its first performance at the Festival of the Sons of Clergy in St Paul's Cathedral on 12 May 1880. Specially commissioned for the occasion, the *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in A* is the only one of Stanford's evening canticle settings to be conceived from the outset with orchestral accompaniment, the

¹⁹ For a detailed consideration of the subject, and a general survey of Stanford's output of church music during his years at Trinity College, Cambridge, see Jeremy Dibble, 'Stanford's Service in B flat op.10 and the Choir of Trinity College, Cambridge', published in G. Gillen & H. White (eds.), *Irish Musical Studies II: Music and the Church*, Dublin 1993, 129-48.

organ part being subsequently arranged from the full score to fit the published edition for everyday use. Writing of the Festival, the *Musical Times* reporter states ‘as we may possibly have to speak of [Stanford’s Evening Service in A] before long in another portion of our columns, we will content ourselves for the present by remarking that, both in conception and execution, it is unquestionably the work of a thorough musician, such as we know Mr. Stanford to be’.²⁰ The implication of a forthcoming more detailed review was not to become a reality, however. Four other journals report the Festival at greater length, but share an almost identical text – clearly the work of just one critic.²¹

The paragraph dealing with Stanford’s setting is worth quoting:

The *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* (in A) written expressly for the festival ... by Mr C. Villiers Stanford, organist of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a novelty to be prized, as furnishing additional proof that our young composers are taking more and more interest in Church music, which, developed at its utmost, naturally belongs to the very highest possible achievement, as exemplified in the “sacred oratorio.” Mr Stanford shows an evident leaning towards Mendelssohn, but he writes well both for voices and instruments; his melody flows naturally and his harmony is unostentatious and pure. *He had already earned merited praise by his complete morning and evening service in B flat*, and this fresh endeavour seems to denote a fixed resolve to go on further in the same path. [My italics.]

An earlier portion of the article also informs us that there was a choir of 300 and an orchestra of 50. The final part of the paragraph quoted above gives further indication of the rapid rise to popularity of the B flat Service, though telling us no more about how it was achieved.

The A major Evening Service was sung again at St Paul’s four days after the Sons of Clergy Festival,²² though this time just with organ accompaniment, and was revived regularly at the cathedral, using orchestra on occasions such as the Patronal Festival in January. The setting was also taken up in several other cathedrals and churches with strong choral traditions, though its larger scale and double choir Gloria prevented it from becoming as widely used as the more straightforward B flat setting. Like this

²⁰ *MT*, 1 June 1880, 295-6.

²¹ The article is found in the following journals: *MW*, 15 May 1880, 307; *Guard*, 19 May 1880, 642; *MS*, 22 May 1880, 323; *MO*, 1 June 1880, 299.

²² See *MS*, 15 May 1880, 319.

earlier service, it has remained in print and in regular use continuously up to the present day.

On 3 November 1881, the London Church Choir Association gave the first performance of a new work commissioned from Stanford. *Awake, my heart*, another setting of Klopstock (in English translation), and described on the score as ‘hymn’, is in reality a short cantata for baritone, chorus and organ. There are several published accounts of this Festival Service in St Paul’s Cathedral, the fullest and most laudatory appearing in the *Musical Times*, where Stanford’s piece is described in some detail. The first main theme is ‘instinct with life and vigour’, a later section for baritone solo with a chorale-like accompaniment for upper voices is compared favourably with *Mein teurer Heiland* from Bach’s *St John Passion*, and the final verdict is that the work strikes a ‘new line’, likening it to a modern re-incarnation of a Bach cantata, quite free, however, from any hint of pedantry.²³ Shorter accounts from the *Daily News* and, surprisingly, the *Church Times* (which rarely concerned itself with musical matters) inform us that the choir contained 591 surpliced singers drawn from thirty-four choirs in the London area, the latter article describing the baritone solos as ‘very fine’, and the performance as ‘admirable’.²⁴ The reporter from *The Guardian* gives a somewhat different view of the proceedings, however, for while acknowledging *Awake, my heart* as a ‘well-written and effective work in the form of a compressed church-cantata’, he was clearly confused by the notoriously difficult acoustic in the cathedral, complaining of ‘contrapuntal difficulties’ being ‘slurred over and marred’ – quite an understandable reaction if one is sitting in the wrong place. He concludes that the Church Choir Association has tackled work beyond its powers, and pleads for simpler music.²⁵ Stanford orchestrated the cantata for its next appearance at a CUMS concert on 2

²³ *MT*, 1 December 1881, 631-2.

²⁴ *DN*, 4 November 1881, 3 and *ChT*, 11 November 1881, 770.

²⁵ *Guard*, 9 November 1881, 1610-11.

December 1882, where, according to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, its position at the end of a long concert on a very cold evening prevented the ‘very beautiful hymn’ from receiving its deserved amount of applause.²⁶ The *Cambridge Review* notes a smallish audience, but describes the ‘hymn’ as a ‘very beautiful composition, the concluding Gloria being exceedingly grand’,²⁷ while the *Athenaeum* comments that, although the work is ‘refined and musicianly, and very agreeably written for the voice’, the performance suffered once or twice from the too generous use of the new and powerful organ in the Guildhall.²⁸ A subsequent performance by the Bach Choir (26 March 1884) seems to be the only further reported concert performance of this work, although it was sung several times as an anthem, both at Trinity and in other places.²⁹

First secular choral successes: Cavalier Songs and Elegiac Ode

A very different style of composition was demonstrated in the *Three Cavalier Songs* for baritone solo and male chorus. Completed in 1880, one of the songs appeared in a CUMS concert in December 1881, where it was ‘performed with so much spirit as to make an encore absolutely necessary’,³⁰ and the complete set appeared at another CUMS concert the following April, when the same journal comments:

Everyone knows how exciting the words are [by Browning], and with the addition of the spirited music they become irresistible. We liked the first the best, “Marching Along,” but in no case were the others inferior to it.³¹

The *Musical Times*, reviewing the score, congratulates the composer on his achievement, stating that the songs will be ‘a real boon to baritone singers’. The poet, a great lover of music, is delighted with Stanford’s setting of his words, telling the

²⁶ *CamChr*, 9 December 1882, 4.

²⁷ *CamRev*, 6 December 1882, 152.

²⁸ *Ath*, 9 December 1882, 782.

²⁹ Performances include Trinity College Chapel (9 November 1884; 16 May 1897), Lincoln’s Inn Chapel (28 February 1897), Salisbury Cathedral (18 July 1897), and Lincoln Cathedral (23 June 1912).

³⁰ *CamRev*, 7 December 1881, 117.

³¹ *CamRev*, 26 April 1882, 264.

composer 'You have done me great honour in setting my songs to music'.³² Subsequently adopted by the celebrated American singer, David Bispham, the *Cavalier Songs* remained firm favourites with singers and audiences for many years, receiving the warm approval of Bernard Shaw, who describes them as 'fiery and original as they are vernacular from beginning to end'.³³

1884 was to prove in one sense a crucial year for Stanford, for it saw the production of his first choral work commissioned by one of the prestigious provincial choral festivals. The *Elegiac Ode*, first performed on 15 October at the Norwich Festival, made a considerable impact, both with the musical public and with the critics, and was taken as further proof that its composer was capable of success in music of serious intent and on a fairly extended scale. It also did much to restore the composer's reputation after the ignominious failure of the opera *Savonarola* at Covent Garden in July of that year.³⁴ The *Elegiac Ode* was, in fact, used on subsequent occasions as a bench-mark against which to measure Stanford's later choral works. As with none of his other choral works, however, the choice of text proved highly controversial, for at that time the poetry of Walt Whitman was little understood in England, and opinions of his Burial Ode for President Lincoln range from 'incoherent maundering' (*Musical Times*)³⁵ to 'Whitman's best poem' (*Cambridge Review*).³⁶ No matter what view critics take of Stanford's libretto, however, his music receives universal praise: no mean achievement for a work which was first heard in close proximity to the other new work of the Festival – Mackenzie's full-length oratorio *The Rose of Sharon*. A close comparison of press comment upon both works (shown in Table 3) reveals, in fact, a clear bias in favour of Stanford's work, for although four-fifths of press articles express

³² Letter from Robert Browning to Stanford, 26 November 1881, cited in Dibble, *Stanford*, 161.

³³ George Bernard Shaw, *Music in London 1890-94*, 3 vols. (New York, 1973), vol. ii, 327, cited in Rodmell, *Stanford*, 86.

³⁴ See Rodmell, *Stanford*, 95-108.

³⁵ *MT*, 1 November 1884, 633-4.

³⁶ *CamRev*, 29 April 1885, ci.

unreserved praise for the *Elegiac Ode*, critical opinion is much more evenly divided on the merits of Mackenzie's work, some commentators finding it too long, and marred by uninspired sections. Praise for Stanford's accomplished technique is also more in evidence.³⁷

The daily newspapers inevitably carry the earliest reviews. *The Times*, in a substantial column, presumably by Francis Hueffer, suggests that despite its 'halting rhythm' and 'grandiloquent bathos' Whitman's *Ode* is 'infinitely above commonplace sentimentalism'. Stanford's selection of the poem gives an 'intellectual *cachet*' to music whose most striking merits are earnestness and 'style', making no concession to vulgar taste or popularity. The opening to the *Ode* is impressive, and the gloom and joy of the baritone and soprano solos respectively are well-suited to the text. The 'noble climax' in the final chorus is followed by a 'bold return' to the softer music of the opening. The whole work reflects 'high credit on the composer and on the school to which he belongs'.³⁸

The critic (Joseph Bennett?) of the *Daily Telegraph* claims that few would deny a certain charm in Whitman's view of death, and he is not surprised at Stanford's choice of the text, as it has hidden depths which could be enhanced by musical treatment.³⁹ The column goes on to identify the influence of Brahms – in freedom of harmonic treatment, in approach to orchestration, and in general 'earnestness, dignity and sombre force', but emphasises that there are also many features in the work attributable to no one but its composer. The final verdict upon the *Ode* is 'the greatest work Mr. Stanford has yet written', suggesting furthermore (with some degree of prophetic accuracy) that the composer's success in this type of composition might have a determining influence upon his future efforts.

³⁷ For a full explanation of the criteria used in these comparative tables, see introductory pages, iv.

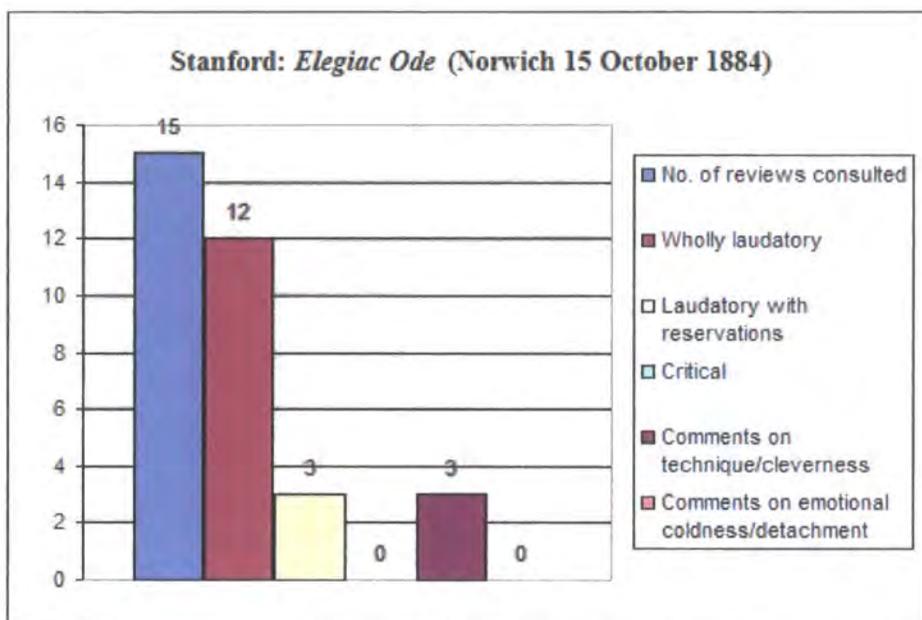
³⁸ *T*, 16 October 1884, 6.

³⁹ *DTel*, 16 October 1884, 3.

Table 3
Press reception comparison of new works, Norwich Festival 1884

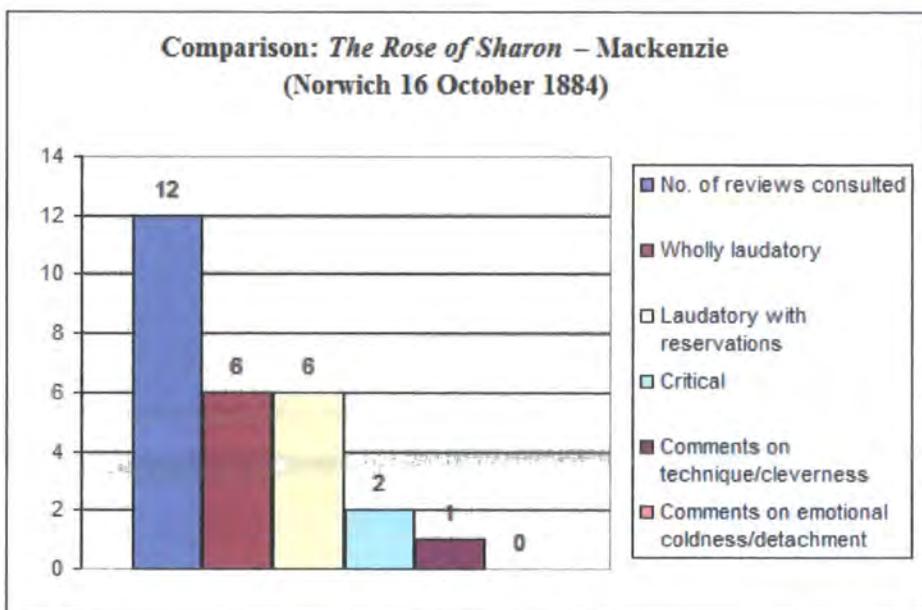
***Elegiac Ode* (Norwich 15 October 1884)**

No. of reviews consulted	15
Wholly laudatory	12
Laudatory with reservations	3
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	3
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Comparison: *The Rose of Sharon* – Mackenzie (Norwich 16 October 1884)

No. of reviews consulted	12
Wholly laudatory	6
Laudatory with reservations	6
Critical	2
Comments on technique/cleverness	1
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



An article in the *Daily News*, after expressing surprise that any of Whitman's poetry should invite musical treatment, confesses that in the case of Stanford's *Ode* the 'gloomy groundwork' (that is, the poem) has been 'associated with some very impressive music'. After a brief, appreciative analysis of the work, it is described as 'one of the best of Mr Stanford's productions'. The influence of the modern German school is noted, but also the individuality of the composer 'who has here produced a work that holds out much promise for the future'.⁴⁰

The *Morning Post* critic takes a different line: clearly no devotee of Whitman, one of the 'fleshly school of poetry', he flippantly states that, since Stanford has been so successful in finding appropriate music for an impossible text, he might next set Bradshaw's Guide or some Board of Trade returns.⁴¹ He also persists in pointing out the similarity of the ode's 'leading-motive' to a popular drawing-room ballad and other features which, in his opinion, deserve criticism, but says that Stanford's music 'as music, is singularly good'. This rather sour article concludes by referring to the composer's recent operatic failures, suggesting that he should in future remain content with 'little compositions as more within the measure of his real ability'.

Amongst the weekly papers, *The Guardian* carries perhaps the longest and most laudatory review, declaring that Stanford has captured the mood of Whitman's 'strange and most beautiful' poem and sustained the mood of 'joyful solemnity' throughout. The critic, 'JM' (John Fuller Maitland?) praises the atmospheric opening of the work and the 'most effective' baritone solo, identifies the soprano solo 'in slow dance-measure' as the 'brightest and most joyous number of the work', and enthuses over the 'beautiful and strange modulation' into the final fugue with its 'most beautiful' subject. The fugal writing is noted as very resourceful, and much superior to Mackenzie's equivalent efforts in *The Rose of Sharon*. In contrast to Mackenzie's work, which left

⁴⁰ *DN*, 17 October 1884, 3.

⁴¹ *MP*, 16 October 1884, 5.

upon the hearer ‘an unconquerable feeling of dulness’[sic], Stanford’s *Ode* brings honour ‘not only to the composer himself, but to the whole school to which he belongs’.⁴²

The *Saturday Review* also praises the work, reckoning the music superior to the poem. In a brief, appreciative analysis attention is drawn to the same modulation into the final fugue mentioned by the *Guardian* critic, describing it as a ‘cadence of rare beauty’ (i.e. a transition from E flat to D) to the final chorus – a ‘tuneful fugue’. The critic’s final summary is that ‘the “Elegiac Ode” must be ranked as a work of a very rare merit, bearing the unmistakable stamp of genius’.⁴³

The critic of the *Athenaeum*, after declaring that no matter what one thinks of the poem, it invites musical treatment, goes on to judge the *Elegiac Ode* ‘the best thing [Stanford] has yet written’, claiming it to contain ‘a freshness of idea and a grasp of the subject-matter which entitle the composer to a very high rank’. The bass solo is ‘excellent’, the ‘charming theme’ of the soprano solo, with its ‘piquant orchestration’, makes it likely to become the most popular movement, the final fugue is ‘most excellent’ and the ending of the whole work ‘tranquil, but impressive’.⁴⁴ The following week, in a continuation of its Norwich Festival coverage (which praised Mackenzie’s *Rose of Sharon* at length), the ‘distinct success’ of Stanford’s work is reiterated, suggesting that, should it fail to achieve more permanent popularity, the fault will lie with the choice of subject and the words, and not with the music.⁴⁵ This last comment is echoed in certain other reviews.

⁴² *Guard*, 22 October 1884, 1593-4.

⁴³ *SatRev*, 25 October 1884, 529-30.

⁴⁴ *Ath*, 18 October 1884, 504-5.

⁴⁵ *Ath*, 25 October 1884, 535-6.



A shorter notice in *The Graphic* states that ‘Stanford has entered fully in to the spirit of the poet’s central idea, and his music is in happy accord with the cheerful sentiment of this Ode to Death’. Generally, the work ‘shows Dr. Stanford at his strongest’.⁴⁶

Of the musical journals, it is the *Musical Times* which carries by far the fullest account of Stanford’s *Ode*. After the initial remarks criticising the poem (summarised above), the article describes the music as extremely effective and pleasing, the soprano solo being singled out as ‘the most attractive number’. The final sentences judge the *Elegiac Ode* ‘All in all ... the best work the composer has yet given us’, but, like the *Athenaeum*, express a fear that the subject may prevent it becoming as popular as the music deserves.⁴⁷

Shorter notices appear in the *Monthly Musical Record*, the *Musical Opinion* and the *Musical Standard*. *MMR* describes the music as ‘remarkably fresh, clear and pleasing’, noting much ‘clever writing and effective orchestration’ and predicts that the ode will ‘rank among the composer’s best efforts’.⁴⁸ After referring to the work’s opening as ‘dull and lugubrious’, *MO* comments that the music improves as it progresses, the latter part of the ode being ‘full of brightness and originality’, and concludes with a verdict upon the work’s likely future similar to those expressed in the *Athenaeum* and the *Musical Times*.⁴⁹ *MS* makes no comment on the music, merely stating that the work was ‘enthusiastically received’.⁵⁰

The warmly appreciative reception awarded to the *Elegiac Ode* at its Norwich premiere is further enhanced by similarly positive reports of further performances by CUMS (13 March 1885) and by the Bach Choir (1 March 1888). Following the CUMS

⁴⁶ *Graph*, 18 October 1884, 407.

⁴⁷ *MT*, 1 November 1884, 633-4.

⁴⁸ *MMR*, 1 November 1884, 249-50.

⁴⁹ *MO*, 1 November 1884, 63.

⁵⁰ *MS*, 25 October 1885, 242.

performance, the *Musical Standard* makes up for its former reticence in a substantial column singing the work's praises and concluding:

As long as we have composers who can write like the author of the Scandinavian Symphony [i.e. Cowen], the "Rose of Sharon", and the Elegiac Ode, we need not have the slightest fear of comparing our national musical laurels with those of any other country at the present time.⁵¹

The *Cambridge Review* extols the virtues of the opening and closing choruses, though it regards the solos as less striking, possibly because of inadequacies in the singers,⁵²

while William Barclay Squire, a close associate of Stanford, writes in the *Athenaeum* :

The composer, strange though it may seem, has evidently been inspired by Walt Whitman's curious rhapsody, the setting of which is, we are inclined to think, the best thing that has hitherto come from his pen. ... The opening and final choruses are undoubtedly the best parts of the work, and rise to a level which very few contemporary composers have attained; indeed, the whole work is singularly interesting, alike from its spontaneous freshness of melody and the masterly manner in which the details are executed.⁵³

Views of the work are still glowing following the Bach Choir's performance in March 1888, Bennett commenting in the *Daily Telegraph* that the ode 'grows in favour with every fresh hearing',⁵⁴ an almost identical comment appearing in the *Athenaeum*.⁵⁵

Despite the more than favourable reception awarded to the *Elegiac Ode* at these first hearings, however, only a small handful of further performances were documented in the press, extending to one in 1907 (Reading). It is quite possibly the case, therefore, that the subject matter of the *Ode* rendered it less than attractive to choral groups and concert promoters – much as was predicted in some early reviews.

First oratorio: The Three Holy Children

The following year Stanford was enabled by a commission from the committee of the Birmingham Festival to follow up the considerable success of his *Elegiac Ode* with his first attempt at a full-length oratorio. *The Three Holy Children*, cast as an oratorio in two parts, was based upon the episode from the Book of Daniel of the three young

⁵¹ *MS*, 21 March 1885, 182-3.

⁵² *CamRev*, 29 April 1885, ci.

⁵³ *Ath*, 21 March 1885, 385.

⁵⁴ *DTel*, 3 March 1888, 3.

⁵⁵ *Ath*, 10 March 1888, 316.

Israelites cast into the furnace by Nebuchadnezzar. Since the story by itself was of insufficient length for a full-length choral work, Stanford, following sound advice from Cambridge colleagues, incorporated extra material from two psalms as well as part of the *Benedicite omni opera*. The oratorio, written during the final months of 1884 and completed in February 1885, was one of eight new works to be performed at the 1885 Birmingham Festival.

As usual, public interest in the major provincial musical festivals is sufficiently keen for outline programmes to be published many months in advance, and the *Musical World* prints a draft programme for the 1885 Birmingham Festival as early as May 1884.⁵⁶ It is clear that by July or August 1885 some reviewers have gained access to the vocal scores of some, if not all, of the new works to be performed at the Festival, including Stanford's, for during August both the *Musical Times* and the *Musical World* print articles in which there is some detailed discussion of the textual and musical content of *The Three Holy Children*.

The *Musical Times* article previewing the Festival⁵⁷ praises the text of Stanford's oratorio for being unconventional, yet 'clever and effective'. It is described as 'having dramatic interest, yet abounding in lyrical expression'. Comments on the music refer to the use of 'representative themes, without which, apparently, no modern work is complete'. The article continues by predicting that, due to the 'somewhat elaborate' interweaving of these themes into the texture, 'it seems vain to hope a first or even second hearing will suffice for complete recognition'. It does concede, however, that the chief themes may be 'identified with sufficient ease', and goes on to describe the airs and choruses as possessing 'unusual clearness'. Stanford's apparent, if temporary avoidance of 'thralldom to modern Germany' is noted, and the final chorus of the work – 'O all ye works of the Lord' (from the *Benedicite*) – is said to be 'almost Handelian in

⁵⁶ *MW*, 17 May 1884, 313.

⁵⁷ *MT*, 1 August 1885, 468, 475-6.

its breadth of effect and simplicity of outline', a description echoed by many other critics following the first performance. Following the great success of Gounod's oratorio *The Redemption* in 1882, the principal attraction of the 1885 Festival is taken to be his quasi-requiem *Mors et Vita*, and a final comment in the *MT* preview article remarks that, although both Stanford and Gounod have included in their respective works a number in Palestrina style, there is otherwise absolutely no similarity between the two compositions.

The *Musical World* reprints Joseph Bennett's substantial article previewing the Festival from the *Daily Telegraph*.⁵⁸ In his initial paragraph, Bennett outlines the perceived importance of the Birmingham Festivals and their record of launching significant works. His next paragraph discusses the overall programme, noting its courage in listing no fewer than eight new works, six of them by 'sons of an "unmusical country"'. The absence of any work by a *living* German is also noted, perhaps even with a certain sense of satisfaction. Bennett's third paragraph discusses *The Three Holy Children*, first extolling the 'excellence of the book'. In referring to the music 'there need be no hesitation in saying that it puts Mr Stanford in a light more favourable than any that ever before shone on him'. Reference is then made to his having 'sown his wild oats as a composer', but now, having 'forsaken the devious wilds of modern German art', the 'sweet reasonableness of his *Elegiac Ode*' was now 'followed by almost classic clearness, breadth, and force'. Bennett cannot resist concluding, in biblical style, that 'there should be more joy over a sinner that repenteth than over ninety-and-nine just persons who need no repentance'.

Following the first performance on 28 August, it is once again the major daily papers which contain the first reviews. The local press was naturally out in force, and Stephen Stratton's exhaustive review of the fourth day of the Festival in the

⁵⁸ *MW*, 29 August 1885, 539-543.

Birmingham Daily Post awards warm praise to Stanford's work, which is 'quite able to hold its own in the domain of oratorio against that of exotic origin'.⁵⁹ Reference is then made to the spontaneous outbursts of applause at the conclusion of the first part of the work and again at the end, breaking the convention of silent reception for sacred works: this in itself is seen as an indication of the audience's great enthusiasm for the oratorio.

Following a lengthy movement-by-movement account of the music, Stratton comments:

There can be no question as to the masterly character of this work, more particularly in its writing for the chorus and orchestra, and it is one which cannot fail to enhance very considerably the already high reputation of the composer ... Dr. Stanford is sometimes charged with a disregard of the claims of rhythm, form, and tonality; but the score of the "Three Holy Children" certainly affords no ground for such a complaint. Every movement, however elaborate, is worked out with remarkable clearness. ... his themes are often broad and tuneful ... and he is never wanting in dramatic spirit or dramatic colouring. ... He scarcely rises, however, to the height of the situation in the instrumental interlude and chorus descriptive of the casting of the Three Children into the furnace, where a little graphic tone-painting might have been legitimately employed ... [Dr. Stanford] has produced a work of undoubted strength, excellence and interest, and one which will prove a valuable and acceptable addition to the repertory of modern oratorio. Finer choral writing than "The heathen shall fear thy name," and the great double fugal chorus which closes the oratorio, we have not met with for many a day, and the orchestration throughout is admirable in its reserve as well as in its richness ... To sum up, we think that "The Three Holy Children" marks a distinct and substantial advance upon Dr. Stanford's previous achievements, and affords an earnest of yet better things to come, when the composer shall have learned to subordinate his scholarship and technical skill still further to his invention. As it is, with all its undoubted cleverness, it lacks the note of inspiration which would justify us in hailing it as a really great work.

Such a substantial quotation from Stratton's article is amply justified by the fact that many of his remarks are echoed time and time again by other critics, not only in connection with this oratorio, but, in the case of the comments upon his technical skill, scholarship, and lack of sufficient emotional involvement, applied also to some of his subsequent works.⁶⁰

Aris's Birmingham Gazette, in a shorter, but still substantial review concludes that 'Mr. Stanford's *Three Holy Children* is undoubtedly one of the most powerfully written and meritorious works a composer of the English school has produced. Its construction

⁵⁹ *BDP*, 29 August 1885, 5.

⁶⁰ This dichotomy of critical opinion – the balancing of an appreciation of technical prowess against doubts concerning depth of inspiration or emotional involvement – becomes so common in connection with Stanford's music that it seems appropriate to single it out as a particularly significant element in critical commentary. A closer examination of the subject will be found in the concluding chapter, 261-6.

has been well thought out; the melodies are always appropriate, and the themes are well worked'.⁶¹

A third local paper, the *Birmingham Daily Mail*, in a fairly concise column, comments briefly and appreciatively upon various individual movements, and commends the performance, but fails to draw any conclusions as to the merits of the work as a whole.⁶²

Moving on to the national daily papers, Hueffer's review in *The Times* awards Stanford's oratorio qualified praise.⁶³ While acknowledging the important nature of *The Three Holy Children*, Hueffer feels that it is rather too short for a 'sacred drama', and that the introduction of material extraneous to the story has resulted in part one of the work being filled with 'airs and choruses of a religious character' without featuring the Three Holy Children at all. This prompts the remark: 'It will be seen at once that Mr Stanford does not rely for his effect upon any kind of dramatic interest; and in doing so he has acted in accordance with the promptings of his own genius'. He continues: 'Of the climax of the story little is made in the musical sense'. The roaring of the fire he describes as being 'of the mildest kind', appearing somewhat tame when compared to Mendelssohn's treatment of a similar subject in *Elijah*. On the positive side, however, genuine admiration is expressed for the 'splendid workmanship' of the music, most especially for the choral fugue at the end of part one and the double chorus concluding the whole work. The soprano solo with the chorus *O daughter of Babylon* is cited as an example of 'simple and pathetic melody', while the lengthy tenor air in part two is described as 'less satisfactory, and, indeed, very conventional', despite being well sung. The music allotted to the Three Holy Children is noted as being 'very effective, without, however, rising to much dramatic force'. Richter's direction of the work is given

⁶¹ *BDG*, 29 August 1885, 5.

⁶² *BDM*, 29 August 1885, 2-3.

⁶³ *T*, 29 August 1885, 10.

unreserved praise, and due reference made to the ovations given to the composer at the ends of both parts of the work. Hueffer concludes, very fairly, by stating his opinion that such a work ‘cannot be judged by a first hearing and at the end of a long and fatiguing festival’.

In his *Daily Telegraph* review, Bennett repeats some of the comments in his earlier articles, extolling the virtues of modern English music as overcoming ‘continental prejudice’ (especially German), and reiterating his delight that Stanford’s new oratorio has forsaken the ‘excesses’ of some earlier works:

It is a noble English work, and all the more welcome because springing from a source whence has flowed music painfully imitative of an alien style, which I hope never to see naturalised in this country. Mr. Stanford has sobered down from the, shall I say, exaltation of youth, and in his latest work speaks with the measured force and plain directness of musical maturity. A hearty welcome to this change, for it implies the gain to true art of a gifted man ...⁶⁴

Later, after referring to Stanford’s ‘discreet’ use of leading-motives, Bennett stresses the fact that ‘In other respects the music is free from devices to which the ultra-modern school is fettered’, reflecting the composer’s ability to ‘associate a modern spirit with the artistic methods which have come down to us consecrated by genius, and made authoritative by tradition’. There follows at this point a brief resumé of Bennett’s artistic creed:

Those of us who call ourselves musical Conservatives are sometimes charged with advocating the finality of the Art. Nothing could be further from the truth. We hail progress and development along the ancient lines, as in the case under notice. What we do oppose is the setting up of new fundamental principles, the creation of yesterday, and the offspring in too many cases of personal vanity or scheming incompetence.⁶⁵

Commenting upon individual movements, Bennett praises all the numbers in part one, most especially its final choral fugue:

“The heathen shall fear Thy name”, of elaborate construction. Mr. Stanford is not afraid of a choral fugue. He does not announce statement and answer, and then run away like “Punch’s” little boy, who chalked up “No Popery”. On the contrary, he stands to his guns, and fights the action out like a man, employing therein all the recognised devices of counter-point.

Part two, on the other hand, Bennett, in common with several others, reckons, with the exception of its final chorus, as inferior, and recommends the excision of the Palestrina-

⁶⁴ *DTel*, 29 August 1885, 3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*.

style number 'as being less a welcome contrast than a glaring incongruity', and the re-writing of the 'long and rather dull' tenor solo 'in a more decidedly melodious vein'.

Another substantial review in the *Morning Post* also awards special praise to part one of the work, the choral fugue in particular 'exhibiting Dr Stanford as a disciple of classic formulation' and earning 'vehement applause' and the calling of the composer from his gallery seat.⁶⁶ Attention is also drawn to the composer's 'thought and care' in part two, and the final setting of the *Benedicite* is said to exhibit Dr. Stanford 'at his best', for in it he has chosen 'to follow in the footsteps of fine classic art, whatever may have been his sins of commission and errors of omission before'. In this he appears 'clothed and in his right mind'. Clearly this critic (William Barrett?) is of the same school of thought as Joseph Bennett.

Hugh Haweis of the *Pall Mall Gazette* says of *The Three Holy Children* that it is 'a fine work; in fact, no English composer has ever surpassed Mr Stanford as regards a part of the music. The choral writing is exceedingly fine'. There is praise for the 'fiery and original march' in part one. Referring to this portion of the work as 'one of genius', Haweis also notes a 'sad falling off' in part two where, 'with but little exception, the rest of the music is very dreary and dull'.⁶⁷

After stating that pressure on space precludes lengthy discussion, the *Daily News* critic states that in all seventeen numbers of Stanford's oratorio he has 'manifested powers far beyond those displayed in his many previous productions'. 'Contrapuntal skill and dramatic expression' are evident throughout.⁶⁸

Amongst the weekly papers, the *Guardian* carries the most substantial review, declaring at the outset *The Three Holy Children* to be a 'far more satisfactory' work than the Festival's main attraction – Gounod's *Mors et Vita*, and predicting, from its

⁶⁶ *MP*, 29 August 1885, 5.

⁶⁷ *PMG*, 29 August 1885, 4.

⁶⁸ *DN*, 29 August 1885, 3.

enthusiastic reception, that it will avoid the 'early death' of so many festival compositions.⁶⁹ Further endorsement follows:

Nothing finer or more vigorous, whether in respect of its masterly conception or of its sustained power, has yet come from the composer's pen.

Another reference is made to Stanford's ability to sustain fugal writing beyond the exposition section, resulting here in 'the finest achievement of modern English music' which will 'stand comparison with the masterpieces of any composer whatever' – an extravagant claim indeed. In the second part of the oratorio the critic (Fuller Maitland again?) feels that the effect depends 'quite as much upon the orchestral writing as upon the vocal'. The long solo for Azarias, which some critics find dull and over-long, is here admired, and the following Palestrina-style number rated as one of the 'most impressive portions of the work'. The furnace music is also deemed 'exceedingly effective', and the final double chorus is 'treated with masterly elaboration', with interest not only sustained but increased throughout its length.

A moderate length review in the *Graphic* judges the work as 'decidedly the finest Festival work the young Irish composer has given us', citing the first part, with its 'admirably written' Handelian fugue as 'the best portion'.⁷⁰ Again, a 'falling off' is noted in part two, the trios for the Three Holy Children and their trial in the furnace lacking in dramatic interest, and the tenor solo 'long and feeble'. The fine Handelian double chorus at the end, however, again shows Stanford 'at his strongest'. The article proclaims doubts as to the merits of Gounod's work, but other new works, including Stanford's, promise to be 'permanent and valuable additions to the repertory'.

The *Athenaeum* publishes a fairly substantial review, probably by Henry Frost, which declares 'in this latest work [Stanford] has fully sustained his previous reputation', some parts of the work being 'superior to anything that he has hitherto

⁶⁹ *Guard*, 2 September 1885, 1289-90.

⁷⁰ *Graph*, 5 September 1885, 262.

written'.⁷¹ The whole of part one is judged 'excellent', with 'admirable fugal writing' in the final chorus. Here again the second part is rated, as a whole, 'distinctly inferior to the first – not, let it be said, in the workmanship ... but in the nature of the ideas', some numbers being 'not free from a suspicion of dryness' (including the long tenor solo). The final chorus, however, possesses 'breadth and grandeur'. The oratorio is judged 'a somewhat unequal work', but will rank high among the 'novelties' of the Festival.

The first of two articles printed in the *Saturday Review* pronounces Stanford's oratorio as 'prolonged and scholarly', but spends more of its time comparing the relative merits of Gounod's new work (*Mors et Vita*) with his earlier *Redemption*.⁷² A second column the following week carries a substantial review of Gounod's work (which was heard for a second time on the last day of the Festival), dismissing *The Three Holy Children* in one short paragraph, with a promise to return to it later in the season. Yet again, part one is reckoned as the more inspired:

Dr Stanford, though we must admit the power and learning displayed in his last number, is too lavish of his resources later on, and ends by fatiguing the ear.⁷³

The *Musical World* and the *Musical Standard*, both published on 5 September, are the first of the musical journals to publish reviews of the Birmingham Festival, although the former journal once again produces a re-print of Bennett's long article in the *Daily Telegraph*.

The article in the *Musical Standard*, while praising many aspects of the oratorio, points the finger at some of the reservations also expressed in certain other reviews.⁷⁴ After some initial sentences describing the 'book', 'BR' states that the initial favourable impression of the work at rehearsal was 'vastly heightened' in the first performance. The strength of the work resides 'in the choral element', the choruses throughout being

⁷¹ *Ath*, 5 September 1885, 312.

⁷² *SatRev*, 29 August 1885, 287-8.

⁷³ *SatRev*, 5 September 1885, 315-6.

⁷⁴ *MS*, 5 September 1885, 143-5.

‘massive, yet not deficient in melodiousness and contrast’. The accompaniments are praised as ‘vigorous and florid’, the composer having a strong partiality for ‘an involuted kind of figuration, making certain passages difficult to rhythmically construe’. The *Assyrian March* is particularly admired for its rhythmic structure. Having stated his opinion that the solo music throughout is inferior to the chorus work, the reviewer nevertheless singles out for praise the long tenor aria in part two criticised in many other papers. He refers to the ‘scholarly’ expertise of the final double chorus, and cites the opening instrumental movement as showing ‘fluency in figural or contrapuntal writing’. Whilst agreeing that the oratorio represents ‘a distinct gain for English art’, the reviewer questions whether its composer ‘has not the ability to do something even better’, describing him as ‘a young Titan who is evidently able to fill up his structures without the expenditure of much effort’ – another reference to Stanford’s technical prowess and daunting fluency. ‘BR’ wonders, in fact, whether this very compositional fluency might not prove ‘detrimental to the chances of an enduring work’.

The *Musical Times* publishes a longish review (nearly two full columns from its ‘Special Correspondent’, probably Henry Lunn), much of it given over to a description of individual movements.⁷⁵ Here again, the final choruses of both parts are awarded the highest praise. Certain solo movements are also warmly received, though some of the music in part two is thought to ‘lack strong dramatic feeling’, and the final paragraph once again rates the second part as inferior to the first, although ‘the dryness of some of the pieces in the second part ... must be only slightly dwelt upon in reviewing a really admirable work’.

Finally, Stephen Stratton, in his relatively brief *Monthly Musical Record* article, reaches much the same conclusions as the *Musical Times* and *Daily Telegraph* reviews,

⁷⁵ *MT*, 1 October 1885, 591-2.

seeing part two of the oratorio as more diffuse and somewhat less effective *in toto* than part one, but singling out the final choruses of both parts for the highest praise.⁷⁶

It is perhaps inevitable that journalists at Birmingham in 1885 should draw comparisons between two new oratorios. A close comparison of their comments reveals some interesting, and perhaps unexpected trends, however (see Table 4). Gounod, though not an Englishman, has already length of experience and a reputation to recommend him above Stanford, a relative newcomer, and *Mors et Vita* excites considerable expectations amongst press and public alike (reinforced by the allocation of two performances of the work within the festival). Gounod's oratorio, however, proves a disappointment, with only two of the reviews consulted giving it unreserved praise, and fifty percent of articles expressing (sometimes severe) criticism. By comparison, Stanford's work fares well, for although certain parts of it fail to find favour, a much higher proportion of critics (23 out of 28) give the *Holy Children* qualified approval, as against two-thirds in the case of *Mors et Vita*. This may well be due in part to the desire of English critics to praise and encourage a new and ambitious work by a young native composer, although praise is here so often tempered by comment upon Stanford's impeccable and 'clever' technique being paired with a perceived aridity and coldness of expression: a criticism that would dog the composer for many years to come, although never again so plentifully expressed as in connection with his first attempt at oratorio.⁷⁷

The Three Holy Children is the first major choral work of Stanford where critical comment is so plentiful that it offers some depth of insight into contemporary opinions of his development as a composer. Warm and effusive praise for almost any new English music was fairly commonplace at the time, and was awarded initially to many works which soon disappeared from the performance repertory – and *The Three Holy*

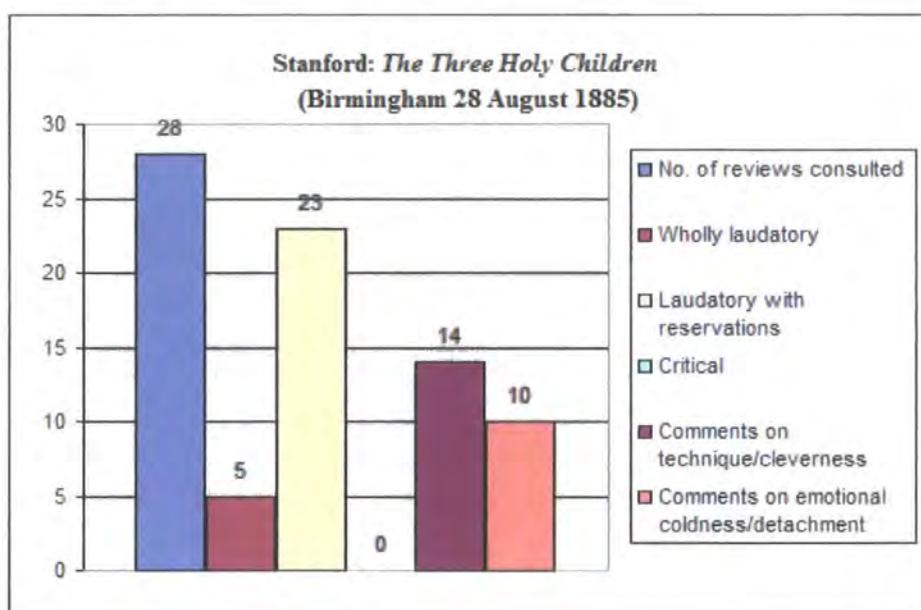
⁷⁶ *MMR*, 1 October 1885, 221-4.

⁷⁷ The *Elegiac Ode* reviews commenting on technique bear no suggestion of such emotional detachment.

Table 4
Press reception comparison of new works, Birmingham Festival 1885

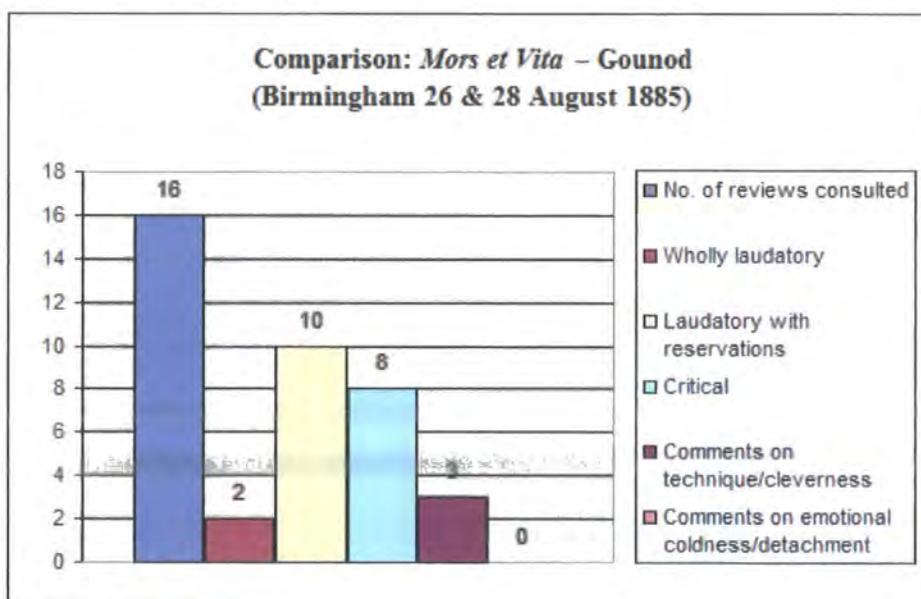
***The Three Holy Children* (Birmingham 28 August 1885)**

No. of reviews consulted	28
Wholly laudatory	5
Laudatory with reservations	23
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	14
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	10



Comparison: *Mors et Vita* – Gounod (Birmingham 26 & 28 August 1885)

No. of reviews consulted	16
Wholly laudatory	2
Laudatory with reservations	10
Critical	8
Comments on technique/cleverness	3
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Children comes into this category, having received only a very few further performances after its initial success at Birmingham.⁷⁸ The profusion of laudatory comments upon Stanford's fugal writing is another indication of the obsession with such things at the time, but the comments referring to his technical proficiency and fluency were to be repeated many times over the years, hinting at the notion that this facility in some way robbed his music of ultimate greatness. Benjamin Britten was to suffer a similar fate half a century or so later. One final point worthy of note in connection with Stanford's first oratorio is the fact that the final chorus from part one, 'The heathen shall fear Thy name', was performed separately as an anthem at St Paul's Cathedral on at least two occasions.⁷⁹

The Revenge: an unpretentious choral ballad wins enormous popular success

In 1886, for the third year in succession, Stanford achieved notable success with a new choral work at a major regional festival. On this occasion, however, there were some small but significant differences. Submitted to the Leeds Festival committee early in the year, Stanford's setting of Tennyson's poem *The Revenge* was the only one of fourteen unsolicited works chosen for first performance that year alongside several official commissions, including Sullivan's *Golden Legend*.⁸⁰

Stanford's new choral ballad, designed on a much less ambitious scale than *The Three Holy Children*, and also less demanding in resources than the *Elegiac Ode*, promised well from the outset. The composer had felt, intuitively and, as it turned out, entirely correctly, that his choice of Tennyson's patriotic text would win the hearts of the British public. On the very day of his completion of the score (11 January 1886) he played it over to Parry, who was most impressed by its effectiveness and predicted its

⁷⁸ Only seven further performances have been traced, two of them incomplete, the last of them in 1894.

⁷⁹ 1 October 1893 and 10 October 1897.

⁸⁰ See Rodmell, *Stanford*, 119.

success.⁸¹ The indications of an impressive launch for *The Revenge* were heightened by Stanford's first rehearsal with the Leeds chorus in June, the *Musical Opinion* reporting:

On entering the hall, the composer was received with cordial applause ... the cantata was gone through with remarkable smoothness, stoppages being rare, and then relating only to some minor point. At its conclusion the composer expressed his great satisfaction, observing that he could not imagine the work more finely sung, the notes being correct, and the expression exactly what he wanted.⁸²

In the days immediately before its first performance at the Leeds Festival on 14 October, press previews of the forthcoming festival predict a good reception for *The Revenge*. A lengthy article in the *Musical Times* describing the 'Leeds Festival Novelties' devotes a generous paragraph to Stanford's work, stating that *The Revenge* derived immense advantage from its subject, dealing with heroic deeds at sea.⁸³ Stanford has matched Tennyson's 'spirited verse' with 'spirited music', and the expectation is that the choral ballad will 'become a favourite with choirs and public alike'. Reference is also made to the composer's devising of themes in the 'traditional style and character of the nautical ditty', and the paragraph concludes by predicting that the work will probably 'do as much for Mr. Stanford's popularity as the best of his more ambitious efforts'.

In his *Daily Telegraph* article previewing the new festival works, Joseph Bennett writes of his certainty that Stanford has risen successfully to the challenge of setting such an emotive and colourful text, also referring with approval to melodies 'of the genuine sea-song type'. Bennett has no hesitation in predicting that 'this "Choral Ballad" will stir the hearts of Englishmen everywhere and be universally popular'.⁸⁴

The *Morning Post* is briefer and more muted in its predictions, limiting its comments on *The Revenge* to a single sentence:

Dr. Villiers Stanford has a choral setting of Tennyson's poem, "The Revenge," and this appears on paper to be somewhat better than other things his skill has furnished to the literature of music of late years.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Diary of Hubert Parry, 11 January 1886, cited in Dibble, *Stanford*, 178.

⁸² *MO*, 1 July 1886, 467.

⁸³ *MT*, 1 October 1886, 577-9.

⁸⁴ *DTel*, 8 October 1886, 3.

⁸⁵ *MP*, 12 October 1886, 5.

Stanford's own feelings just prior to the first performance are consistent with his first impressions back in June, for he writes to Hallam Tennyson, the poet's son, on 10 October:

The chorus is *magnificent*, also the band. You will never hear it anywhere else so splendidly done. Do try to come.⁸⁶

The day following its first performance, the local press leads a veritable paean of praise for *The Revenge*. In an unusually long column dealing solely with the work, Herbert Thompson, newly appointed critic of the *Yorkshire Post*, begins by saying that the audience has been well-disposed to Stanford's new work, partly because of the popularity of the poem, but also because his reputation has preceded him to Leeds.⁸⁷ He also points out that the ballad provides a welcome contrast to the festival diet of oratorios and cantatas. Thompson declares that *The Revenge* is 'effective and well-handled', the 'straightforward musical narrative' being given 'ample variety' and giving scope for the composer's 'powers of dramatic portrayal'. Tennyson's 'straightforward, simple, and vigorous verse' has been matched by music with similar qualities. The work displays 'considerable judgement and taste' and encourages the hope that Stanford might on a future occasion be represented by a work 'of greater pretensions'.⁸⁸ There follows a lengthy but appreciative account of the work, section by section. The success of the performance was attended by much cheering from the audience, which recalled the composer three times to the platform. Towards the end of this substantial article, Thompson thinks it safe to predict 'that this choral ballad will become a favourite study with provincial music societies'. Such is not, he adds, the fate of many other Festival works, which will receive a further performance in London, and thereafter 'sink into oblivion'. He then concludes with a perceptive analysis of the reasons for the

⁸⁶ Letter from Stanford to Hallam Tennyson, 10 October 1886, cited in Dibble, *Stanford*, 178.

⁸⁷ *YP*, 15 October 1886, 5.

⁸⁸ A hope which was fulfilled three years later with the appearance of *The Voyage of Maeldune*.

disappearance of so many new choral works after two or three performances, suggesting that their survival or otherwise is in many cases due not to intrinsic merit, but to many of them being either too difficult and complicated for amateur performance, or ‘too scholarly to be generally acceptable’. It could well be argued that both *The Three Holy Children* and Stanford’s later oratorio *Eden* ultimately failed for such reasons.

A somewhat shorter yet still substantial review in the *Leeds Mercury* reports a crowded audience, doubtless attracted by a setting of Tennyson’s popular poem telling one of the most thrilling stories in English history.⁸⁹ The critic wonders that such a poem was not set to music long before, stating that Stanford has been lucky in this respect: ‘He entered upon a grateful task, with, considering his known ability as a composer, absolute assurance of good result’. Reference is made to themes ‘suggestive of the nautical ballad’ being treated ‘with all the resources of his art’, yet being abandoned at those points in the story which demand it. Praise is once again given for the matching of the text with music which entirely captures the right spirit and mood. Unlike the *Yorkshire Post*, the critic claims: ‘there is really no provocation to minute criticism, but everything broadly and fully to enjoy’. The article concludes by stating that the orchestra and chorus performed extremely well, ‘the result being such as, we should say, fully satisfied the composer, who conducted with the mingled caution and impulse that invariably distinguish him’ – a rare but revealing comment upon Stanford’s conducting style.

Turning to the national daily papers, Hueffer’s relatively brief review in *The Times* begins by extolling the nature of Tennyson’s ballad, and stating that it turns a ‘popular tale’ into ‘high class literature’. It is unnecessary to go into detail, since the poem is familiar to most readers.⁹⁰ Of the music, he says: ‘Mr. Stanford has fully entered into the spirit of his theme, which he treats in an unconventional and at the same time highly

⁸⁹ *LM*, 15 October 1886, 5.

⁹⁰ *T*, 15 October 1886, 10.

impressive manner'. A brief description of the work follows, with appreciative comments, apart from one quibble concerning an allegedly misplaced verbal accent. There is yet another reference to the opening theme's similarity to a nautical ballad – 'worthy of Dibdin'. Hueffer concludes: 'If "The Revenge" does not become widely popular among choral societies it will be to the loss of those societies'.

In his second *Daily Telegraph* article, Bennett asserts that, having already discussed the work a few days previously, his main task is to assess the performance. He nevertheless feels duty-bound to praise once again Stanford's 'vigorous and successful work' which embraces 'a remarkably happy blending of popular theme and artistic treatment'.⁹¹ He declares, furthermore, that he could think of no similar work, and that *The Revenge* suggests 'possibilities of doing much towards bridging over the gulf between the "million" and the cultured few in the matter of a common musical sympathy'. The column finishes with a brief but laudatory account of the performance, praising the Leeds chorus in particular.

The *Daily News* carries a substantial review which again mentions a 'crowded audience'. Of the work, the critic says:

Mr. Stanford has clothed [the poem] in music so redolent of the bold, rollicking, nautical atmosphere, and so graphically giving expression to the Laureate's words, that no Briton can listen to it with pulse unstirred.⁹²

There is a later reference to Stanford's setting as possessing 'appropriate discreetness and broad simplicity' together with 'a keen perception of dramatic effect that never fails of its purpose, and which urges on the story without let or hindrance'. The final verdict upon *The Revenge* is that 'Mr. Stanford has written a vivid, powerful, patriotic, and masterly work of its class, which has commenced what must prove a long career of popularity'. The article concludes by commenting upon the audience's highly enthusiastic reception of the work.

⁹¹ *DTel*, 15 October 1886, 3.

⁹² *DN*, 15 October 1886, 3.

As had been the case with the *Elegiac Ode* two years before, the *Morning Post* critic takes a less than favourable view of *The Revenge*. In a relatively short notice, devoting only a couple of dozen lines to Stanford's work, the critic first informs readers that, apparently, the composer had initially written the ballad for male voices only, later adapting it to its final form for mixed chorus. Next declaring that Tennyson's poem demands a wholly English treatment, the reviewer complains that Stanford's sole concession to 'Englishness' seems to be 'an occasional musical phrase which recalls in mind the melodies of Dibdin, or the harmonies of Dr. Calcott', and that he has set most of the work in modern German style, such that it might just as easily have come from the pen of Brahms. This rather jaundiced review concludes, moreover, that the singing of the chorus – praised in most other reviews – was in places less than perfect, and the performance as a whole was not as good as it should have been.⁹³

Amongst the weekly journals, the *Guardian* carries, as so often at this period, one of the most substantial reviews of the whole Leeds Festival, saying of *The Revenge*:

[Stanford's] work is instinct with a vigour and power that quite carry the hearers away; it is dramatic in the highest sense ... and it may lay claim to the proud distinction of being a real interpretation of the poem.⁹⁴

Then follows a statement which conflicts directly with the opinion expressed in the *Morning Post*:

The music is written in a thoroughly English style, and with all possible mastery and knowledge of effect. No complaint of Germanic influence here! Of the performance, the critic (once again 'J.M.')

comments that, as sung by the festival choir, the work's success was 'a foregone conclusion', but the enthusiastic reception 'exceeded all expectations'. At the end of the whole festival article, the writer concludes:

In *The Golden Legend* and *The Revenge* two works have been brought to a hearing which will take a position of no small importance in the history of English music.

⁹³ *MP*, 15 October 1886, 5.

⁹⁴ *Guard*, 20 October 1886, 1554-5.

The following Saturday's full-length festival review in the *Athenaeum* praises Stanford's work in slightly different terms.⁹⁵ As in the *Leeds Mercury* article a few days previously, the *Athenaeum's* critic (Henry Frost again?) expresses some surprise that Tennyson's poem has not been previously set to music, but says that Stanford, being 'first in the field', has produced a work which would make him known in areas where his 'more ambitious efforts' – such as the *Elegiac Ode* and *The Three Holy Children* – 'could not hope to gain a footing'. The writer suggests that it was Stanford's duty, in setting this particular text, to preserve 'the bold, straightforward, and homely style of the typical sea song', adding 'such elements as should suffice to constitute a work of art'. 'This', he continues, 'Dr. Stanford has succeeded in accomplishing in the happiest manner', and predicts that, without any doubt, the work would become 'immensely popular with choral societies and the public'. In its final sentence, this commentary concurs with the *Morning Post's* opinion of the performance itself, judging that it was not up to the usual Leeds standard, the chorus basses being 'splendid', but the tenors 'weak'.

A shorter festival review in the *Graphic* deals with *The Revenge* in a single sentence, saying that Stanford has 'exactly caught the spirit of the Laureate's lines', and that his 'brief but most effective little work' is likely to gain immediate popularity.⁹⁶

Comments in the musical journals following the Leeds premiere of *The Revenge* are mostly brief, yet, in the main, laudatory. The *Musical Times*, having already published a preview of the work, contents itself with a paragraph of moderate length which affirms that the 'fine and bold' composition 'more than justified anticipatory remarks', and goes on to praise Stanford's use of nautical themes, also describing how certain sections of the work, most especially the battle sequence, 'came out with force and

⁹⁵ *Ath*, 23 October 1886, 541-3.

⁹⁶ *Graph*, 23 October 1886, 435.

grandeur' in the performance. The whole work 'made an impression which should secure for Mr. Stanford a sympathetic hearing' upon his next appearance in Leeds.⁹⁷

The *Musical Standard* gives a brief mention to the success the performance and its good reception,⁹⁸ but the *Monthly Musical Record*,⁹⁸ although supplying a substantial review of the Leeds Festival as a whole, vies with the *Morning Post* to denounce *The Revenge* as briefly as possible:

[*The Revenge*] is set to words by Tennyson. The composer has done his best to overscore the work, and to make it as little like an English composition as possible. He has taken Brahms as his model, and has most sincerely flattered his prototype.⁹⁹

Further performances of Stanford's choral ballad followed quickly, the first recorded London performance being given in one of Novello's Oratorio Concerts at St James's Hall on 14 December, following which press reports continue to speak enthusiastically of the work. As, following critical prediction, the piece was taken up during the ensuing months by an ever-increasing number of choral societies throughout the country, brief notices of performances in the musical press are most often qualified with descriptions of the ballad as 'stirring', 'captivating', 'a little masterpiece', and so on. Just occasionally does there appear a negative opinion of the work, one example being a dismissal of it, again in the *Monthly Musical Record*, following a performance by the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society, where it was programmed together with Sullivan's *Golden Legend*:

Stanford's cantata, "The Revenge," preceded Sullivan's work. It should have followed it; and then all who wished to hear the whole of the *Golden Legend* could have done so without the interruption caused by those who had to catch early trains.¹⁰⁰

A comparison of early press comment on these two works, first performed in close proximity to each other at Leeds, reveals a remarkable parity of enthusiasm. All consulted reviews of *The Golden Legend* shower praise upon the latest work from an

⁹⁷ *MT*, 1 November 1886, 653-7.

⁹⁸ *MS*, 23 October 1886, 256-7.

⁹⁹ *MMR*, 1 November 1886, 246-8.

¹⁰⁰ *MMR*, 1 February 1887, 42-3.

already popular composer, some referring in glowing terms to Sullivan's technical accomplishment, while at the same time the vast majority of critics appear equally impressed with *The Revenge* – a more modest work by a younger man who has still to make his mark (see Table 5).

The one celebrated critic to express disappointment with *The Revenge* is, unsurprisingly, George Bernard Shaw who, following a Bach Choir concert on 10 May 1890 including the work alongside Mozart's *Requiem*, offers this witty but devastating judgement:

It turned out that the *Requiem* was only a clever device of Mr Stanford's to make his setting of Tennyson's *Revenge* seem lively by force of contrast. But it would have needed half a dozen actual funerals to have done that. I do not say that Mr Stanford could not set Tennyson's ballad as well as he set Browning's Cavalier songs, if only he did not feel that, as a professional man with a certain social position to keep up, it would be bad form to make a public display of the savage emotions called up by the poem. But as it is, Mr Stanford is far too much the gentleman to compose anything but drawing-room or classroom music. There are moments here and there in *The Revenge* during which one feels that a conductor of the lower orders, capable of swearing at the choir, might have got a brief rise out of them; and I will even admit that the alternating chords for the trombones which depict the sullen rocking of the huge Spanish ship do for an instant bring the scene before you; but the rest, as the mad gentleman said to Mrs Nickleby, is gas and gaiters. It is a pity; for Mr Stanford is one of the few professors who ever had any talent to lose.¹⁰¹

Shaw's distaste for the music of the 'music-school' composers became well-known, and is later echoed by other critics, notably John Runciman. Some of his reservations concerning Stanford are, however, periodically expressed by writers more generally well-disposed towards his music.¹⁰² Underlying a fair amount of critical comment on Stanford's music is a desire to see in it a greater degree of emotional feeling: it is often implied that the composer finds it difficult to 'let himself go', and some feel that technical skill is stifling his true genius.

Despite the protestations of Shaw and one or two others, however, the fact remains that, for the overwhelming majority of English lovers of choral music, Stanford's *Revenge* became an immediate 'hit', and rapidly established itself as the most popular of all his choral works intended for the concert hall, receiving hundreds of performances

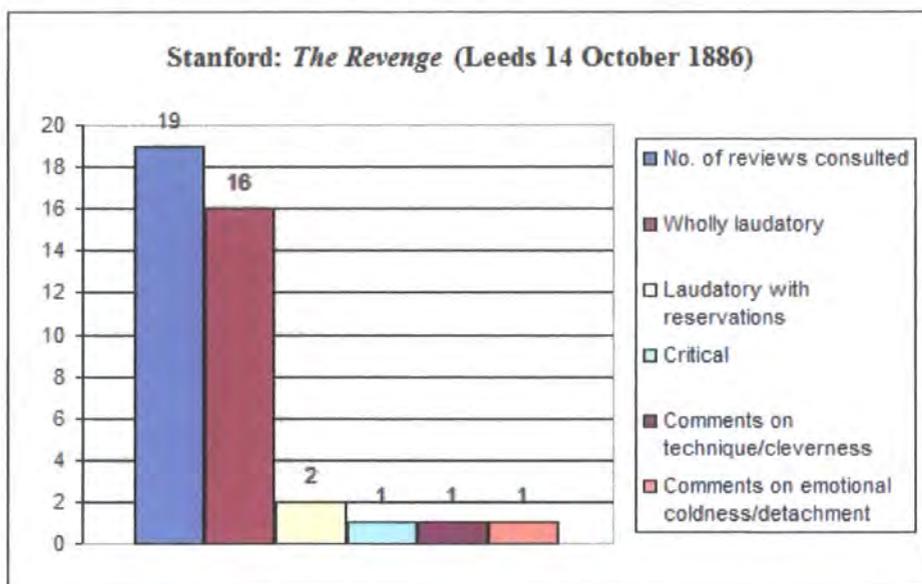
¹⁰¹ 'Gas and Gaiters', *The Star*, 16 May 1890, reprinted in Laurence (ed.), *Shaw's Music*, vol. 2, 65-9.

¹⁰² Stratton's *Birmingham Daily Post* review of *The Three Holy Children* was an earlier example of this. See page 106.

Table 5
 Press reception comparison of new works, Leeds Festival 1886

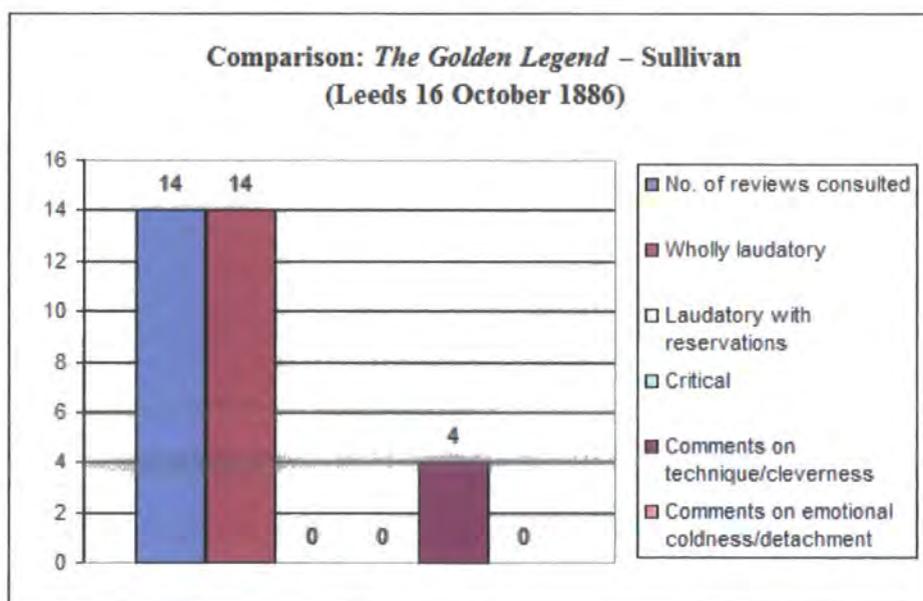
***The Revenge* (Leeds 14 October 1886)**

No. of reviews consulted	19
Wholly laudatory	16
Laudatory with reservations	2
Critical	1
Comments on technique/cleverness	1
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	1



Comparison: *The Golden Legend* – Sullivan (Leeds 16 October 1886)

No. of reviews consulted	14
Wholly laudatory	14
Laudatory with reservations	0
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	4
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



not only throughout the British Isles, but also in places as far off as Cape Town and Valetta (Malta).¹⁰³ Such popularity, retained until the middle years of the twentieth century, is explained by several features of the work. Apart from Stanford's choice of text, which had enormous appeal at a time when the British Empire was at its peak, interest in the Elizabethan period was being revived, and England's naval supremacy was to the fore, *The Revenge* required no soloists, was devoid of complicated contrapuntal writing, was fairly short (about twenty-five minutes), and could, if necessary, be performed with piano accompaniment instead of an orchestra. These qualities made it performable by small choirs in remote places and with limited access to orchestral players. There was, moreover, no other choral work of a similar nature to rival the supremacy of Stanford's ballad in the hearts and minds of choral singers. Only with the appearance of the same composer's *Songs of the Sea* and *Songs of the Fleet* in the early years of the next century would there be any serious rivals to its popularity.¹⁰⁴

Stanford's first published anthem and other minor works

Soon after the initial success of *The Revenge*, Novello's produced Stanford's first published anthem – a setting of Psalm 23, and a work which was to establish itself firmly in the repertoire of many a church and cathedral choir, retaining its popularity to the present day. Reviews of printed music were fewer in number than critical accounts of concerts, and many journals and newspapers rarely, if ever, indulged in them. There are, however, two directly contrasted reviews of *The Lord is my shepherd*. The *Musical Times* thinks the piece very worthy of its composer, praising in particular the 'charming' opening chorus and the 'striking harmonic progressions' in the largely unison section 'Yea though I walk'.¹⁰⁵ A far less positive opinion is expressed, yet

¹⁰³ See Chapter 1, 35, fn. 77 for details of the huge numbers of vocal scores sold by Novello.

¹⁰⁴ See Rodmell, *Stanford*, 119-121 for further discussion of the work's popular appeal.

¹⁰⁵ *MT*, 1 November 1886, 673.

again, in the *Monthly Musical Record*, dismissing this fairly substantial anthem in the following terms:

There is nothing remarkably original in the design or treatment of the words of the 23rd Psalm, here set to music, beyond the importation of a certain Teutonic element in the utilisation of a very feeble motto phrase. The music, which appears to have been adapted as a matter of convenience, would be equally appropriate to other words. The anthem will find great favour where the dull and uninteresting have power to charm.¹⁰⁶

Clearly, the opposition of this journal's critic to Stanford's music shows no sign of abatement. Time, however, would tell very much in favour of the piece, which has long held an honoured place in the Anglican choir repertory, and was once described by Stanford's erstwhile pupil Herbert Howells as 'one of the supremely lovely anthems of all our history'.¹⁰⁷

Of the few small choral works which appeared between 1887 and 1889 little need be said. The largest of them, a setting of Psalm 150 and the *Carmen Saeculare*, were occasional works, the former written for a trade exhibition in Manchester and the latter for the Queen's golden jubilee. They served their purpose efficiently and were then forgotten. The smaller church pieces – the *Service in F* and the two short anthems *And I saw another angel* and *If thou shalt confess* were all published by Novello and briefly reviewed in the *Musical Times*, duly taking their place in the repertory of several choirs for some decades to come. None of these choral pieces added anything of great significance to Stanford's reputation or provoked much discussion, however.

Another choral ballad for Leeds: The Voyage of Maeldune

When it became clear that Sullivan would be unable to complete his commissioned piece for the 1889 Leeds Festival, the festival committee, doubtless mindful of the huge success of *The Revenge* three years before, was only too willing to accept another new choral work from Stanford's pen. The composer, probably keen to build on his recent

¹⁰⁶ *MMR*, 1 March 1887, 65.

¹⁰⁷ Herbert Howells, 'Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924): An Address at his Centenary', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (11 December 1952), 26.

success, but also anxious to pay further tribute to the poet laureate, had already chosen and set another, longer ballad by Tennyson.¹⁰⁸ *The Voyage of Maeldune* was, moreover, also concerned with the sea, and gave, if anything, even more scope for colourful musical setting. Altogether on a more expansive and ambitious scale than his earlier nautical ballad, the new work was more than twice its length, involved substantial parts for four vocal soloists, and required divisions in the chorus parts with much more frequency. Like *The Revenge*, however, it was cast in one continuous movement, though with orchestral interludes to join the various sections.

As at previous festivals, press interest in the work commenced before its first performance on 11 October. On 28 September the *Musical World* prints a brief commentary, with musical examples, on Stanford's *Voyage* and Parry's *St Cecilia Ode*, both to receive their first hearings at the approaching festival.¹⁰⁹ In its October number, the *Musical Times* gives a brief preview of the Leeds Festival programme, describing Stanford's work 'vigorous, masculine, impressive, and picturesque' and judging it to be 'even better than its predecessor'.¹¹⁰ A few days later, the *Leeds Mercury* reaches the *Voyage* in a series of articles previewing the 'Festival Novelties', describing it as not only the successor, but also the offspring of *The Revenge*.¹¹¹ The article goes on to praise not only imaginative touches in the scoring of Tennyson's series of tableaux, but also the sensitive setting of the text, concluding that 'connoisseurs who have looked carefully at the "Voyage of Maeldune" will not be less astonished than disappointed should the work fail to win the hearty approval of its first audience'. Joseph Bennett also contributes a substantial description of the poem and its musical setting in the *Daily Telegraph*, pointing out that, although the purely narrative sections of the text have been set in a manner similar to that used in *The Revenge*, the more visionary and descriptive

¹⁰⁸ See Dibble, *Stanford*, 214-5.

¹⁰⁹ *MW*, 28 September 1889, 667-8.

¹¹⁰ *MT*, 1 October 1889, 598.

¹¹¹ *LM*, 7 October 1889, 8.

parts of the poem have produced some equally imaginative and evocative music from Stanford's pen.¹¹²

Another batch of press comments follow the final rehearsal of the work on 7 October, and amongst these the *Graphic* is the most forthcoming, describing Stanford's music as being 'enormously dramatic' and predicting that the *Voyage* will prove the 'favourite novelty' of the Festival.¹¹³ Both the *Yorkshire Post*¹¹⁴ and the *Musical World*,¹¹⁵ on the other hand, content themselves with pointing out that the 'fine' but demanding tenor solo part in the work induced the chosen soloist, Edward Lloyd 'to exert himself more than he usually does at rehearsals, and with a result commensurate with his efforts'.¹¹⁶

In the wake of its first performance on 11 October, *The Voyage of Maeldune* receives, with one exception, almost unanimously laudatory treatment in the press, though some critics are more effusive in their praise than others. Once again, the local critics are impressed. Herbert Thompson, in his *Yorkshire Post* review, goes so far as to suggest that Stanford's new ballad is superior to *The Revenge*, claiming its 'melodious charm' to be 'very great' – greater than in any other of his works – and its orchestration demonstrative of 'not merely an experienced hand, but a natural gift for writing for an orchestra'.¹¹⁷ The greatest factor contributing to the unmistakable success of the work, Thompson continues, is the way in which the composer has 'thrown himself into the spirit of the poem', clothing it with music of 'absolute appropriateness'. After commenting on the 'generally excellent interpretation', although the chorus was not quite on its best form, Thompson's conclusion is 'that on the whole it may be said that

¹¹² *DTel*, 9 October 1889, 4.

¹¹³ *Graph*, 12 October 1889, 450-1.

¹¹⁴ *YP*, 8 October 1889, 4.

¹¹⁵ *MW*, 12 October 1889, 707-8.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *YP*, 12 October 1889, 7.

the *Voyage of Maeldune* has begun well, and shows every sign of being a prosperous one’.

The *Leeds Mercury* critic begins by stating that the considerable expectations of an audience with vivid memories of *The Revenge* three years before have been ‘entirely met’ by the new work.¹¹⁸ He then draws attention to two distinctly different types of music in the *Voyage*: the dramatic music of the narrative sections, and the more picturesque and descriptive music for each of the islands visited on the voyage itself. After referring to the delight with which this latter music was received by the audience, the writer claims that a certain degree of familiarity will be required before an audience can fully appreciate some of the earlier narrative sections of the work. He nevertheless judges the *Voyage* to be a ‘remarkable creation’ which, along with Parry’s *St Cecilia’s Day*, will make the 1889 Festival ‘memorable in English musical history’.

A review in *The Times*, quite possibly at this date by the paper’s new critic, John Fuller Maitland, takes pains to point out the unfairness of judging the *Voyage* as if it were a sequel to *The Revenge*. The two works, says the article, are bound to differ in their appeal, for whilst the earlier ballad could not fail to appeal to the patriotic instincts of every British listener, the *Voyage*, with its more remote and mystical subject, is likely to elicit the warmest appreciation only from ‘musicians who possess a certain amount of feeling for the picturesque treatment of a romantic subject’.¹¹⁹ There follows, nevertheless, an appreciative account of the work’s musical content, section by section, the description ‘picturesque’ being applied to more than one passage.

Bennett, in his *Daily Telegraph* review, continues to enthuse over the work, saying that, despite the expectations of an audience which remembered *The Revenge*, the new ballad soon ‘held the field on its own account’. Pointing out the huge difference in the nature of Tennyson’s two texts, and the greater popular appeal of *The Revenge*, Bennett

¹¹⁸ *LM*, 12 October 1889, 3.

¹¹⁹ *T*, 12 October 1889, 7.

praises Stanford's ingenuity and manner of treatment in the *Voyage*, stating that his music, 'strong in expression and vivid in colouring, comes to the help of the narrative, clothing it with the attraction which only music can supply'.¹²⁰ Attributing shortcomings in the performance to the difficulty of the music, the article nevertheless regards such defects as relatively minor ones in a generally good presentation of the work.

The *Daily News* predicts that, on the impression of its first hearing, the *Voyage* is likely to prove the most important of the Festival's new works.¹²¹ Eschewing detailed analysis, the writer states merely that the narrative style of *The Revenge* has here been 'developed and fully amplified', incorporating the use of 'representative themes'. There follows, as in most other reviews, a brief but appreciative account of the various sections of the work, concluding with general praise for the standard achieved in performance.

Yet again, it is the *Morning Post* that adopts a different and less laudatory approach. After pointing to some of the difficulties provided by a certain lack of variety in the text – especially Tennyson's use of the introduction 'And we came' for one section after another (a weakness referred to by some other critics), the writer dismisses Stanford's setting thus:

There is too much straining after an originality which is never attained, despite the fact that the vocal passages, even for the chorus, are as uninteresting and as difficult as they can well be made. The solos derived their chief attraction from the charm of the voices of the singers ... The difficulties of the vocal and instrumental portions of the "Ballad" may be the means of restricting its study to all but the very best choirs, and its performance by them to few occasions. It is, of course, a clever piece of musical mosaic, but it is hardly like to prove so acceptable to choral societies as the ballad of "The Revenge."¹²²

Here again is voiced that criticism of Stanford's technical prowess which some thought detrimental to his creative force. The assessment of the difficulties in the work as proving an impediment to future performance did, however, have some justification,

¹²⁰ *DTel*, 12 October 1889, 3.

¹²¹ *DN*, 12 October 1889, 6.

¹²² *MP*, 12 October 1889, 5.

and this reason alone could account for its failing to achieve the same degree of long-term popularity as *The Revenge*.

This last sentiment is also expressed in the *Athenaeum*, whose critic nevertheless judges that, although the subject of the *Voyage* does not ‘appeal to general hearers so powerfully as ‘The Revenge’’, the later work is ‘in all artistic qualities its superior’:

If ‘The Voyage of Maeldune’ does not exemplify genius of the highest order, it commands acceptance as the effort of a musician whose zeal and accomplishments have enabled him to show on more than one occasion how nearly the first-named quality may be approached by simple earnestness.¹²³

The article also states, in an earlier sentence, that the new work is ‘in all respects satisfying, and more noteworthy for genuine inspiration than anything [Stanford] has produced since his ‘Elegiac Ode’.

The critic of the *Guardian*, on this and several subsequent occasions, is Charles Larcom Graves, who had been acquainted with Stanford since their childhood days in Dublin. In common with several other writers, he reckons the *Voyage* to be ‘one of the signal successes achieved by its gifted composer’, though he does criticise certain passages of Tennyson’s poem as showing his mannerisms rather too strongly, in particular his propensity for wearisome repetition (the very point made also in the *Morning Post*). He goes on to say, however: ‘It is striking a striking proof of the surpassing cleverness of the composer, that, under such disadvantageous conditions, he should not merely have avoided failure, but compassed success’. ‘The music of *Maeldune*’ Graves continues, ‘is always interesting and appropriate, and sometimes really beautiful’.¹²⁴

A somewhat shorter review of the *Voyage* in the *Saturday Review* is equally complimentary, stating that Stanford has not been slow to avail himself of the opportunities for ‘picturesque writing’, and that in this respect he has ‘never shown

¹²³ *Ath*, 19 October 1889, 529-31.

¹²⁴ *Guard*, 16 October 1889, 1568-9.

himself stronger'.¹²⁵ In fact, concludes the critic, 'it would be very difficult to point out weak places in any part of the score'.

Amongst the musical journals, it is the *Musical Times* that produces the most substantial review of the Festival and of the *Voyage*.¹²⁶ After referring to the 'cumbrous unvarying metre' of the poem, the writer goes on to praise Stanford's treatment of it, declining to select a favourite section, since there is 'so much to applaud in all'. Reference is again made to the composer's 'orchestral skill and ingenuity', bringing the various scenes vividly to life, and the 'generally excellent performance' is deemed to have done justice to the work.

Shorter accounts in the *Musical Standard*, *Musical World* and *Musical Opinion* are also very positive, the *Monthly Musical Record* again being more reserved in its judgement. The *MS* article refers to the *Voyage* as a 'remarkable work' containing 'striking musical contrasts and descriptive choral work',¹²⁷ while the *MO* declares that 'throughout the work the composer is at his best', adding that, although always showing himself a 'musician of the first rank', Stanford does not always 'rise to his theme as distinctly as in the present instance'.¹²⁸ The *Musical World* article is of special interest, since the reviewer compares Stanford's and Parry's use of the orchestra in their respective Festival works:

Whilst the Cambridge Professor's inclination seems to be to contrast the varied colours of the different instruments, Dr. Parry prefers, as a rule, to employ his band as a whole, blending, instead of contrasting the colours at his disposal.¹²⁹

The column goes on to describe the *Voyage* as 'one of Prof. Stanford's most brilliant, melodious, and poetic works', showing full appreciation of the poem, which he had set to music that is 'always appropriate and never commonplace'. The *MMR* Festival review, however, contents itself with commenting:

¹²⁵ *SatRev*, 26 October 1889, 459-60.

¹²⁶ *MT*, 1 November 1889, 658-61.

¹²⁷ *MS*, 19 October 1889, 320-1.

¹²⁸ *MO*, 1 November 1889, 70-1.

¹²⁹ *MW*, 19 October 1889, 726-8.

It was, perhaps, rather a bold undertaking to add music to Tennyson's poem, which so perfectly sings itself, yet I think Dr. Stanford has no reason to regret what he has done. ... The Leeds audience gave emphatic proofs of admiration of the work; London will soon have the opportunity of confirming that verdict if it so choose.¹³⁰

Perhaps most gratifying of all, however, both to Stanford and to all those who strove for the wider recognition of English music, was an extremely laudatory article published in a German musical journal and summarised in the *Athenaeum*:

Last week's number of the *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* contains a lengthy and eloquent article on the recent Leeds Festival. The writer appears to have been amazed at the standard of excellence attained in the performances, and speaks in the most glowing terms of the chorus, the orchestra, some of the principals, and the new works of Dr. Parry and Prof. Stanford. He concludes by inviting Germany to recognise the renaissance of music in this country and to make acquaintance with the works of our leading composers.¹³¹

Whilst, largely due to its complexity and the resulting difficulties of performance, the *Voyage of Maeldune* would never achieve the enormous popularity of *The Revenge*, it did have occasional performances for some decades to come, and continued to attract laudatory comments whenever it was revived, although sometimes attention was drawn to its perceived shortcomings. Following the first London performance on 13 November 1889, for example, the *Athenaeum* continues to praise the work, speaking of 'the extremely polished musicianship from first to last' which is 'the perfect application of a means to an end, and that without a suggestion of labour', adding that Stanford's music is 'not invariably marked by spontaneity' – yet another reference to an oft-expressed criticism of the composer.¹³² The *Pall Mall Gazette*, having missed the Leeds premier, writes appreciatively of this London hearing, yet qualifies its praise with some criticism of the poem, of the music, which 'does not rivet one's attention until about a third through', and of the performance itself, commenting that 'the shortcomings of the choir should be a lesson to the conductor [Barnby] to abandon the obsolete custom of rehearsing the choruses without either orchestra or soloists'.¹³³

¹³⁰ *MMR*, 1 November 1889, 246-9.

¹³¹ *Ath*, 26 October 1889, 569.

¹³² *Ath*, 16 November 1889, 681.

¹³³ *PMG*, 14 November 1889, 6.

The first two performances of the *Voyage* provide a unique opportunity for comparison with a major work by Stanford's friend and colleague Parry, whose *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* was heard alongside Stanford's work first in Leeds and then in London. Table 6 reveals a considerable parity of critical reaction, at least four-fifths of commentators expressing unreserved admiration for both works. Adverse criticism is seldom found – amounting only to one-tenth of comment in the case of Stanford's work, though a brief observation comparing the orchestration of the two composers, quoted earlier, could be viewed as more complimentary to him.

Following a Birmingham Festival performance of the *Voyage* in 1903, Edward Baughan in the *Monthly Musical Record* thinks that its infrequent performance is perhaps due to the 'arduous' tenor solos, yet says that it is 'a good example of the composer in his most natural vein' and 'ought to be performed more often'.¹³⁴ At the same time, the *Musical Times* critic feels that, although some of the solo writing is 'smooth and effective', the work as a whole lacks warm inspiration: 'it is well-made, yet somehow or another one cannot get rid of the fact that it is made'.¹³⁵

Further evidence of the continuing differences of opinion on the *Voyage* may be found following its revival by the Royal Choral Society in April 1920, when the *Times* critic feels that, despite 'a good deal of picturesque music', the work is doomed to ultimate failure because of the nature of the poem, which would almost demand costume and action to bring it fully to life.¹³⁶ The *Musical Times*, on the other hand, is full of praise, judging the ballad to be 'a work of power and imagination, and full of stimulating music for choral singers'.¹³⁷ That such a relatively complex score should be revived with some degree of frequency, however, is surely more likely to be an affirmation of its merits than of its defects.

¹³⁴ *MMR*, 1 November 1903, 201-2.

¹³⁵ *MT*, 1 November 1903, 725-8.

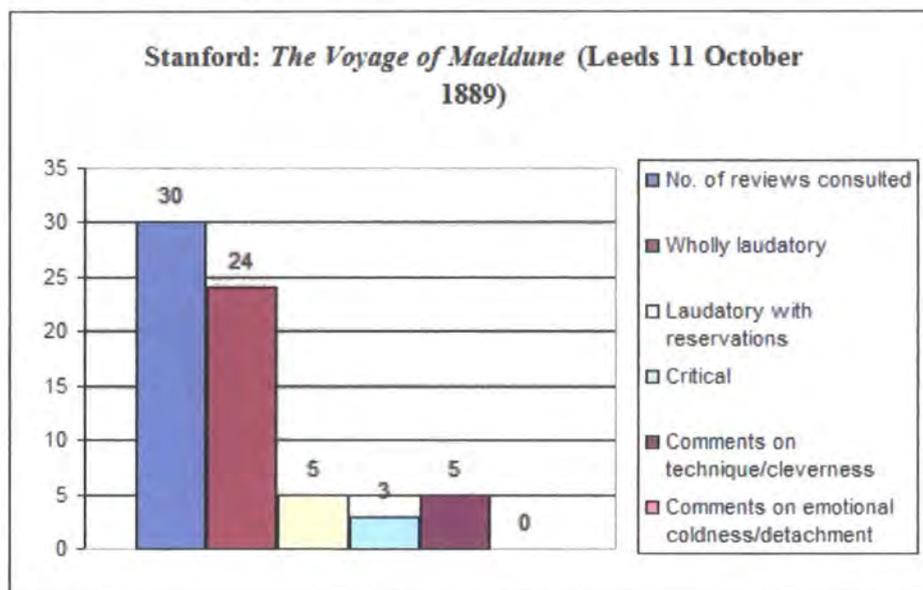
¹³⁶ *T*, 26 April 1920, 12.

¹³⁷ *MT*, 1 June 1920, 402.

Table 6
Press reception comparison of new works, Leeds Festival 1889

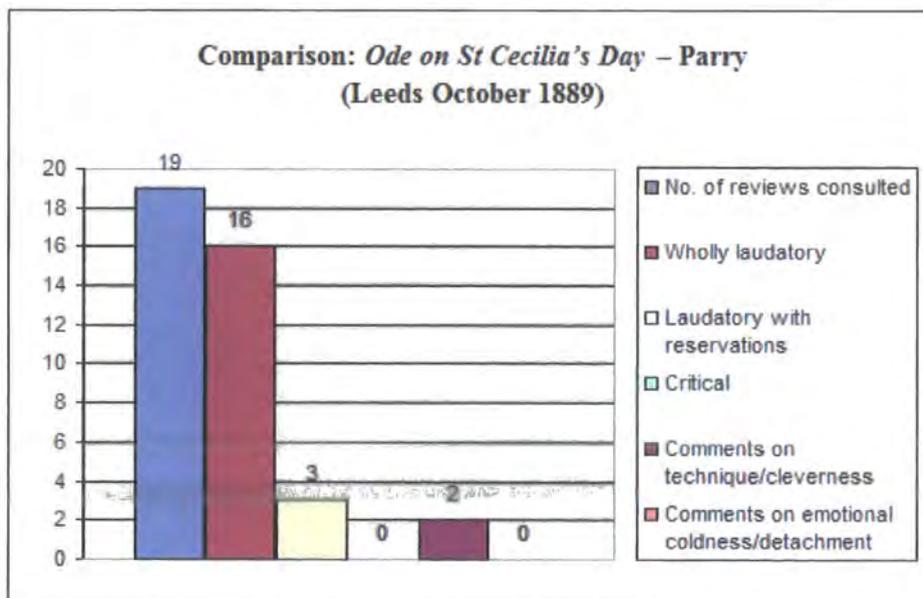
***The Voyage of Maeldune* (Leeds 11 October 1889)**

No. of reviews consulted	30
Wholly laudatory	24
Laudatory with reservations	5
Critical	3
Comments on technique/cleverness	5
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Comparison: *Ode on St Cecilia's Day* – Parry (Leeds October 1889)

No. of reviews consulted	19
Wholly laudatory	16
Laudatory with reservations	3
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	2
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



A third nautical ballad: The Battle of the Baltic

It was nearly two years after the first appearance of the *Voyage* that public attention was drawn to the next new choral work from Stanford's seldom-idle pen. *The Battle of the Baltic* was yet another nautical ballad, though this time based not on a Tennyson poem, but on one by Thomas Campbell. In his setting, Stanford reverted to the more straightforward forces used in the *Revenge*, avoiding the use of soloists, dividing chorus lines only occasionally, and achieving even greater brevity than in the earlier work.¹³⁸ *The Battle of the Baltic* was given its first hearing at a London Richter Concert on 20 July 1891 – in a programme which also included Beethoven's *Choral Symphony*.

In the wake of this performance, the general reaction of the press is to praise the work as a worthy successor to *The Revenge*, although not quite its equal, and unlikely to supplant it in popularity. Fuller Maitland, in his *Times* review, describes *The Battle of the Baltic* as 'strenuous, spirited, and thoroughly English in style', and continues by drawing a comparison between its calm closing section and certain Turner paintings, such as *The Fighting Temeraire*, displaying a 'cool colour in the distance'.¹³⁹ Bennett in the *Daily Telegraph* refers to a certain lack of 'melodic and harmonic distinction', but praises the work's 'breadth and vigour' and some 'notable dramatic points', concluding that this 'unambitious work' may 'gain on a second hearing'.¹⁴⁰ The *Morning Post* notice (by William Barrett?) describes the work as 'among the most earnest of [Stanford's] efforts', with occasional reminiscences of Weber, but nevertheless containing some 'very striking and original thoughts'.¹⁴¹ The *Daily Graphic* states that, despite some 'striking and beautiful moments', the overall impression of the work is 'fragmentary and lacking in continuous interest', and that it suffers, on first hearing,

¹³⁸ The Novello vocal score has 33 pages, compared with the *Revenge's* 46.

¹³⁹ *T*, 23 July 1891, 4.

¹⁴⁰ *DTel*, 21 July 1891, 3.

¹⁴¹ *MP*, 21 July 1891, 3.

when compared with *The Revenge*,¹⁴² while in the *Pall Mall Gazette* Haweis regards *The Battle of the Baltic* as a worthy successor to the earlier work, with its ‘direct and forcible’ music, its ‘broad and diatonic’ thematic material, and its ‘bold and striking’ harmonies.¹⁴³ Alone among the papers, the *PMG* regards the Richter performance as ‘splendid’, whereas most other reports draw attention to its shortcomings, notably the uncertainty of the chorus.

Stanford’s friend William Barclay Squire, writing in the *Saturday Review*, observes the logic of following the enormously popular *Revenge* with a similar venture, but observes that *The Battle of the Baltic*, is not so inspired and ‘is not likely to equal “The Revenge” in popular favour’, while nevertheless sustaining the composer’s reputation. He continues, moreover, by cautioning against unrealistic expectations:

No composer can be expected to produce an uninterrupted series of *chefs-d’oeuvre*; the “Revenge” was a little masterpiece, and the “Battle of the Baltic” is not, but it is an undeniably good piece of work, all the same.¹⁴⁴

This assessment of the relative worth of the two ballads proved accurate in the light of their future performance histories, for *The Revenge* continued to enjoy frequent performances long after *The Battle* was virtually forgotten.

Not everyone agreed with this view, however, and in a substantial article reviewing the London Musical Season the *Musical Times* describes *The Battle* as ‘one of the most satisfactory and interesting of all the novelties’ of the Richter Concerts, going on to predict that ‘there is every likelihood of its sharing the popularity which [Stanford’s] famous setting of “The Revenge” has attained’.¹⁴⁵ In the same issue there also appears a separate review of the concert in question, in which the writer (probably William Barrett again) praises *The Battle* in very positive terms, predicting that, since the choral parts

¹⁴² *DGr*, 23 July 1891 5.

¹⁴³ *PMG*, 21 July 1891, 2.

¹⁴⁴ *SatRev*, 1 August 1891, 140.

¹⁴⁵ *MT*, 1 August 1891, 457-9.

are straightforward, the work will be frequently heard during the coming winter¹⁴⁶ – a prophecy belied by the facts, for apart from a second performance in September at the Hereford Three Choirs Festival, its next reported appearance does not seem to be before 1893.

This second performance at Hereford, on 8 September, was conducted by the composer, and generally reported as a considerable improvement on Richter's account. The *Saturday Review* comment sums up neatly the general impression in stating that the Richter performance showed 'the limitations of the great Viennese conductor's ability', whereas at Hereford Stanford 'knew what he wanted' – and got it. The performance 'revealed beauties in the new work which were eclipsed in St James's Hall last July'.¹⁴⁷ Earlier praise for the work's orchestration (in several journals) is reiterated,¹⁴⁸ but Bennett, in the *Daily Telegraph*, ventures to add a suggestion that Stanford has now 'done enough for heroic nautical ballads', concluding: 'He is a versatile man. What next?'.¹⁴⁹

A second oratorio: Eden

The answer to Bennett's question was not long to be sought, for the following month saw the appearance of Stanford's second full-length oratorio – *Eden* – at the Birmingham Festival.

Determined to produce something out of the ordinary for his second Birmingham Festival choral commission, Stanford approached the poet Robert Bridges to see if he could produce a story using as a starting point the original rough draft of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which the composer had discovered in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The gestation of Bridges' text, produced in close collaboration with

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 473.

¹⁴⁷ *Sat Rev*, 19 September 1891, 333-4.

¹⁴⁸ *DGr*, 9 September 1891, 7 is one example.

¹⁴⁹ *DTel*, 9 September 1891, 3.

Stanford, took some time, but the result was a highly individual libretto on the Fall of Man, divided into three acts: Heaven, Hell, and Earth. Discussion between the two men further produced a scheme in which the 'heavenly' music of the first act would be largely based on the ancient church modes and plainsong, while the remaining two acts would utilise more modern harmonic and melodic forms. At this point, due credit must be given to Stanford who, realising that his knowledge of modal writing was imperfect – the chink in his technical armour – resolved to seek expert advice on the subject. 'There was one musician in England who had the tradition at his finger's ends ... W.S. Rockstro. I went off to Torquay to suck his brains, and worked away with him to repair this omission in my early training.'¹⁵⁰

The final result of the best part of a year's work on the score – a long time by the composer's standards, for he normally worked with great speed – was the largest of all Stanford's choral works, and one which is quite unlike any other of his compositions, or indeed any other existing oratorio.¹⁵¹

Public interest in the new work was aroused by press notices some time in advance of the first performance, beginning at least as early as June 1891, when *Musical News* reports on a Birmingham chorus rehearsal of *Eden*, directed by Stanford, who was sufficiently pleased to declare the choir ready to sing his work the following day if needed.¹⁵² Further commentary upon preliminary rehearsals appears during July and August,¹⁵³ and by September the press coverage is becoming more frequent, including an extensive analytical article on *Eden* published in a special supplement to the *Musical Standard*, itself apparently an abridged re-print of an article published in the *Birmingham Gazette* on 20 August.¹⁵⁴ In the days immediately preceding the first

¹⁵⁰ Stanford, *Pages*, 274.

¹⁵¹ For further information on the gestation of *Eden* see Dibble, *Stanford*, 220-224.

¹⁵² *MN*, 26 June 1891, 343.

¹⁵³ See, for example, *MT*, 1 July 1891, 420-1; *MN*, 14 August 1891, 485-7.

¹⁵⁴ *MS*, 12 September 1891, 218-9.

performance, both *Musical Times* and *Musical News* print reviews of the scores of all three Festival ‘novelties’ – the other two works being Mackenzie’s setting of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* and Dvořák’s *Requiem*.¹⁵⁵ Expectations for *Eden* appear to have been high, the *Musical News* article, for example, describing the score as ‘characterised by a musicianly skill and much artistic thought’ and a work that ‘will add to [Stanford’s] reputation and command a wide-spread interest’.

The first performance of *Eden* on 7 October was uniformly judged a success, and attended by a great many representatives of the press. Even Shaw – the arch-enemy of choral festivals – was present. In view of the advance interest generated in the work, and its perceived importance, moreover, it would be surprising if many critics sent deputies to report upon such an auspicious occasion. We can then, perhaps, assume that most, if not all, reviews were penned by chief critics – at any rate some consolation when attempting to identify writers of articles mostly unsigned.

Three Birmingham papers carry substantial reviews of the Festival performance of *Eden*, though, since they had previously carried descriptive articles on the work, commentary on Bridges’ text is confined to little more than reiterated approval and admiration. Stephen Stratton, in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, judges Stanford’s music ‘scholarly as well as expressive’ but ‘essentially modern and dramatic’. He furthermore claims that, despite there being no formal division into musical numbers, and each of the three acts being a continuous movement, “‘form”, in its higher sense, pervades every section’. In common with many other critics, he takes pains to praise the composer’s ‘wonderful picturesque and varied orchestration’, and concludes that, although too early to predict the ultimate fate of *Eden*, its second act alone ‘would make the reputation of any composer’.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ *MT*, 1 October 1891, 598-9; *MN*, 2 October 1891, 616.

¹⁵⁶ *BDP*, 8 October 1891, 8.

Andrew Deakin's *Birmingham Daily Gazette* article declares at the outset that '*Eden* is a remarkably original work', but concludes by describing it as 'very clever if not inspired'. The suggestion is made that Stanford has restricted the freedom of his imagination by working to a strictly defined plan, and, while there are things in each of the acts 'which ought to ... keep the work in permanent favour', there are other parts which 'are likely to appeal to the music student rather than to the general hearer' – a verdict also reached by several other critics. Like Stratton, Deakin regards the second act as the most original in musical terms, although the last act has the 'most pleasing melody'.¹⁵⁷

The *Birmingham Daily Mail* review uses many of the descriptive terms so often found in criticism of Stanford's larger choral works – 'clever', 'effective', 'skilful' – and refers to modulations as 'carefully arranged' and fugal technique which 'exhibits a master mind'. At the conclusion of *Eden* the composer has 'given a musical picture which at the least displays considerable erudition'.¹⁵⁸ All critics seem to admire Stanford's supreme mastery of compositional techniques, even when they are less convinced of his true originality or inspiration.

In his *Times* review, John Fuller Maitland follows a substantial and appreciative discourse on Bridges' libretto by pointing out the expectations from a composer of Stanford's repute in setting a text of such quality and diversity. He claims that the composer has, nevertheless, 'done much more ... and ... has succeeded beyond all anticipation', employing means of contrast which are 'very ingenious' and 'singularly appropriate to the subject'. He praises the skilful use of ancient modes in act one, and in particular the *Madrigale Spirituale*, claiming that 'it has been given to very few

¹⁵⁷ *BDG*, 8 October 1891, 6.

¹⁵⁸ *BDM*, 8 October 1891, 2.

modern composers so completely to master the methods of this most difficult form of composition'. Other parts of the work are praised in similarly glowing terms.¹⁵⁹

Joseph Bennett spreads his commentary in the *Daily Telegraph* over two days.¹⁶⁰ His first article comments upon the advance interest in *Eden*, describing it as 'certainly due to a composer who has done notable things, and enriched our store of native music with works which we shall not willingly let die'. One notable exemplification of this interest is that Birmingham Town Hall was, apparently, completely full for the first performance – and here Bennett once again seizes an opportunity to protest his progressive spirit (in reply to increasing numbers who find his views reactionary):

I look upon this [capacity audience] as no less satisfactory than accountable. There is no more healthy musical sign than a desire to become acquainted with the unknown. It guards against ruts, and ruts are as objectionable in artistic life as on a carriage road.

The second, longer article begins with a lengthy account of Bridges' text, which Bennett admires 'more as a poem than as a libretto, in which capacity it is not seldom ungracious to the sister art' – an opinion echoed by a small number of other critics. The composer has, however 'called to his aid every agency and resource' in setting this diverse text. The use of plainsong and ancient modes in act one is effective, though 'Professor Stanford is not complimentary to the art of our own time' (in act two), putting 'the music of antiquity into the mouths of the angels, and that of very modern days into those of the fallen and lost'. Is there an insinuation here? (asks Bennett). His assessment of the work continues:

Doing all this, Professor Stanford must have been conscious that his work could hardly have the advantage of spontaneity and inspiration. He designed an elaborate structure, showing everywhere marks of the scaffolding and the mason's tools, and as such astonishingly clever and grandiose. One cannot but admire the architect, while regretting, perhaps, that the material has overloaded the spiritual.

Furthermore, after praising the *Madrigale Spirituale*, Bennett finds the 'infernal' music of act two unattractive: 'The most beautiful of the arts should not put on the robes of ugliness' – though even here 'the composer's cleverness stands out'. Once again that

¹⁵⁹ *T*, 8 October 1891, 7.

¹⁶⁰ *DTel*, 8 October 1891, 5; 9 October 1891, 3.

language so often encountered in assessments of this composer's choral works: 'cleverness' duly ticked, but 'spontaneity' and 'inspiration' found absent. According to Bennett, however, not all is lost, for towards the close of *Eden* comes the best music:

Here, I rejoice to say, admirable effects are produced in a legitimate manner. The music, purged of grossness, and relieved of materialism, rises easily to spiritual heights.

Those words 'in a legitimate manner' convey to us more of the critic's true conservatism than any other single phrase in the whole article. His suggestion that the complexity and large forces required by *Eden*, added to the limited musical appeal of certain sections, may not ultimately help its survival, does however seem relevant, and is a view echoed by others.

In the *Daily News*, Percival Betts describes *Eden* as 'the most ambitious sacred work which the clever Irish musician has yet given us' (– that word 'clever' yet again!) While agreeing with Bennett's view of the text, and praising the 'madrigal' as 'happily conceived', the article continues by extolling the 'hell' choruses in act two as 'full of vigour and life'. In the third act 'battle' choruses, moreover, Stanford is 'of course at his best' – probably a statement influenced by the success of the nautical ballads. There is, however, a brief reference near the end to some of the solo music, particularly that for the tenor, being 'by no means always of the most grateful manner' – another comment echoed elsewhere.¹⁶¹

This adverse judgement of the tenor solo music appears in the *Pall Mall Gazette's* short article, which reserves a more considered judgement of *Eden* until the forthcoming London performance, though recognising it straight away as an 'ambitious and scholarly composition'.¹⁶²

The *Morning Post* article (probably by William Barrett), after a lengthy discussion of the libretto, concludes that Stanford has, with the application of much labour and

¹⁶¹ *DN*, 8 October 1891, 3.

¹⁶² *PMG*, 8 October 1891, 2.

ingenuity, 'succeeded in bringing forward a work which is in every way creditable to himself and the art which he professes'. A favourable impression was created, and the work will doubtless 'earn a good place in the esteem of musicians'. Orchestration is identified (as so frequently with Stanford) as a strong point, and the summation of comment is that in *Eden* 'Dr. Stanford displays some of the finest, most thoughtful, and picturesque music he has yet given to the public. Much of it is sensational ... much of it is beautiful, all of it clever' (once again!).¹⁶³

Of the remaining London-based daily papers, both the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily Graphic* publish substantial reviews re-stating for the most part opinions already expressed elsewhere.¹⁶⁴ Both papers highlight the second act of *Eden*, the *DChr* describing the 'wonderful character' of Satan's music as 'weird, grim, and thoroughly indicative of power to be exercised for mischief', the *DGr* describing the whole act as 'exceedingly powerful and full of sombre picturesqueness'. While the former paper finds the Adam and Eve scene too lengthy, the latter extols it as 'perfectly beautiful – quite the most lovely thing that Dr. Stanford has ever written'. The *DGr* is bolder in its verdict that the oratorio 'is in many ways the most ambitious and the strongest of all [Stanford's] works'; the *DChr* declines to prophesy the work's future, but says that 'if not destined to carry Professor Stanford much further on the road to fame, it contains abundant evidence that he is not disposed to remain where he is without making a strenuous effort for advancement'.

Amongst the weekly journals, the account in the *Graphic*¹⁶⁵ bears considerable similarity to that in the *Daily News*, indicating the probability that they are by the same critic (Percival Betts). A lengthy article in the *Athenaeum*, probably by Henry Frost, first makes clear the unique nature of *Eden*, and its deliberate use of different historical

¹⁶³ *MP*, 8 October 1891, 5.

¹⁶⁴ *DChr*, 9 October 1891, 6; *DGr*, 8 October 1891, 11.

¹⁶⁵ *Graph*, 10 October 1891, 428.

musical styles. Frost continues by lavishing praise on many features admired by other critics, though he feels (also in common with two or three other writers) that act one is rather too long for its content. Also like other critics, he finds the composer 'at his best' in the 'Masque of Evils' and the 'stirring' war chorus. His conclusion echoes those of several others:

... whatever else the score of 'Eden' may be, it is a monument of superb musicianship; and if the heart is not always touched, the intellect is invariably satisfied. We do not approve of self-imposed fetters in composition, but it must be allowed that Professor Stanford moves in them with ease and grace.¹⁶⁶

Once again the impression given is of a composer of faultless technique but emotional restraint.

William Barclay Squire, in a fairly substantial article for the *Saturday Review*, is highly complimentary of both poem and musical setting, commenting that '[Stanford's] 'Eden' is a more thoughtful, interesting, and better sustained work than any he has hitherto produced. Its extraordinary effectiveness is at once apparent; but a study of the score shows with how much care and deliberation the result has been attained'.¹⁶⁷ He continues with an account of the fluent use of modal harmonies in act one, followed by brilliant choral and orchestral writing for the scenes in Hell. Lest unthinking critics find the work 'patchy', however, Squire is quick to assert that 'this is precisely what *Eden* is not': both poet and composer have worked to a very definite plan, and in many places executed it with absolute mastery. The conclusion is similar to those reached by several other critics:

In some respects *Eden* is a work which is likely to be more fully appreciated by musicians than by the generality of the public; but it contains so much that the most uneducated can admire, that it ought undoubtedly to attain the popularity which it deserves.

Here is a close friend of Stanford's doing his utmost to praise the virtues of an important new score. Is there a significance, however, in that, even in such a case,

¹⁶⁶ *Ath*, 17 October 1891, 523-5.

¹⁶⁷ *SatRev*, 17 October 1891, 445-6.

words and phrases such as 'inspired' or 'emotional impact' are conspicuous by their absence?

Another close associate of the composer, Charles Graves, wrote a substantial article in the *Guardian* in which he begins with a paragraph on modern oratorio texts:

In the matter of modern librettos, the English oratorio-going public has so long acquiesced in the decorous doggerel, the irreproachable banality of Mr. Joseph Bennett that Dr. Stanford's audacity in choosing a scholar and poet for his collaborator in *Eden* ... could hardly fail to create an electrical disturbance in the crass atmosphere of Boeotia.¹⁶⁸

Heady stuff, with an almost Shavian ring! Graves continues with fulsome praise for Bridges' text and Stanford's setting of it, which have resulted in 'a work of remarkable power and interest'. Enthusiastic plaudits are given to many features of the work and to a performance of 'quite unsurpassable excellence'.

Of the musical journals, the *Musical Opinion*, as on so many other occasions, contents itself with an article reprinted from elsewhere (in this case, *The Times*),¹⁶⁹ though it does reproduce interesting, and perhaps otherwise unknown likenesses of Stanford and of Edward Lloyd, the tenor soloist in *Eden*. (See Illustration 5.) *Musical News* prints a single short paragraph praising *Eden* and exclaiming: 'Musical art is decidedly enriched by a work of such power and poetry'.¹⁷⁰

In the *Monthly Musical Record* Stephen Stratton repeats much of what he had previously said in the *BDP*, reiterating his opinion that it is a 'very remarkable work'.¹⁷¹

The *Musical Times* carries what will prove to be William Barrett's last review before his sudden death from influenza.¹⁷² After referring to the considerable curiosity aroused by the work, and claiming that further comment will be possible after the forthcoming London performance, Barrett describes Bridges' libretto as 'vigorous

¹⁶⁸ *Guard*, 14 October 1891, 1641.

¹⁶⁹ *MO*, 1 November 1891, 54-5.

¹⁷⁰ *MN*, 9 October 1891, 629-30.

¹⁷¹ *MMR*, 1 November 1891, 245-7.

¹⁷² See Hughes, *English Musical Renaissance and the Press*, 96.



PROFESSOR VILLIERS STANFORD.



MR. EDWARD LLOYD.

Illustration 5: (a) Sketch of Stanford; (b) Photograph of Edward Lloyd at the time of the first performance of *Eden*. From *Musical Opinion*, 1 November 1891, 55

though not always clear'. Despite any shortcomings here, Stanford is clearly in full sympathy with the poet:

Even those who fail to recognise the inspiration of the music and object to the composer's methods are bound to admit his ingenuity and the wonderful cleverness with which materials of many kinds ... are turned to effective account.¹⁷³

Here, yet again, is that praise for technique, tempered with doubts about the inspirational and emotional qualities of the music.

It is the *Musical Standard* which, amongst the music journals, carries much the most substantial article on the Birmingham Festival. As with several other published reviews, however, a good deal of its length is preoccupied with a mere account of the various sections of *Eden* – surely unnecessary when, as here, there had previously been a separate analytical article. The critic finds the first act rather over long, though praise is awarded to the modal writing – its 'most interesting feature' – and especially to the *Madrigale* and the final fugue, which is 'almost equal in interest' to the one in the corresponding position in *The Three Holy Children*. The act two choruses are 'dramatic though somewhat noisy', but at the opening of act three 'almost for the first time, the composer allows himself to become lyrical'. The Adam and Eve duet is 'pretty', but the tenor solo (Michael) is not 'eminently vocal'. As for the final Masque: 'In the War chorus, so descriptive a writer as Professor Stanford is naturally in his element'. The concluding verdict is that, while the composer has 'attacked his task boldly', the text needs pruning. It is, furthermore, unlikely that *Eden* will become popular – indeed Stanford has made little or no concession to popular taste.¹⁷⁴ The main judgements from this (unknown) critic are echoed in more than one or two other reviews.

In addition to so much press coverage of a much talked-of new work, there are, in this instance, the comments of the inimitable George Bernard Shaw. These deserve separate consideration, for not only was Shaw the most uninhibited of critics, saying

¹⁷³ *MT*, 1 November 1891, 660-1.

¹⁷⁴ *MS*, 10 October 1891, 286-9.

exactly what he felt without reserve, but his literary panache is such that, whatever the content, it makes the most entertaining reading. Although Stanford's fellow countryman had little patience with the English obsession with oratorios or the productions of the 'music school' composers in general, he was passionate about Bach's choral works, and was attracted to Birmingham principally to hear a performance of the *St Matthew Passion*. In his article 'The Birmingham Festival'¹⁷⁵ he begins by amusing his readers with an account of hurrying home from Venice, mainly to hear Bach at Birmingham, but, after a confusion over reserved seats on the Festival's first day, being 'thrust ignominiously into a corner in company with two drafts and an echo, and left to brood vengefully over the performance'. After reporting that he did not, after all, think too highly of the *Matthew Passion* performance either, he moves on to consider Stanford's new oratorio, beginning thus:

It is not easy to fit Villiers Stanford's *Eden* with a critical formula which will satisfy all parties. If I call it brilliant balderdash, I shall not only be convicted of having used an "ungenteel" expression, but I shall grievously offend ... friends of his ... If, on the other hand, I call it a masterpiece of scholarship and genius ... I shall hardly feel that I have expressed my own inmost mind.

He confesses to being unmoved by the use of modal harmonies, seeing no reason why they should be thought to sound angelic, and for this and other reasons he cannot take *Eden* seriously, claiming that from beginning to end he discovered nothing worthy of the huge pretension of the work's design. 'That pretension is the ruin of *Eden*', he states. There follows his often-quoted swipe at the whole group of London music college academics:

However, who am I that should be believed, to the disparagement of eminent musicians? If you doubt that *Eden* is a masterpiece, ask Dr Parry and Dr Mackenzie, and they will applaud it to the skies. Surely Dr Mackenzie's opinion is conclusive; for is he not the composer of *Veni Creator*, guaranteed as excellent music by Professor Stanford and Dr Parry? You want to know who Dr Parry is? Why, the composer of *Blest Pair of Sirens*, as to the merits of which you have only to consult Dr Mackenzie and Professor Stanford.

Nor has Shaw finished with commenting upon *Eden*, for it crops again up in two subsequent articles. The following month, on the occasion of the work's first London

¹⁷⁵ *Wo*, 14 October 1891, reprinted in *Shaw's Music*, vol. 2, 424-430.

hearing, Shaw confesses to having ‘resisted the fascination of Professor Stanford’s mixolydian minstrelsy’ with the intention of spending an evening at home.¹⁷⁶ A year and a half later, he uses a concert performance of Stanford’s ‘Irish’ Symphony to take up the cudgels again, though here is revealed the root cause of his disappointment with so much of the composer’s music. Shaw clearly enjoyed the very ‘Irishness’ in Stanford’s symphony:

The success of Professor Stanford’s Irish Symphony last Thursday was, from the Philharmonic point of view, somewhat scandalous. The spectacle of a university professor “going Fantee” is indecorous, though to me personally it is delightful. When Professor Stanford is genteel, cultured, classic, pious, and experimentally mixolydian, he is dull beyond belief. His dullness is all the harder to bear because it is the restless, ingenious, trifling, flippant dullness of the Irishman ...¹⁷⁷

And this, for Shaw, is the crux of the matter. He enjoys those all too rare moments when Stanford allows his true Irish nature to appear in all its vigour and freshness in his music – free from any shackles of academic nicety or genteel restraint. Shaw continues his analysis of Stanford’s qualities thus:

But Mr Villiers Stanford cannot be dismissed as merely the Irish variety of the professorial species. Take any of the British oratorios and cantatas which have been produced recently for the Festivals, and your single comment on them will be – if you know anything about music – “Oh! Anybody with a bachelor’s degree could have written that.” But you cannot say this of Stanford’s *Eden*. It is as insufferable a composition as any Festival could desire; but it is ingenious and peculiar; and although in it you see the Irish professor trifling in a world of ideas, in marked contrast to the English professor conscientiously wrestling in a vacuum, ... you find traces of a talent for composition, which is precisely what the ordinary professor, with all his grammatical and historical accomplishments, utterly lacks. But the conditions of making this talent serviceable are not supplied by Festival commissions.

Shaw feels very strongly that Stanford’s compositional talent is considerable – and possibly greater than that of any of his English contemporaries – but that it is too often misdirected and wasted on unworthy projects.

Parry, dedicatee of *Eden*, was impressed by the first performance, finding it ‘brilliantly effective’ and ‘much more evenly good than anything else of [Stanford’s]’.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ ‘Philémon et Baucis’, *Wo*, 25 November 1891, reprinted in *Shaw’s Music*, vol. 2, 464.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Going Fantee’, *Wo*, 10 May 1893, reprinted in *Shaw’s Music*, vol. 2, 876-883.

¹⁷⁸ Diary of Hubert Parry, 7 October 1891, quoted in Rodmell, *Stanford*, 157 and Dibble, *Stanford*, 226. Parry was in fact so taken with Bridges’ text that he developed the notion of working with the poet himself. The fruition of this collaboration may be seen in the *Invocation to Music*, produced at the Leeds Festival in 1895.

Another significant choral work receiving its first performance at the 1891 Birmingham Festival was the *Requiem* of Dvořák, and Table 7 compares press reactions to this work and to *Eden*. Here it will be observed that, although Stanford's work wins the whole-hearted approval of fewer critics (one third) than Dvořák's (half), and comments on the Irish composer's 'cleverness' and emotional coldness are plentiful, more than half of the reviews consulted express reservations or outright criticism regarding the merits of Dvořák's work – views perhaps encouraged by the composer's apparent shortcomings as a conductor.

Three further performances of *Eden* followed within a few months, the first in London's Royal Albert Hall with the Royal Choral Society conducted by Barnby.¹⁷⁹ In February 1892 came a second Birmingham performance and one at the Hampstead Conservatoire, both conducted by Stanford.¹⁸⁰ Each of these performances receives its share of press coverage, though opinions expressed in the wake of the Birmingham premier remain largely unchanged. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, having given only a brief account of the first performance, takes Barnby's performance as an opportunity for a more extended article, ranking *Eden* 'high among the oratorios which have been written in the present day', but doubting that it will 'pass into that charmed circle wherein the few masterpieces that are for all time ... are serenely fixed'.¹⁸¹

After this first flurry of performances, *Eden* remained on the shelf for more than a decade, but was then revived twice by the Leeds Philharmonic Society during Stanford's years as its conductor.¹⁸² Although these two performances still elicited favourable comments in those papers which covered them, the musical world had by this time changed, and some of the passages in the score which had seemed colourful in the 1890s seemed less so, especially after the appearance of Elgar's masterpiece *The*

¹⁷⁹ 18 November 1891.

¹⁸⁰ 4 and 22 February 1892 respectively.

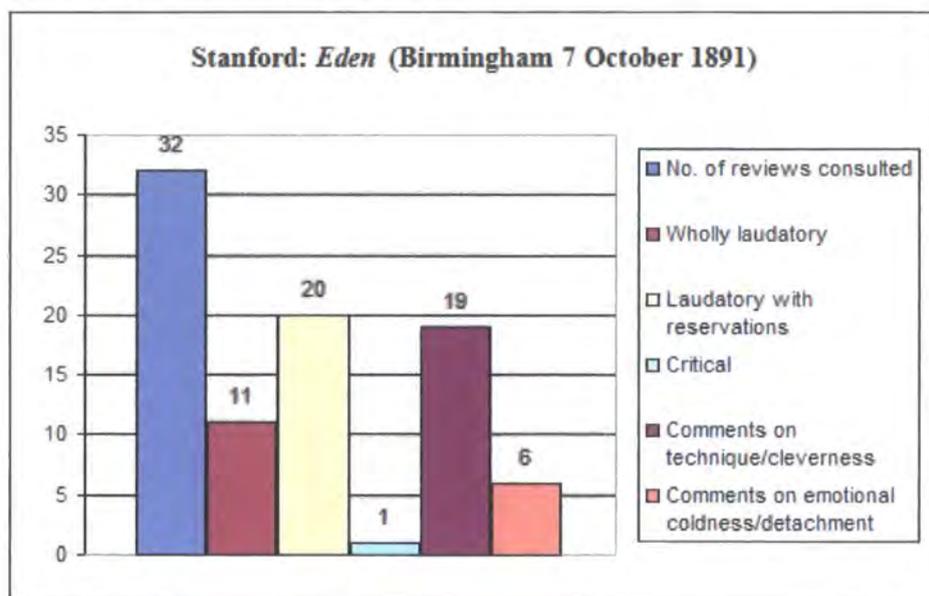
¹⁸¹ *PMG*, 19 November 1891, 2.

¹⁸² 18 March 1903 and 30 November 1909.

Table 7
Press reception comparison of new works, Birmingham Festival 1891

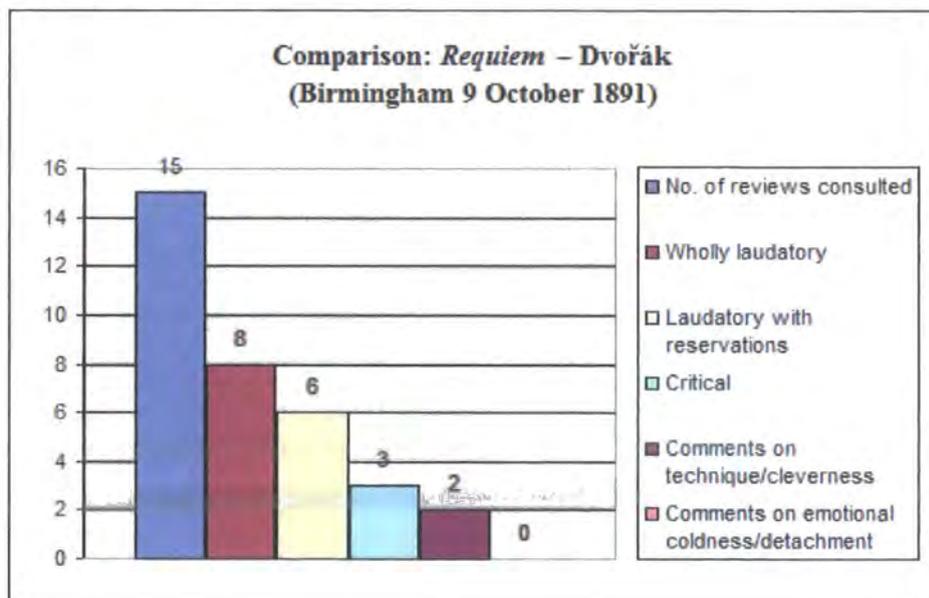
Eden (Birmingham 7 October 1891)

No. of reviews consulted	32
Wholly laudatory	11
Laudatory with reservations	20
Critical	1
Comments on technique/cleverness	19
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	6



Comparison: Requiem – Dvořák (Birmingham 9 October 1891)

No. of reviews consulted	15
Wholly laudatory	8
Laudatory with reservations	6
Critical	3
Comments on technique/cleverness	2
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Dream of Gerontius. Herbert Thompson hints at the problem in his review of the 1903

Eden performance:

Since [1891] much has happened. Other composers have brought heaven and hell upon their canvas with all the realism at their disposal, and ... the Stanfordian tritones are likely to fall upon jaded ears.¹⁸³

Indeed, Paul Rodmell gives a succinct summation of the reasons for the ultimate failure and disappearance of *Eden*:

Why did the work fail? It is ... far too long, and too much of the music, though academically ingenious, lacks interest. Its nearest relative is *The Dream of Gerontius* and with it some comparisons may be drawn. Elgar's work failed at its first performance, while Stanford's did not, but it is the vivid nature of Elgar's music which redeemed *Gerontius* and his visions of heaven and purgatory outstrip Stanford's by miles. While Stanford's hell was daring in 1891, Elgar's hell was terrifying in 1900; similarly Stanford's Heaven was appealing but Elgar's was radiant.¹⁸⁴

Thus, not only beset by its own inherent difficulties of excessive length and complexity, *Eden* was outstripped and outclassed by *Gerontius*, and after a final flailing of its celestial wings in 1909, disappeared permanently from the scene.

An Ode for Cambridge and some part-songs

After the exertions of *Eden*, it was to be some time before another Stanford choral work of major proportions appeared. Meanwhile, however, he was not altogether idle, and his professorial duties at Cambridge required the production of a short Ode to celebrate the installation of a new University Chancellor. Performed at a CUMS concert on 14 June 1892 alongside Brahms's *Academic Festival Overture* and Parry's *The Lotos-Eaters*, the *Installation Ode* was tailor-made for such a university occasion, making use of several well-known folk tunes, including 'D'ye ken John Peel'. This latter tune was in turn combined with 'Gaudeamus igitur' (plus vocal parts), forming a link with the Brahms overture, which immediately preceded it in the concert. Both the *Musical Times* and the *Cambridge Review* print appreciative accounts of the concert, the former

¹⁸³ *YP*, 19 March 1903, 6.

¹⁸⁴ Rodmell, *Stanford*, 160.

referring to the 'air of novelty' in Stanford's commissioned piece, the latter praising the manner in which it selects 'the happy mean between grave and gay'.¹⁸⁵

Later the same year appears a *Musical Times* review of a set of four part-songs, Op.47¹⁸⁶ – the first Stanford examples of this genre to be published (in the Novello Part-Song Book series). The last of the songs, *The Knight's Tomb*, became, with its 'somewhat startling, but undeniably effective climax', perhaps the most frequently sung of this group, which *MT* judges 'among the most artistic examples of their kind'. At the beginning of the following year, however, there appears in *Musical Times* a review of a further set of part-songs which prove eventually to be of greater popularity: the first set of *Six Elizabethan Pastorals*, Op.49. As the review states, the songs are dated August 1892, and appear to have been written as 'a sort of holiday task'. The reviewer goes on to say: 'He could not have employed his leisure to greater advantage, for, since Pearsall, more delightful examples of the madrigalian art have not appeared'.¹⁸⁷ Perhaps these pieces were a further result of the composer's studies with Rockstro. Certainly at least two of the songs – *Corydon, arise!* and *Diaphenia* – were destined to become extremely popular with choral groups for many years to come.

The 'Chicago Ode' and departure from Cambridge

The twenty-two years since Stanford's arrival in Cambridge had seen remarkable musical developments. Under his guiding influence, the musical life of the university had become vibrant and forward-looking, and Stanford's own stature, both as composer and conductor, had grown steadily. By 1892 it can fairly be said that he had gained a national, and even to some degree an international reputation, and was regarded as one of the leading English composers of his generation. His official duties were now taking

¹⁸⁵ *MT*, 1 July 1892, 422-3; *CamRev*, 16 June 1892, 382-3.

¹⁸⁶ *MT*, 1 December 1892, 744.

¹⁸⁷ *MT*, 1 January 1893, 44.

him ever more frequently away from Cambridge, and a move to London became almost inevitable. Stanford's resignation as organist of Trinity College (where he had for some time been unhappy with his role) at the end of 1892, and the family's re-location to London in the early part of 1893 marked a new phase in his career. There was one further musical task in Cambridge, however, which was dear to his heart, and which he was determined to see through: the celebration of the CUMS Golden Jubilee.

Stanford was determined to make the CUMS fiftieth anniversary year special, and negotiated with the university authorities the conferral of music doctorates on five senior composers – Saint-Saëns, Bruch, Boito, Tchaikovsky and Grieg – as the focal point of the celebrations. The Jubilee celebrations took place in June, with a concert on the thirteenth of the month in which four of the five honoured composers conducted pieces of their own,¹⁸⁸ the programme being completed with a new short choral ode by Stanford – *East to West*.

Stanford's setting of words by Swinburne was actually written for the opening of a large Exhibition in Chicago, and had, in fact, been first heard in London the previous month.¹⁸⁹ There are several press accounts of the London and Cambridge performances, as well as a couple of brief reviews of the score of this fairly compact work (lasting less than a quarter of an hour).

Musical News, writing of the score in April, describes the music as 'decisive and telling',¹⁹⁰ while the *Monthly Musical Record* states that, although hardly to be classed as one of the composer's greatest efforts, it is 'worthy of the occasion for which it was written'.¹⁹¹ Various accounts of the London and Cambridge performances echo this

¹⁸⁸ The exception being Grieg, in whose absence through illness, Stanford conducted some of his *Peer Gynt* music.

¹⁸⁹ Strangely, despite extensive enquiries by Frederick Hudson and others, no record of a Chicago performance has so far come to light.

¹⁹⁰ *MN*, 29 April 1893, 399.

¹⁹¹ *MMR*, 1 October 1893, 225.

general view of *East to West* as an effective, though not exceptional, occasional work, and even Shaw awards it qualified praise:

The two qualities needed for a good Chicago ode are tunefulness and bounce; and there is an allowance of both in *East to West*, though it is certainly stunted by the professorism which is Stanford's bane ... But the native audacity of the composer asserts itself more freely than in any of his recent compositions ...¹⁹²

Saint-Saëns was sufficiently impressed by the Cambridge ceremonies to write a lengthy article for *La Nouvelle Revue*, towards the end of which, in describing the CUMS concert, he says of *East to West* that it is 'not elaborated but brilliant, and written by a master-hand, which is all we have any right to expect from an "oeuvre de circonstance"'.¹⁹³ *East to West* does not appear to have been given any further performances, failing to capture the interest of choral directors – perhaps understandable in view of its occasional nature.

Stanford's resignation as conductor of CUMS took effect immediately after the jubilee celebrations, from that point on his only remaining connection with Cambridge being as Professor of Music – a post which for many more years to come did not require residence in the city.

The main trend of critical press opinion of Stanford's choral output during his years in Cambridge seems to have been favourable, some reviews being greatly enthusiastic, but others tempered with reservations, generally referring to the precedence of flawless technique over emotional involvement. In contrast, however, commentaries upon performances of Stanford's choral works during this period almost always refer to great enthusiasm and warm reception on the part of audiences and choirs.

The Revenge was undoubtedly Stanford's major breakthrough to enormous popular success, though it raised expectations for successors which proved hard to meet. Even some critics who had hitherto had reservations about Stanford's style, such as Joseph

¹⁹² 'Concerts and Recitals', *Wo*, 17 May 1893, reprinted in *Shaw's Music*, vol. 2, 883-90.

¹⁹³ Reprinted in *CamRev*, 9 November 1893, 80.

Bennett, were won over by this short choral ballad, which was able to appeal to such a wide spectrum of the music-loving public.

Shaw was Stanford's most outspoken critic, though he was, in the main, only expressing in plain terms what many others were saying in a far more polite and disguised way. He never ceased to make plain, however, the fact that he regarded Stanford as a composer far superior in talent to any of his 'college' contemporaries.

Of Stanford's colleagues at the RCM, Parry was a friend with whom he shared informal and honest exchanges of opinion concerning the compositions of both men. Grove was one man with whom the excitable Stanford never seems to have argued, their relationship remaining calm and imbued with mutual respect. Grove is known to have said on one occasion, however, concerning Stanford's music:

As to his music I cannot honestly say that I ever cared for any of it, but on the other hand he is a very valuable member of College.¹⁹⁴

Stanford's considerable and early success in the field of music for the Anglican church was, as we have seen, due far more to regular performance than to the written word, but his steadily growing all-round reputation as a choral composer depended to a considerable degree upon printed critical appraisal of his larger-scale works.

Stanford's personal reaction to criticism of his works in the press must be largely conjectural, for he rarely, if ever, left recorded comments concerning his feelings, save when they involved the music or fortunes of his friends or pupils. He must surely have been gratified, however, by the many encouraging and appreciative comments upon his music, just as he must have felt some sense of pride and achievement on each of the many occasions when performances of his music were received with thunderous applause, or when greeted at the beginning of a rehearsal with cheers from a choir or orchestra.

¹⁹⁴ Letter from Grove to Edith Oldham, 21 February 1892, cited in Rodmell, *Stanford*, 169.

This first period in Stanford's musical career saw his evolution from brilliant young student to nationally known figure. The publication of the B flat Service in 1879 rapidly made his name known to church musicians, and a steady flow of choral successes with larger-scale works from the mid-1880s steadily enhanced his reputation in a wider sense. By the time he left Cambridge, aged forty, in January 1893, Stanford had already achieved a commanding position in the world of English music, and was in firm possession of highly respected appointments as Professor of Music in his own university and as Professor of Composition at London's recently founded Royal College of Music. He moved to London amidst a high degree of interest on the part of public and critics alike. Stanford had thus far produced some fine examples of music for the church, virtually invented (with *The Revenge*) a hugely popular kind of choral ballad, made two original and interesting attempts at oratorio, and begun to compose well-crafted partsongs for smaller vocal ensembles. Many were curious to learn what he would achieve next.

Chapter Four

Stanford's Choral Music and the Press II: Years at the Top of His Profession, 1893-1910

The years between 1893 and 1910 saw Stanford at the height of his powers and his fame, both as composer and conductor. Of a total output which embraces 194 works with opus numbers, as well as many more without, the period in question accounts for more than a third of his compositions, from the *Mass in G, Op.46* to the *Songs of the Fleet, Op.117*: seventy-two opus numbers, of which twenty-five are choral.

The choral music of this period embraces several of his greatest successes, including, on the sacred side, the three Latin works – the *Requiem*, the *Te Deum* and, above all, the *Stabat Mater*, and amongst the secular works, *Phaudrig Crohoore*, *Songs of the Sea* and *Songs of the Fleet*. All of these larger works, and several of the slighter ones, were widely reviewed in the press, critical commentary being very largely favourable, occasionally bordering on the ecstatic, often highly complimentary, in a few cases critical of aim or achievement, but always expressing admiration for technical craftsmanship and orchestration. In some of his very best works – especially *Phaudrig Crohoore*, the *Requiem* and *Stabat Mater*, and the two sets of Sea Songs – Stanford even managed to transcend the fairly frequent criticisms of emotional coolness and an inability to ‘let himself go’ in his compositions. His long quest for a second ‘popular hit’ to rival *The Revenge* was finally and incontestably achieved with the *Songs of the Sea*, these two works between them ensuring their composer a secure place in the hearts of thousands of English music-lovers for decades to come.

During the period under review Stanford held some of the most prestigious conducting posts in the country – firstly the Bach Choir, subsequently both the Leeds Philharmonic Society and the Leeds Festival. These conductorships gave him not only

a platform for his own works, but also the opportunity to conduct a wide range of works by other composers, both old and new. Occasional comments upon his conducting style seem to indicate a certain correlation with the perceived lack of emotional fire in many of his compositions: he was, we gather, a technically proficient but not always a greatly inspiring figure on the rostrum.

Gradually, in the course of the opening decade of the new century, we can observe a decline in the flow of new choral works – or, at any rate, of large-scale ones – from Stanford's pen. The gaps between successful major works get longer, and there is, perhaps, a growing sense of disappointment and disillusionment on the composer's part. The *Ode to Discord* gives an indication of Stanford's unease with certain contemporary trends in composition, and this fact combines with the gradual emergence of other, mostly much younger, composers of choral music. Elgar's *Gerontius* succeeded where Stanford's two oratorios had failed, and the years leading up to 1910 also saw the production of choral works by a promising new generation of English composers. Two of the most significant appeared at Stanford's last two Leeds Festivals: *Toward the Unknown Region* (1907) and *Sea Symphony* (1910) by his erstwhile pupil Vaughan Williams. New developments in musical England were attracting ever-increasing attention, with the result that men of Stanford's generation began to fade from the limelight.

Herbert Howells, in a lecture delivered to the Royal Musical Association shortly after the centenary of Stanford's birth, speaks of this decline in prominence and fortune:

... I knew Stanford vitally and directly only for twelve short years – his last twelve. ... I knew him, indeed, in the days of his increasing neglect, a neglect he continually felt. It hurt him.¹

Stanford's removal to London early in 1893 was a perfectly logical and pragmatic choice at a point in his career when his weekly duties at the Royal College of Music and with the Bach Choir involved spending a great deal of time in the city. With London as

¹ Howells, 'Charles Villiers Stanford'.

his base, he was also better placed for increasingly frequent visits to provincial centres to conduct choirs and orchestras, often in his own music. The move also had an impact upon his work as a composer: no longer a serving church musician, he had no immediate incentive to write for the Anglican liturgy, and, with a single exception, his list of works during the 1890s contains no anthems or service settings. Despite this, however, the next choral work of Stanford's to appear after his removal from Cambridge was, in fact, a liturgical piece – and one, moreover, designed initially for the Roman Catholic church.

A Latin Mass and more partsongs

The *Mass in G* had been written, in stages, during Stanford's last year in Cambridge, and was intended for Thomas Wingham's fine choir at London's Brompton Oratory. Scored for four soloists, choir and orchestra, the scale and style of the work is primarily intended for liturgical, rather than concert use, and is clearly influenced by mass settings of the later Viennese composers.² The first, liturgical, performance of the work at the Oratory on the Feast of St Philip Neri (26 May) 1893 seems to have been well received, but, as is inevitable with church services, not widely recorded.³ The *Musical Times* and *Musical News* do, however, give brief accounts of the occasion. *MT* refers to an excellent performance which displayed the 'devotional spirit' of the music, the 'expressive settings' of the Kyrie and Gloria, 'clever contrapuntal writing' in the Credo, and scoring which reveals the 'hand of a master'.⁴ *MN* also refers to the work's

² Rodmell, *Stanford*, 174, refers to similarities between its *Gloria*, and that of Beethoven's *Mass in C*, and at least two contemporary reviews (*MT*, 1 February 1894, 96-7; *DTel*, 24 January 1894, 5) mention 'Schubertian' qualities.

³ Church services, with the occasional exception of major choirs festivals, were then, and still are, understandably regarded as hardly appropriate occasions for mass press reportage and criticism of their musical content, since music could hardly be viewed as the sole *raison d'être* of divine service, and the presence of those concerned solely to assess musical quality could be regarded with some distaste.

⁴ *MT*, 1 July 1893, 411.

‘devotional spirit’ and the ‘clever contrapuntal writing’, and is quite possibly another version of the same account.⁵

A concert performance of the *Mass* by the Bach Choir the following January was, understandably, more widely reported, though all accounts of the work point to its relatively modest scale, deriving from its primary liturgical purpose. The *Cambridge Review* goes so far as to say that its ‘apparent simplicity’ will ‘come as a surprise’ to those familiar with Stanford’s music, singling out the Credo and the Sanctus as the finest sections.⁶ The same movements receive praise in the *Daily Graphic*, as does the ‘charmingly melodious’ Benedictus of a work which is ‘remarkable throughout for loftiness of aim, sincerity of feeling, and scholarly workmanship, which, however, never lapses into mere academicism’.⁷ The *Guardian* carries a slightly longer account than other papers, and is the most punctilious (perhaps in view of its status as a church paper) in stressing that it is ‘essentially as a service Mass and not as a concert Mass that it should be judged’. This explains the ‘subdued character’ of the Sanctus and the lack of the ‘expected climax’ in the Agnus Dei, for in both cases the composer has adhered to the spirit and nature of Roman Catholic ritual. The author – Charles Graves – concludes that Stanford’s *Mass* is ‘a very happy specimen of that union of scholarship and earnest feeling which one looks for in works of this stamp’.⁸ The general tone of the few existing accounts of this Bach Choir performance seems to be one of approval and appreciation. Bernard Shaw was not present at the concert, but learned of it, and expressed genuine regret at having missed Stanford’s *Mass*:

I am not fond of modern settings of the Mass as a rule; but this particular one, as an example of the artistic catholicity of an Irish Protestant (and if you have never been in Ireland you do not know what Protestantism is) especially interests me. Nothing is more tempting to a keen critic than an opportunity of

⁵ *MN*, 3 June 1893, 510.

⁶ *CamRev*, 25 January 1894, 172-3.

⁷ *DGr*, 25 January 1894, 5.

⁸ *Guard*, 31 January 1894, 172.

comparing that religious music into the spirit of which the composer has entered through his dramatic faculty alone, with that which is the immediate expression of his own religious faith.⁹

There are no further recorded concert performances of the *Mass in G*, though one further appearance at the Oratory is noted in 1895,¹⁰ and it can perhaps be safely assumed that there were others. The liturgical purpose of the work is further emphasised by its publication, by Novello, in an alternative version, with English text and organ accompaniment, for the Anglican rite, under the title *Communion Service in G*.

1894 also saw the publication of a second set of *Six Elizabethan Pastorals, Op.53*. Like their predecessors, these madrigalian-style pieces receive favourable notices in the *Musical Times* and *Musical News*,¹¹ though it is the *Saturday Review* which carries the most effusive recommendation for them (probably by William Barclay Squire) in the following terms:

It would be difficult to imagine anything more perfect of its kind than the set of "Six Elizabethan Pastorals" ... composed by Professor Stanford The writing is solid and classical enough for the best seventeenth-century standard, without being in the least dull or heavy; ... One seldom comes across any new part-songs so satisfactory alike to the choir that sings and the audience that hears them.¹²

Despite this warm recommendation, however, none of the numbers in this group appears to have rivalled the popularity of 'Diaphenia' or 'Corydon, arise' from the previous set.

A Choral Ode for Wales

Commissioned by the committee of a revived Cardiff Festival in 1892, and written before Stanford left Cambridge, *The Bard* was eventually given its first performance at the 1895 Cardiff Festival. Not having the same prestige as the Birmingham or Leeds

⁹ 'Snubbed by the Bach Choir', *Wo*, 31 January 1894, reprinted in *Shaw's Music*, vol.3, 101-4. Shaw admits to having been deprived of an invitation to this concert, almost certainly in view of his previous record, for he had, not long before, in writing of a Bach Choir concert containing unaccompanied sixteenth century music, given the choir 'its first taste of really stimulating criticism'. His exclusion from the ranks of invited press representatives may well, therefore, have reflected Stanford's own distaste or discomfort with the fruits of Shaw's pen – a distaste which must surely have been reinforced shortly afterwards by the heated press debate concerning the Bach *St Matthew Passion* (see chapter 2, 76-7).

¹⁰ *MN*, 12 October 1895, 298.

¹¹ *MT*, 1 September 1894, 620; *MN*, 1 December 1894, 466.

¹² *SatRev*, 9 June 1894, 622.

Festivals, the events at Cardiff were less widely reported nationally, although several accounts of it do exist. Stanford's choice of Thomas Gray's poem was probably partly with a Welsh audience in mind, though the text also gave the composer ample scope for his dramatic instincts – a fact which several critics were quick to note. Percival Betts, for example, in notices for both the *Daily News* and the *Graphic*, comments upon the suitability of Gray's poem for musical treatment,¹³ giving ample scope for 'effective contrasts' – an opportunity of which Stanford has 'fully availed himself'.¹⁴

By this stage, Stanford's reputation in the production of a succession of short choral odes and ballads was well recognised, and any new contribution to the genre would inevitably invite comparison. Most reviewers of *The Bard* make such comparisons, with favourable conclusions. Bennett, in the *Daily Telegraph*, for example, referring to earlier works, in particular *The Revenge* and the *Elegiac Ode*, declares:

Success ... was almost a foregone conclusion, seeing that the composer has passed from victory to victory along the same line.¹⁵

The same theme recurs in Edgar Jacques' column for the *Musical Times*:

Dr. Stanford's new Ode is an example of a form in which he is accustomed to successes. Preceded by the "Revenge," the Ode on the death of President Lincoln, and others of the same class, the "Bard" had almost an absolute guarantee before a note was heard ...¹⁶

And again in the *Daily Chronicle*:

Professor Stanford has handled his theme in the most sympathetic manner, and at no stage betrays signs of diminution of the descriptive strength that enabled him to make choral ballads popular with the cultivated musical public.¹⁷

As is so often the case with Stanford's choral works, several writers refer to his skill in orchestration, and three or four papers also give high praise to Harry Plunket Greene's delivery of the solo bass passages (written with his voice in mind), the *Guardian* going so far as to claim that this singer may prove 'almost indispensable' to a

¹³ *DN*, 20 September 1895, 3.

¹⁴ *Graph*, 21 September 1895, 354.

¹⁵ *DTel*, 20 September 1895, 3.

¹⁶ *MT*, 1 October 1895, 672-3.

¹⁷ *DChr*, 20 September 1895, 6.

successful performance of the Ode.¹⁸ The work, according to *The Times*, was received with ‘unequivocal favour’,¹⁹ and Stanford, who conducted, was, according to the *Daily News*, given a hearty reception, and recalled to the platform twice.

Although critical opinion is unanimously in favour of *The Bard*, views vary as to its ultimate level of popularity, especially when compared to *the Revenge*. Bennett (*Daily Telegraph*) and Henry Frost (*Athenaeum*) reckon the new work not quite the equal of the former:

This work, though it may not for obvious reasons enjoy the popularity of “The Revenge,” is a rival which that favourite piece will not see far behind in the course yet to be.²⁰

‘The Bard’ may not obtain as much popularity as ‘The Revenge,’ but it is well worth the attention of choral societies in need of brief, picturesque, and not too exacting work.²¹

Betts, however, in both his columns, is somewhat more optimistic, regarding the Ode as ‘one of the most effective of Dr. Stanford’s shorter works’ and concluding:

“The Bard” promises to become speedily popular with choirs in all parts of the country.²²

Jacques takes a similar view in the *MT*, claiming that the ‘broad, elevated, and wholly worthy’ nature of the Ode’s music ‘assures its future as a work of art’. Not so, alas, for apart from a single further hearing in Cambridge in June 1896, no other performances seem to be recorded, and the work quickly fell completely from public view. In Paul Rodmell’s words, *The Bard* ‘failed to push past its antecedents’. Rodmell puts forward the view that, although an appropriate subject for a *Welsh* festival, Gray’s poem lacked the transparency of Tennyson, and hindered the work from becoming as popular as either *The Revenge* or the *Voyage of Maeldune*. Stanford tried his best, but the work, as well crafted as any other of his, simply ‘failed to excite’.²³

¹⁸ *Guard*, 25 September 1895, 1484.

¹⁹ *T*, 20 September 1895, 8.

²⁰ *DTel*, 20 September 1895, 3.

²¹ *Ath*, 28 September 1895, 425-6.

²² *DN*, 20 September 1895, 3.

²³ Rodmell, *Stanford*, 183.

An Irish Choral Ballad

Stanford had long been attracted by the writing of his compatriot Sheridan Le Fanu, and it may well have been his work on the comic opera *Shamus O'Brien*, based on a story by the poet, and completed early in 1895, which inspired him to use another of Le Fanu's poems in the realisation of a choral commission for the 1896 Norwich Festival. *Phaudrig Crohoore* was widely acknowledged to be an Irish version of the story told by Scott as 'Young Lochinvar'. Le Fanu's version created a hero of gigantic proportions – a 'broth of a boy' who 'stood six foot eight', and, as Fuller Maitland comments in *The Times*, tells his story in a delightfully humorous and colloquial style.²⁴

In his setting of *Phaudrig Crohoore*, Stanford was able, for once, to give full reign to his Irish nature, and features such as the lively jig music in the wedding scene were afforded unanimous critical approval. Already, before its first hearing, the new ballad was 'awaited with interest' by the many who admired the *Revenge* and 'who have waited long for a successor' (implying the perceived failure of the *Voyage*, *Battle of the Baltic* and *The Bard* to fill such a role).²⁵ The first performance of the ballad at Norwich on 9 October 1896 appears to have been quite successful, and certainly inspired a good deal of positive critical comment in the press.

Stanford's established record in the field of the choral ode and ballad is again acknowledged in several articles, some critics going on to voice their high regard for the qualities of the new work, and their optimism for its future. The *Daily Chronicle* provides a good example:

All the energy that made "The Revenge" such a popular work with choralists is here again apparent, but there is no attempt to elaborate ideas and thereby check the steady progress of the story. ... As the composition is easy and straightforward, both vocally and instrumentally, there can be no doubt it will obtain widespread favour.²⁶

The *Daily Graphic* provides a similar judgement:

²⁴ *T*, 10 October 1896, 7.

²⁵ *MN*, 3 October 1896, 282.

²⁶ *DChr*, 10 October 1896, 10.

Dr. Stanford has once more treated the form he created with complete mastery of design and effect and once more the combination of Stanford and Le Fanu has had delightful results. The music is throughout melodious, characteristic, and tells its tale with a directness that cannot be bettered. The new ballad is not too difficult for choral societies of average resources, and it should therefore have a successful career.²⁷

The *Morning Post* goes so far as to describe *Crohoore* as ‘a capital little work that possesses all the requisite elements of popularity’,²⁸ while the *Graphic* says that it is:

... so jovial and dramatically written that it seems to breathe the very spirit of the tenderly love-sick and riotously pugnacious *Phaudrig Crohoore*, and bids fair to achieve immediate popularity.²⁹

According to the *Daily News*, Stanford’s new ballad (performed, apparently, before an audience of 1291) is, ‘without much doubt’ set to rival even *The Revenge* in popularity.³⁰ And *Musical News*, encouraged by a first hearing, now believes that *Crohoore* may even overtake *The Revenge* in popular esteem:

[Phaudrig Crohoore] seems likely to capture the laurels hitherto worn by the stirring ballad, “The Revenge,” which created such a sensation when first produced, and which has since continued steadily to maintain and increase its popularity.³¹

Apart from the jig wedding scene, it is the final pages of the work which attract unanimous admiration. According to *The Times*, the epilogue gives the ballad ‘peculiar distinction’, while Bennett, in the *Daily Telegraph*, claims:

Very effective indeed, because absolutely beautiful, is the coda, with its burden of lament for the dead hero.³²

And *DN* finds in the ‘elegiac epilogue’ a ‘true touch of genius ... beautiful in the extreme’.

The Irish nature of the story and its musical treatment leads some critics to point to direct similarities with *Shamus O’Brien*, which had recently proved a great and popular success. *The Times* recognises from the very opening phrases of *Crohoore* its kinship with the opera; the *Morning Post* identifies the same national characteristics in both works; and the *Guardian* states:

²⁷ *DGr*, 10 October 1896, 7.

²⁸ *MP*, 10 October 1896, 5.

²⁹ *Graph*, 10 October 1896, 456.

³⁰ *DN*, 10 October 1896, 5.

³¹ *MN*, 17 October 1896, 323-4.

³² *DTel*, 12 October 1896, 8.

One would not be surprised to find that [Crohoore] came out of the composer's charming opera *Shamus O'Brien*, so rollicking a spirit of Irish fun pervades the whole.³³

It seems that the only journal to cast any doubt upon the future of *Crohoore* is the *Musical Times*. If it can be assumed that the article comes from the pen of Edgar Jacques, then he alone sees possible problems with *English* audiences having the capacity to appreciate fully the Irish humour of the work. He does, however claim a need for 'national' works:

Provided they are good, we cannot have too many of such things.³⁴

As to the Norwich performance, opinions differ somewhat. *MP* refers to the work being 'well rendered' under the composer's direction, achieving 'decided success'; the *Athenaeum* states that it was received 'with truly great and deserved cordiality',³⁵ and *DN* reports a very warm reception, with Stanford being recalled three times to the platform. Both *MN* and *MT*, however, refer only to a 'fairly good' performance, *MT* adding that the reception was 'courteous, if somewhat undecided'.

Hero and Leander, a cantata by the successful Italian operatic composer Luigi Mancinelli, was the only other new choral work to be presented at the 1896 Norwich Festival, and Table 8 compares press reactions to this cantata and to Stanford's *Crohoore*. Here we observe considerable similarities in critical opinion, for in both cases three-quarters of commentators express unreserved approbation, while only a third of articles voice reservations or criticism. There are, however, five critics who cannot resist reference to Stanford's technical cleverness.

Crohoore was soon given further successful performances, though early on there occurred an unfortunate hiccup to the work's progress. Soon after the Norwich premier, members of the Hallé chorus in Manchester refused to sing certain verbal phrases which they construed as being offensive and, despite all attempts at persuasion on the part of

³³ *Guard*, 14 October 1896, 1585.

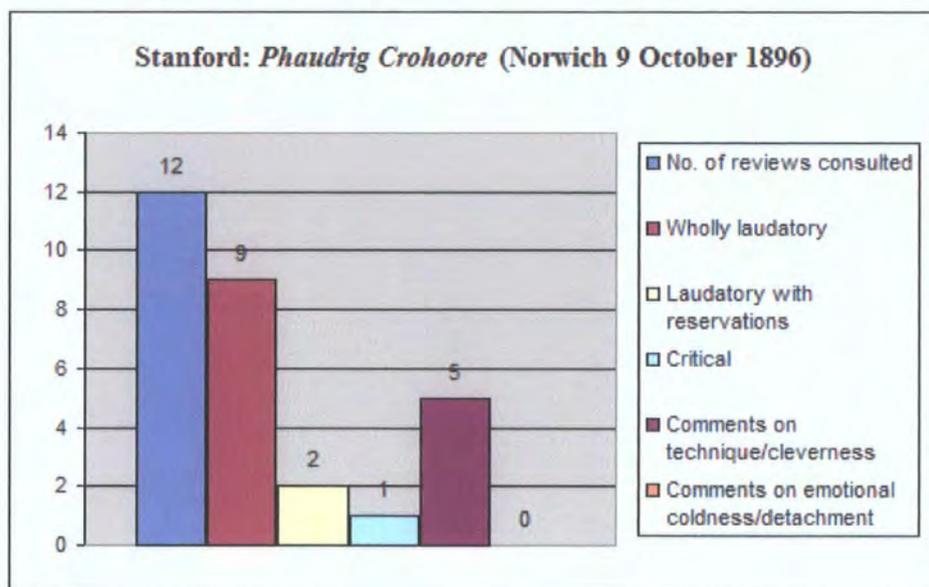
³⁴ *MT*, 1 November 1896, 734-6.

³⁵ *Ath*, 17 October 1896, 533.

Table 8
 Press reception comparison of new works, Norwich Festival 1896

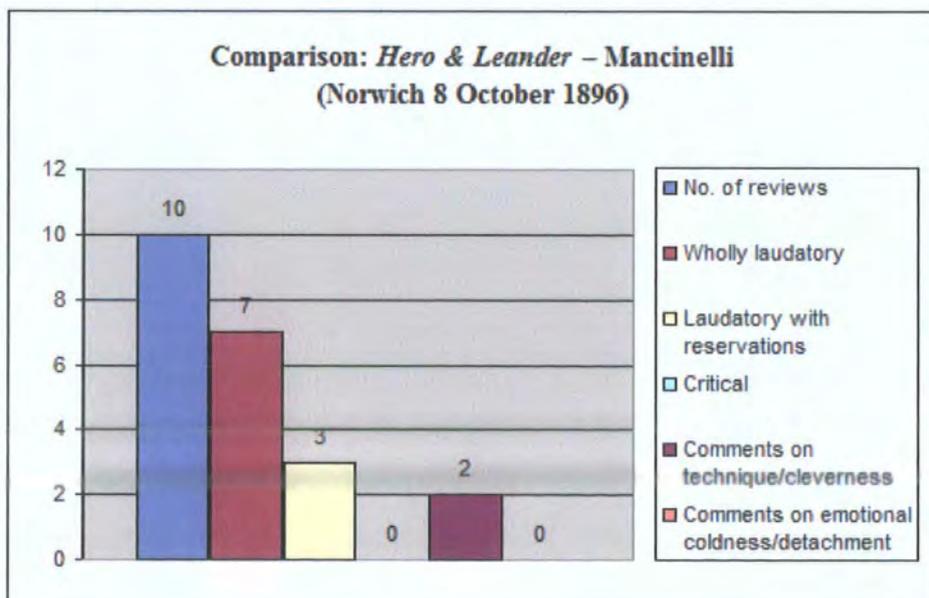
Phaudrig Crohoore (Norwich 9 October 1896)

No. of reviews consulted	12
Wholly laudatory	9
Laudatory with reservations	2
Critical	1
Comments on technique/cleverness	5
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Comparison: Hero & Leander – Mancinelli (Norwich 8 October 1896)

No. of reviews	10
Wholly laudatory	7
Laudatory with reservations	3
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	2
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



their conductor, Cowen, firmly declined to back down, causing the work to be replaced by *The Revenge*. Herbert Thompson of the *Yorkshire Post*, attempted to lambast this example of Victorian prudishness in a satirical article which, however, succeeded only in making matters worse, since other northern choral societies took his words literally, causing other performances to be cancelled. Stanford, amazed at the turn of events, wrote to Thompson in the hope that something could be done. He suggested that Thompson's satire was a little too subtle for 'the Lancashire mind', and explained that the phrases thought to be offensive were in fact totally innocent, and merely commonplace Irish colloquial expressions. 'Divil', he said, had no meaning, and 'but he could get round her', far from being indecent, meant simply 'but he could put her in a good temper'. He furthermore explained that now Boosey's felt that the text might have to be changed, and asked if Thompson could write a paragraph explaining that his previous article was not intended to be taken seriously. He concluded his letter with a phrase of his own construction intended to show the ludicrous nature of the misconstrued phrases in *Crohoore*:

'Good morning have you used Pear's Soap' I suppose cd be indecent to some because it suggests a bath and no clothes on!³⁶

Fortunately the objections soon died down, and Boosey published the score with Le Fanu's text unaltered.³⁷

Phaudrig Crohoore was one of a series of Irish-influenced works in which Stanford gave free reign to a native streak in his character.³⁸ The six *Irish Rhapsodies* were to follow after the turn of the century. It is a matter of some regret that Bernard Shaw never published any thoughts on *Crohoore*, for if he ever heard it, he would surely have approved.

³⁶ Letter from Stanford to Thompson, 30 December 1896, cited in Dibble, *Stanford*, 265.

³⁷ For further information on this episode see Dibble, *Stanford*, 264-5, and Rodmell, *Stanford*, 188-9.

³⁸ The 'Irish' Symphony (1887), *Shamus O'Brien* (1895) and *Phaudrig Crohoore* (1896).

In this particular instance, the critics proved correct in their predictions of success for Stanford's work. Although it never achieved the same degree of popularity as *The Revenge* – no other secular choral work by Stanford ever would – *Crohoore* did prove a fairly popular choice with choral societies all over the country, outstripping both *Battle of the Baltic* and *Voyage of Maeldune*, and by the mid-1920s it had received well in excess of sixty performances.³⁹ Apart from *The Revenge*, the only other works of Stanford's eventually to receive more regular attention from choral societies were the *Songs of the Sea* (1904) and *Songs of the Fleet* (1910).

The Requiem

The appearance of Stanford's Latin *Mass in G* in 1893 caused a certain amount of surprise in some circles, for it seemed somewhat unexpected that a staunch Irish Protestant should produce such a work expressly for the Roman Catholic liturgy. It must, however, be remembered, firstly, that Stanford's immediate family were High Church, and not attracted by low church 'anti-popery', and secondly, that during his twenty years as Organist of Trinity College, Cambridge he lived quite contentedly in an atmosphere of High Anglicanism and academicism, where Anglo-Catholic ritual and the Latin tongue were the norm. Stanford, it seems, showed considerable tolerance towards parts of the Christian Church other than his own, as well as towards other religions.⁴⁰

After the *Mass* for the London Oratory, Stanford's decision to write a full-scale *Requiem* should not have surprised anyone, although it did so in at least one case.⁴¹ The death, in January 1896, of Lord Frederick Leighton, artist, lover of music and friend of Stanford, greatly saddened the composer, who wrote the short unaccompanied anthem *I*

³⁹ This contradicts Rodmell's claim that *Phaudrig Crohoore* 'never caught on', *Stanford*, 189.

⁴⁰ See Rodmell, *Stanford*, 173-4, fn.12.

⁴¹ A *Daily Telegraph* article (5 October 1897, 7) previewing the score before the first performance stated that 'Dr. Stanford was hardly expected to devise a new setting of the Roman Office for the Dead'.

heard a voice from heaven to be sung at his funeral in St Paul's Cathedral.⁴² When, shortly after this, Stanford received a commission from Birmingham for a new choral work to be performed at the 1897 Festival, he decided upon a Latin *Requiem* in memory of his recently deceased friend.

Possible reasons for Stanford's choice of the Latin Office for the Dead as his next Festival work, persuasively suggested by Paul Rodmell, may be summarised as follows:

1. Neither of his own two oratorios, nor those of any other English composer in his lifetime had passed into the established repertoire.
2. Festival committees and the general public had shown an increasing willingness in recent years to accept compositions based on Latin Catholic texts (e.g. Gounod's *Mors et Vita*; Dvořák's *Requiem*).
3. These Latin texts were freely available and required no librettist.
4. Stanford may have seen this as an opportune moment to abandon the 'Festival oratorio' style into which he had previously put such enormous effort to so little gain.⁴³

The bulk of the *Requiem* score was written in Malvern during the summer of 1896, and while there Stanford sought out Elgar's company on a fairly frequent basis, the two men hearing and commenting on each other's current musical projects (Elgar's was *King Olaf*). It is known that, at Stanford's request, a session was arranged on 15 September at Elgar's house, when Stanford played the score of the *Requiem* through to Elgar and Charles Swinnerton Heap, the new chorus-master at Birmingham.⁴⁴ Elgar's opinion of the work is unfortunately not recorded, though at the time the two composers were giving each other fairly constant encouragement.

⁴² This anthem was an extended version of an earlier piece, *Blessed are the dead*, written for Henry Bradshaw's funeral in King's College Chapel, Cambridge in 1886. *I heard a voice* was sung at several subsequent funeral and memorial services for well-known figures, including Sir John Millais (August 1896), Sir George Grey (September 1898), King Edward VII (May 1910) and Parry (October 1918), on each occasion making a deep impression. It was published in this later form by Novello in 1910.

⁴³ Rodmell, *Stanford*, 192-3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 189-90, and Dibble, *Stanford*, 286-7.

As the first performance of the *Requiem* approached, interest mingled with curiosity mounted. *Musical News*, in a short paragraph anticipating the forthcoming Birmingham Festival, states that ‘Professor Stanford’s new Requiem will show this versatile composer in a new light’,⁴⁵ while the *Pall Mall Gazette*, after giving a brief analysis of the work from the score, pronounces that it ‘promises to be very interesting’.⁴⁶ Bennett, in his interesting *Daily Telegraph* preview article referred to above, goes to some lengths to indicate his perception of the problems facing any modern composer setting the Requiem text, for he claims that those who now write such a work cannot avoid being influenced by the Requiems of Mozart, or Verdi, or the church music of Gounod. And while he claims it to be influence rather than imitation, he senses that Stanford’s setting leans towards Gounod. Strange that he did not detect the Italianate influence felt by most other critics!

Other writers based their advance opinions upon attendance at rehearsals, and following a session in London for soloists and orchestra the *Daily Chronicle* declares that the work ‘realises the highest expectations of Professor Stanford’s treatment of such a subject’,⁴⁷ while the *Athenaeum* states boldly:

We do not hesitate to say that Professor Stanford’s ‘Requiem’ is his masterpiece, worthy to compare with the best settings of the Latin Mass for the dead’.⁴⁸

Following the first performance itself, press coverage was as extensive as for any previous major work by Stanford, and several critics expressed at some length their reactions to the *Requiem*, mostly in very positive and favourable terms.

Stephen Stratton’s substantial article in the *Birmingham Daily Post* spends much of its length in a movement by movement account of the work, praising many features, including the ‘Quam olim Abrahae’ fugue, the ‘Tuba mirum’, and the ‘Rex tremendae’

⁴⁵ *MN*, 25 September 1897, title page.

⁴⁶ *PMG*, 30 September 1897, 4.

⁴⁷ *DChr*, 29 September 1897, 3.

⁴⁸ *Ath*, 2 October 1897, 461.

– all of which are ‘very powerful’ – whilst the *Agnus Dei*, framed by a funeral march, is a ‘great conception’. Stratton’s summary is highly complimentary:

Professor Stanford’s “Requiem” is a masterpiece: of that we have no doubt. He has aimed high, and has mainly attained that aim. The work is worthy to be compared with the great settings of the same text by Italian and German masters. There is greatness in more than one movement; triviality nowhere.⁴⁹

The *Birmingham Daily Mail* draws a comparison between Stanford’s work and the two Requiem settings by Cherubini, suggesting that these Italian works may have influenced the new setting. Stanford’s *Requiem*, however, ‘cannot fail to take rank among his ripest achievements’.⁵⁰ There follows a description of the work’s plan with brief analysis of the different sections, and references to ‘broad flow of melody’ in one place, ‘masterly skill’ in another, ‘powerful and massive choral writing’ and other similar laudatory comments. According to this writer, the work was given a ‘magnificent rendering’.

The third of the local papers, the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, had apparently given an account of the musical content of the *Requiem* in an earlier article, and devotes its post-performance column to the qualities of the performance itself. Its main interest lies in comments upon Stanford’s qualities as a conductor:

The composer may not have the magnetic personality of Richter, or hold his forces at the same tense strain of obedience. But he has qualities which command sympathy, and make him a favourite with those who are entrusted with the performance of his work. Although Professor Stanford conducted the influence of Dr. Richter was present, for the doctor sat in the side gallery, and listened to the performance with the deepest interest.⁵¹

It is interesting to see, in connection with these comments, a sketch from the *Daily Graphic* of the same date, depicting Stanford conducting the final rehearsal for the *Requiem*, together with an adjoining sketch showing a system of balloting for concert tickets (both shown as Illustration 6).

One other report of note in a leading provincial paper is found in the *Manchester Guardian*. The writer – presumably Arthur Johnstone – sets out by stating that the new

⁴⁹ *BDP*, 7 October 1897, 5.

⁵⁰ *BDM*, 7 October 1897, 2-3.

⁵¹ *BDG*, 7 October 1897, 5.

Dr. Stanford rehearsing his "Requiem."



Balloting for tickets at the Masonic Hall.

THE BIRMINGHAM MUSICAL FESTIVAL: SKETCHES AT THE FINAL REHEARSAL.

Illustration 6: Sketches from *Daily Graphic*, 7 October 1897, 5

Requiem is set out on an imposing scale, before continuing with a brief description of the work's movements. He comments on the 'bold, powerful and picturesque' instrumentation, but says that resources are always used with good judgement:

Dignity and reverence are nowhere sacrificed to sensational effect, as, for example, in the "Requiem" of Berlioz.⁵²

The influence of Palestrina is still in evidence, and contrapuntal devices commonly supposed to be outworn are used with 'admirably artistic effect'. There is, again, a reference to Cherubini, especially in relation to the 'Quam olim Abrahae' fugue – which has, however, 'not the least suggestion of dryness'. Johnstone identifies the 'Dies Irae' as the finest section, but claims that 'almost every number is marked by a genuine power and beauty', the 'Confutatis' and 'Lacrimosa' being 'almost overwhelming'. In conclusion, he states:

For once, Dr. Stanford has given us a work that the friends of British music may regard with unreserved pride and satisfaction, giving free rein to their admiration without the uneasy feeling that patriotic considerations have to modify artistic principles.

Turning to the major national daily papers, John Fuller Maitland provides an extensive article in *The Times*.⁵³ In it he states what he assumes will be a generally held opinion that in the *Requiem* Stanford 'has touched the highest point of his artistic achievement'. He furthermore claims that in this work the composer 'has never displayed greater ease and certainty' in his command of musical resources. The work is described as in some ways a counterpart to the *Mass in G* – mainly in its Italianate influence – but the *Requiem* surpasses it in the 'consummate skill' of the vocal writing and in its overall inspiration. Speaking of the work's function as a memorial to Lord Leighton, Maitland deems it highly appropriate that the Italian influences in the *Requiem* should reflect its dedicatee's own sympathy with Italian ideals in art. An analytical summary of the work expresses admiration for numerous passages. In the *Dies Irae*, however, which is 'remarkably free from those realistic effects in which

⁵² *ManGuard*, 7 October 1897, 7.

⁵³ *T*, 7 October 1897, 4.

nearly all composers have exhausted themselves', certain conventions 'which were scarcely to be avoided' – such as rolling basses and trumpet calls – 'are not its most impressive portions'. Of the performance, Stanford's associate said that 'The interpretation of this beautiful and truly religious work under the composer's direction reached a very high degree of excellence'.

In his equally substantial *Daily Telegraph* article, Joseph Bennett firstly confirms his earlier opinion of the underlying French influence of the work, but modifies it by saying that now, having heard a 'very careful and, indeed, brilliant performance', he hears in the general tone of the *Requiem* 'the Church music of the Latin race' containing 'a blend of French sentiment with Italian fire'.⁵⁴ He neither found nor expected anything distinctively English in the work, 'knowing from the first that so versatile a composer as Dr. Stanford would produce a "Requiem" charged with the sensuous attraction, the ornate expression, the pictorial glow of Roman worship'. In this approach, says Bennett, the composer is absolutely right, for 'the modern mind connects the impressive service with music with strong appeals to the senses, and especially with music which some often call theatrical, when, in the proper sense of the term, it is but sensational'. There follows an interesting summary of Stanford's abilities as a composer:

He has not always been successful in great efforts, but failure could never be traced to deficiency of musical equipment. Probably no composer of the present day brings to the practice of his art greater technical resource. He can, as the saying goes, turn his hand to anything. ... Because of this his "Requiem" was confidently expected to show all the merits that ... flow from learning, experience and skill.

Bennett continues by asking the most important question: would the work also show inspiration? In his opinion it does. Like all such works, it contains less inspired moments, but must be regarded as 'a new glory added to English music'.

⁵⁴ *DTel*, 7 October 1897, 10.

In the *Daily Chronicle*, the first paragraph of a lengthy review sums up the critic's view that the *Requiem* is marked by clarity of style and directness of purpose – qualities not always found hitherto in Stanford's longer sacred works (by implication, his two oratorios). Furthermore:

Breadth, freedom, and dignity are the main attributes of a work that is certainly entitled to rank amongst the most impressive productions for the Church submitted by creative musicians of our time.⁵⁵

The *Requiem* is 'devotional in spirit' from beginning to end, and 'altogether devoid of the clap-trap effects for which more than one composer has endeavoured to find excuse in setting the Office for the Dead'. In each section of the work there is much to impress, though the 'rich' instrumentation of a 'master of the modern orchestra' is never allowed to 'dim the religious feeling' of the vocal writing. The article concludes with a claim that the work reveals 'powers with which hitherto [Stanford] has not been unanimously credited'.

Percival Betts, in the *Daily News*, has heard it said that Stanford's *Requiem* is the most important setting of the Roman Catholic office ever written by a prominent British musician.⁵⁶ He refers to a perceived reluctance amongst English audiences to accept works with Latin texts – whether from lack of education or from residual 'No Popery' nonsense is uncertain – and there were certainly too many empty seats at the first hearing of Stanford's new work. It is clear that the composer has taken infinite trouble with his *Requiem*, but the result shows little sign of 'laboured element' and the music is 'instinct with serious conviction', the general style allowing 'the music to be suggested by the text', rather than using the words 'as a mere excuse for technical display'. The following movement-by-movement analysis is appreciative, though not as overtly so as other reviews, putting the main emphasis on the 'reverence' and suitability of the music for its subject.

⁵⁵ *DChr*, 7 October 1897, 6.

⁵⁶ *DN*, 7 October 1897, 2.

The *Morning Post* critic (either Arthur Hervey or Francis Barrett) also makes reference to the *Mass in G*, suggesting that those who have heard that earlier work will be convinced of Stanford's ability to encompass the musical challenge of a *Requiem* with success. This is clearly a work written with much opportunity for thought and reflection, and the composer has approached the task 'in an earnest spirit, and with a warmth of feeling that imparts in several numbers a genuine expression of the sentiments of humanity'. A brief survey of the various movements of the work leads to the following conclusion:

The interest of the music somewhat falls off in the final numbers, but in its entirety Professor Stanford's *Requiem* may with confidence take its stand beside the best settings of modern masters.⁵⁷

One daily paper to take a completely contrary view of the *Requiem* is the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in which Vernon Blackburn begins a substantial article by stating his admiration for Stanford as being 'quite at the head' of recent English composers of serious music. He is, says the critic, not only business-like and with an 'intimate knowledge of his art', but has also a considerable 'sense of beauty', and is 'distinguished by personal gifts and by an original inspiration'. Why, however, did he choose to set the *Requiem*? In part as a memorial to Leighton, to be sure, but 'consider the rivalry against which Dr. Stanford pits himself'. Mozart's is the greatest *Requiem*, asserts Blackburn, with Verdi's second – perhaps by a long way. The great difficulty of finding true musical expression for this text has been achieved only by these two composers, but most successfully by the medieval plainsong. Blackburn further maintains:

... even according to the inspiration you expect from a serious apprehension of the literature of the "Requiem", ... Dr. Stanford has not written what might be mildly called an appropriate work.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *MP*, 7 October 1897, 5.

⁵⁸ *PMG*, 7 October 1897, 4.

He then prints some doggerel secular verse which he claims to have written during the performance, supposedly to illustrate the fact that Stanford's music could just as appropriately fit a flippant text:

Here are some words from the "Offertorium": "Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni et de profundo lacu." Given their truth, such words have a terrific enough meaning; yet I found myself scribbling on my score to the very cheerful melody by the Professor gay little doggerel sentences which seemed just as fitting as the grave words that were being sung, as thus:

Come while the light is shining,
Come while the flowers are gay,
Trip it while youth is mirthful,
Trip it while life is May.

I protest that this is no caricature; the choral melody was extremely pretty and the final chorus at the end was even exciting, with a glad sentiment of dissipation about it; but when you remembered that prayer, "free them from the torments of the pit and from the lake of endless depth," you found that Professor Stanford had contrived to make you rather miss the spirit of the thing.⁵⁹

Blackburn's final claim to an appreciation for the work *as music*, though not as a setting of the Requiem Mass, can have done nothing to bring him back into favour with Stanford and his circle, who had been grossly offended three years earlier by the critic's slating of a Bach Choir *St Matthew Passion* performance (see chapter two, 76-7).

Blackburn's was not the sole dissenting voice, however, for the new critic (since 1894) of the *Saturday Review*, took an even more obtuse line. John Runciman – Shaw's protégé – writes in scathing terms of the *Requiem*. Far more interested in Purcell's *King Arthur*, performed at the evening concert on the same day as Stanford's work, Runciman brazenly declares:

It goes without saying that I did not trouble to reach Birmingham in time for Dr. Stanford's Requiem. After playing through the score the truth was borne in upon me that it consisted largely of quotations from Wagner and Gounod. I noted only one original idea. I had always assumed Dr. Stanford ... to be a Roman Catholic; but he quotes a familiar chorus in his prayer for eternal peace; and one is bound to believe that a man whose notion of eternal peace is to see the flower-maidens out of "Parsifal" dancing round him ... is a Mohammedan. ... But leaving such frivolities – and Dr. Stanford's Requiem *is* frivolous – it was, on the whole, worth going even so far as Birmingham to hear Purcell's "King Arthur" music. Of course, only a selection was given, and many of the numbers ... badly mutilated. Still, a fair part of it was Purcell, and better one hour of Purcell than a thousand hours of Stanford and his comic Requiem.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ *SatRev*, 9 October 1897, 386.

Clearly this critic's wounding pen, which had recently cost him dear in court and was shortly to bankrupt him, was as yet little tamed.⁶¹

Other weekly journals were greatly impressed by the *Requiem*, most especially the *Guardian*, wherein a substantial review by Graves describes Stanford's 'noble act of homage' to Leighton as adding to the fame of 'one of the foremost living musicians'.⁶² In it the composer has 'given unfettered expression to his own individuality' while also lending the work 'a suavity and serenity peculiarly appropriate to its personal associations'. The *Requiem*, continues Graves, is 'remarkable throughout for its lucidity and melodic charm'. Stanford's inspiration never flags, and the work 'gains in strength and beauty as it advances'. The composer's Birmingham works – that is to say the two oratorios and the *Requiem* – 'mark ascending stages in the level of his genius', the last of them being 'a really noble work'. In conclusion, Graves claims that the work's merits make its exclusion from the forthcoming season's programme of the Royal Choral Society completely inexplicable.⁶³

The *Athenaeum* spreads its more concise comments upon the *Requiem* over two issues, but firmly declares the work a 'masterpiece' which will 'assuredly live', praising vocal writing which 'flows on with a marvellous degree of musicianship' and orchestration 'worthy of Wagner'.⁶⁴

Amongst the musical journals, the *Monthly Musical Record*, also declares the *Requiem* 'the Cambridge Professor's masterpiece', stating that 'his genius has here taken a higher flight, from which it rarely droops' – drooping only, according to the critic, in the *Agnus Dei*.⁶⁵

⁶¹ See chapter 2, 79-80.

⁶² *Guard*, 13 October 1897, 1611.

⁶³ Had Barnby still been living, the situation might well have been different, for he had championed *Eden* with the RCS immediately after its Birmingham premier. Barnby, however, had died in the same month as Lord Leighton, their funerals falling in the same week, and the relationship between Frederick Bridge, his successor as conductor of the RCS, and Stanford was an uneasy one.

⁶⁴ *Ath*, 9 October 1897, 495-6, and 16 October 1897, 531-2.

⁶⁵ *MMR*, 1 November 1897, 245-7.

The *Musical Times*, in an article probably written by its new editor, Frederick Edwards, speaks at length about writing music for the Roman Catholic liturgy, stating that Stanford 'did not shrink from the task of preparing a Requiem which should reflect the spirit and feeling of Roman Catholic ceremonial': he was justified in his boldness, for he is the most versatile of musicians, and from the evidence of the *Requiem* he might have been writing church music 'for the sensitive and passionate Latin peoples' all his life'. He has reproduced in his work their 'half-swooning languors and impetuous outbursts', though his music is full of sincerity. In short, Stanford has succeeded in his venture, producing 'one of the cleverest works of modern times ... which may even be called great', and is to be congratulated 'upon the addition of a really fine work to our English repertory'.⁶⁶ The *Musical Opinion* contented itself, as so often, with reprinting material from the *Athenaeum*, and *Musical News* also eschewed comment of its own, reprinting excerpts from no fewer than eight other journals.

The 1897 Birmingham Festival produced no other new choral work of similar scale to Stanford's *Requiem*, but comparison may be made with journalistic reaction to a less ambitious piece – *Ode to the Sea* – by his one-time (Cambridge) pupil Arthur Somervell (see Table 9). It is at once evident that, while the *Requiem* received the fullest approbation from four-fifths of the critics, with the remainder offering qualified praise and only three finding significant criticisms, Somervell's piece came in for a severe critical mauling, with only one paper awarding it unreserved praise. Here the frequent practice of lauding – perhaps even excessively – the newest productions of young and developing English composers (Somervell was just thirty-four at the time) was not followed, and critics voiced frankly their disappointment with a weak piece.

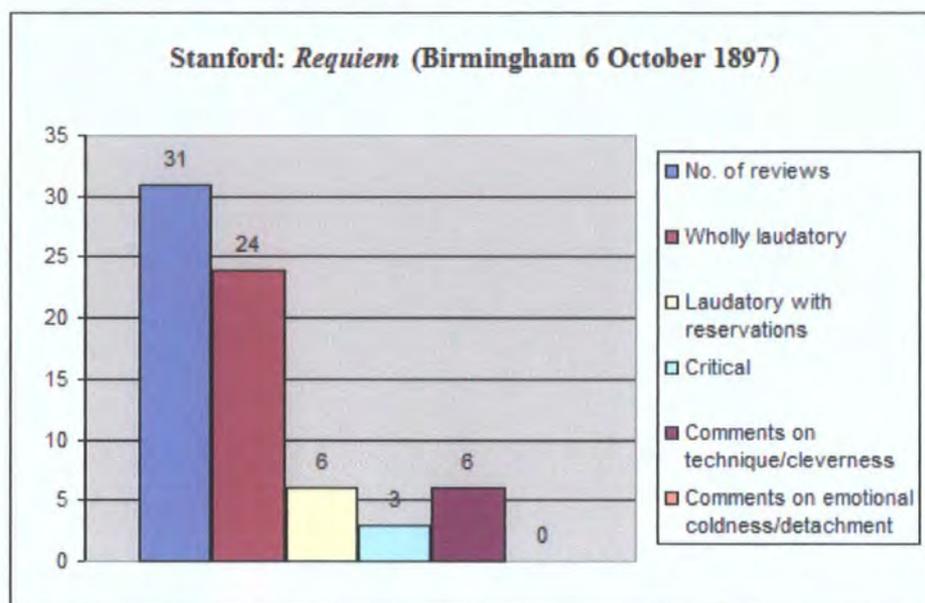
The first London performance of the *Requiem* was in fact given by students of the Royal Academy of Music at Queen's Hall in December 1897. Though not very widely

⁶⁶ *MT*, 1 November 1897, 745-7.

Table 9
Press reception comparison of new works, Birmingham Festival 1897

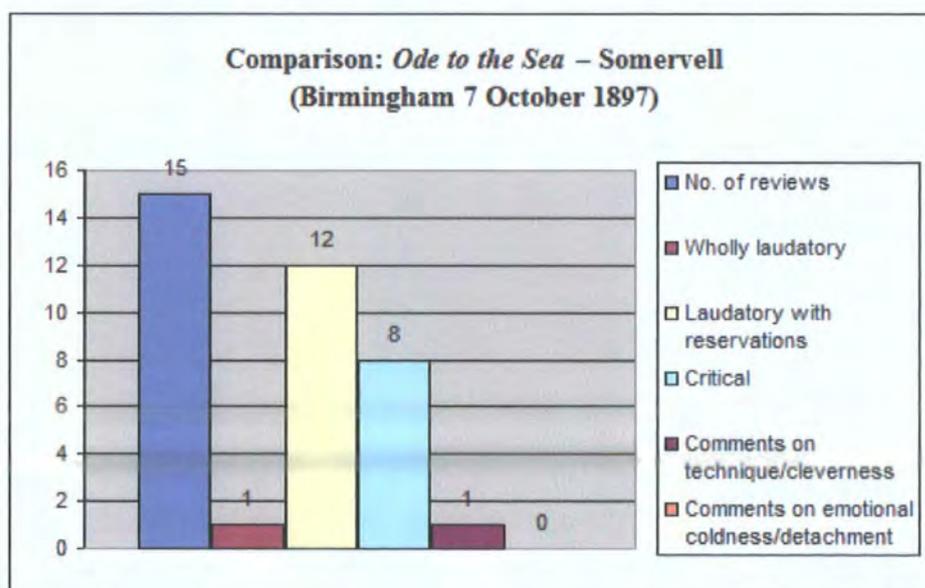
Requiem (Birmingham 6 October 1897)

No. of reviews	31
Wholly laudatory	24
Laudatory with reservations	6
Critical	3
Comments on technique/cleverness	6
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Comparison: Ode to the Sea – Somervell (Birmingham 7 October 1897)

No. of reviews	15
Wholly laudatory	1
Laudatory with reservations	12
Critical	8
Comments on technique/cleverness	1
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



reported, the *Musical Times* speaks of a very competent performance conducted by Mackenzie, the 'fine music' being 'fully appreciated by a large audience'.⁶⁷ Parry, who had been somewhat bemused and disappointed by the work at Birmingham, writing in his diary: 'Felt puzzled myself what he is driving at. Such an absence of detail in the inner working. Almost Italian in method. Some of it rather cheap [and] very dull',⁶⁸ was reassured by the RAM performance, despite his personal aversion to southern European musical influences, saying: 'The work tells despite its Italian style; effective and well planned. Orchestration quite admirable in effect'.⁶⁹

More widely noted was the next performance, by the Bach Choir with Stanford at the helm, in March 1898. Several of the major London daily papers speak warmly of this performance, which confirms initial impressions formed at Birmingham.⁷⁰ Vernon Blackburn reiterates his former doubts about the work, though this time making an exception of the 'Agnus Dei', which is 'a charming and delightful piece of work'.⁷¹ His article is of particular interest, however, for a comparison he draws between the orchestration of Stanford and Parry (whose *Symphonic Variations* featured in the same concert): Stanford's is 'light, imaginative, equipoised, and well-proportioned'; Parry's is 'thick, muddy, and uninteresting'. Stanford handles the orchestra 'by musicianly instincts', but Parry 'out of the fullness of his academical knowledge'. Blackburn's own answer to the perceived overall failure of the *Requiem*, however, is that the composer's emotional involvement is 'remote' rather than personal.

In the *Guardian*, Graves reiterates his former praise for the *Requiem*, stating the following view of those who accuse the composer of lack of emotional involvement:

⁶⁷ *MT*, 1 January 1898, 29. This concert was also reported in *MMR*, 1 January 1898, 18, and *Ath*, 18 December 1897, 862-3. Stanford showed his gratitude for this performance by presenting to the RAM his manuscript score of the *Requiem* (see *MMR*, 1 February 1898, 40).

⁶⁸ Parry's Diary, 6 October 1897, cited in Rodmell, *Stanford*, 192.

⁶⁹ Parry's Diary, 16 December 1897, cited in Rodmell, *Stanford*, 192 and Dibble, *Stanford*, 296.

⁷⁰ *T*, 10 March 1898, 14; *DTel*, 9 March 1898, 10; *DChr*, 9 March 1898, 8; *DN*, 10 March 1898, 6.

⁷¹ *PMG*, 9 March 1898, 4.

The view occasionally expressed in connection with Professor Stanford's music that the intellectual element predominates over the emotional, that the quality of charm is lacking – that, in short, it proceeds from the head rather than the heart – can only be entertained in this instance by critics who have made up their minds beforehand.⁷²

One further review of this performance is of particular interest, for the *Musical Times* draws favourable comparisons between the *Requiem* and the *Elegiac Ode*, considering these two works to be Stanford's finest, and also predicting that the new work will 'do more to spread his name abroad than anything he has yet accomplished'.⁷³

Initial enthusiasm for Stanford's latest work produced two further performances of the *Requiem* during 1898, the first of them in Cambridge, where Arthur Mann, organist of King's, invited the composer to conduct the work in the College Chapel on 9 June. The *Cambridge Review*, after referring to the perfect surroundings, acoustical and architectural, of the chapel, gives high praise to the performance (by Dr. Mann's Festival Choir with fully professional soloists and orchestra chosen by Stanford), and describes the *Requiem* as 'the greatest work that England has yet produced'.⁷⁴ Other Cambridge papers are equally laudatory, the *Cambridge Chronicle* describing Stanford as 'a master of the first rank' and claiming: 'If he had written nothing but the Requiem ... he would have done enough for immortality'.⁷⁵

Mann and Stanford had not seen eye to eye during the latter's years in Cambridge, but the King's College Organist, to his great credit, did not let personal animosity prevent a hearing in the university city of an important new work by its Professor of Music. Mann's own opinion of the *Requiem* comes down to us through a letter he wrote to a friend:

I can't stand the sight of the man [i.e. Stanford], but all the same it's a GLORIOUS WORK.⁷⁶

⁷² *Guard*, 16 March 1898, 416.

⁷³ *MT*, 1 April 1898, 244-5.

⁷⁴ *CamRev*, 16 June 1898, 414.

⁷⁵ *CamChr*, 10 June 1898, 8.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Greene, *Stanford*, 81.

By the time of a performance of the *Requiem* in Leeds (November 1898), the same composer's great Latin *Te Deum* had recently been produced in that city, inevitably inviting comparisons between the two works (to be further investigated later in this chapter). The principal Yorkshire papers did, however, have one or two interesting comments to make on the earlier work. The *Leeds Mercury* compares the relative merits of the two works and decides that the *Requiem*, evidently influenced by the styles of Wagner and Gounod, is, on balance, a greater work than the 'Verdian' *Te Deum*. In the *Requiem*, it says, there is much emotional feeling: 'Professor Stanford is beginning to let himself "go," and we are glad of it'.⁷⁷ Thompson, in the *Yorkshire Post*, notes the presence of a large audience, despite an 'austere' programme, and sees this as an encouraging indication of improving public taste. He also deems the new work superior to the *Te Deum*, and declares: 'Dr. Stanford has certainly written nothing so moving as may be found in many a page of this Requiem'.⁷⁸

For a work of such promise, which received a flurry of energetic and much-appreciated performances in the first year or so of its life, the subsequent performance history of Stanford's *Requiem* appears disappointing. Following one further performance, in April 1899, by the Finsbury Choral Association, there are no clear indications of further performances in England until the 1920s. Since, however, one recorded performance in 1923 took place in an obscure Baptist church in Plymouth, it is conceivable that there were others in small provincial towns that went unrecorded in the national press and the musical journals. Certain it is, however, that two or three performances took place in the 1920s after the composer's death. It has been revived at irregular intervals since that time, and a professional recording made of it in 1994.

There was, however, one further appearance of the work during Stanford's lifetime which served to further enhance his reputation, not only in England but on the

⁷⁷ *LM*, 30 November 1898, 6.

⁷⁸ *YP*, 1 December 1898, 5.

continent. In February 1905 a performance of the *Requiem* was given in the north German town of Düsseldorf, conducted by Julius Butths, who had previously (1901 and 1902) introduced Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* to German audiences. Translations of extracts from a very favourable review of the work in the *Düsseldorfer Neueste Nachrichten* appeared in the English press:

With his Requiem Herr Stanford takes an honourable position among contemporary composers. He evidences in this work not only a remarkable skill in musicianship, but makes it very apparent he endeavours ... successfully to clothe the ideas of the text in an appropriate musical garb. To the advanced guard of musicians Herr Stanford does not belong; but by his reticent yet sincerely expressive music he should win many admirers.⁷⁹

The Latin Te Deum

Much as Stanford had recently felt the urge to develop his Irish nature, first in *Shamus O'Brien*, then in *Phaudrig Crohoore*, it seems that now, having explored new territory in the *Requiem*, he felt inspired to continue in the same vein by setting another Latin liturgical text. Work on a large-scale *Te Deum in B flat*, Op.66 began as soon as the *Requiem* was complete, in this case with a dedication to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee. The work, completed, according to the score, in January 1897, is cast in six movements for four soloists, chorus and orchestra, and is most certainly not to be confused with his already famous and popular English setting in the same key (Op.10).

The first performance of the *Te Deum* was scheduled for the Leeds Festival of 1898, where it would share the limelight with another significant new work – Elgar's *Caractacus*. As usual there is a fair amount of press interest leading up to the Festival itself, previews of new works being given both from study of scores and from rehearsals.

⁷⁹ YP, 10 March 1905, 4.

A substantial article in the *Leeds Mercury*, assessing the *Te Deum* from score, states:

‘That it is of the utmost significance is apparent even on the surface’, later adding:

Its performance ... is awaited with extreme interest, for Professor Stanford is not merely a master of technical means, but a man of lofty, artistic ideals, and endowed with the power to give life to what many may deem to be the dry bones of a Latin text.⁸⁰

In the *Yorkshire Post*, Thompson declines to pass judgement on the *Te Deum* merely on the evidence of the final rehearsal, but mentions the fine singing of the Leeds chorus, indicating that the performance should ‘go with a swing’, and their hearty welcome for Stanford, which at any rate indicates that the work is ‘grateful to the vocalists’.⁸¹ Bennett’s initial reaction, from the evidence of score and rehearsal, is that ‘intellectual qualities’ predominate in the work, and that it will undoubtedly prove, from this viewpoint ‘not only acceptable but admirable’. This is not to say, however, that the *Te Deum* contains ‘no single appeal to the heart’.⁸²

The *Te Deum* inevitably invited comparison with the *Requiem*, and this is a recurrent feature of reviews following the first performance of the new work on 6 October. Thompson, now in a position to pass a considered judgement, states at the outset that the *Requiem* gave an indication of what to expect from a *Te Deum* from the same hand, but suggests that the difference between the two works is ‘more than one of degree, it is of kind’. Stanford has now ‘grafted upon his earlier manner, in which modern Teutonic influences were apparent, a Southern sensuousness that is exactly in keeping with music intended primarily ... as an accompaniment of worship in the Church of Rome’. Struck by the ‘practical character’ of the *Te Deum*, which is ‘grateful to the executants’ and secured a ‘brilliantly successful’ performance, Thompson nevertheless believes that its *artistic* value must be judged in relation to the *Requiem*.

⁸⁰ *LM*, 26 September 1898, 3.

⁸¹ *YP*, 4 October 1898, 4.

⁸² *DTel*, 5 October 1898, 10.

The text of a *Te Deum*, he observes, is less varied than that of a *Requiem*, giving fewer opportunities for ‘deeply emotional’ treatment:

Though jubilant music may stir, it is not in the same way, or to the same extent, that pathetic strains excite our emotion. ... On its own merits, however, [the *Te Deum*] must be described as a very fine work ... The music, like that of the *Requiem*, has a distinct tinge of modern Italian feeling. ... Briefly, our conclusion is that the *Te Deum* is a very brilliant, clever and effective work, not perhaps from its nature so intimate in expression as parts of the *Requiem*, but dignified as well as jubilant in character.⁸³

The *Leeds Mercury* critic expresses great admiration for Stanford’s new work which, while perhaps not the equal of the *Requiem*, has ‘much of the same spirit and the same warmth of colouring’. He then goes on to say that the *Te Deum* is ‘essentially modern’ in spirit, for ‘the composer knows well that it is not possible to adopt the language of our forefathers with any chance of abiding success’ – seemingly a reference to such failed attempts in Stanford’s two oratorios. The writer then praises the *Te Deum* both for ‘breadth and melodic beauty’ and for ‘colour, contrast, and warmth of expression’, additionally pointing out, though not in a pejorative sense, a Verdian influence. Stanford’s sureness of touch is complimented in the following terms:

The most striking feature of the new work is that it is evidently the production of one who is sure of his effects. The composer knows what he wants and how to obtain it, and nowhere do we meet with that distressing apparition – the bony outline of thought in search of proper clothing. ... The whole work is well planned and carried out on a consistent plane of excellence.⁸⁴

Arthur Johnstone’s *Manchester Guardian* review praises the *Te Deum*, which is ‘laid out on a scale of the utmost breadth and grandeur’ and recalls aspects of the *Requiem*. The music is ‘stamped by a striking combination of richness and dignity’, and in the finale there is a climax of ‘overwhelming grandeur’, though a section near the end using six-eight time is singled out as being ‘of questionable propriety in an ecclesiastical work’.⁸⁵ The performance, says Johnstone, was a ‘complete success in every respect’.

⁸³ *YP*, 7 October 1898, 5.

⁸⁴ *LM*, 7 October 1898, 5.

⁸⁵ *ManGuard*, 7 October 1898, 6. It is difficult to identify from this article Johnstone’s exact meaning, for much of the sixth movement is in 6-8 time. In a review of the Manchester performance under Richter in 1902, however, Johnstone returns to the same point, suggesting that the 6-8 rhythm at the opening of the last movement ‘possibly be considered a little wanting in dignity’.

In his *Times* review, Fuller Maitland gives unqualified praise from the outset:

It may at once be said that the new *Te Deum* is ... a composition of the highest class, worthy to stand beside anything of the composer's, if it does not indeed surpass the beautiful *Requiem* ... in maturity of style, masterly self-restraint, and emotional power.⁸⁶

A movement-by-movement account of the work's merits follows, concluding with a claim that the work 'abounds in gorgeous vocal and orchestral colouring imagined and carried out with a power which no other composer of the present day possesses in an equal degree'. One more example of this critic's undimmed support for Stanford.

Joseph Bennett, clearly not as impressed with the *Te Deum* as he was with the *Requiem*, restates the opinion given in his earlier article (5 October) of the technical brilliance of the work being at the expense of emotional involvement – a view shared in the case of this work by a handful of other critics:

From beginning to end the new "Te Deum" invites the admiration of all who can appreciate consummate dexterity in the manipulation of notes. Its cleverness almost carries the work to the level of a tour de force, but for a touch of genuine feeling, a moment of true inspiration, one listens in vain. I gave ear this morning to music whose structure held my attention firmly, whose phrases excited my keen interest in their contrapuntal dexterity, whose climaxes sometimes impressed me, but for a thrill of such emotion as heart-searching music brings with it I waited in vain, and the end found me admiring, but cold.⁸⁷

One article not to mention the *Requiem* at all is that in the *Daily Chronicle*, which describes the *Te Deum* as 'dignified – not to say stately' yet 'at no point sombre', the vocal and instrumental workmanship being 'as good as anything of the kind to which Professor Stanford has put his signature'. After a detailed account of the work's features the final judgement is of 'a masterly work that deserves to rank among [Stanford's] highest achievements'.⁸⁸

The *Daily Graphic* appointed a new music critic, Richard Streatfeild, in 1898, and it is probably therefore he who is the author of an extensive article which begins by stating that, although Stanford has for years had an 'assured position' as a composer, since his *Requiem* he 'can only be judged by the very highest standard'. Is the *Te Deum*

⁸⁶ *T*, 7 October 1898, 9.

⁸⁷ *DTel*, 7 October 1898, 7.

⁸⁸ *DChr*, 7 October 1898, 6.

‘worthy of the composer of the Requiem?’. The answer, according to Streatfeild, is ‘an emphatic affirmative’: it shows the same ‘mastery of musical resource’ and ‘facility in melodic invention’ as the earlier work. Despite the more limited scope for expression in the text, Stanford has ‘contrived to infuse a surprising amount of variety into his music’. Several specific moments in the score are praised, although the final chorus is judged on the whole the least successful movement, despite its ‘glorious finish’.⁸⁹ It seems as if with Streatfeild had emerged another strong supporter of Stanford’s choral music.

The *Morning Post* review, whether by Hervey or Francis Barrett, seems curiously imperceptive in some ways. In referring to the *Te Deum* as ‘a masterly composition, *thoroughly English in conception and working out*, [my italics] and a worthy companion to the same composer’s “Requiem”’, it appears to have completely overlooked the Italian influence identified by many other critics. Furthermore, the author, in regretting the choice of Latin text, since it precludes its use in English Church services ‘for which it is admirably adapted on the celebration of festivals’, seems to be unaware of the fact that the work is both too long and too difficult for liturgical use.⁹⁰

Blackburn, in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, once again states his admiration for Stanford’s powers as a musician, but expresses disappointment in the *Te Deum*, which seems to be devoid of the ‘delicacy’, ‘spirituality’ and ‘tenseness of feeling’ which he has appreciated in other works by the composer. The ‘Per singulos dies’ movement,⁹¹ continues the critic, has ‘great sweetness’, and the accompaniments are ‘charmingly inspired’, but in general the work displays ‘unmistakable dulness, occasionally relieved by work that seems so dramatically inappropriate as to reach the borders of triviality’.⁹² It is clear from such comments that Blackburn’s opinions of the *Te Deum* and *Requiem*

⁸⁹ *DGr*, 7 October 1898, 7.

⁹⁰ *MP*, 7 October 1898, 6.

⁹¹ The fourth movement of the *Te Deum*, for vocal quartet.

⁹² *PMG*, 7 October 1898, 3.

are very much in accord, and one is given the impression that this critic, like Shaw and Runciman, believed Stanford's talents to be misdirected in writing such works.

Amongst the weekly journals, a column in the *Athenaeum*, probably by its new critic, John Shedlock, is the most substantial and interesting, for it mirrors the reservations expressed by Bennett in the *Daily Telegraph*. After describing Stanford as a proven 'master of his art' and stating that the new *Te Deum* 'commands respect' Shedlock continues: 'But cleverness makes no appeal to the feelings; only in so far as music is emotional does it give real satisfaction'. Here lies the problem with the *Te Deum*, whose character the writer considers 'objective rather than subjective', ranking it lower than the 'fine Requiem'. Individual moments in the score are admired, even praised, and the performance described as 'magnificent'.⁹³

A short paragraph in the *Cambridge Review* reflects the continuing interest of that paper in new works by Cambridge men, but it also rates Stanford's *Te Deum* below the *Requiem*, 'although certain individual movements are more beautiful than any in the earlier work'.⁹⁴

Frederick Edwards, recently appointed editor of the *Musical Times*, shows his ardent support for Stanford's new work, commenting that in both the *Te Deum* and the *Requiem* there is 'mingled with Teutonic sobriety and intellectuality a distinct feeling of Latin sensuousness' – a blend 'not incongruous'. He continues by judging the *Te Deum* 'among the best balanced and sustained' of Stanford's works, adding: 'It is, moreover, thoroughly grateful and effective music'. Despite the fewer opportunities in the *Te Deum* text for 'emotional treatment', there are moments to equal the most moving in the *Requiem*, and the *Te Deum* is 'perhaps more evenly sustained and better balanced'.⁹⁵

⁹³ *Ath*, 15 October 1898, 535-6.

⁹⁴ *CamRev*, 13 October 1898, 9-10. A short work by Alan Gray, Stanford's successor at Trinity, was also performed at the Leeds Festival.

⁹⁵ *MT*, 1 November 1898, 730-2.

A brief, but interesting comment appears in the *Musical Opinion*, for once not borrowed from elsewhere, but expressly written for the journal, it would appear, from the initials 'E.A.B.' at the end, by the critic Edward Baughan. Referring to the divisions of opinion as to the relative merits of the *Requiem* and the *Te Deum*, Baughan concedes that the latter is in some respects 'more organically consistent' with less 'suggestion of forcing'. 'But,' he continues, 'it is not so much an outcome of the composer's feeling and is conceived in an objective and decorative style', adding: 'it never touches you, and the relentless angularity of the musical style sometimes becomes absolutely wearisome'. This critic, clearly much of a mind with Bennett and Shedlock, cannot agree with those who rank the work equal with the *Requiem*.⁹⁶

As far as the musical press is concerned, it is *Musical News* which on this occasion carries the most extensive commentary on the *Te Deum*, for it is mentioned in no fewer than three places in the issue dated 15 October. The first performance is mentioned briefly in a column concerning the Leeds Festival concerts, and on the same page is found a quotation from the *Times* review.⁹⁷ A few pages later, however, is found a lengthy article entitled 'Leeds Festival Novelties' which includes a substantial section on Stanford's *Te Deum*.⁹⁸ The critic, signing himself 'F.G.W.' (F. Gilbert Webb?), explaining the *Te Deum* as a work written for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, says that it gives 'striking proof' of the 'immense progress' made by English composers since the beginning of the Queen's reign. Following a lengthy analysis of the work, he concludes:

Throughout, the conception is lofty and noble, and while in places there is considerable warmth of expression, the music is ever entirely in accord with English ideas of worship, and free from all approach to sensationalism, dignity and impressiveness being its prevailing features.

⁹⁶ *MO*, 1 November 1898, 92-3.

⁹⁷ *MN*, 15 October 1898, 329-30.

⁹⁸ *MN*, 15 October 1898, 341-3.

Another choral work first heard at the 1898 Leeds Festival was Elgar's cantata *Caractacus*, and Table 10 compares press reaction to this with critical comment upon Stanford's *Te Deum*. Opinion on the merits of the latter work is more divided than was the case with the *Requiem* in the previous year. Several writers comment upon Stanford's technical prowess coupled with emotional detachment, though only one article is seriously critical, while more than half of those reporting award the *Te Deum* unreserved praise. In the case of *Caractacus*, however, critics are somewhat more cautious, two-thirds of them expressing some reservations regarding the work, and two writers finding more serious shortcomings in it. No-one, however, finds any lack of emotional warmth in the piece, while a couple of journalists pointedly admire Elgar's technical accomplishment. The overall tone of commentary on *Caractacus* has an air of critical encouragement for a composer of great promise who has still to make his mark with a major success.

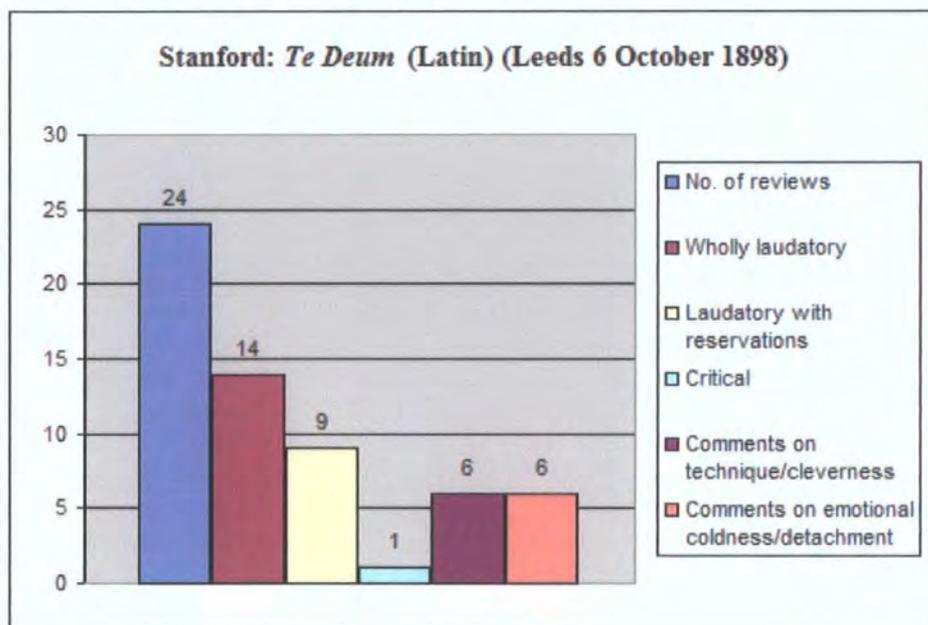
Nine further performances of the *Te Deum* are recorded between 1899 and 1905, though only one of them was in London, and that at a concert privately sponsored by Madame Albani. Critical opinion of the work seems to change little with further hearings. In a brief but appreciative review of the London performance, Graves once again castigates the 'leading metropolitan choral society' for its habitual neglect of the 'most important works of the leading native composers'.⁹⁹ The *Monthly Musical Record*, which had commented only briefly, though appreciatively, on the first appearance of the *Te Deum*, finds it, at a Gloucester Three Choirs performance in 1904,

⁹⁹ *Guard*, 15 February 1899, 228. The choral society referred to is, of course, the Royal Choral Society. A list of works performed by the RCS under Bridge's conductorship between 1896 and 1918 is given in his autobiography *A Westminster Pilgrim*, 350-1, and amply verifies this accusation. Only three Stanford works – *Songs of the Sea* (3 times), *Stabat Mater*, and *Songs of the Fleet* (all written after 1900) – were performed during this period. Parry fared little better, and Mackenzie managed only one performance. Elgar was more favoured, with performances of 8 different works (though *Gerontius* 13 times), but during this 22 year period there were 45 performances of *Messiah* (an average of 2 per year) and 23 of *Elijah*.

Table 10
Press reception comparison of new works, Leeds Festival 1898

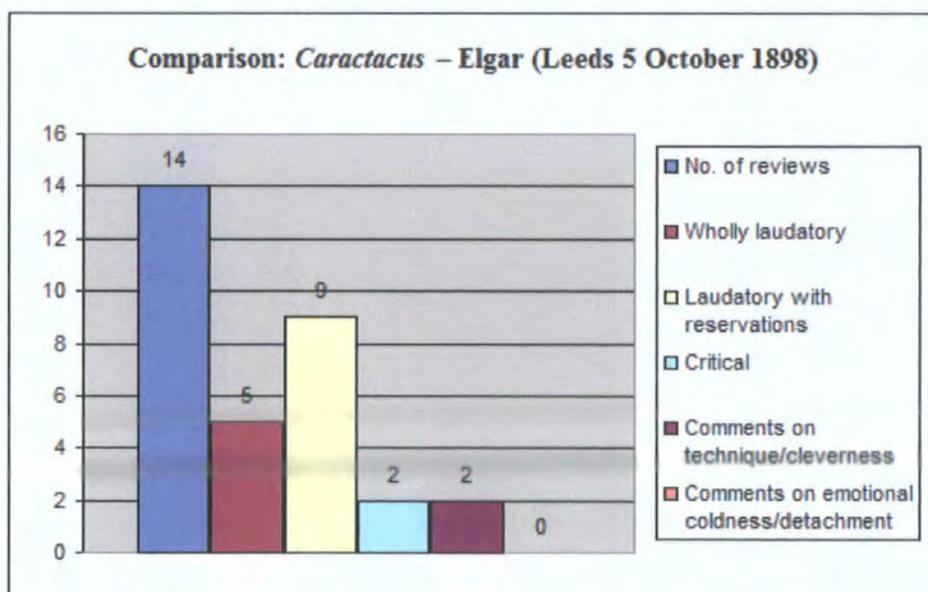
***Te Deum (Latin)* (Leeds 6 October 1898)**

No. of reviews	24
Wholly laudatory	14
Laudatory with reservations	9
Critical	1
Comments on technique/cleverness	6
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	6



Comparison: *Caractacus* – Elgar (Leeds 5 October 1898)

No. of reviews	14
Wholly laudatory	5
Laudatory with reservations	9
Critical	2
Comments on technique/cleverness	2
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



disappointing, describing it as ‘a made-up work without any clear individual note’.¹⁰⁰ That this was no fault of the performance, however, is demonstrated in other reviews, the *Musical Times*, for example, once again praising the work as ‘powerful’, ‘brilliant’ and ‘admirably constructed’.¹⁰¹

Speaking of a performance by the Halifax Choral Society in March 1905, the *Yorkshire Post* claims that the ‘virility and admirable workmanship’ of the *Te Deum* enable it to ‘wear well’.¹⁰² Such a prediction seems, however, to have been somewhat optimistic, for after one further performance – at the Norwich Festival later the same year, where it was enthusiastically received¹⁰³ – the *Te Deum* appears to have suffered total neglect until 1919, when it was revived by the Halifax Choral Society. Such neglect is quite possibly due, as with the *Requiem* and the two oratorios, to the difficulty and complexity of the music, which would put such works beyond the resources and capabilities of many smaller choral societies.¹⁰⁴ It seems clear, however, that with his *Te Deum* Stanford scored another significant success. Most press commentary found the work impressive and effective, though a few critics doubted its emotional impact, and the general consensus of opinion seemed to rank it not quite as high as the *Requiem*.

Smaller choral works for War, Coronation and Choral Festival

The two major Latin choral works first heard in 1897-8 were not succeeded by another major choral work by Stanford for several years. Indeed his overall compositional output for the years 1899-1903 seems rather thinner than usual, although it does include a full-length opera – *Much Ado About Nothing* – and concertos for violin and clarinet.

¹⁰⁰ *MMR*, 1 October 1904, 185-6.

¹⁰¹ *MT*, 1 October 1904, 657-9.

¹⁰² *YP*, 10 March 1905, 6.

¹⁰³ Even the *MMR*, presumably with a different critic (1 December 1905, 223-4), and the *PMG*, presumably not written by Blackburn (26 October 1905, 3), waxed highly enthusiastic following the Norwich performance.

¹⁰⁴ There were, however, exceptions, especially in the case of the *Te Deum*, which was successfully performed at Bridlington and Hovingham – two of the smaller provincial festivals.

As the horrors of the Boer War (1899-1902) began to figure ever more prominently in the daily English news, Stanford was moved to write a short choral song in memory of those who had died in the conflict. *The Last Post*, written to words by W.E. Henley, scored for chorus and orchestra, and incorporating the famous bugle call, was completed in May 1900 and first heard at a private concert in Buckingham Palace on 25 June. A few days before the first public hearing of the work at the Hereford Festival, the *Musical Times*, in an article describing the ‘novelties’ of the Festival, devotes half a page to an account of *The Last Post*, complete with music examples. The setting, it predicts, ‘is likely to prove one of [Stanford’s] most popular works’, for it deals with a ‘pathetically stirring’ subject, and the music is ‘direct in expression’ and ‘as effective as the composer of the ‘Revenge’ knows how to make such patriotic pieces’.¹⁰⁵

Following the first performance in Hereford Cathedral on 11 September press opinion is almost unanimous in its praise for *The Last Post*, some reports hailing it as another worthy successor to *The Revenge*. Bennett, for example, in the *Daily Telegraph*, referring also to another of Stanford’s successes in the mid-1880s, says of it:

The choral music, safe in the hand which gave us “The Revenge” and the beautiful setting of Whitman’s “Ode on the Death of President Lincoln,” is a powerful and exact expression in music of the poet’s feeling in words. It bristles with points of interest, and is full of true and moving effects.¹⁰⁶

In similar vein, ‘J.E.T.’ states in the *Guardian* that the music is ‘in felicitous accord with the spirit of the poem, and in its skilful part-writing and orchestration is fully worthy of the composer of the “Revenge”’.¹⁰⁷ The *Graphic* describes *The Last Post* as ‘one of those examples of effective choral descriptive writing which Dr. Stanford has so often given us’,¹⁰⁸ the *Musical Times* claims that the work ‘gave evidence of that skill in craftsmanship and grasp of effect which has long been one of the attributes of the

¹⁰⁵ *MT*, 1 September 1900, 601.

¹⁰⁶ *DTel*, 12 September 1900, 7.

¹⁰⁷ *Guard*, 19 September 1900, 1299.

¹⁰⁸ *Graph*, 15 September 1900, 404.

Cambridge Professor',¹⁰⁹ and Streatfeild in the *Daily Graphic* goes so far as to describe it as 'a little masterpiece' which has a 'true ring of patriotism' and 'pathos' without 'sentimentality'.¹¹⁰

Features of *The Last Post* singled out for particular praise in two papers are the funeral march and the 'impetuous *allegro*' at the words 'Labour and love, and strife and mirth'.¹¹¹ Some critics feel that the piece will catch on with choral societies:

The composer has made the most of his opportunities by supplying choral societies with a stirring piece, possessing abundant swing and more contrast than seems possible from a first reading of the poem.¹¹²

From a musical point of view, the choral song is simple enough ... and although it is short, the piece bids fair to become exceedingly popular with choral societies.¹¹³

The work is short, but is almost bound to prove highly successful, particularly among our choral societies, who are ever on the look out for brief, not too difficult, but certainly effective compositions of this character.¹¹⁴

Shedlock, however, is not so sure of its staying power:

The work is a real pièce d'occasion. It will probably not enjoy a long lease of life, but the music is clever, direct, and dignified.¹¹⁵

The one dissenting voice is, yet again, that of Vernon Blackburn. He begins a substantial article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* by expressing great reservations about the nature of the concert including not only Stanford's *Last Post* but also a new *Te Deum* setting by Parry. A cathedral, he thinks, is not the place for a concert labelled 'Patriotic Performance'. In this opinion he is, in fact, supported by others, notably Bennett in the *Daily Telegraph* and (probably F.G. Edwards) in the *Musical Times*. Having expressed his doubts on this matter, he continues by lavishing considerable praise upon Parry's *Te Deum*, but then, coming to Stanford's work, he voices a very different opinion:

If ... Parry had surprised me by an unexpected level of excellence, Professor Stanford equally surprised me by the poorness of his inspiration. ... Professor Stanford has practically done no justice whatever to his subject. There is a blare, and a shouting, and a rush, and behind it all there is nothing, absolutely nothing. ... I am sorry to have to record so much, because, though Dr. Stanford will hardly credit my

¹⁰⁹ *MT*, 1 October 1900, 657-8.

¹¹⁰ *DGr*, 13 September 1900, 11.

¹¹¹ See *Ath*, 15 September 1900, 354, and *T*, 12 September 1900, 4.

¹¹² *DChr*, 12 September 1900, 6.

¹¹³ *DN*, 12 September 1900, 4.

¹¹⁴ *Graph*, as above.

¹¹⁵ *Ath*, as above.

assertion, I would far sooner praise than blame his work. But this is not the kind of work which he is fitted to do, gifted with fancy, with versatility, and with fine mastery of music, he invariably comes to grief when he tries to beat the big drum, when he attempts the robust, the heroic, the broad effects of life. It is no good: he cannot pull them off; and there's an end to it. But I am particularly sorry for Mr. Henley, whose work deserved a better fate.¹¹⁶

Here is Blackburn's opinion laid bare: like Shaw, and like Runciman, he is constantly frustrated by what he regards as Stanford's misapplication of an enormous talent. The irascible composer's reaction to comment such as this can only be imagined – but it is possible that he avoided reading it, for he must have known by now what to expect from this particular quarter.

Those critics who predicted that the *Last Post* would prove popular with choral societies were soon proved correct, for a steady stream of further performances followed, including, within the first year, hearings in Cambridge and at the Gloucester and Leeds Festivals. In each case the work meets with warm approval, though it is the Leeds performance which is the most widely reported, the *Daily News* stating that *The Last Post* has, as anticipated, 'become a popular and very well known work'.¹¹⁷ The Yorkshire papers, too, give favourable reactions following this Leeds Festival hearing. The *Leeds Mercury* informs us that the work has previously been heard in the city, and goes on to describe it as 'strong, picturesque, and short', saying further that it 'effectually conjures up a moving picture in which pride and pathos struggle for mastery'.¹¹⁸ Thompson also has positive things to say of the work in a substantial *Yorkshire Post* article, and provides additional confirmation that, since its first performance at a State Concert the previous year 'it has been heard on many occasions'. He suggests that the 'commemorative character' of the piece probably has something to do with its recent popularity, and continues:

¹¹⁶ *PMG*, 12 September 1900, 4.

¹¹⁷ *DN*, 11 October 1901, 5.

¹¹⁸ *LM*, 11 October 1901, 5.

... so long as the South African war dribbles on it must continue to have a special appropriateness, but it must be conceded that the intrinsic qualities of this Choral Song are alone sufficient to account for its success.¹¹⁹

In the process of pointing to the virtues of *The Last Post*, however, Thompson identifies from a slightly different angle the so-often-perceived weakness in Stanford's musical persona:

[Stanford's] keen literary instinct enables him to appreciate ... a good poem, his sense of proportion makes the construction of his works well balanced, and his sense of the ridiculous has an obvious negative value when he attempts the sublime. In the expression of passionate emotion this same appreciation of the ridiculous has an obvious drawback; though an Irishman he has much of the English dislike of wearing his heart on his sleeve, and is perhaps rather too afraid of "giving himself away." But in "The Last Post" there is no call for an unrestrained display of emotion, the poet's mood is vigorous and manly, and, from "The Revenge" onwards, Dr. Stanford has always been happy in expressing the sentiment of breezy patriotism, which is heightened rather than depressed by thoughts of the heroes who have sacrificed their lives for their country.

Thus, in Thompson's view, chief obstacles to this composer's real success in music where sublime or deeply emotional feeling are required are not only his 'English stiffness' but his Irish 'sense of the ridiculous'. Stanford's somewhat stiff and aloof style found expression not only in his compositions but also in his conducting. Comments by various writers attest to this, the sketch of him conducting the Birmingham final rehearsal for his *Requiem* (shown in Illustration 6) suggests the same rather detached style, and another sketch, this time of a 1901 Leeds Festival performance, (shown as Illustration 7) further reinforces this view.¹²⁰ As to his 'sense of the ridiculous', Greene's biography of Stanford refers to several incidents which testify to the composer's keen sense of humour.¹²¹

Despite its special connotations during the Boer War, *The Last Post* retained a degree of popularity with choral societies and their audiences fairly consistently for more than two decades. It is certain that the work was performed at least once or twice in most years up to the early 1920s, and by the end of 1922 well over sixty

¹¹⁹ *YP*, 11 October 1901, 8.

¹²⁰ It seems reasonable to assume that the conductor depicted in this sketch, from the *Musical Opinion*, is Stanford, since he had at this time just assumed the Leeds Festival conductorship, succeeding Sullivan.

¹²¹ Greene, *Stanford*, 18, 112-3 and others.



Illustration 7: Sketch from *Musical Opinion*, 1 November 1901, 107, showing a concert in the Town Hall during the Leeds Festival of that year, Stanford's first season as Festival Conductor

performances are definitely recorded.¹²² At first the work had no rival, perhaps with the sole exception of Charles Wood's *Dirge for Two Veterans* (another Whitman setting),¹²³ but during the Great War works such as Elgar's trilogy *The Spirit of England* – especially *For the Fallen* – and *Carillon* presented serious rivals for the affections of the public. The survival of Stanford's work in the face of such competition seems to affirm its established position.¹²⁴

The next occasion for which Stanford was asked to provide a choral work was the Coronation of King Edward VII – an event which eventually took place in August 1902. The story of the original omission of the composer's name from the list of those invited to provide music for this state occasion carries more than a suggestion of intrigue and animosity, at least some of it no doubt attributable to Frederick Bridge, Abbey Organist since the 1870s, although Stanford is said not to have acquitted himself too well in the matter either.¹²⁵ It may have been Stanford's late inclusion which necessitated his re-fashioning an existing piece rather than composing something completely new. Eventually being asked for a *Te Deum*, he decided to make use of his B flat setting of 1879 (Op.10) – a work which was already extremely well-known, widely used and popular – adding an opening fanfare, and scoring the whole piece for standard orchestra with organ. An appreciative account of the full score in the *Musical Times* for August 1902 makes it clear that Stanford has felt free to re-compose and embellish the accompaniment, adding several delicate touches which do not appear in the original organ part¹²⁶ – a technique he would later use in orchestrations of other service

¹²² As with other short and straightforward choral works by Stanford, including the *Revenge*, the actual number of performances is most probably far greater, since those given by smaller choirs in more remote districts may often not have attracted the attention of national and musical journals.

¹²³ First heard at Leeds, conducted by Wood, on 10 October 1901 – the same day as *The Last Post*.

¹²⁴ There are at least 9 recorded performances of *The Last Post* during the 1914-18 period, somewhat qualifying Paul Rodmell's assertion that it dropped out of use at this time (*Stanford*, 204).

¹²⁵ See Rodmell, *Stanford*, 220-1 for an account of this episode, partly quoting Parry's diary.

¹²⁶ *MT*, 1 August 1902, 536.

settings.¹²⁷ This deftly orchestrated version subsequently made the *Te Deum* more popular than ever, especially for festival occasions when an orchestra was available.¹²⁸

Another event connected with the Coronation was the conferral of a knighthood on Stanford, announced in a Coronation Honours List published on 26 June 1902.¹²⁹ Although colleagues at the RCM and RAM – Grove, Parry, Parratt, Bridge and Mackenzie had all been awarded knighthoods in the last years of Queen Victoria's reign, they had been given them principally for the positions they held. Stanford, as pointed out by Rodmell,¹³⁰ was the first musician to be honoured solely for his music since Sullivan in 1883.

The following year Stanford was again invited to provide music for the annual Festival of the Sons of Clergy held in St Paul's Cathedral.¹³¹ The anthem he produced for the occasion was a substantial setting of Bishop Heber's hymn *The Lord of Might* for baritone solo, choir, orchestra and organ. Of the few newspaper reports of the festival service on 13 May, *The Times* is one of the most forthcoming, with a substantial paragraph describing Stanford's anthem. Having first declared the subject of Heber's text – the 'Theophany on Sinai' – as a difficult one to set to music, the article declares that Stanford has succeeded where many others might have failed, producing 'a work of great dignity and beauty'.¹³² The *Guardian* agrees with this judgement, admiring the composer's treatment of the text, especially the 'closing lines of triumph' and the 'reference to Calvary' in the second verse of the hymn.¹³³ Despite an initially favourable reception, however, and the publication by Boosey of a vocal score with organ accompaniment arranged by George Martin, *The Lord of Might* has only two

¹²⁷ As for example the Evening Service in G, orchestrated for the 1907 Gloucester Festival.

¹²⁸ The Church Orchestral Society, based in London, (see chapter 1, 22-3) would certainly have accompanied the B flat *Te Deum* several times.

¹²⁹ The original date fixed for the Coronation itself, postponed until 9 August due to the King's sudden illness.

¹³⁰ Rodmell, *Stanford*, 221-2.

¹³¹ In 1880 he had written the Evening Service in A for this Festival.

¹³² *T*, 14 May 1903, 11.

¹³³ *Guard*, 20 May 1903, 740.

further performances reported in the press – both of them in Sheffield (1906 and 1910) – and does not seem to figure in those weekly lists of cathedral and parish church music published in musical journals. It appears, in fact, that the piece never became very well known or widely used.

Songs of the Sea

The genesis of Stanford's next work involving voices is recounted by its dedicatee and first executant, Harry Plunket Greene.¹³⁴ Starting as just a pair of settings of poems by Henry Newbolt – *Devon*, *O Devon* and *Outward Bound* – the *Songs of the Sea* expanded to include three further settings – *The Old Superb*, *Drake's Drum* and *Homeward Bound* – the words of the last being specially written at the request of Stanford and Greene to complement *Outward Bound*. Originally conceived as straightforward songs for baritone and piano, the addition, not only of orchestra, but also of male-voice chorus seemed a natural development as composition progressed.¹³⁵ The sentiments expressed in Newbolt's poetry were very much in tune with public sentiment at this time, and most particularly in the immediate aftermath of the Boer War, and Stanford's apposite and, in some cases, racy settings made an immediate appeal to the hearts and minds of the English people. Greene's own account of the rehearsal and first performance at the 1904 Leeds Festival, though partisan, gives a flavour of the excitement generated by the songs:

I shall never forget the enthusiasm of the chorus when we tried them through the first time, nor the cheers when [Stanford] told the tenors that they could sing the F and top B flat (not in the original score) at the finish of 'The Old Superb.' Everything went right on the night and 'The Old Superb' taken at a break-neck pace whirled the audience off their feet.¹³⁶

Herbert Thompson, too, is highly complimentary following the full rehearsal:

[The songs] went with proper spirit, and the rollicking character of the last one made so great a furore that it had to be repeated ... and it must be confessed that the high B flat at the close – interpolated after the

¹³⁴ Greene, *Stanford*, 134-5.

¹³⁵ Some years later Stanford produced a version of the *Songs of the Sea* with mixed chorus.

¹³⁶ Greene, *Stanford*, 134.

manner of tenors, but on this occasion “by permission of the composer” – was quite irresistible, sung as it was with the clearness of a bell.¹³⁷

Thompson goes further than this, however, predicting that with these songs Plunket Greene ‘will ... achieve the popular triumph of the week, and that without playing to the gallery’. Following this same rehearsal, the *Leeds Mercury* is equally enthusiastic, declaring of the *Songs of the Sea* that ‘the wind of popularity is already in their sails’ and that without a doubt they will ‘attain the haven of success’. The whole work is ‘good’, but *The Old Superb* is ‘a perfect hurricane of a song’.¹³⁸

Thompson’s enthusiasm for the *Songs of the Sea* continues unabated following the first performance, his *Yorkshire Post* article being the most substantial of all accounts of the occasion. His earlier prediction has proved correct, and he declares at the outset that the *Songs of the Sea* have won the ‘popular success’ of the Festival – and deservedly so.

He continues:

In this type of work the composer is supreme. He understands the importance of lightness of touch, and is never guilty of over-elaborating his score, yet never misses a point that can be enforced by musical means. His delicacy and sureness of touch reminds one of a Meissonier, and, in spite of his successes in other lines I cannot help thinking that he is at his very best in miniature work. His touches of orchestration are always happy and appropriate, and he catches the breezy, patriotic mood of these poems with unfailing ability.¹³⁹

The comment about Stanford’s absolute supremacy in small-scale works is interesting, for it crops up elsewhere from time to time. *Homeward Bound* is identified as the ‘gem’ of the set: ‘a truly charming song, instinct with grace and melodic beauty, and conjuring up an atmosphere’ – in fact, one of the composer’s ‘happiest inspirations’. Thompson concludes by referring to the ‘superb’ singing of both the soloist and the male chorus, which ‘enjoyed itself hugely’.

The *Leeds Mercury* is also warmly appreciative of these ‘real sea songs, with the notion of the main and the spirit of the fo’scle [sic]’, though not as effusive in its praise

¹³⁷ *YP*, 4 October 1904, 5.

¹³⁸ *LM*, 4 October 1904, 6.

¹³⁹ *YP*, 8 October 1904, 10.

as the *YP*, and also identifies *Homeward Bound* as the ‘most beautiful song’ of the group.¹⁴⁰

Coverage of this Leeds Festival in the national and arts press seems somewhat patchy.¹⁴¹ Some of the existing reports remind us of other new works in the Festival programme. Of these, Walford Davies’ cantata *Everyman* was to prove a significant choral work of substance, and went on to receive numerous further performances during the next decade or more. The *Musical Times* Festival review expresses its judgement that *Everyman* was the ‘most serious’ and ‘most memorable’ new work, giving the Festival ‘its greatest distinction’. Charles Wood’s *Ballad of Dundee* is afforded only a lukewarm reception, but warm praise is reserved for Stanford’s *Violin Concerto* (performed by Kreisler) and for the *Songs of the Sea*, which provide ‘delightful examples of the Irish composer’s genius’.¹⁴²

The *Daily News* contrasts Wood’s and Stanford’s treatments of their respective texts (both works being performed in the same concert). Wood’s *Ballad* is not reckoned as one of his better works, being ‘pretentious and uninspired’. Stanford, however, has ‘abandoned the attitude of an art-musician’ and ‘speaks in a clever musical Kiplingese’ – which is, however, no more than clever, being dependent upon ‘little tricks of rhythm of scoring’. This critic (who produces another article on similar lines for *Musical Opinion*) seems impervious to the more reflective and subtle songs in the set, for he cites *Drake’s Drum* and *The Old Superb* as the best numbers, and also comments, revealingly, on Plunket Greene’s faulty intonation.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ *LM*, 8 October 1904, 6.

¹⁴¹ *DTel*, *PMG*, *Graph*, *Ath*, *SatRev*, & *Guard* did not cover the Festival at all, and *T* carried only a brief summary of the evening concert including the *Sea Songs*, claiming that it was too soon to give a balanced judgement on three new works a mere hour or two after hearing them.

¹⁴² *MT*, 1 November 1904, 730-2.

¹⁴³ *DN*, 8 October 1904, 8. Although he was one of the most celebrated English baritones of his day, and was generally highly regarded, this criticism of HPG is no isolated example. There are several other occasions on which various critics mention either faulty intonation (often flat) or an excess of sentimentality in his singing.

Streatfeild, in the *Daily Graphic*, compares the *Sea Songs* to the much earlier *Cavalier Lyrics* (or songs) ‘to which in a sense they form a pendant’, though covering a much wider emotional range. The ‘profound feeling’ of some of Newbolt’s verse is ‘exquisitely echoed’ in Stanford’s music.¹⁴⁴

Of the remaining papers reporting the Festival, Stratton in the *Monthly Musical Record* expresses admiration for the *Sea Songs*, stating that, while they are ‘not absolutely of festival rank’ – a remark presumably referring to their scale and mood – they will ‘assuredly turn out to be the most popular of the novelties’. Three of the songs are ‘rollicking’; two are ‘pathetic’; and all have ‘fine scoring’ and ‘a lilt that is irresistible’.¹⁴⁵ A short and predictably enthusiastic paragraph in the *Cambridge Review* claims that Stanford, with his *Violin Concerto* and his ‘stirring cycle of sea songs’ has ‘strengthened his position as one of the greatest living musicians’.¹⁴⁶

The most significant new choral work performed alongside Stanford’s songs at the 1904 Leeds Festival is *Everyman*, a substantial cantata by Henry Walford Davies, and the work that proved to be, for a few years, his greatest popular success. Table 11 compares critical reaction to this with initial assessments of Stanford’s *Songs of the Sea*. It is perhaps surprising to note, in view of their subsequent huge popularity, that a third of critics express slight reservations about one or more of Stanford’s songs, though no-one ventures to deny the warmth and verve of the music. Comments upon *Everyman* are more evenly divided between those awarding fullest praise and those expressing more muted appreciation – perhaps an understandable situation following the first hearing of a much larger, more serious and complicated work.

¹⁴⁴ *DGraph*, 8 October 1904, 10.

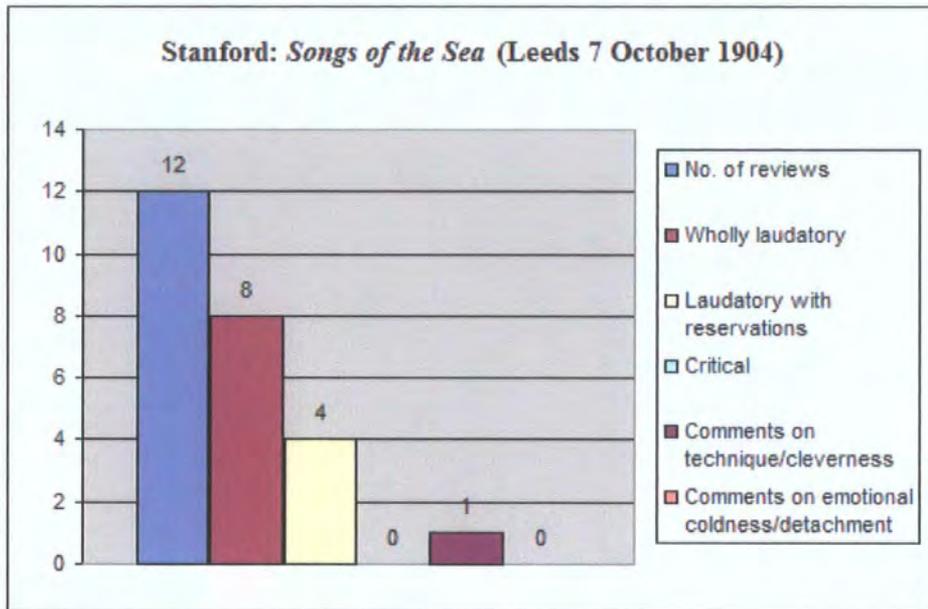
¹⁴⁵ *MMR*, 1 November 1904, 205-6.

¹⁴⁶ *CamRev*, 27 October 1904, 26.

Table 11
 Press reception comparison of new works, Leeds Festival 1904

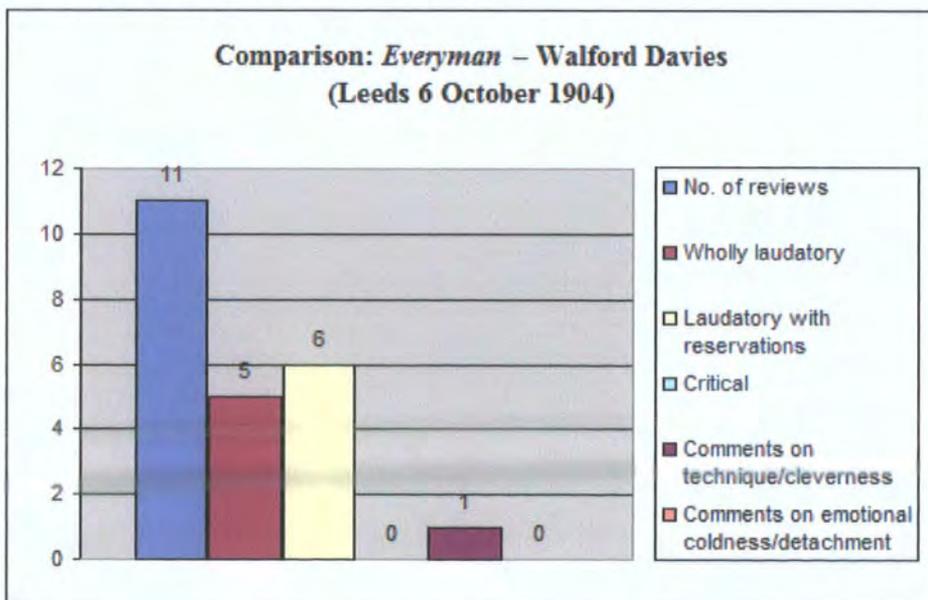
***Songs of the Sea* (Leeds 7 October 1904)**

No. of reviews	12
Wholly laudatory	8
Laudatory with reservations	4
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	1
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Comparison: *Everyman* – Walford Davies (Leeds 6 October 1904)

No. of reviews	11
Wholly laudatory	5
Laudatory with reservations	6
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	1
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Despite the initial reservations of a few critics, the *Songs of the Sea* were taken up very rapidly by choral groups in all parts of the country, and within a year or two hardly a month went by without a performance of them somewhere or other. Plunket Greene was the soloist on many occasions, but numerous other baritones also took the songs into their repertoire. The version of the songs with mixed choir (referred to earlier on page 204, footnote 135) was first performed by the Royal Choral Society, conducted by Bridge, in a concert on 25 November 1916.¹⁴⁷ Once again, Greene was the soloist.

It seems clear that with the *Songs of the Sea* Stanford had once again judged popular taste with uncanny accuracy and, after several failed attempts, created a work which would prove a true successor to *The Revenge* in its wide appeal. In this it was aided by its brevity (about eighteen minutes), its straightforward character, and its flexibility – the songs could be performed individually, or in groups (and quite often were), the orchestra was not essential, and there was also a potential for the songs to be performed by a solo singer without the chorus parts added. The composer's own later arrangement of the chorus parts for SATB further increased the range of possibilities. A further indication of the popularity of the *Sea Songs* is the fact that Boosey's saw fit to publish them in full score – not a common occurrence at that time, and fairly rare amongst Stanford's larger scale choral works.¹⁴⁸ To this day songs such as *Drake's Drum* and *The Old Superb* retain their irresistible attraction.

The 1907 Leeds Festival and Stabat Mater

By the time of his second Leeds Festival in 1904, Stanford was into his fifties and, although still at the height of his powers, was beginning to find himself competing for public attention not only with his peers in English music, but increasingly with bright

¹⁴⁷ See *MN*, 2 December 1916, 355.

¹⁴⁸ The *Requiem* was also published in full score, demonstrating an expectation of its continuing popularity during the first decade of the new century.

young composers of the next generation – many of them his own pupils. It is of some significance, in this context, that works such as Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha* trilogy (part one first performed at the RCM as early as 1898), Wood's *Dirge for Two Veterans* (Leeds 1901), Holbrooke's *Queen Mab* and, above all, Walford Davies' *Everyman* (both performed at Leeds 1904) had considerable and, in the case of the Coleridge-Taylor and Davies works, lasting popular success. This trend would continue and increase as time passed, and while Stanford's own (commissioned) contribution to the 1907 Leeds Festival – his *Stabat Mater* – was by far the most substantial of the 'novelties', five other new choral works also made their appearance, all of them by considerably younger men, and three of them former Stanford pupils.¹⁴⁹

As usual, there is a certain amount of anticipatory press coverage of the 1907 Leeds Festival, especially concerning the new works, with the *Stabat Mater* attracting the most attention. A short column in the *Daily Chronicle* describes the work as 'extremely impressive', with 'exceptionally fine' choruses,¹⁵⁰ while the first of two preparatory *Yorkshire Post* articles voices a general impression (following a London rehearsal) that Stanford 'has happily blended warmth of manner with deep reverential expression', and continues: 'There is no approach to academical classicism, and complexities seem to have been studiously avoided'.¹⁵¹ These comments from *YP* acknowledge the overt Verdian character of the *Stabat Mater*, exemplified by the extensive use of homophonic textures, and the prominent role of orchestral brass. Perhaps Stanford's avoidance of complexity was something he had learned from the failures of his two oratorios, whilst simpler textures and more forthright utterance had proved successful in the *Requiem* and *Te Deum*. This success in his Latin text works seems to be acknowledged in the *Leeds*

¹⁴⁹ These other new works were by Vaughan Williams (*Toward the Unknown Region*), Somervell (*Intimations of Immortality*), Boughton (*Choral Folksongs*), Bantock (*Sea Wanderers*) and Brewer (*In Springtime*).

¹⁵⁰ *DChr*, 4 October 1907, 3.

¹⁵¹ *YP*, 3 October 1907, 6. A second article the next day (page 6) merely gives an analysis of the work, eschewing critical comment.

Mercury, which claims that the composer has, with the two earlier works, ‘conclusively proved his power as a writer of what may be conveniently termed ecclesiastical music’, and the *Stabat Mater* ‘will not be found inferior to its predecessors’.¹⁵²

The first performance was widely covered in the press, and almost all commentators speak warmly of the novel form of this new setting of the *Stabat Mater*. Subtitled *Symphonic Cantata* by the composer, the work was cast in five movements, the first and third of which were purely orchestral. Many critics see this almost as a ‘choral symphony’ format, and applaud Stanford’s originality in breaking away from the conventional division of the text into separate arias and choruses found in several previous settings.

Thompson contributes a very substantial article in the *Yorkshire Post*, beginning with just such a view of the work’s form. Comparing it with Stanford’s previous Latin works, he then says:

[The *Stabat Mater*] has the emotional feeling of the best parts of his *Requiem*, together with a construction which reminds us of the *Te Deum*, while in dramatic intensity and conciseness of expression it surpasses both. Like them, it is in the Verdi vein, ... the vocal writing, the melodic character, and the general phraseology are more Latin than Teutonic, as is in keeping with the nature of the language and the poem. The purely abstract musical beauty of the work is great, and several of the themes are of great melodic charm.¹⁵³

Such references to Verdian style and emphasis on sweeping and elegant melodic lines recur many times in other accounts, and can be taken to account for a good deal of the work’s appeal. Thompson singles out ‘fine proportions’ and ‘thoughtful, logical construction’ as the most distinctive features of the *Stabat Mater*, commenting: ‘The interest never slackens, but the ideas, while fully developed, are concisely stated’. In common with one or two other critics, he regards the ending of the work as perhaps ‘rather protracted’, but admits that this very protractedness is easy to understand in context. The orchestration is praised as ‘broadly conceived, as well as being finished in every detail, though it has not the characteristics of the most modern scores in the

¹⁵² *LM*, 3 October 1907, 5.

¹⁵³ *YP*, 11 October 1907, 7.

quality of the colouring'. One wonders which particular 'modern' composers Thompson was thinking of here – quite possibly Strauss and Debussy, to name but two.¹⁵⁴ In his concluding sentences, Thompson sums up the *Stabat Mater* as essentially 'a practicable, not an experimental work', all of whose effects are 'well-calculated'. Referring to a 'really excellent' performance, despite the last-minute substitution of soprano soloist, he says:

The composer conducted with a point and warmth that communicated themselves to the singers and orchestra, and had much to do with the spirit of the performance.

On this last point we shall see some divergence of opinion, however.

The *Leeds Mercury* column, almost as expansive as its sister paper's, approaches the subject, under the sub-heading 'An Impressive Novelty', with an interesting summary of the composer's qualities which reflects the opinion of many critics:

Sir Charles Stanford is a tried man, and nothing that he produces can be devoid of value. At times the academic gains the upper hand in his manifold nature, and he gives us cold, clever music that leaves us equally frigid. But now and again a Celtic warmth takes possession of him, and he writes moving music with a strong assured hand that knows how to realise all that his heart and mind directs. In this spirit he would seem to have composed his setting of the "Stabat Mater."¹⁵⁵

Surely here is represented, though in far more polite terms, the basic view point of men such as Shaw, Blackburn and Runciman. The *LM* article continues, under a new sub-heading 'Sir Chas. Stanford surpasses himself', by declaring the *Stabat Mater* 'the finest work the composer has yet accomplished' – the writer knows of 'nothing that speaks so much to the point or with so subtle an adaptation of means to purpose'. 'Its charm', he says, 'lies in the perfection of its proportions', every effect growing naturally from the dramatic context, and expressed in the appropriate manner. 'There is truth in every stroke, and conviction in every outline'. Like Thompson, this critic also sees in the *Stabat Mater* 'a warmer and freer utterance' than in the *Requiem* or *Te Deum*, the musical treatment being 'infinitely varied, so that the ear never wearies'. The

¹⁵⁴ Most of the Strauss symphonic poems and Debussy's *Nocturnes* and *La Mer* were in circulation by this time.

¹⁵⁵ *LM*, 11 October 1907, 5.

influences of Verdi and (at the end of the work) Wagner are acknowledged, but ‘the mental and musical force ... is essentially that of Sir Charles Stanford’. The final verdict is that the *Stabat Mater* will ‘surely live’, for it has ‘emotional beauty’ and is crafted by ‘fine artistic taste’ and ‘musicianship that never errs’.

In *The Times*, Fuller Maitland states that while the *Requiem* and *Te Deum* ‘stand high among his greater compositions’ and show his mastery of an Italian style, Stanford has, in the *Stabat Mater*, ‘touched a far higher point of his art’, and the ‘deeply felt emotional expression’ and ‘true sincerity of ... devotional feeling’ mark it out as ‘a creation of the utmost significance’ in contemporary music.¹⁵⁶ Special reference is made to the ‘vigorous prelude’, portraying the Passion ‘with extraordinary skill’ but ‘no touch of vulgar realism’. Other individual moments are praised, especially the ‘noble climax’ and the ‘beautiful and fresh’ amens in the last movement. The performance was ‘admirable in every respect’, despite the last-minute substitution of soprano soloist.

Joseph Bennett, briefly returning to duty after his official retirement, says that Stanford has addressed his task ‘with something like Catholic fervour’ – there are no ‘half-measures’. Referring to the novel form of the work, Bennett deems it highly successful, the music showing the composer’s ‘firm, sure touch’, ‘readiness of resource’ and ‘constructive skill’. The *Stabat Mater*, judges Bennett, is ‘picturesque and vivid’, and altogether a ‘great and striking work’.¹⁵⁷

A shorter and less detailed account than many others, the *Daily Chronicle* nevertheless identifies in the *Stabat Mater* the influences of ‘Brahms, Wagner, and even Verdi’ (my italics) – thus relegating to last in importance the style identified by most other critics as the most apparent. Stanford’s melodies ‘charmed the ear’, choruses were ‘occasionally thrilling’, and the instrumentation was ‘well worthy of the most gifted orchestral colourist of the British school’. In short, it is the composer’s ‘best

¹⁵⁶ *T*, 11 October 1907, 10.

¹⁵⁷ *DTel*, 11 October 1907, 11.

work'. Clearly not the most perceptive of accounts, but expressing some widely held views, nevertheless.¹⁵⁸

By contrast, Edward Baughan's article in the *Daily News* is at once one of the longest, most detailed and most interesting of accounts. This critic begins by expounding upon the work's form, which he finds admirable, for Stanford 'has shown sufficient initiative to break away from conventional form' and, he continues: 'It is well that one of the leaders of our older school of composers should show the way to our younger school – to some extent at least'.¹⁵⁹ Baughan then discusses the developing role of the orchestra and its implications for choral works – Elgar and Bantock being identified as pioneers of this development. Next he states his view that in the *Stabat Mater* the orchestral Prelude is as the first movement of an instrumental symphony, the remaining movements as those of a choral symphony, with the short orchestral Intermezzo emphasising the importance of the orchestra in the overall scheme. From the emotional point of view, Stanford has dealt with his subject 'in a thoroughly modern spirit'. There is no attempt at 'sham ecclesiasticism', no 'pretence of an academic aloofness'. Every movement is inspired by a desire to express the emotion suggested by the text – giving rise to a regret that 'so much of [Stanford's] work in the past has had a different character'. In the *Stabat Mater* there is no 'shirking of melody', no 'pretence of an unemotional superiority', and no 'dryness of workmanship': exactly the sentiments expressed less expansively in other papers, the *LM* amongst them. At this point, however, Baughan begins to express some modifications of his admiration for the *Stabat Mater* – sentiments not encountered elsewhere. Apart from sharing Thompson's view that the very end of the work is rather too protracted to hold the attention, he says that some of the choral writing is 'not ... of the most striking character', although other passages are extremely arresting. The orchestration, while as expert as ever, has in it

¹⁵⁸ *DChr*, 11 October 1907, 6.

¹⁵⁹ *DN*, 11 October 1907, 6.

nothing new and 'little that is really distinctive'. Despite the novel form of the work, Stanford 'fails to clutch at the heart of the listener or to grip his imagination'. He has, moreover, 'never succeeded in evolving a style of his own': his music has, at different times, betrayed the influence of Brahms, Wagner and Verdi, and now it is all three plus other more recent composers. 'Never can you hear the real Stanford, and consequently, even lofty music such as this "Stabat Mater" seems something outside oneself and unsympathetic'. Despite all this, however, the work does represent Stanford 'in his most interesting manner' and is 'a worthy example of British composition'. In conclusion, Baughan expresses some reservations about the performance: the soloists were not at their best, the chorus was 'ragged, listless, and inexpressive', and he 'could not see that Sir Charles Stanford asked all he might from his singers'.

Streatfeild declares, in his *Daily Graphic* column, that he does not intend to 'rush into wild superlatives, according to the received festival tradition' and declare the *Stabat Mater* a 'great masterpiece'; that it is not, but it *is* 'a work of real ability, of fine musicianship and of sustained power', also attractive for its 'frequent suggestions of Verdi'.¹⁶⁰ He cites the importance of the orchestra as a distinctive feature of the work, praising the 'elaborate prelude' which gives 'a musical picture of the Passion' with 'beautiful melody of the Italian type' and the Intermezzo for its 'thrilling' illustrations of earthquake, darkness, and the 'rending of the veil'. The choral movements are, according to Streatfeild, 'graphically devised' and 'elaborated by a master hand'. Despite the Verdian flavour of the music, Stanford is 'no slavish copyist': his ideas are his own, and often expressed with 'striking originality'. The finale comes in for particular praise. The article concludes by referring to a 'masterly' performance in which the chorus 'sang superbly', the orchestra 'played its very best', and the soloists 'all gave valuable assistance'.

¹⁶⁰ *DGr*, 11 October 1907, 10.

The *Morning Post* critic (either Hervey or Barrett again) states that the *Stabat Mater* made a 'most favourable impression' thanks to its 'uncomplicated harmonic design' and 'melodic style'. Stanford has approached his task 'in a graceful and sincere mood, casting aside the fetters of the severer academic school'. The substantial article continues:

The work sets an example which, it is hoped, will be followed, for while it is thoroughly modern in treatment – the composer showing no hesitation in adopting the harmonic methods of the younger school of musicians – yet he does not hesitate to retain his own individuality and to write melodiously throughout the work, thus providing a composition of a character which denotes more clearly than anything of late from his or any other pen the real trend of the so-called "new school" of music.¹⁶¹

This paragraph again denotes the perception by some critics of Stanford's striking of a careful balance in this work between progressive and conservative elements, and expressing the hope that such a course may be followed by other, perhaps younger and less experienced composers. The article continues by praising particular moments in the score. In the opening symphonic prelude, for example, charged with Stanford's admirable orchestral colour, 'his artistic resources have never been so well applied', while the Intermezzo is 'of much musical interest and skill'. Of the performance, the writer says that the orchestra was 'magnificent', but whilst the chorus 'sang well on the whole', they were sometimes 'not in the middle of the note' with 'distressing effect upon keen ears'.

From the complimentary tone of the *Pall Mall Gazette* review, it would seem that Vernon Blackburn had died earlier in the year, and his (unknown) successor was far more kindly disposed to the sort of music that Stanford so often produced. After a brief description of the movements of the *Stabat Mater*, the article continues:

The work is undoubtedly one of great power and beauty; the devotional mood expressed is entirely free from any unreal sentiment, which is perhaps due to the composer's power of assimilating the old model style of melody, though not ... at the expense of originality.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ *MP*, 11 October 1907, 6.

¹⁶² *PMG*, 11 October 1907, 3.

The final pages of the score are treated in a ‘masterly way’, the ‘absence of a sensational climax’ being a particularly ‘notable feature’. As to the performance, the critic refers to ‘fine singing’ from the chorus, but, partly due to the replacement soprano soloist, resulting in some lack of confidence and ease, there was ineffective balance in the solo quartet.

Of the weekly journals, the *Athenaeum* carries perhaps the most substantial account of the *Stabat Mater*. After some reference to the work’s form, the writer (presumably Shedlock) describes the music as ‘clear in form and emotional in its appeal’ – although there is ‘nothing sensational or ultra-modern’, nor is there any ‘obvious display of learning’. The Finale contains ‘powerful writing’ which is, however, ‘free from anything of a secular character’. Shedlock’s conclusion echoes the opinions of many of his fellow critics:

Sir Charles Stanford can always write clever music; in this work, however, the words of the Latin hymn seem to have touched his heart, and thus tempered his intellect.¹⁶³

In the *Graphic*, a shorter comment by a critic signing himself ‘J.D.H.’ sums up the *Stabat Mater* as ‘one of the most noble and expressive sacred works that its composer has yet given us’. He does go on, however, to write a highly complimentary appraisal of Vaughan Williams’s *Toward the Unknown Region* which, ‘though cast in a less ambitious mould, is no less entirely successful’. He continues:

Dr. Vaughan Williams is a composer who has a great deal that is original to say, and not only is his new work brilliantly written but it is also singularly imaginative.¹⁶⁴

The chorus, according to the writer, ‘covered itself with glory’ in these and other works. Here we see emerging evidence of a situation referred to earlier: successful younger composers – and in this particular case a former Stanford pupil – beginning to share the limelight with, and eventually to displace, their senior colleagues and mentors.

¹⁶³ *Ath*, 19 October 1907, 490-1.

¹⁶⁴ *Graph*, 19 October 1907, 550.

Praise for Vaughan Williams's work is by no means confined to one paper. *Musical News* is also impressed by it, but identifies the composer as a somewhat insecure conductor. Its coverage of the Leeds Festival spreads over three issues, each of which refers glowingly to the *Stabat Mater*. Amongst the comments are those referring to the 'irresistible charm' of the Prelude, the second movement with its 'real Stanford' – extremely poignant music, every touch of which is 'masterly', and the 'very thrilling' Intermezzo – a 'most moving piece of writing'. In the second week's issue appears the summation:

The work produced a great impression, and composers should note the form of this symphonic cantata, which so admirably balances the interest between chorus, soloists, and orchestra.¹⁶⁵

The third part of the survey concludes with the judgement that the Festival 'has left us one great work as a permanent addition to sacred art in the "Stabat" of Stanford, with ample promise from our younger school of composers'.

Amongst the other musical journals, both the *Musical Times* and *Musical Opinion* record that, by general consent, Stanford's work has been the most striking and successful of the new festival works, for it shows 'unfettered' colour by a 'ripe master',¹⁶⁶ and in it 'exalted aims are finely achieved'.¹⁶⁷

The *Monthly Musical Record* carries a more substantial account, but, since its tone is rather similar to the *Athenaeum* report, it may also be from Shedlock's pen.¹⁶⁸

One further opinion from a musician of note is that of the then Organist of Leeds Parish Church, Edward Bairstow, who comments at a much later date:

In parts [the *Stabat Mater*] contains some of the most beautiful and deeply moving music he ever wrote. But it is not all on that high plane.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ *MN*, 19 October 1907, 341-2; 26 October, 366; 2 November, 390-1. The author, signing himself 'A.E.H.', is probably Arthur Hervey.

¹⁶⁶ *MT*, 1 November 1907, 737-8.

¹⁶⁷ *MO*, 1 November 1907, 91-2. Article by C.L. Graves.

¹⁶⁸ *MMR*, 1 November 1907, 242-3.

¹⁶⁹ Francis Jackson, *Blessed City, the Life and Works of Edward C. Bairstow*, Sessions, York 1996 & 1997, 78. This book begins with Bairstow's autobiographical writings, left incomplete at his death, and completed by Jackson. Bairstow's memory is somewhat at fault, for he attributes the *Stabat Mater* premiere to the 1910 Leeds Festival, discussing it alongside the *Songs of the Fleet* and Vaughan Williams's *Sea Symphony*.

Of the other new choral works produced at Leeds in 1907, the one destined to enter the long-term choral repertoire is Vaughan Williams's *Toward the Unknown Region*, and reference has already been made to early praise for the piece. Table 12 reveals that, while all critics have appreciative words for both the Vaughan Williams and Stanford works, enthusiastic and wholehearted praise for the *Stabat Mater* is not quite matched by some more muted comments on the *Unknown Region*. Stanford's is much the larger score, however, and is the main focus of attention at this Festival. It is also heartening to see how, at last, Stanford seems to have convinced all commentators of his heartfelt involvement in every aspect of the creation of *Stabat Mater*, for here there is no hint of any accusation of emotional coldness.

The very marked success of the *Stabat Mater* at Leeds was followed by three further performances the following year: in London the Royal Choral Society performed it on 30 January; the Leeds Philharmonic Society followed on 25 March, and on 10 September it appeared at the Worcester Three Choirs Festival. In each case initial critical opinion was reaffirmed. The Lincoln Festival next adopted the work in June 1910, after which there appear to be no further performances until a semi-private one by the Bach Choir at the RCM in December 1913, where the *Stabat Mater* was given alongside Parry's *Ode to the Nativity* and the *Five Mystical Songs* of Vaughan Williams. At least three accounts of this concert question the unfortunate neglect of Stanford's symphonic cantata by the nation's choral societies,¹⁷⁰ but *The Times* is the only one to hazard a guess as to the cause:

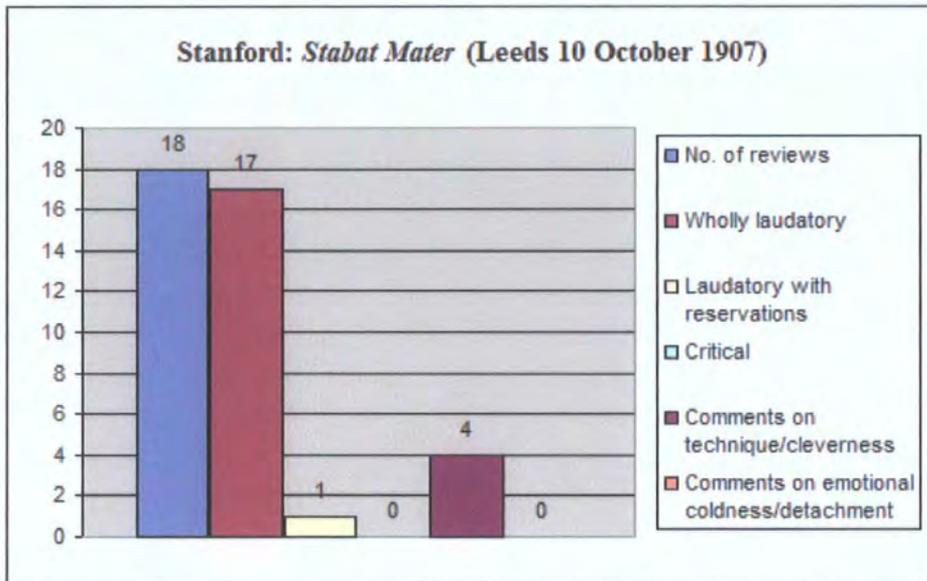
The genuine beauty of Stanford's "Stabat Mater" is perhaps overlooked because of his way of instinctively adopting a manner when he approaches a new theme (in this instance it is the manner of Verdi), but on the other hand, Parry is frequently disregarded because of his constitutional incapacity for speaking in any tone of voice other than his own. Vaughan Williams, belonging to a younger generation, is more fortunate, for at the moment his manner, or his tone of voice, is something new, and people are just beginning to realise that he has something to say.

¹⁷⁰ *T*, 19 December 1913, 12; *DTel*, 20 December 1913, 8; *MT*, 1 February 1914, 118.

Table 12
 Press reception comparison of new works, Leeds Festival 1907

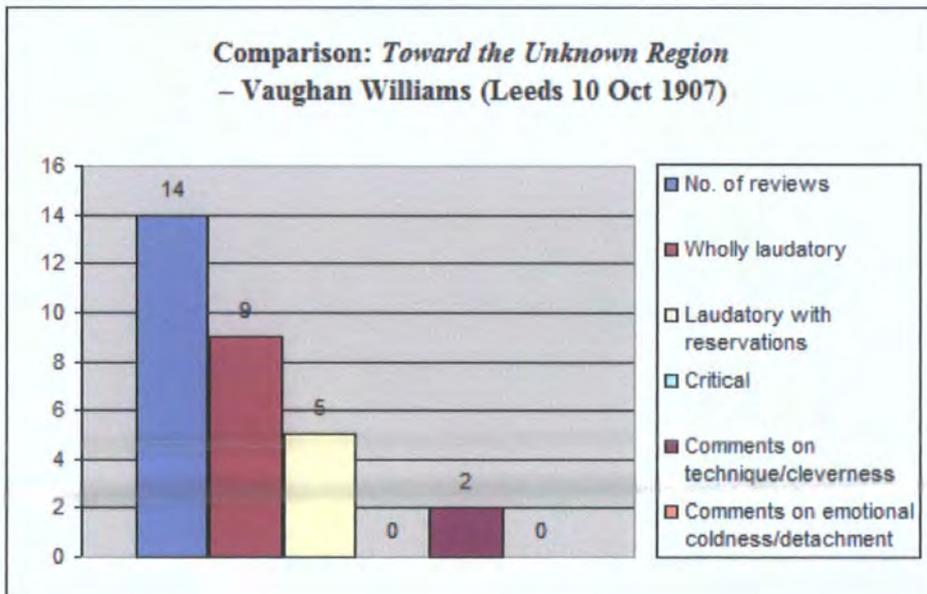
***Stabat Mater* (Leeds 10 October 1907)**

No. of reviews	18
Wholly laudatory	17
Laudatory with reservations	1
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	4
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



Comparison: *Toward the Unknown Region* – Vaughan Williams (Leeds 10 Oct 1907)

No. of reviews	14
Wholly laudatory	9
Laudatory with reservations	5
Critical	0
Comments on technique/cleverness	2
Comments on emotional coldness/detachment	0



The next recorded performances of the work seem to date from the 1920s, when the *Stabat Mater* was presented several times, twice by the Westminster Choral Society, then (after the composer's death) at Bradford, Gloucester and York. In a review of the 1924 Westminster performance, surprise and dismay is again expressed that such a highly rated work 'should have been allowed to suffer long neglect'.¹⁷¹ Perhaps, however, the neglect of such a fine work for long periods has more to do with its requirements in performance, especially as far as an orchestra is concerned. The nature of the two purely orchestral movements in particular renders necessary a first class orchestra, and it is quite possible that the expense of such would be beyond the means of many smaller provincial choral societies. In this connection it is perhaps significant that several of the recorded performances were given at major provincial festivals, where greater financial resources could reasonably be expected.

There seems little doubt, however, that Stanford's *Stabat Mater* was the most highly regarded of his three large-scale Latin choral works.

Another Funeral Ode and a 'Musical Joke'

It is somewhat difficult to understand Stanford's reasons for setting, fifty-six years after the event, Tennyson's Funeral Ode for the Duke of Wellington. Surely he must have realised that, despite his great admiration for the poet, many of the sentiments expressed in this poem were now hopelessly out of date, and were not likely to arouse great enthusiasm from an early twentieth-century audience.

After an initial run-through at a private RCM concert, the *Ode on the Death of Wellington* received its first public performance at the 1908 Bristol Festival. This event, like Cardiff, not being in the premier rank of provincial festivals, attracted less national press coverage than Leeds, Birmingham or the Three Choirs. Of the accounts that exist,

¹⁷¹ *DTel*, 26 March 1924, 16.

one or two do their best to sound enthusiastic about the *Ode*. Francis Barrett, for example, in the *Morning Post*, suggests that the 'musical framework' provided by Stanford may 'draw public attention again to a poem that is worthy of being revived'. The music, he says, is 'broad, straightforward, and melodious' with many passages of 'impressive description'. He furthermore claims:

There is sufficient variety of treatment in the various sections to win the work general acceptance, for in spite of its theme the music is never allowed to become merely sombre.¹⁷²

Rather surprisingly, in view of its previously rather erratic and patchy coverage of provincial festivals, the *Pall Mall Gazette* comes up with the longest of all accounts of the *Wellington Ode*. Beginning with comments upon the somewhat dated sentiments of the poem, the article goes on to claim that there are, nevertheless, passages that have a more permanent relevance, and these the composer has seized upon for effective music and, in fact 'for the building up of a musical composition of real value'. As a result, 'the general atmosphere of the *Ode* is that of a dignified lament'. The critic regrets the lack of 'any great height of lyrical expression', yet admits that there are plenty of 'dramatic qualities' in the work. Describing the *Ode* in considerable detail, the article draws attention to many praiseworthy features, describing it as 'altogether ... a powerful work'. There are weaknesses, however, including some not very distinguished thematic material.¹⁷³

Amongst the shorter reviews, the *Monthly Musical Record* finds 'fine passages' in the *Ode*, which is marked, as ever, by 'ripe musicianship'.¹⁷⁴ The *Musical Opinion* states that the opening of the work paints a 'vivid picture' of Wellington's funeral, but that this interest is not maintained through the rest of the piece.¹⁷⁵ Both the *Musical Times* and the *Athenaeum* refer to the outdated sentiments of the poem. *MT* claims,

¹⁷² *MP*, 15 October 1908, 5.

¹⁷³ *PMG*, 15 October 1908, 6.

¹⁷⁴ *MMR*, 1 November 1908, 245-6.

¹⁷⁵ *MO*, 1 November 1908, 87-8.

however, that ‘Stanford has certainly made the most of the opportunities afforded by the words, in clothing them with music that strikingly reflects the character of the poem’.¹⁷⁶

Shedlock, in the arts journal, says that, although the sterling qualities of Wellington, Tennyson and Stanford cannot be denied, the subject of the *Ode* ‘is today, perhaps, hardly calculated to inspire a composer’. He then amplifies his comments as follows:

Sir Charles’s music for the most part is objective; what there is emotional in the poem has long since ceased to touch the hearts of men. An ordinary composer would have failed utterly; Sir Charles, by his skill and musicianship, has managed to colour the words, and at the last, when opportunity presented itself, to intensify them.¹⁷⁷

It is, however, an article by Edward Baughan in the *Daily News* which perhaps sums up the situation most succinctly. Not himself present at the particular concert containing the *Wellington Ode*, he writes:

It was difficult to gather from the newspapers whether ... Stanford’s “Ode on the Death of Wellington” was a work of veritable inspiration or only a picturesque and clever piece of music-making. The critic visiting a musical festival is inclined to find some good reason for attending it, and so it often comes about that festival criticism is too laudatory. I have endeavoured to discover the real opinions of amateurs and critics whose judgement I respect, and their opinions I find are by no means too enthusiastic.¹⁷⁸

The comment here concerning the general nature of festival criticism is most interesting, since it confirms what many a thoughtful reader must surely suspect.

Following the only subsequent recorded performance of the *Ode* – at the 1910 Leeds Festival – critical comment reveals more or less the same opinions as hitherto. The *Yorkshire Post* summarises the work as ‘impressive’,¹⁷⁹ while the *Leeds Mercury* is a little more forthcoming:

... the musical effect is dignified and austere, with many passages of singular beauty, but there is rather too much of the same kind of treatment, and the hearer becomes conscious of a certain kind of monotony.¹⁸⁰

The Times, recognising that such an ‘occasional’ piece does not always contain the greatest music, reckons nevertheless that ‘the music must stand higher among

¹⁷⁶ *MT*, 1 November 1908, 725-6.

¹⁷⁷ *Ath*, 17 October 1908, 483.

¹⁷⁸ *DN*, 17 October 1908, 4.

¹⁷⁹ *YP*, 15 October 1910, 7.

¹⁸⁰ *LM*, 15 October 1910, 3.

Stanford's works than the poem does among Tennyson's',¹⁸¹ and the *Daily News* dismisses the piece with the comment:

[The Wellington Ode] was neither Sir Chas. Stanford at his best nor was it an attractive festival piece.¹⁸²

The hint of despair in this view was in all probability heightened by the fact that the somewhat lugubrious *Ode* followed directly after an apparently bracing performance of the *Enigma Variations*.

It seems unsurprising that such a work as the *Wellington Ode* should have had such a short life, for it was certainly an anachronism from the outset, and the music-loving public had a wealth of more modern things to engage their attentions.

Nor was Stanford's next choral project destined to have any prolonged success. The *Ode to Discord*, subtitled 'A Chimerical Bombination in Four Bursts' sets a satirical text by his friend Charles Graves. In the poem, Graves lambasts modern trends in musical composition, including a clever distortion of Milton's 'Hence, Loathed Melancholy' to 'Hence, Loathed Melody'. Such a text clearly appealed to Stanford, whose abhorrence of some of the methods employed in the compositions of Strauss, Debussy and others encouraged him to lampoon his pet hates in the form of a cantata for soprano and baritone soloists, chorus and orchestra. News of the work caused a flurry of interest in the press ahead of its first performance in Queen's Hall on 9 June 1909, but critical opinion following the concert varied considerably according to the respective sympathies of the writers.

As might be predicted, one of the longest and most appreciative accounts comes from Fuller Maitland, who writes in *The Times* :

A good deal of the [Ode] ... proceeds from the kind of high spirits that most of us associate with schooldays; but in the music ... there are many hits that are sure to reach their mark. ... The only fault, indeed, that can be found with the music is that it has no touch of the exaggeration which parody requires; it would in truth be scarcely possible to surpass some modern compositions in this respect, and the composer must regretfully have given up in the attempt. ... It is perfectly clear that such a *jeu d'esprit* could give offence to no reasonable being; it is also very probable that it will help the cause of what is

¹⁸¹ *T*, 15 October 1910, 10.

¹⁸² *DN*, 15 October 1910, 5.

best in the new music by clearing away much of the cant that is habitually talked about it. A few of the public and a good many critics are afraid to admit that they find the new music ugly, for fear of being some day held up to derision as we now hold up to derision those who opposed Wagner in the seventies; to others, unable to receive a musical impression, the new music is no more puzzling than the old; and a third class, eager to be in the van of movement, rush in without a notion of their direction.¹⁸³

Here, clearly, a fellow reactionary firmly nails his colours to the mast.

The *Daily Telegraph* critic (by this time either Robin Legge or Ernest Kuhe) is less convinced of the work's effectiveness, for while admitting that 'the travesty of the music of the important composers today is obvious', he claims that 'the joke is very heavy-handed, even to ponderousness'. He reckons also that it is too long, for 'brevity is the soul of wit'. If, as presumed, the purpose of the *Ode* is to 'prick the modern music bubble', as with a similar attempt to do so twenty years before with Wagner's music, 'the effect of the latest of these efforts to stem the tide of modernity will be just as powerful as that of its predecessor, no more, no less'.¹⁸⁴

Edward Baughan also feels that, although only intended as a light-hearted work, 'its satire might have cut deeper if the composer had written a work in which the spirit and technique of modern music were more completely and subtly parodied'. Subtlety is lacking – and Bernard Shaw alone has discovered the 'secret of subtle clowning'. The humour is both mild and obvious: 'For half the time ... it is amusing enough, but the joke is not developed, and does not whip modern music very energetically'. In order to pillory Strauss and other moderns 'a composer must have a modern technique' – and here Stanford has not been successful. Baughan even wistfully hopes that, for the further amusement of audiences, 'some of the modern men will satirise the imitation Brahms and Verdi of some of our prominent composers'.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ *T*, 10 June 1909, 12.

¹⁸⁴ *DTel*, 10 June 1909, 6.

¹⁸⁵ *DN*, 10 June 1909, 7.

Richard Streatfeild is another who finds that, although Stanford's music is 'full of clever touches' the parody 'fell a little flat'. Nevertheless, he says, 'modern music is as a rule so intensely serious a matter that any ray of humour is welcome'.¹⁸⁶

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in a longer article (perhaps by the paper's new critic, Nicholas Gatty) is clearly written by someone whose sympathies are in tune with contemporary musical developments, and sees Stanford's *Ode* as a 'rather poor' joke. He continues his argument thus:

If any one thinks that it is an easy matter to write "modern" music this experiment will show him he is wrong, for no one doubts Sir Charles Stanford's ability, and if he cannot do it who can, except those whose expression can only be made through the "modern" means. We hold no particular brief for any special means; let every man who has ideas set them out as he thinks fit; his sincerity, if it exists, will come through, provided his technique is equal to the occasion.¹⁸⁷

By contrast Shedlock, in the *Athenaeum*, praises the skill, orchestration and humour of the work, and also 'the judgement shown in not over-dotting the *i*'s or crossing the *t*'s'. Assuming that the piece is largely a satire on the music of Strauss and Debussy, he does, however, question the wisdom of accentuating 'some of what we may perhaps call weak points in men whose gifts are great'.¹⁸⁸

At this first, and a few subsequent performances of the *Ode*,¹⁸⁹ audience reaction was often, apparently, one of great amusement, though ability to grasp all the intended parodies would clearly depend upon the musical erudition of individuals: those who could easily recognise Schubert's *An die Musik* might not identify Strauss's *Ein Heldenleben*. One audience, at Norwich, was clearly perplexed, however, not knowing whether to take the music seriously or not.¹⁹⁰

As was the case with the *Wellington Ode*, such an attempt at musical parody was inevitably destined for a short-lived popular appeal, and within a couple of years it was

¹⁸⁶ *DGr*, 10 June 1909, 7.

¹⁸⁷ *PMG*, 10 June 1909, 3.

¹⁸⁸ *Ath*, 12 June 1909, 709-10.

¹⁸⁹ The *Ode to Discord* was subsequently performed in Eastbourne (7 October 1909), Brighton (February 1910), Norwich (28 April 1910), and Liverpool (17 January 1911).

¹⁹⁰ *MN*, 7 May 1910, 510.

forgotten. In Jeremy Dibble's words: 'it was quickly ignored as the reactionary cry of a composer who refused to move with the times'. Even the composer's son, Guy, questioned the purpose of a revival of the work in 1952: 'why dig up the *Ode to Discord* which has long since been of no particular interest and spend so much time and money when the same could have been so much more worthwhile on something else'.¹⁹¹

A Choral Overture and some church music

Possibly of more lasting interest than either of the odes just discussed is a shorter 'Choral Overture' written to celebrate the joint centenaries of the death of Haydn and the birth of Tennyson in 1809. Entitled *Ave atque Vale*, incorporating the 'Emperor's Hymn', and containing the words (from Ecclesiasticus) 'Let us now praise famous men ... such as sought out musical tunes and set forth verses in writing', the work was first performed by the Bach Choir under the composer's direction on 2 March 1909. The occasion was, however, a rather unfortunate one for sympathetic and considered appraisal of the music, for Stanford's work came at the end of an over-long concert (starting after ten o'clock) on an extremely cold evening with a raging snow-storm outside. Streatfeild indeed, in his *Daily Graphic* account, calls the concert a 'thoroughly seasonable affair':

No one who sat near one of the doors of Queen's Hall could fail to appreciate the realism of Bach's description of icy blasts and blustering breezes in his "Aeolus" cantata, while Sir Charles Stanford's highly picturesque setting of the famous words from Ecclesiasticus: "He maketh the snow to fall apace, and the cold north wind to blow," sent a sympathetic shiver down the backbones of those who knew that a first class blizzard was waiting for them outside.¹⁹²

Critical opinion of the work is generally somewhat lukewarm, though all reports express admiration for the way in which the 'Austrian Hymn' is worked into the texture, and for Stanford's usual skill in vocal and orchestral writing. The *Pall Mall Gazette* reckons the Choral Overture 'scarcely representative' of the composer's gifts, but

¹⁹¹ Dibble, *Stanford*, 382.

¹⁹² *DGr*, 3 March 1909, 7.

singles out the setting of the line 'Their bodies are buried in peace' as 'a moment where real feeling was achieved'¹⁹³ – a view shared by the *Athenaeum*, which notes 'true pathos' in the passage.¹⁹⁴ The *Daily Chronicle* notes 'some bright and effective passages', but judges that 'the composition as a whole is not up to the usual level of Sir Charles's works',¹⁹⁵ while *The Times* finds the first choral section 'hastily thought out and rather thin in expression', but discerns in the piece as a whole 'a nobility of purpose ... which cannot fail to make its mark'.¹⁹⁶ Only the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Musical Times* are wholly complimentary, the former finding the work 'a ... pleasant-sounding, short cantata, ... effective and frankly melodious';¹⁹⁷ the latter describing it as 'Stanford in his happiest vein', and possessing 'qualities that should ensure frequent performance'.¹⁹⁸

After just two further performances within the next three months, however, the Choral Overture seems to have been shelved until some isolated revivals in the early 1920s.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps *Ave atque Vale*, like the *Wellington Ode*, was too much linked to a specific event to retain long-term currency, although it may be a more viable subject for resurrection.

During this first decade of the new century Stanford had begun once again to produce music for the Anglican liturgy, most of it unsolicited. In several cases, however, the lack of publishers' advertisements and of any kind of review, however brief, makes exact dating of composition, and even of publication, difficult. A list of such works published between the turn of the century and about 1907 includes the service settings in G and on Gregorian tones, the anthem *Arise, shine*, and the three

¹⁹³ *PMG*, 3 March 1909, 5.

¹⁹⁴ *Ath*, 6 March 1909, 299.

¹⁹⁵ *DChr*, 3 March 1909, 1.

¹⁹⁶ *T*, 3 March 1909, 11.

¹⁹⁷ *DTel*, 4 March 1909, 7.

¹⁹⁸ *MT*, 1 April 1909, 257.

¹⁹⁹ *Ave atque Vale* was sung at the Sons of Clergy Festival in St Paul's Cathedral on 12 May 1909, and by CUMS on 11 June, in both cases with some favourable critical comment.

Latin motets. Although it is known that the three motets were composed much earlier (for Trinity College, Cambridge), neither they nor the other pieces appear to have received any attention whatsoever in the main-stream arts or musical journals.²⁰⁰ It is therefore only from indications of usage that the popularity of these works can be ascertained, and in the longer-term only the *Service in G* and the *Three Latin Motets* have survived.

Another group of church pieces dating from the end of the decade did, however, receive some slight attention from the press, the most significant being the *Service in C*, whose publication was reviewed briefly in *Musical Opinion* and more fully in *Musical News*. In *MO*, 'Ampersand' judges the new service a 'worthy companion' to 'the famous Stanford in B flat, perhaps one of the most universally admired services of modern times', and continues:

To place the new comer alongside its forerunner in point of all round merit (as we do) is very high praise indeed.²⁰¹

The *MN* is similarly enthusiastic:

Sir Charles has here penned music which is well worthy of the attention of choirmasters who have capable choirs under their direction. Modern in spirit and in diction, it is nevertheless by its sincerity and faithfulness to the words well worthy of a permanent place in the repertoire of the Anglican Church. ... The Te Deum is particularly good.²⁰²

And achieve such a permanent place it did very quickly, attaining, and retaining to this day, alongside the B flat Service, a pre-eminent position in the Anglican choral repertoire.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ The sole exception seems to be an advertisement for *Arise, shine* (Houghton/Stainer & Bell) in *MO*, 1 November 1905, 88.

²⁰¹ *MO*, 1 September 1909, 861.

²⁰² *MN*, 21 May 1910, 558.

²⁰³ Edward Bairstow was among many musicians who regarded the *Service in C* as Stanford's best. In Greene's biography he recounts also an occasion when, after the Great War, the composer was at York on a Sunday morning and, invited to select any of his service settings to be sung by the Minster choir, chose the C major, for 'he had never heard it!'. See Greene, *Stanford*, 220-1.

A second set of Sea Songs and resignation from Leeds

For his next work involving chorus and orchestra Stanford selected another five poems by Henry Newbolt, setting them, as before, with baritone solo, this time under the title *Songs of the Fleet*. They were originally intended for a Jubilee Congress of Naval Architects in July 1910, but the death of King Edward VII resulted in the postponement of the event, and Stanford's songs were instead given their first hearing at the Leeds Festival in October, with Plunket Greene singing the solo part. Comparison with the *Songs of the Sea* was inevitable, and, as can often be the case with sequels, the new set of songs, although successful, made less of an impact upon the general listening public. This was perhaps due to their generally somewhat less exuberant manner, and the fact that two lively songs are framed by three slow ones – the exact reverse of the earlier set.

These differences are highlighted in virtually all reviews of the first performance of *Songs of the Fleet*. Thompson, in the *Yorkshire Post*, judges that the new songs 'while not suffering the fatality which attends most sequels, can hardly be regarded as any advance upon them, though likely to become at least equally popular'.²⁰⁴ He particularly admires two of the quieter songs – 'The Middle Watch' and 'Fare Well' – the latter attaining 'a high degree of poetical feeling' (a sentiment echoed by several other critics), but feels that the 'bright and breezy sea-songs' – 'Song of the Sou-wester' and 'The Little Admiral' – are somewhat marred by an excess of percussion (surely a most unusual failing for Stanford). The *Leeds Mercury* expresses a similar view, rating the new songs as not quite the equal of their predecessors, lacking 'something of the old vitality and stimulating spirit'. The critic agrees in judging 'Fare Well' the best of the set, creating 'a moving impression', though he regards 'The Middle Watch' as rather

²⁰⁴ *YP*, 14 October 1910, 7.

dull, and claims that ‘there is not much in the “Little Admiral” except rapid patter and a belligerent spirit’.²⁰⁵

The Times is more positive, describing the new songs as ‘remarkably imaginative’, and finding features to praise in each individual number,²⁰⁶ but the *Daily Telegraph* agrees with the Yorkshire papers in reckoning them ‘unlikely to supplant in popular esteem the Sea Songs’:

... it cannot be denied that, in the case of Sir Charles Stanford’s Fleet Songs, he has not shown by any means the same amount of genuine inspiration that was to be noticed in the Sea Songs ... We look in vain for another “Old Superb,” or “Drake’s Drum,” and instead find five songs of merit, of course, but of no commanding interest.²⁰⁷

The writer (presumably Robin Legge) goes on, however, to praise the ‘genuinely poetic feeling’ of ‘The Middle Watch’ and ‘Fare Well’, as well as making a plea for the inclusion of more works of a similarly lighter nature in festival programmes ‘as a welcome relief after much strenuous music’.

In one of the fuller reports, the critic of the *Morning Post*²⁰⁸ points to the differences between the two sets of songs, but in a positive and more perceptive manner:

The new set [i.e. Songs of the Fleet] is entirely different in character from the “Songs of the Sea,” ... inasmuch as their tone is of greater seriousness, with much more diffuseness in musical style, a greater tendency to employ the Chorus, and something less of spontaneity. All this is no detriment to the value of the songs, since the composer’s highly-cultivated musicianship is present in all of them, while some – the last in particular – touch a very true note of pathos.²⁰⁹

Of the performance, most critics agreed that the *Songs of the Fleet* were well received, though the *LM* noted that ‘there was nothing like the scene that followed the rendering of [the Songs of the Sea] six years ago’, and some papers commented that Plunket Greene was not at his best.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ *LM*, 14 October 1910, 7.

²⁰⁶ *T*, 14 October 1910, 10.

²⁰⁷ *DTeI*, 15 October 1910, 15.

²⁰⁸ At this date either J.H. Dickens or Willam McNaught.

²⁰⁹ *MP*, 14 October 1910, 3.

²¹⁰ A fact corroborated by Bairstow, who said that ‘he sang them very badly compared with the rehearsal’. See Jackson, *Blessed City*, 78.

It seems that these new songs grew in public estimation, for after their first London performance²¹¹ various papers reported ‘very great enthusiasm’,²¹² ‘loud plaudits from the delighted audience’, and an ‘unwontedly enthusiastic’ reception.²¹³

The *Songs of the Fleet* soon became almost as popular as their precursors, and a huge number of performances can be traced during the remaining years of the composer’s life and beyond. Their popularity with choirs is fully understandable, for while less extrovert than *Songs of the Sea* they have a more varied character and make far fuller use of the chorus – which, from the start was a *mixed* one, appealing to female as well as male singers.

There seems little doubt that the choral works produced by Stanford during these years of his full maturity include some of his very finest creations. The large-scale Latin pieces won widespread admiration, together with a critical acknowledgement of greater emotional depth; an Irish choral ballad (*Crohoore*) gained a popularity with English choirs beyond that which might have been expected for a piece full of idiosyncratic dialect; the two sets of sea songs rapidly endeared themselves to singers everywhere, supplying long-sought sequels to *The Revenge*; and a resurgence in Stanford’s attention to music for the Anglican church produced miniature masterpieces such as the *Service in C* and the *Coronation Gloria*.

Stanford resigned his conductorship of the Leeds Philharmonic Society in 1909, and when in 1910 the Leeds Festival committee indicated to him that they wished to bring in, from the 1913 Festival, other conductors for some of the orchestral concerts, he tendered his resignation as Festival conductor as from the end of the 1910 Festival, being unwilling to share the limelight with other musicians. These two resignations

²¹¹ By the London Choral Society in the Queen’s Hall, 8 December 1910.

²¹² *MN*, 17 December 1910, 551.

²¹³ *MT*, 1 February 1911, 116.

mark the end of an important and productive period in Stanford's career, and provide another convenient demarkation point in this study of his choral music.

Chapter Five

Stanford's Choral Music and the Press III: Years of Increasing Neglect, 1911-1924

During the last fourteen years of his life Stanford remained as productive a composer as ever, though with a slight decrease in his output of choral music during the war years. His concentration, for the most part, on smaller-scale choral pieces in the shape of part-songs and church music was due to force of circumstances: the cessation of all provincial musical festivals at the beginning of the 1914-18 War, the consequently fewer opportunities for the performance of large-scale works (doubtless made fewer still by the absence of choral singers and orchestral players on combative duties), and the understandable reticence of publishing houses to incur the expense of printing lengthy choral works which would not, for the time being, sell.

The last occasion on which the living Stanford had his music performed on an occasion of national significance was the 1911 Coronation, when his *Gloria in Excelsis* was well received,¹ though with this piece and also the motet *Ye holy angels bright*, first performed at Gloucester two years later, the composer's technical mastery is once again at the forefront of critical comment.

Despite the demise of the provincial musical festivals and the reduction in the numbers of other choral concerts during the war years, Stanford's most popular choral works continued to receive performances with some degree of regularity. Times were changing, however, and after the war larger new choral works in a non-progressive idiom were not taken up as eagerly as hitherto: although the composer's last choral ballad – *Merlin and the Gleam* (1919) – was as skilfully written as any of his earlier works of this nature, it achieved, as far as can be ascertained, only a couple of

¹ The inclusion of this piece again in the 1937 Coronation Service gives an indication of continuing regard for the composer, at least in the field of church music, thirteen years after his death.

performances. The *Latin Magnificat* (1918) was published but ignored by choirs, the large-scale *Via Victrix* Mass (also 1919) suffered very nearly the same fate, only the Gloria receiving a single performance, and three further full settings of the Mass were not even published. The development of new musical idioms amongst both foreign and British composers (many of the latter his former pupils) bewildered and saddened Stanford, who felt increasingly outdated and neglected. In the spheres of secular part-song, unison choral song, and music for the Anglican church, however, taste was more conservative, and Stanford continued to produce successful and sought-after music for these markets right up to the end of his life. Posthumous tributes to the composer made much of his supreme musicianship and absolute technical mastery, conceding also that, in at least a certain proportion of his huge compositional output, he had achieved true greatness.

Never again, after his departure from Leeds, did Stanford hold any regular conductorship, apart from that of training and conducting the RCM orchestra. Nor did he receive any further Festival commissions, and the only recorded performance of a newly written work after 1910 at a major musical festival was at Gloucester in 1913, when the first (and most substantial) of his set of English motets, Op.135 – *Ye Holy Angels Bright* – was included in a mixed choral concert.

This apparent sidelining of a major English composer by the committees of musical festivals is, perhaps, not as deliberate as it may seem, for the intervention of the First World War saw the cessation of all the major festivals from 1914, many (including Birmingham and, on a regular basis, Leeds) never being resumed. It is interesting to note, however, that Stanford contributed no new work to the Birmingham Festivals after the *Requiem* in 1897, although other, earlier pieces were performed in later Festivals.² It would appear that, from 1900 onwards, the slightly younger Elgar became the most

² *The Voyage of Maeldune* appeared at the 1903 Birmingham Festival, and *The Revenge* in 1906.

favoured provider of new works for Birmingham,³ closely followed by the much younger Granville Bantock.⁴ Perhaps of some significance is the fact that both composers had personal connections with the city – Elgar as Peyton Professor of Music at the University from 1905 to 1908, Bantock as principal of the Birmingham School of Music from 1900, and later succeeding Elgar in the University Professorship.

After 1910, therefore, with less incentive to write large-scale choral works, Stanford concentrated to a large extent upon smaller forms such as the part-song and the anthem, producing a steady stream of such works during the remaining years of his life. Before the onset of the Great War, however, there was to be one further great national event engaging the creative talents of several of the nation's leading composers: the Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary in June 1911.

The Coronation Gloria

Presumably the wiser for his earlier *faux pas* at the previous coronation, Frederick Bridge made sure that on this occasion Stanford was included amongst the musical contributors to the Coronation Service music from the outset. Stanford's contribution – a setting of the *Gloria in excelsis* – was, in fact, one of the two most substantial newly written pieces, the other being a *Te Deum* by Parry.

To satisfy keen public interest, both the *Musical Times* and *Musical News* published lists of the Coronation Service music in early April,⁵ and from these we learn that there were in total five newly composed choral pieces.⁶ By late May the service book containing all the music had been issued by Novello, enabling some press comment on

³ Elgar provided new works for each Festival apart from 1909: *The Dream of Gerontius* (1900); *The Apostles* (1903); *The Kingdom* (1906) and *The Music Makers* (1912).

⁴ Bantock's *Omar Khayyam* was first performed, in separate parts, at the 1906 and 1909 Birmingham Festivals, and *Fifine at the Fair* in 1912.

⁵ *MT*, 1 April 1911, 246; *MN*, 1 April 1911, 305.

⁶ In addition to the contributions of Stanford and Parry (who was also represented by *I was glad*, with revised introduction), the other new works were by Bridge (Homage Anthem – *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous*), Elgar (Offertorium – *O hearken thou*) and Alcock (*Sanctus*).

its content. *Musical News* devotes several lines to extolling the virtues of Parry's *Te Deum*, but also describes Stanford's *Gloria* briefly as 'a fine, dignified composition, well worthy the reputation of its distinguished composer' which, with the orchestra 'should be productive of a most impressive effect'.⁷ The *Musical Times* is somewhat more expansive:

In his setting of the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' (in B flat) Sir Charles Stanford again shows that consummate mastery of detail and technique which characterizes all his church music. In the thematic material, no less than in the working out, he has produced a work which is not only entirely worthy of the occasion which called it forth, but which may well rank with his best achievements of the same character.⁸

The irresistible urge of critics, time and time again, to comment upon Stanford's impeccable technique, seen once again in this *MT* comment, is found in other references to the *Coronation Gloria*. The *Monthly Musical Record*, in a preview of the Coronation music, says of it:

The music, indeed, displays throughout workmanship which helps to intensify the words, yet without any obvious parade; the resultant effect is felt without the means being unduly in evidence.⁹

While comment in the *Athenaeum* following the actual Service reflects a similar sentiment:

Though cleverly written, the music is never dry.¹⁰

Some critics, by contrast, are unreserved in their praise for the piece. *The Times*, for example, describes it (following a full choir rehearsal) as 'a vigorous piece of manly writing',¹¹ adding, after the Service itself, the appellation 'noble'.¹² It is tempting, indeed, to speculate whether these comments were not amongst the last from Fuller Maitland's pen before his retirement from the paper. If so, they were comments formed from a chorister's perspective, for he is listed in a lengthy *Musical Times* article as

⁷ *MN*, 27 May 1911, 522.

⁸ *MT*, 1 June 1911, 382.

⁹ *MMR*, 1 June 1911, title page.

¹⁰ *Ath*, 1 July 1911, 23.

¹¹ *T*, 17 June 1911, 11-12.

¹² *T*, 23 June 1911, 15.

amongst the basses in the Coronation Choir.¹³ This article also speaks of Stanford's *Gloria* in complimentary terms (though again referring to technique!):

The *Gloria* was given in a new setting in B flat by Sir Charles Stanford, who brought to the work his ripest experience and command of modern harmony. The setting is an elaborate one, and it displays much original thought and fine treatment.¹⁴

After the Coronation Stanford lost no time in adding other movements to the *Gloria* to form a complete *Festal Communion Service in B flat*, and the *Musical Opinion* records its publication (in the composer's own arrangement for choir and organ) by Stainer and Bell.¹⁵

One other press comment shortly after the Coronation is of particular interest: in its July issue, the *Monthly Musical Record* refers to the fact that Stanford's *Te Deum in B flat* (Op.10) was used as one of two 'chief musical items' at 'Special Coronation Services held up and down the country' – giving further evidence of the continuing popularity of this piece, and its frequent use on significant national or local occasions of thanksgiving.¹⁶

Further sets of partsongs and some anthems

From around 1908 onwards Stanford returned to the part-song, publishing several sets during the next four or five years. In some cases the absence of press reviews makes it difficult to ascertain precise dates of publication, though references to performances of individual songs can give some indication of their popularity. Just as such performance records point to the fact that the most popular of all the earlier *Elizabethan Pastorals* were undoubtedly *Corydon arise* and *Diaphenia* (both from the first set, Op.49), it becomes similarly clear that *Heraclitus* became the 'hit' number from the *Four*

¹³ *MT*, 1 July 1911, 433-7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *MO*, 1 October 1911, 65 notes the publication in this form of Stanford's 'stately setting' of the *Gloria*, while the complete *Festal Communion Service* is noted in *MO*, 1 May 1912, 595.

¹⁶ *MMR*, 1 July 1911, 185. The other work referred to is Handel's *Zadok the Priest*.

Partsongs, Op.110 (c.1908), while none of the *Three Partsongs, Op.111* seem to have won much public attention.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter,¹⁷ the sheer quantity of choral music produced each month from English publishers during the later Victorian and Edwardian periods was so great that the task of reviewing every item would have been quite beyond the time and space constraints of any journal or critic. It was therefore inevitable, not only that many pieces never received so much as a mention in the press, but that numerous others were given no more than the briefest glance. Two musical journals which attempted to cover a wide selection of new music in each issue – *Musical Opinion* and *Musical News* – had of necessity to limit comment, in most cases, to a sentence or two on any but the longest works, resulting all too often in comments which say little or nothing of true value. A typical example of this type of treatment may be found in *Musical News* for 11 May 1912 – shown in full as Illustration 8 – where twenty-nine new publications are dealt with in the course of slightly less than one full page. Although a few of the comments on this page are of some value, Stanford's Easter anthem *Ye Choirs of New Jerusalem* is dealt with in a single sentence as 'A vigorous anthem-setting of this well-known hymn', and the *Coronation Gloria* is acknowledged with a nod to previous accounts of its 'varied beauties'. Perhaps, however, in this instance the (anonymous) reviewer was assuming the general acceptance of this composer's high reputation for technical excellence. Amongst the smaller choral works of Stanford's middle years that do not appear to have received any press attention at all following publication are the third set of *Elizabethan Pastorals, Op.67* (1897), the *Three Latin Motets, Op.38* (published 1905), the motet *O living will* (1908), the *Three Partsongs, Op.111* (1908), and the six Hymn-anthems designed to follow the *Bible Songs, Op.113* (1909-10).

¹⁷ See chapter 3, 91.

He desires only, for the sake of his own health and that of his family, a little competency which will enable him to work at ease. He wants, first, to finish the two last movements of "Roman de la Momie," then he contemplates the possibility of writing a work for the stage, inspired by Dante, Rabelais, or Edgar Poe, who are his favourite authors.

Such is the history of Fanelli. Has it not the air of a marvellous work of fiction? It has the one fault of being a fact.

Reviews.

Aubade. For the organ. By Bernard Johnson. (Stainer and Bell.) A straightforward work, containing two beautiful melodies applied to piquant accompaniment.

Processional March. For the organ. By Edward A. Sutton. (Weekes and Co.) Without pretending to be unconventional, this is an extremely bright and melodious march, avoiding the commonplace, and likely to be much appreciated by congregations who like light music. It is also published as a piano solo.

Through the starry midnight dim. Anthem. Words by Stopford A. Brooke. Music by Arthur C. Bennett. (Stainer and Bell.) A bright and melodious Christmas anthem, well written, and breathing the spirit of Noel. It contains several themes, all of them being effective, one not the less so because it resembles to a startling degree the Boatswain's Mate's Song in "Pinafore"! Mr. Bennett should guard against one thing which appears in most of his works. If his compositions are written to sell, simple ones like these should not have too ornate an accompaniment. Choirs of modest pretensions who could render this work quite easily might find it difficult to keep themselves away from the independent organ part.

If ye love me. Anthem. Music by Arthur C. Bennett. (Stainer and Bell.) A soft anthem with a true devotional ring about it.

To a Skylark. By T. E. Pearson. (Wood and Sons, Huddersfield and Bradford.) An agreeable and interesting setting for solo violin, soprano solo, chorus, and orchestra of Shelley's inspired poem. To the solo violinists is entrusted the bird's outpourings of song, the choruses are well written for the voices, and the soloist has a grateful part.

The Continuation Tutor, by Agnes Johnston (Paterson) is Part 3 of "The Child Musician," and contains many useful hints to the inexperienced teacher as well as brightly given instructions to the pupil. It is a tutor that should make for thoroughness.

She was a Maid of Artless Grace. By Rex de Cairo-Rego. (Geo. Shrimpton and Sons.) An unusually fine song, in which a leading motive is treated with great variety, culminating in a most effective climax. If "Tristan" had never been written, it is possible this song might never have seen the light, nevertheless its non-existence would have been a distinct loss.

Nursery Rhymes, for S.A.T.B. Words by E. C. Cumberbatch. Music by A. Fairbairn Barnes. (Brighton: J. and W. Chester; London: Breitkopf and Härtel.) These part-songs, six in number, reveal Mr. Barnes as a tuneful writer, with a sense of humour that will probably carry off the nonsense words successfully. *Diddledy Dum* has the least senseless words and the prettiest music.

Rifentans, for organ, by Bernard Johnson (Stainer and Bell), is a very lively solo. The middle portion is distinctly ear-tickling, there being an essence about its tune and rhythm of "My old French Bonnet." Decidedly unfit for church if played up to the time marked. There is nothing flimsy, however, in its construction. It rather resembles a popular item played by a Guards' band. Would suit town halls admirably.

Moto Perpetuo, for organ, by Bernard Johnson (Stainer and Bell), is a fairly easy solo well worth getting, especially by those whose organ and taste suit "sempre staccato" and pedal "quasi pizzicato" effects.

Sonata in D minor, for organ, by Harold D. Phillips (Stainer and Bell), is a work in three movements. It is rather gloomily monotonous. In fact, Part II. gives one the effect of an accompaniment without the melody. All through the work there is a curious scrappiness. It is not too difficult to come in usefully for teaching purposes, so this is in its favour as regards commanding a sale.

Cheer up. Song. By Edwin H. Lemare. (H. W. Gray Co.) A very commonplace song by the well-known organist and composer. There is an air of cheapness about the whole thing, and it is hardly the class of music one expects from Mr. Lemare. The words are by R. Louis-Casson.

O Lord our God, arise. Anthem. By Orlando A. Mansfield. (Stainer and Bell.) A well-written parish church full anthem for Whit Sunday or general use.

Te Deum, Jubilate, and Magnificat. By J. E. Adkins. (Stainer and Bell.) These are written for four-part treble harmony. We must take exception to the footnote, which indicates that the first and last can be sung in two parts, if deleted parts are filled in on the organ. Vocal tone and organ tone do not coalesce to the extent of removing the effects of bare fourths. Each department of tone must be complete in itself. As written in four parts, these settings are very beautiful, and should be in the repertoire of every cathedral for use when the men are off duty.

Communion Service in E flat. By W. Cruickshank. For A.T.B. (Stainer and Bell.) This setting for men's voices is excellent, while the organ accompaniment teems with effective independent parts. Interesting and delightful to both organist and choirmaster.

God so loved the World is an anthem by Henry G. Ley (Stainer and Bell), short and full. The chromatic colouring makes it quite distinct from the well-known earlier settings of these words.

And God shall wipe away all tears is an anthem by Edwin H. Lemare. (Stainer and Bell.) This should prove very effective. The music is inspired by devout feeling. There is, it must be pointed out, a great jumble of words in the section "no more death," page 16, four different expressions being used simultaneously with same, or much the same rhythm. It is, however, a notable work of art.

Ye Choirs of New Jerusalem. A vigorous anthem-setting of this well-known hymn by Charles V. Stanford. (Stainer and Bell.)

Gloria in Excelsis. Set to music for the Coronation of 1911 by Charles V. Stanford. (Stainer and Bell.) The varied beauties of this noble work have been already so often pointed out in reports of the Coronation that it would be a work of supererogation to do so now.

Save, Lord, and hear us. Introit. By C. Stott. (Stainer and Bell.) This is intended for unaccompanied singing. It possesses original points, and some amount of modern feeling is infused into the harmonies.

Sing we merrily. By John E. West. (Stainer and Bell.) In this anthem the composer reveals the practised hand in laying out church music to the best advantage for all concerned.

Two short Anthems, or Introits. (No. 95, Church Choir Library.) By Orlando A. Mansfield. (Stainer and Bell.) Very suitable for the purpose intended, and will be enjoyed by parish choirs.

Te Deum in G. By A. P. Alderson. (Stainer and Bell.) A beautiful, chaste setting, worthy of a university examiner. We wonder, however, whether he would permit candidates for degrees to omit the third in the common chord, as he has done twice in one bar (page 6, line 2, first bar).

Benedictus in G. By A. P. Alderson. (Stainer and Bell.) A nicely thought-out setting. For instance, there is a welcome change from minor to major at the words, "Day spring from on high." Otherwise the treatment is conventional, the accompaniment being simple in the extreme.

Alleluia, Christ is risen. By B. Luard-Selby. (Stainer and Bell.) This is a gem. Without being a difficult anthem, its beauty makes it worthy of performance by any choir capable of doing it justice. This is no "Kapellmeister music."

Communion Service in G. By Ernest Austin. (Stainer and Bell.) There seems quite an epidemic of church music in G. This, however, is entirely modern and original. Quite out of the old ecclesiastical ruts, and yet devoutly religious in feeling. If this is a paradox, it is at the same time true.

Te Deum in G. By Joseph W. G. Hathaway. (Stainer and Bell.) This is quite fresh. Old well-worn phrases are conspicuous by their absence. The *Jubilate* in G of the same set is also a worthy modern work. In the *Benedictus* in G Dr. Hathaway has succumbed to the conventional style of treating the verse, "And thou child," full and loud. Would it not be more artistic and correct to regard the words as being spoken calmly and tenderly? Imagine the old man turning his face to the child at this point, and after a slight rest giving his utterance by way of a solo, and not in boisterous shouts.

Magnificat and N. Dim. (with Vesper). Same composer. (Stainer and Bell.) These are interesting settings worthy of the composer's reputation.

Thou, O God, art praised in Sion. Harvest Anthem. By Cuthbert Harris. (Novello and Co.) A very fine setting of the Psalmist's words. As its difficulties are not very great, the anthem should become exceedingly popular amongst choirs of average ability.

Illustration 8: A typical review page from *Musical News*, 11 May 1912, including comments upon Stanford's *Ye Choirs of New Jerusalem* and the *Coronation Gloria*

By way of contrast, Stanford's next set of partsongs – eight settings of Mary Coleridge, published as Op.119 – is given unusually full treatment in *Musical News*, seven of the songs receiving separate comment.¹⁸ The critic's greatest praise is given to *The Train*, which is a 'bright and breezy setting' in which the composer has 'caught the spirit ... to a nicety' – in fact, a 'capital little work'. *The Swallow* is 'charming' with 'novel treatment'; *My Heart is thine* is a 'short but excellent part-song' with 'clearly flowing' part-writing; while *Farewell my Joy* is 'melodious and effective'. The remaining three numbers under consideration do, however, come in for some kind of adverse criticism. *The Ink-bottle* is regarded by the writer as 'a case of mistaken endeavour', since the words do not lend themselves so readily to musical setting. *Chillingham* is described as 'a pleasant, easy flowing ditty' which, however, is marred by a 'false relation' which the critic finds 'ugly'. The most curious comment, though, is reserved for *The Blue Bird*:

A strange little work, the soprano part having not much more to do than sing the word "blue" occasionally. It opens beautifully, but the eventual result is scarcely convincing, the final chord, a dominant ninth, being most unrestful. What the words mean we cannot tell. Miss Coleridge is so excellent a lyric-writer as a rule that one confesses here to a feeling of disappointment.

Most unusual, too, is the fact that the following week *MN* prints a letter from a certain L.A. Lamand referring to the adverse comments on *Chillingham* and *The Blue Bird* and defending their musical virtues.¹⁹ These two particular songs were in time to become the most popular of the Op.119 set, *The Blue Bird* retaining its currency for many decades, and becoming, in the later twentieth century, the best-remembered of all Stanford's partsongs – and cherished especially for its exquisite ending.

Eight further Coleridge settings were published as Op.127, and formed a sequel to the Op.119 set, all sixteen songs being made available in two volumes. The Op.127

¹⁸ *MN*, 6 April 1912, 327. For some reason one number – *The Witch* – is not included.

¹⁹ *MN*, 13 April 1912, 357-8.

settings were reviewed briefly, not only in *Musical News* and *Musical Opinion*, but also in *The Choir and Musical Journal*, which said of them:

Here we have music without mannerism, art without artificiality, effect without effort, and purity without repression. Of the part-songs in this book the most simply beautiful seems to us to be 'When Mary through the garden went,' while for dramatic realism 'Wilderspin' would be difficult to surpass. Here is good wine which needs no bush.²⁰

Such comment surely suggests that, at any rate with some critics, Stanford's newly-written music was still held in high esteem, and subsequent press reference to various performances of individual songs from these two sets supplies evidence of their ready acceptance by singers.

Amongst other new choral pieces by Stanford to receive press notices after publication during the immediate pre-war years were the substantial anthem *Blessed City, Heavenly Salem* and a short two-part song for children entitled *Lullaby*. Of the former, *Musical News* judges it a 'very beautiful work ... richly varied, resourceful, and highly effective',²¹ while *The Choir* speaks just as favourably, describing it as a 'masterly composition, full of fine, effective writing'.²² The *Lullaby* 'deserves', in the opinion of *Musical News*, 'to be used wherever children are taught to sing in parts', for it is 'a gem'.²³ It was Stanford's misfortune that Bairstow's highly dramatic setting of *Blessed City* appeared soon afterwards, eventually eclipsing the earlier piece with a popularity which it retains to this day.

Perhaps the most notable and substantial choral music produced by Stanford shortly before the outbreak of war, however, was the set of *Three English Motets, Op.135*, composed between February and Easter Day 1913. The first of these unaccompanied motets is the most elaborate, and takes the form of a set of chorale variations on Darwall's tune used to the words *Ye holy angels bright*. The inspiration here is quite possibly Brahms, whose motets *Es ist das Heil* (Op.29 no.1) and *O Heiland, reiss die*

²⁰ *Choir*, July 1912, 134.

²¹ *MN*, 10 January 1914, 40.

²² *Choir*, May 1913, 96.

²³ *MN*, 14 March 1914, 250.

Himmel auf (Op.74 no.2) display similar contrapuntal and cantus firmus techniques. Stanford's treatment of the tune, increasing the texture from four to eight parts as the work progresses, is both technically dazzling and musically convincing, as contemporary critics acknowledged following a performance of the motet at the 1913 Gloucester Festival. The *Musical Times* comments that the piece, which received a 'fairly effective' performance, in its last (eight-part) section 'brilliantly exhibited the contrapuntal facility of the composer',²⁴ while the *Athenaeum* describes the music as 'clever, but not laboured, as is often the case when counterpoint and fugal devices are employed'²⁵ – a comment echoed by the *Pall Mall Gazette*.²⁶ Other papers were equally impressed, describing the motet with such epithets as 'ingenious'²⁷ and 'masterly'.²⁸

Of two reviews of the complete set of motets – in *The Choir* and *Musical Opinion*²⁹ – the latter is the more overtly laudatory, describing *Ye holy angels bright* as 'a splendid example of eight-part writing at once free and effective', judging that *Eternal Father* (six-part) 'ranks with the composer's very finest essays', and pointing out that while the four-part *Glorious and Powerful God* will find 'ready acceptance with smaller choirs' because of its 'more tractable character', it is 'not in any wise less effective than its companions'.

The outbreak of war in 1914 prompted from Stanford one further sacred piece, described by Jeremy Dibble as his 'most dramatic anthem', in which:

Through the analogy of Habbukuk's prophetic writings, Stanford sought to express his own sense of horror at the War.³⁰

²⁴ *MT*, 1 October 1913, 664-6.

²⁵ *Ath*, 20 September 1913, 291.

²⁶ *PMG*, 12 September 1913, 5.

²⁷ *DTel*, 12 September 1913, 8.

²⁸ *T*, 12 September 1913, 4.

²⁹ *Choir*, November 1913, 214; *MO*, 1 September 1913, 940.

³⁰ Dibble, *Stanford*, 410.

Perhaps as a result of wartime constraints, *For lo, I raise up*, Op.145 was not published during Stanford's lifetime, and appeared in print as late as 1939, prompting two reviews which demonstrate that, a decade and a half after the composer's death, his best music had by no means lost its power to impress. The *Musical Times* calls it 'big music, dramatic and impressive',³¹ while the *Musical Opinion*, by now taking much more space for its reviews, remarks upon the anthem's particular suitability during another period of war, wondering whether the 'passionate outburst' in the middle of the piece has perhaps 'rather a vindictive ring', but praising the 'glorious' final pages which 'show the composer in his most inspired mood and in all his superb distinction of style'.³² Such favourable initial impressions have not faltered, and in recent decades this fine anthem has become an established item in the repertoires of many of England's best cathedral and collegiate choirs.

Music in time of War and last works

The war years were a worrying and increasingly difficult time for Stanford – especially financially³³ – and although this period saw the production of his last two operas and several instrumental and orchestral works, the writing of new choral music seems to have practically ceased between 1915 and 1918. There was, however, one small exception. The 1914-18 War was the first to be fought in part from the air, and Stanford responded warmly to some words by A.C. Ainger asking divine protection for those flying the new aeroplanes, setting them as a short *Aviator's Hymn* for mixed voices and organ. Though a typical war-time patriotic production, Stanford's four pages of music show his undimmed skill in melodic variation and subtle, ever-changing organ harmonies throughout the thrice-repeated unison tune. Published by Stainer and Bell in

³¹ *MT*, 1 February 1940, 68.

³² *MO*, 1 March 1940, 256.

³³ See Rodmell, *Stanford*, 286-7, 297-8, 305-10; Dibble, *Stanford*, 415-34.

1917, the piece received appreciative notices in *Musical News*, *Musical Opinion* and *The Choir*, the first of these journals declaring that Stanford's 'excellent' music 'should be thoroughly popular amongst R[oyal] F[lying] C[orps] men and their friends'.³⁴

The next significant choral work to come from Stanford's pen appears to have been the Latin *Magnificat*, Op.164. Scored for unaccompanied double chorus, this fine piece was probably intended from the outset as a reconciliation offering to Parry (with whom relations had been very strained for some time).³⁵ Although completed in September 1918, however, Stanford was denied the opportunity of presenting the score of the *Magnificat* to his old colleague by the latter's death on 7 October, and the published version thus contains a dedication, in Latin, to Parry's memory.³⁶ Why should the appearance in print of such a distinguished piece not only fail to elicit a single word of press comment, but also, as far as is known, attract not a single performance either at this time or for some years afterwards? The reasons are probably several: firstly, it took some time for the musical world to recover from the deprivations and economies of the war years; secondly, despite these deprivations, substantial quantities of choral music had continued to appear during the 1914-18 period, but the constraints of reviewing space were greater than usual, since most musical journals had found it necessary to economise by reducing the number of pages in each issue; thirdly the *Magnificat*, Op.164 is entirely different in character to Stanford's several other settings of the canticle, and its elaborate texture, length, and Latin text, as well as the absence of a companion *Nunc Dimittis* setting, would have all tended to exclude it from the repertoires of cathedral and collegiate choirs at this period,³⁷ and fourthly, the provincial

³⁴ *MN*, 29 September 1917, 197; *MO*, 1 August 1917, 680; *Choir*, February 1918, 39.

³⁵ See Dibble, *Stanford*, 432-4, 441; Rodmell, *Stanford*, 305-9, 315.

³⁶ The *Magnificat* was published by Boosey in 1919.

³⁷ There was still, at this time and for several more years to come, a reluctance on the part of many Anglican church choirs to sing works in Latin – doubtless a survival of the anti-Catholic sentiments so prevalent in the Victorian era. It is interesting to note, in this context, the relative fortunes of Stanford's two sets of motets during his lifetime: the *Three English Motets* of 1913 gained acceptance fairly

musical festivals, formerly the most likely venues for performances of such works, had been discontinued during the war, and many were never revived.

The end of the Great War motivated Stanford to write a large-scale Mass for soloists, chorus and orchestra, to which he gave the title *Mass Via Victrix 1914-1918*. Though uncommissioned, and with no performance in prospect, a vocal score of the work was published by Boosey in 1920, its appearance passing unnoticed by the press. The work contains passages as inspired as in any earlier choral work of its composer, and while there is no record of any complete performance, and it cannot even be certain if Stanford orchestrated any part of it, the *Gloria in excelsis*, conducted by the composer, was heard in King's College Chapel, Cambridge. The occasion was the revival of an ancient custom – Chancellor's Music – a special concert to honour a University Chancellor. The Chancellor honoured on this occasion was Arthur Balfour, Conservative politician and former Prime Minister. He and several other dignitaries³⁸ attended a conferral of honorary degrees on the morning of Tuesday 15 June 1920, and after lunch processed to the ceremonial concert in King's Chapel at 3 pm. Although several newspapers list the concert programme in full – apart from Stanford's *Gloria* it included Parry's *Blest Pair of Sirens* and pieces by Purcell, Wood, Rootham, Gray, Naylor and Vaughan Williams – the evidence for which items were performed with orchestra and which just with organ is tantalisingly absent. While the *Cambridge Chronicle* states clearly that Rootham's opening *Processional* (conducted by the composer) was played by the London Symphony Orchestra, and also mentions the orchestra again later in the same paragraph,³⁹ the *Cambridge Daily News* refers to 'a special organ and vocal recital' and mentions no orchestra at all, although the concert

quickly, whereas there are no recorded performances of the *Three Latin Motets*, published several years earlier (in 1905), outside Cambridge until after their composer's death.

³⁸ Others present included Lloyd George (Prime Minister), Lord Robert Cecil, and (Austen?) Chamberlain.

³⁹ *CamChr*, 16 June 1920, 5.

concluded with an overture by Naylor (which could, one supposes, have been played on the organ).⁴⁰ Other reports in the *Cambridge Review*⁴¹ and the *Musical Times*⁴² make no reference to instrumental forces. Clearly, however, no effort was spared on the occasion, for the soloists in Stanford's *Gloria* were four of the best-known singers of the day: Agnes Nicholls, Dilys Jones, Gervase Elwes and Plunket Greene. It is therefore possible that, even if Stanford never orchestrated the other movements of the *Via Victrix* mass, the *Gloria* was so treated for this special performance. Certain it is that the concert as a whole created a considerable impression: *CamDN* judges the 'two outstanding features of the recital' to be the *Antiphon* from Vaughan Williams's *Five Mystical Songs* and 'Stanford's beautiful "Gloria in Excelsis"', while *CamChr* states that 'the effect of the orchestra and chorus in the various combined works was magnificent, and especially was this noticeable in "Blest Pair of Sirens", conducted by Sir Charles Stanford'.

One further choral piece connected with the war was completed towards the end of 1920. *At the Abbey Gate, Op.177* is a setting for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra of a short poem by C.J. Darling referring to the Unknown Warrior.⁴³ Commissioned by the Royal Choral Society, the work was first performed by that body, under Stanford's direction, at the beginning of a concert on 5 March 1921 in which the main work was Elgar's *Gerontius*. Press comment was somewhat muted, in part, it would seem, because of the lack-lustre singing of the chorus throughout the concert.⁴⁴ A review in *The Times* is careful to point out the difficulty, so soon after the war, of regarding dispassionately anything connected with it, and recommends a detached view:

⁴⁰ *CamDN*, 16 June 1920, 3.

⁴¹ *CamRev*, 18 June 1920, 426.

⁴² *MT*, 1 July 1920, 489.

⁴³ The poem was published in the *Times* on 26 October 1920, the very day on which the Unknown Warrior was buried in the nave of Westminster Abbey.

⁴⁴ Speculation must surely be aroused as to whether the 76-year-old Frederick Bridge still retained an ability to inspire his choir – he had retired from Westminster Abbey three years previously. As far as Stanford is concerned, Greene tells us that he was far from well and had to be fortified with sal volatile

By such detachment one is able to appreciate [Stanford's] reticence and admire the certain nobility of design and workmanship which has given a due impressiveness to his setting. But the very depth of our sensitiveness makes us exacting in respect of such associative expression, and we could not feel that the music had enough emotion behind it to do full justice to the touching little poem.⁴⁵

The tone of the *Daily Telegraph* review is broadly similar, and of Stanford's piece the critic says:

Mr Plunket Greene sang the few brief phrases allotted to the soloist impressively enough, but one felt neither the words nor music to be worthy so sublime a theme.⁴⁶

While Alfred Kalisch in the *Musical Times*, although respecting the 'simple and dignified' words and the 'simple dignity' of Stanford's music also wishes for something more:

The composer might, however, have been less studiously simple without sacrificing the dignity necessary in dealing with so great a subject.⁴⁷

It is tempting to wonder whether the somewhat 'reticent' manner adopted by Stanford in this work was a deliberate choice in view of the sensitive subject or merely yet another example of his so frequently perceived lack of emotional involvement in his music.

Clearly a work designed for a specific occasion, it would be somewhat surprising to find *At the Abbey Gate* entering the regular choral repertoire, but there is one further performance recorded – in Toronto at the end of April 1922 – on which occasion a critic dismisses it as 'rather vague'.⁴⁸

Quite unconnected with war, and completed in August 1919, is Stanford's final choral ballad – a setting of Tennyson's *Merlin and the Gleam* for baritone solo, chorus and orchestra. Bearing a dedication to Harry Plunket Greene, the vocal score was published by Stainer and Bell in 1920, and the work received its first performance on 6 March that year by the Alexandra Palace Choral and Orchestral Society. The

before the performance (Greene, *Stanford*, 273-4). It was, in fact, Stanford's last appearance in public as a conductor.

⁴⁵ *T*, 7 March 1921, 8.

⁴⁶ *DTel*, 7 March 1921, 14.

⁴⁷ *MT*, 1 April 1921, 270-1.

⁴⁸ *MT*, 1 June 1922, 440.

implication seems to be that the work, conducted by Stanford, was performed with orchestral accompaniment. The *Musical Times* reports:

The concert of the Alexandra Palace Choral and Orchestral Society drew a large audience to the Northern Polytechnic on March 6. The chief interest in the programme was the first performance of Sir Charles Stanford's 'Merlin and the Gleam,' for baritone (Mr. Frederick Ranalow), chorus, and orchestra, a work of warm melody and rich colouring. Under the composer's direction the choir gave a performance that was full of life and interest. Sir Charles Stanford also conducted his 'Songs of the Fleet' ...⁴⁹

The remainder of the programme included *Blest Pair of Sirens* and Coleridge-Taylor's *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*, but it would seem that Stanford's name and presence could still draw a sizeable and enthusiastic audience. A further performance of *Merlin* is recorded by the Blackburn Glee and Madrigal Society on 24 February 1925.⁵⁰

After the 1914-18 War Stanford began to feel increasingly out of touch with developing compositional styles amongst the younger generation of English composers (many of them his pupils), a view expressed in a letter of 1923 to his friend Robert McEwen:

I suppose I am more or less out of date ... I see all the youngsters going ahead with stuff which I would not soil my pen and paper with, but my pen and paper appear to be unacceptable to those who publish and has to remain pen and paper!⁵¹

His own compositional style had hardly changed since the 1880s, and his reactionary attitude to twentieth-century developments in harmony, rhythm and use of orchestral colour is evident both in his writings and in his comments to his pupils. This made him, by the early 1920s, in Paul Rodmell's words, 'a dinosaur in the compositional field'.⁵² Despite the changing world around him, and the increasing difficulty of interesting publishers in some of his larger new works, there were still two areas of choral composition in which a conservative style such as Stanford's was admirably suited to public demand and taste – the choral song, often in unison or two parts and for educational use, and music for the Anglican Church. In these two areas Stanford

⁴⁹ *MT*, 1 April 1920, 254.

⁵⁰ *MT*, 1 April 1925, 358.

⁵¹ Letter from Stanford to McEwen, 25 December 1923, quoted in Dibble, *Stanford*, 449.

⁵² Rodmell, *Stanford*, 360.

remained productive until the end, doubtless partly out of financial necessity, and his choral songs, anthems and service settings were published and appreciatively reviewed.

The conservatism of many amateur choirs is reflected in a *Musical Opinion* comment on the appearance in print of a set of six arrangements by Stanford of *Irish Airs*:

Sir Charles V. Stanford deserves the sincere thanks of all mixed-voice choirs for his educative and sound arrangements of six Irish airs, words by Thomas Moore. They will prove most acceptable to the class of choirmaster who thinks "modern music is a nightmare, and modern poetry a disease." To call these beautifully conceived choral versions "arrangements" is not adequate; it is an injustice. The favourites may almost be guessed: "How dear to me the hour," "My gentle harp," and "They know not my heart."⁵³

It appears that by the early 1920s the *Musical Opinion* often produced some of the more substantial review pages to be found in the musical press. Further secular choral pieces by Stanford to receive attention in its columns at this time were the 'rhythmic and vigorous' unison song *Fineen the Rover*⁵⁴ and *The Morris Dance* (SATB) which, together with a couple of (unspecified) unison songs initiates a new Cramer series of such music 'very worthily'.⁵⁵

In its monthly section devoted to church and organ music, *MO* produced at this time some extended and detailed reviews of new church compositions, sometimes complete with printed musical quotations. Stanford's 'very fine' *Unison Service in D* is thus treated, with quotations of the 'imposing sweep' at the opening of the *Te Deum* and the 'wonderfully impressive' reiterations 'Holy, holy, holy', and the publisher (the newly-established Oxford University Press) is commended:

We warmly welcome this new and valuable series of unison church music. It starts off finely with Sir Charles Stanford's *Service in D*, backed up by Dr. Bairstow's *Service in E flat*, and bids fair to maintain a high standard of excellence.⁵⁶

Of Stanford's several late anthems it was the set of three, Op.192, published by Novello in 1923, that received the greatest attention in the press: the *Musical Times*

⁵³ *MO*, 1 October 1922, 87.

⁵⁴ *MO*, 1 November 1923, 176.

⁵⁵ *MO*, 1 February 1924, 533.

⁵⁶ *MO*, 1 September 1923, 1152.

provides appreciative and separate comment upon each of the three anthems,⁵⁷ but once again it is the *Musical Opinion* that provides fuller comment, devoting a complete paragraph to each piece. *While shepherds watched* is admired for its 'picturesque expression' and its 'pastoral' character, while in *Lo! He comes* 'the music, with its broad, diatonic sweep, its vigorous rhythms, its general brilliance and facility, is fine and characteristic'.⁵⁸ The review of *Jesus Christ is risen today*, published ten months earlier, expresses an overall appreciation of Stanford's contribution to Anglican church music:

This fine but by no means difficult anthem from the pen of the distinguished composer who has done so much for church music, will be widely welcomed. The Easter Hymn is set broadly and brilliantly. ... The organ throughout is used in a masterly manner.⁵⁹

The fortuitous element in the selection of small choral works for review is once again shown in this last clutch of Stanford's anthems, however, by the fact that the piece to have found most favour with church and cathedral choirs in more recent times – *How beauteous are their feet* (Novello, 1923) – is one of those ignored by the musical press at the time of its publication.

Final tributes

In the weeks and months following Stanford's death there was no shortage of tributes to him in national and provincial newspapers, in the musical press, and at the RCM. The *Times* obituary headline includes the phrase 'Composer of Genius', and a section of the substantial article concerning 'The Creative Artist' has no hesitation, despite changing taste and fashion, in identifying the high quality of much of his enormous output:

There is matter in his music of every class which repays the closest study, and the most damning reflection on the much-vaunted musicality of this country to-day is the readiness with which it allows the

⁵⁷ *MT*, 1 February 1923, 111 (*Jesus Christ is risen today*); 1 December 1923, 843 (*Lo! He comes and While shepherds watched*).

⁵⁸ *MO*, 1 March 1924, 607.

⁵⁹ *MO*, 1 May 1923, 765.

great mass of the work of its most serious musical artists to pass into oblivion as soon as they are succeeded by a newer fashion.⁶⁰

Pointing to the fact that Stanford is known to many choral singers and conductors primarily as the composer of *The Revenge*, the writer makes a plea for more widespread appreciation of his 'noble Latin *Te Deum*' and the 'poignantly beautiful *Stabat Mater*'. He also notes that, despite the clear influence on Stanford of other composers' styles and mannerisms (Brahms, Dvořák, Glazounov and Verdi are specifically mentioned):

Yet beneath all these varieties there is something which is unmistakably Stanford in the melodic contours and in the peculiarly clean, incisive, and sparing use of harmonic effect.

J. Percy Baker's article in *Musical Opinion* refers appreciatively to some of Stanford's most striking choral works – as, for example, the 'beauty' of *The Voyage of Maeldune* and the 'vivid appeal' of *The Revenge* – summing up his stature as a composer thus:

Stanford's work might or might not appeal to everybody – that was a personal matter – but there was no gainsaying the fact that here was a master of his craft, one who knew what he wanted to say and knew how to say it: a combination which is not so common at any time that we can afford to underrate it. It might be that he was not always inspired: what composer is? But he was ever the accomplished musician. It might be that sometimes he appealed more to the intellect than to the emotions, but he could never be ignored. In judging an artist we must be guided by his best work, and not by that which may fall below it in merit: and at his best Stanford was a composer who surely came very near to genius, if indeed he may not be considered to have possessed it.⁶¹

The *Musical Times* picks up the same theme, commenting on his enormous output:

As is inevitable in so vast an output there is much that is unoriginal, but impeccable workmanship is always evident. The matter may be perfunctory, the manner never. ... So unerring was [Stanford's] knowledge of effect – which is, of course, merely a branch of a composer's technique – that many a work, uninspired and dull on paper, 'comes off' so well in performance as to reach a degree of success denied to better music less well written.⁶²

Extensive reference is made to Stanford's distinguished contributions to the choral repertoire, the epoch-making *Service in B flat*, several of the choral ballads, some of the best part-songs, and the series of works connected with the sea being singled out for special mention. Speaking of the neglect of his larger works (in common with those of other British composers), the writer is, however, optimistic for the future:

⁶⁰ *T*, 31 March 1924, 17.

⁶¹ *MO*, 1 May 1924, 797-8.

⁶² *MT*, 1 May 1924, 402-3.

We believe that a revival of the bigger Stanford works will take place, and that it will show him to be of greater stature than was evident to most musicians during his life-time. But even without such a revival his name will stand high, not merely in the roll of British composers, but in that elect line where such national labels are rarely used.

In the years immediately preceding the First World War Stanford's name and reputation still stood high amongst English musicians, though his larger choral works no longer excited the same breadth of interest as would have been the case ten or fifteen years earlier. It is perhaps significant that two of his last pre-war works for chorus and orchestra – the *Wellington Ode* and the *Ode to Discord* – show a composer beginning to lose touch with progress in the musical world about him: the former setting an outdated poem on a long-forgotten subject; the latter an attempt to dismiss by parody musical developments that he found either distasteful or incomprehensible. The war itself changed matters irrevocably, and after 1918 the dawn of a new era looked forward, in music as in all else, to fresh ideas. In such a world, Stanford's music was no longer of much interest. It seems unsurprising that the larger works of his final years lay unperformed or unpublished: the three masses written for Westminster Cathedral have disappeared without trace; the *Missa Via Victrix*, though published, was ignored by those choral bodies that would probably have performed such a work ten years before; *Merlin and the Gleam* received only a couple of public airings; and the Latin *Magnificat* was not heard in the composer's lifetime (nor, probably, for several years thereafter). It was in small-scale pieces for church choir, partsongs for small vocal ensembles, and choral songs for the educational market that Stanford found his most successful outlet in these post-war years, for here musical taste was still conservative, and his music found a ready acceptance.

Many composers suffer a period of neglect in the years immediately following their deaths, but in Stanford's case, that neglect lasted for several decades, during which time his choral output was kept alive principally through his services and anthems, two or three partsongs (including *The Blue Bird*), and larger works such as *The Revenge* and

the two sets of sea-songs. Most of his larger choral output lay forgotten, save for occasional revivals of the three great Latin works. It is only in the last twenty years or so that a wider resurgence of interest in Stanford's music has begun, and some of the best works in his vast output are being examined and appraised by fresh eyes and ears. The revival of some of the larger works (orchestral as well as choral) predicted in the *Musical Times* at the time of his death, though long-delayed, has finally begun.

Conclusion

Stanford and the English Musical Renaissance

Ever since the years of his early maturity as a musician, Stanford has been generally regarded by commentators on English music as one of the leaders of a movement that came to be known as the 'English Musical Renaissance', a term devised to describe reaction to the notion of a 'land without music'.

Throughout the nineteenth century the periodic appearance of muted comments expressing a perceived lack of musicality and musical initiative amongst English people was a cause for concern amongst the artistic elite. If England had ever been in any real sense a 'land without music' it was well before the Victorian era, but there did exist, until the 1870s or early 1880s, a certain lack of confidence in national musical identity. It became the self-appointed task of the composers of Stanford's generation to rectify this lack of focus by injecting a new zeal and energy into English music, and creating what Joseph Bennett christened a 'Renaissance'.¹

Of the many nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers, both at home and abroad, who have commented on the perception of musical backwardness amongst English musicians, probably the vast majority have refuted or attempted to minimise its existence.² Nicholas Temperley, in one of the most recent essays on the subject, equates 'Das Land ohne Musik' with 'The Dark Age of British Music', the latter term having become fashionable towards the end of the nineteenth century with those writers

¹ Bennett's review of Parry's *Symphony No. 1* in *DTel*, 4 September 1882, was the first occasion on which the term 'renaissance' was used in this context.

² Examples include, from the 19th century: *The Musical World*, vol.15 (1841), 155; Robert Schumann, 'An English composer is no composer', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 24 February 1837; G.A. Macfarren, 'The English are not a Musical People', *Cornhill Magazine*, vol.18 (1868), 344-63; and from the later 20th century: Gatens, *Victorian Cathedral Music*, 18-19; Stephen Banfield, 'The Artist in Society', *Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, vol.5, ed. Temperley, 11-28; Burrows, 'Victorian England', 267.

on English music who wished to point to a following 'light age' or 'renaissance'.³ Temperley gives an interesting overview of the differing conclusions drawn by such writers in a chart tracing the downward/upward trends in English music revealed in no less than eighteen publications between 1886 (Ouseley) and 1993 (Stradling and Hughes), shown here as Illustration 9.

The first use of the phrase 'Das Land ohne Musik' dates, in fact, from as late as 1914, when it first appeared as the title of a book by Oscar Schmitz. Meirion Hughes and Robert Stradling take the view that the stance of Schmitz's book, published soon after the beginning of World War I, was a deliberate and 'scurrilous German attack on the achievements of the English Musical Renaissance'.⁴

Whatever degree of truth may have underlined such a phrase at an earlier date, by 1914 England was most decidedly no longer a 'land without music', even in the field of original composition, following the much-publicised successes gained during the previous three decades *in Germany* by Stanford and Elgar, and the more recent emergence of a new generation of highly gifted English composers, headed by Ralph Vaughan Williams, whose *Fantasia on a Theme of Thomas Tallis* (Gloucester Festival, 1910) and *Sea Symphony* (Leeds Festival, 1910) were recognised early on as original and innovative works.⁵ Sullivan, too, enjoyed early success in Leipzig with his music for *The Tempest*, and at a later date the German pianist and teacher Robert Papperitz (at one stage Stanford's piano teacher) had judged his talent superior to that of Brahms.⁶

³ Nicholas Temperley, 'Xenophilia in British Musical History', *Nineteenth Century British Music Studies*, vol.1, ed. Bennett Zon, Ashgate, Aldershot 1999, 3-18.

⁴ Stradling & Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance 1840-1940*, 83.

⁵ Stanford's music had received several performances in Germany. After the success of his first opera *The Veiled Prophet* in Hanover (Feb. 1881), his next opera *Savonarola* had been even better received in Hamburg (April 1894), and his acceptance in Germany as a composer of great promise was sealed by the Berlin concert devoted to his orchestral works (Jan. 1889), including the *Suite for Violin and Orchestra* and the specially written *Fourth Symphony*, eliciting glowing reviews in the German press. The huge success of the two Düsseldorf performances of Elgar's *Gerontius* (1901-2) and Strauss's subsequent lionizing of the composer are well documented.

⁶ Young, *History of British Music*, 509.

Chronologies of the 'dark age' and 'renaissance'

Source	1700	1714	1760	1800	1837	1850	1880	1900
Ouseley, 1886	↘		- 'lowest ebb' -		↗		'good music of every kind'	
Hueffer, 1889							↗ 'great improvement of the "Spirit of Music"'	
Davey, 1895	↘				'disrepute'			↗ 'awakening'
Fuller Maitland, 1902					↘ 'low point'; - 'unfruitful' -		↗ 'Renaissance'	
Walker, 1907	↘		'dark stretch'	↘	'nadir of composition'		↗ ['dark stretch' continues?]	↗ 'Renaissance'
Bumpus, 1908				↘	- cathedral music 'stood still' -		↗	
Forsyth, 1916	↘							↗ 'national awakening'
Hadow, 1931	↘		'dark age'		↗			'dawn and progress of the English Renaissance'
Colles, 1934							↗	'precipitous ascent'
Fellowes, 1941		↘			'poverty' of cathedral music, 'lean period'		↗ 'great revival'	↘ 'sentimentalism' ↗ 'revival'
Blom, 1942	↘				'decline'	?	↘ 'nadir'	↗ 'Renaissance'
Mellers, 1946	↘							'dark ages'
Howes, 1966								↗ 'Renaissance'
Long, 1971	↘							church music in 'decline'
Pirie, 1979				↘				'darkest hour'
Banfield, 1985								↘ songs: 'overall impression of worthlessness' ↗
Beedell, 1992					↘			'decline'
Stradling & Hughes, 1993								↗ 'Renaissance'

Illustration 9: Comparative table showing 18 different interpretations of the 'dark age' and 'renaissance' in English music. From *Xenophilia in British Musical History* – Nicholas Temperley (1999).

It seems clear from Stanford's prolific activities as composer and pedagogue, as well as from the supremely high standards he set himself (and his pupils) in terms of technical accomplishment, structural clarity and overall quality, that he was indeed striving constantly for the best that was humanly possible in his field, and for a more disciplined approach to composition than had hitherto been the norm. Although regarded in his later years as reactionary by an impatient younger generation, Stanford was nevertheless, even as he reached his late-fifties, capable of occasional touches of considerable daring and originality – shown, for example, in the final lingering seventh chord of his lastingly-popular partsong *The Blue Bird* (Op.119 no.3, 1910). Some other choral works from his last few years are, moreover, amongst his finest creations: *Ye Holy Angels Bright* (Op.135 no.1, 1913) is as fine as the best motets of Brahms; the Latin *Magnificat* (Op.164, 1918) is a masterly work paying homage to Bach's contrapuntal style; and parts of the largely unperformed *Missa Via Victrix* (Op.173, 1919) show Stanford's inspiration still at the same high level as in earlier Latin works such as the *Stabat Mater*. Considering also the long list of his composition pupils – a list which reads like a 'who's who' of English composers in the first half of the twentieth century – we must surely concede that Stanford played a vital role in raising national musical standards and aspirations during the course of a long career, and was indeed a true leader of an 'English Musical Renaissance'.

Stanford's impact as a choral composer

Stanford's huge legacy of choral music (between one-third and half of his total output) covers a wide variety of genres from grand oratorio to simple anthem, extended choral ballad to humble partsong, and settings of Latin texts both large (*Requiem, Te Deum, Stabat Mater*) and small (*Three Motets*, Op.38). Some degree of unevenness in quality is unsurprising in any composer of such fecundity, and one of the aims of this study has

been to determine, from examination of contemporary press reports and, occasionally, other sources, the relative successes and failures amongst Stanford's choral works.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century – the years during which Stanford and his generation grew to maturity – oratorio was at the height of popularity with the English public, and it was the quest of many a native composer to attempt the form.

Stanford was tempted towards it twice during his earlier years, but while both *The Three Holy Children* and *Eden* received much praise from critics and public alike at their first appearance, significant reservations were also voiced about both works, and praise for technical accomplishment was frequently tempered with remarks concerning a lack of passion and inspiration (clearly shown in Tables 4 and 7). *Eden* in particular was thought to be too esoteric to become popular with the general public, and, like its predecessor, disappeared from public view after a mere handful of performances.

Despite the best intentions, and a great deal of effort on the part of Parry, Mackenzie, Stanford, Cowen and others, it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that an English oratorio – Elgar's *Gerontius* – established itself as firmly in the hearts and minds of the British music-loving public as the well-loved favourites by foreign composers.⁷

Although Stanford's two oratorios, despite some initial critical and public interest, ultimately failed to gain a permanent place in the repertoire, he was more successful in the realm of the choral ballad – a form which he developed and made particularly his own. With *The Revenge* Stanford achieved perhaps his greatest popular success, this short choral piece receiving more performances than any other of his choral works with orchestra, becoming a serious rival to Parry's *Blest Pair of Sirens* and Sullivan's *Golden Legend*, and remaining a regular feature of choral society programmes into the second

⁷ *Messiah* and *Elijah* were the two most frequently performed oratorios in later nineteenth century England, while *Israel in Egypt* and *Creation* were also very popular, along with works by Gounod and Dvořák.

half of the twentieth century – long after Sullivan’s work had been consigned to oblivion. Table 5 gives a clear indication of its enthusiastic welcome from the critics. Others of Stanford’s choral ballads – notably *The Voyage of Maeldune* and, most strikingly of all, *Phaudrig Crohoore* – achieved lasting popularity on a lesser scale (see Tables 6 and 8), but it was the two sets of sea songs (1904 and 1910) that proved the only true successors to *The Revenge* in securing a firm and permanent place in the affections of British choral singers. This popularity may be seen from the number of performances of *Songs of the Sea* and *Songs of the Fleet* listed in Appendix 1, although Table 11 shows a somewhat less than wholly enthusiastic initial reception for the *Songs of the Sea*.

Herbert Thompson’s perceptive observations on the fate of new choral works frequently having more to do with difficulties of performance or too intellectual a content (see chapter 3, 117-8) can explain the failures of some Stanford works to attract attention in the long term. *Eden*, for example, demands six soloists in addition to divided chorus with orchestra, is over-long, and has an esoteric resonance beyond the grasp of many.

Others of Stanford’s less successful works may have had a short performing life for other reasons, however. *Carmen Saeculare*, the *Installation Ode* and *East to West* are occasional works (respectively for the Queen’s Golden Jubilee, the Installation of a new Cambridge University Chancellor and a Chicago Exhibition). The only one of them to receive more than a single performance was the ‘Chicago’ Ode, performed in 1893, first by the Royal Choral Society in London, then during the CUMS Jubilee celebrations in Cambridge (though, curiously enough, not apparently heard in the American city for which it was written). Saint-Saëns, present at the Cambridge performance, made a point of commenting favourably upon this ‘oeuvre de circonstance’.

The 'Choral Overture' *Ave atque vale*, written in 1909 to mark the centenaries of the death of Haydn and the birth of Tennyson was also in many ways an occasional piece. Its brief topicality – it received three performance in the centenary year – caused it to be shelved for more than a decade, after which it was revived on three further occasions in the early 1920s.

Four other odes by Stanford received mere handfuls of performances. The earliest of these, the *Elegiac Ode* contains fine music and was praised by more than a few critics at the time of its first appearance at Norwich in 1884. The subject matter, however, is rather lugubrious, and many at the time found Whitman's poetry difficult. Possibly for these reasons, there appear to have been only seven performances of the work – the last of them in 1907. The setting of Gray's poem *The Bard* also turned out to have limited appeal, possibly due in part to the text and to its indelibly Welsh flavour, although Stanford's music is not his most inspired. Only two performances have come to light: the premier at Cardiff (1895) and a performance by CUMS the following year.

Tennyson was clearly a favourite poet of Stanford's – he set him on numerous occasions. In the case of the *Ode on the Death of Wellington*, however, the composer perhaps made an unwise choice, for it is difficult to understand how this typically serious poem could have much resonance with an audience in 1908, referring as it did to a sombre event fifty-six years before. The music does little to lighten the mood, and the Bristol premiere was followed by just one further hearing in Leeds two years later, after which the piece was, like its subject, buried. Stanford's enthusiasm for Tennyson may, in fact, have blinded him to some of the poet's mannerisms and shortcomings.⁸

The *Ode to Discord* was a 'musical joke' of limited appeal and relevance. After an initial flurry of performances (three of them in 1909), this demonstration of Stanford's

⁸ Some critics had commented upon the slightly irritating repetition of the words 'And we came' at the beginning of each new section in *The Voyage of Maeldune* (see chapter 3, 130).

inability to come to terms with modern trends was given a couple of further hearings in Norwich (1910) and Liverpool (1911) and then discreetly laid to rest.

Of Stanford's larger sacred choral works, it is the three with Latin texts that proved the most successful and the most frequently revived. Several critics expressed high praise for what they detected as a greater degree of emotional freedom of expression in the *Requiem* (1897), the *Te Deum* (1898) and the *Stabat Mater* (1907), and it was generally felt that in these works the composer came closest to true greatness. Tables 9, 10 and 12 show early press reaction to these works, indicating that it was only in the case of the *Te Deum* that a few critics expressed disappointment with the emotional temperature of the music.

It could be argued, however, that it is in Stanford's music for the Anglican Church that his greatest contribution to English choral music is to be found. His *Service in B flat* (1879) set a new standard in Anglican liturgical music, and, despite the apparent lack of any critical attention in the press, very speedily gained a wide circulation, the *Te Deum* in particular becoming almost a *sine qua non* at festival and celebratory services throughout the Anglican communion. His subsequent canticle settings were taken up with equal enthusiasm, though wideness of circulation and frequency of performance were in some cases limited by their greater vocal demands (in particular, the double-choir Gloria of the A major setting, and the demanding treble and baritone solos in the G major). His first published anthem, *The Lord is my shepherd*, also gained a favoured place in church and cathedral repertoires, as did, in course of time, several later pieces. It is noteworthy that, during the decades of the mid-twentieth century when Stanford's music was largely neglected and unknown, the church music remained as popular as ever, keeping his name very much alive in choirhall and cloister.

Although the publication, from the 1860s onwards, of ever-increasing quantities of new partsongs, anthems and service settings proved too great for the capacity of critics

or journals, which could appraise only a small proportion of them in their regular review columns, such works of Stanford's as received attention were, with very few exceptions, appreciatively reviewed. In the absence of critical comment, however, the printed service lists of cathedrals, churches and college chapels, and concert programmes of secular choirs, can give some small indication of the popularity of specific pieces.⁹

Larger choral works intended for the concert hall, though also in plentiful supply, were far more likely to receive detailed critical attention, and Stanford's oratorios, cantatas and choral ballads almost all received extensive comment in the press. It is here that a greater divergence of critical opinion can be found.

In general terms, there was a considerable amount of interest in and positive evaluation of Stanford's choral works with orchestra, and there is a plentiful supply of reviews for published scores and first performances. Except in cases where a paper had missed the first hearing of a work, reviews of second and subsequent performances were usually shorter, and sometimes very brief. The critics from whom the most consistently favourable opinions flowed included close Stanford associates such as Fuller Maitland, Barclay Squire and C.L. Graves, long-serving critics including Bennett and Thompson, and others such as Haweis, Frost, Stratton and, later, Baughan.¹⁰ Adverse criticism of Stanford's choral music (and, indeed, that of his music school contemporaries) flowed freely from the pens of Shaw, Blackburn and Runciman, who saw it as their mission to alter the course of English music away from a constant diet of oratorios and cantatas.

The tone of criticism in different papers and journals naturally varies over time with changes of critic, and precise identification of authorship is often impossible due to the

⁹ Appendix 1 contains much material deriving from such sources. The popularity of *The Lord is my shepherd* with choirs was clearly quite uninfluenced by a negative review in *MMR* (see chapter 3, 125-6).

¹⁰ Joseph Bennett expressed great reservations about some early Stanford choral pieces, but was converted to a much more positive view by the *Elegiac Ode* (1884) and *The Three Holy Children* (1885), thereafter extolling the composer as a leader of the Renaissance. Herbert Thompson showed his enthusiasm for Stanford's music from the outset with a warmly appreciative review of *The Revenge* (1886) just after his appointment to the *Yorkshire Post*.

large number of unsigned articles. Certain general trends can be traced, however: of the national dailies, *The Times* and the *Telegraph* could generally be relied upon for enthusiastic comment, as could the *Guardian* and the *Athenaeum* amongst the weekly journals. The *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Saturday Review* were less predictable. Of the musical journals, the *Musical Times* was generally the most likely to carry extensive reviews (mostly enthusiastic) of the new choral music of Stanford and others. The *Musical Standard* and *Musical News* also provided mostly positive comment, though the *Monthly Musical Record* was less predictable, both in its coverage of new works and in its attitude towards them. As has been stated earlier, the *Musical Opinion*, with its primary function as a trade journal, is less valuable as a source of original critical comment, and for many years contented itself with reprinting reviews from elsewhere.

Academicism, professorism and cleverness

Admiration for Stanford's technical accomplishment is well-nigh universal amongst those writing or commenting upon his music during his lifetime, and it is frequently expressed in the most effusive terms: 'masterly skill', 'phenomenal fluency', 'astonishingly clever', 'master of technical means', and 'technical brilliance' are just a few of the epithets encountered, with endless variations, on a regular basis. Comments of this type begin early in Stanford's career – his setting of *God is our hope and strength* (1877) receives plaudits from several sources, including such references as 'technically perfect' (*The Examiner*), 'accomplished musicianship' (*Cambridge Chronicle* and *Musical World*, the latter probably by Davison), 'very clever production' (Gruneisen in the *Athenaeum*), and 'good and skilful work' (*Truth*). Only in the last case is a complimentary comment on technical accomplishment linked to an otherwise negative view of the music. Praise of this kind continues throughout Stanford's life, and seems to occur more frequently in connection with his music than with that of his

contemporaries, and quite often in the context of wholly laudatory reviews. From the mid-1880s onwards, however, constantly reiterated appreciation of his technical prowess becomes qualified, in the minds of several critics, by doubts concerning the emotional temperature of some of his music. The first significant occurrence of this two-sided view appears in some reviews of *The Three Holy Children* (1885), where Stephen Stratton expresses reservations and doubts in a lengthy, but well-considered and expressed article in the *Birmingham Daily Post* (see Chapter 3, 106).

From this point onwards several critics with generally positive views towards Stanford's music express doubts as to his emotional involvement in some, though not all of his works as they appear. *The Voyage of Maeldune* (1889), *Eden* (1891), and the *Te Deum* (1898) all receive comments of this ambivalent type from generally supportive critics, including Bennett, Frost, Shedlock and Baughan. Even Thompson – surely one of the most erudite, unbiased and even-handed of critics – points to this weakness in Stanford's musical persona in the course of a positive review of *The Last Post* (see Chapter 4, 199-200). It is important to point out, however, that many references to impeccable (or 'clever') technique appear in wholly laudatory contexts throughout Stanford's career, and occasions when a term such as 'clever' can be interpreted as a negative comment are in a minority.

It is the critics of the 'new' school – notably Shaw, Blackburn and Runciman – who seem to take the notion of technical 'cleverness' and use it, particularly in Stanford's case, almost as a stick with which to beat him. Shaw is well-known for his loathing of cantatas, oratorios, and the musical festivals that encouraged them, for he comments frequently on the subject.¹¹ It seems, nevertheless, that he is quite genuine in his admiration for Stanford's technical accomplishments, but feels strongly that he is so often wasting these talents on unworthy projects (i.e. cantatas and oratorios). Another

¹¹ See, for example, 'Oratorios and Shams', *Wo*, 25 June 1890, reprinted in Laurence, *Shaw's Music*, vol. 2, 96-102.

article by Shaw demonstrates this view very clearly, whilst expressing a desire to see him more often employed in operatic ventures – in ‘The Nautch Girl’ he recommends Stanford as a capable composer for the stage:

Why ... Mr [D’oily] Carte should have looked to Mr Solomon to replace Sir Arthur [Sullivan] is a problem which reason cannot solve. The right man, Mr Villiers Stanford, was ready to hand – for I presume that the composer of the Irish symphony would not disdain to follow in the footsteps of Mozart any more than Sir Arthur did. He has the technical training and the culture which stood Sullivan in such good stead; and there must be still alive in him something of the young Irishman of genius who wrote the spirited Cavalier tunes, not to mention some numbers from *The Veiled Prophet*, before *he was forced back into the dismal routine of manufacturing impossible trash like The Revenge for provincial festival purposes ...* [My italics]¹²

Shaw so frequently infers that Stanford’s technical prowess is perhaps linked to the emotional restraint in much of his music, that he finds it expedient on occasion to state quite clearly that he is genuinely praising the composer:

The Stanford quartet [no.1 in G, Op.44] was exceedingly clever: this I say in praise; for if I am to have scientific music, I had rather have it cleverly so than stupidly so. And I maintain that Professor Tyndall himself could not have written a quartet more creditable to the Irish intellect.¹³

And again:

The next chamber music concert I was at ... was ... one given by Mr Gompertz, who unearthed a very good quartet in A minor [no.2, Op.45], by Professor Villiers Stanford, which for some reason had not been performed in public before in London. It is a genuine piece of absolute music, *alive with feeling* from beginning to end, and *free from those Stanfordian aberrations into pure cleverness which remind one so much of Brahms’s aberrations into pure stupidity*. [My italics]¹⁴

And in praise of Stanford’s music to *Becket*:

He no longer resorts to clever technical trifling to conceal his want of interest in his own work: he now keeps to the point; ... The mills of the gods have not yet ground his cleverness small enough nor his inner purpose fine enough to make it wise to claim for him the place among European composers which he is probably capable of reaching, for he is in some ways a tough, incorrigible subject; but I confess that I am more than commonly curious to hear what his next symphony will be like. [My italics]¹⁵

It is easy enough to see in much of Shaw’s writing how exasperated he becomes whenever he sees academicism to the fore in new musical works emanating from the various music college professors. In Stanford’s case, in particular, he hopes and pleads for a freer approach, and rejoices when he finds it. One such occasion is provided by

¹² ‘The Nautch Girl’, *Wo*, 8 July 1891, reprinted in Laurence, *Shaw’s Music*, vol.2, 388-93. It seems a great pity that there is no written record of Shaw’s reaction to Stanford’s later operatic ventures, especially *Much Ado* and *The Critic* – two works for which he might easily have waxed enthusiastic.

¹³ ‘A Lecture Recital’, *Wo*, 6 December 1893, reprinted in Laurence, *Shaw’s Music*, vol. 3, 55-60.

¹⁴ ‘Ride a Cock Horse’, *Wo*, 21 February 1894, reprinted in Laurence, *Shaw’s Music*, vol. 3, 136-42.

¹⁵ ‘Stanford’s Becket’, *Wo*, 11 April 1894, reprinted in Laurence, *Shaw’s Music*, vol. 3, 174-80.

the ‘Chicago’ ode, *East to West*, in which Shaw admires the ‘tunefulness and bounce’ and evidence of the composer’s ‘native audacity’, while at the same time decrying the debilitating effect of the ‘professorism which is Stanford’s bane’ (see Chapter 3, 156).

The article continues:

I cry “Professor!” whenever I hear the natural flow of music checked by some crude and wooden progression, inscrutable in its motive – perhaps an idle experiment in the introduction and resolution of a discord, perhaps an austere compliance with some imaginary obligation of the sham grammar which is called scientific harmony, perhaps – and of this I often very grievously suspect Stanford – a forced avoidance of the vernacular in music under the impression that it is vulgar.¹⁶

As far as Shaw is concerned, it is Stanford’s technique that so often gets in the way of musical expressiveness and depth of meaning.

Shaw’s principal protégé, John Runciman, also expresses impatience with the whole English ‘music school’ set up, sneering at it with some frequency. Writing of a Joachim recital, he criticises the violinist’s interpretation of a Beethoven sonata as follows:

... without compunction [Joachim] takes the solemnly passionate adagio from Beethoven’s C minor sonata (Op. 30, No. 2) at an easy trot, and shakes it down into a movement empty enough to have emanated from the Royal College of Music or the Leipzig Conservatoire.¹⁷

While a few months later he remarks:

No master ever yet learnt composition at a school; and whatever latent genius there may be amongst English students is depressed beyond fear of its rising again by the teaching of “sound” professors, with their ignorant cant and “classical form,” their perpetual injunctions to learn to keep rules before breaking them, their dread and genuine concern lest their pupils should disgrace them by doing something extravagant or unusual. ... it would seem that the Academical atmosphere paralyzes the most hopeful talent.¹⁸

Although Runciman’s passionate criticism is not infrequently vitriolic, vindictive and abusive, there are times, as with his mentor Shaw, when he appears to express quite genuine appreciation and admiration, as in this review of a Stanford symphony:

It may soon be advisable to take the Philharmonic Society seriously. ... now it appears they have induced Professor Stanford to write them a fresh, virile, manly, and in some ways noble piece of music: a symphony in D, his fifth, entitled “L’Allegro ed il Pensieroso.” This is not to say that Professor Stanford’s fifth symphony matches the great Fifth Symphony. The programme (in the shape of liberal quotations from Milton’s “L’Allégro”) provided by the composer, clearly amounts to a confession that in

¹⁶ ‘Concerts and Recitals’, *Wo*, 17 May 1893, reprinted in Laurence, *Shaw’s Music*, vol. 2, 883-90.

¹⁷ ‘Joachim and the Popular Concerts’, *SatRev*, 9 March 1895, 315.

¹⁸ ‘English Music and English Criticism’, *SatRev*, 26 October 1895, 410-11.

at any rate three of his four movements his aim was somewhere below the highest; and that is well. *We do not expect the greatest things of music from within sheltering college walls: they are achieved by men who dare to live freely in the open and drink the cup of life greedily.* ... On occasion, as Academics will, Dr. Stanford has tried the great manner, with results; but here he seems to have said, "Thus I am, thus I see and feel, thus I will write," and accordingly, by working sincerely, directly, without pretence or affectation, he has produced an art-work of which that mysterious entity "English music" may well be proud. Verily, sincerity in art brings a rich reward; but the gods of sham laugh loudly in their tinsel heaven when their buskined worshippers trip. [My italics]¹⁹

Even here, however, some carping is not avoided, and another opportunity to berate colleges and academies cannot be resisted.

It is Runciman, too, who sets out at some length the philosophy underlying the 'new' (subjective) style of criticism, contrasting it with the 'old' (objective), in the *Fortnightly Review*.²⁰ During the course of this article, he is surprisingly appreciative of three critics – Fuller Maitland, Barclay Squire, and Stratton – who, in his opinion, though not overtly members of the 'new' school, nevertheless express their own strongly held beliefs and reactions to new music. The 'old' school receive derisive dismissal, although Bennett is given credit for being honest and honourable.

Shaw's other main disciple, Blackburn (born the same year as Runciman) writes in a similarly pungent style, expressing admiration for Stanford's technical aplomb while, in the cases of the *Requiem* and the *Te Deum*, castigating him for writing 'inappropriate' music. *The Last Post* is dismissed as 'a blare, and a shouting, and a rush' behind which lies nothing: according to this reviewer, Stanford, despite his 'fine mastery of music' cannot succeed in 'robust' or 'heroic' subjects.²¹ Apart from these three articles, Blackburn's main criticism of Stanford lies in his outspoken denunciation of the 1894 Bach Choir performance of the *St Matthew Passion* – an article that caused a considerable furore (see Chapter 2, 76-9).

¹⁹ 'Dr. Stanford's New Symphony', *SatRev*, 30 March 1895, 410-11.

²⁰ 'Musical Criticism and the Critics', *FortRev*, vol. 56 (July-December 1894), 170-83.

²¹ For fuller quotation see Chapter 4, 198-9.

It is certainly significant that all three of these men were ardent Wagnerians, believing that the true future of music lay in the direction of such *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Stanford, on the other hand, with his ambivalent attitude to the German composer, could never agree with such a view.

By 1907, the year of the *Stabat Mater*, generally regarded as his finest achievement in the sphere of large-scale choral music, Stanford's three most vociferous critics were no longer active: Blackburn was dead, Shaw no longer wrote musical reviews on a regular basis, and Runciman had ceased to review concerts. Even so, the reviews of this fine work often make reference to academic complexities, though in order to point out their absence, and a consequent enhancement of expressive and emotional impact (see Chapter 4, 209-21).

Stanford himself probably found negative references to technical accomplishment both puzzling and irrelevant. As far as he was concerned, a secure technical foundation was a *sine qua non* for any successful composer, and he did all in his power to ensure that all his composition pupils acquired the requisite tools of their trade. His success in this field is amply verified by many of those pupils, whether their relationship with him had been comfortable or not.²²

What, then, is the consensus of opinion concerning Stanford's choral works during and immediately following his lifetime? Underpinning almost every written account of performance or publication is the universal admiration of technical prowess discussed at some length above. This applies equally to critics both well- and ill-disposed to Stanford's music, and also to his composition pupils, several of whom refer to the

²² One example of such a testimony comes from one of his last pupils, Thomas Wood: 'If I could have gone to him ten years earlier I should have less uncomfortable memories ... He made me angry, he made me unhappy, he made me rebel, *but he taught me my job ...*' [My italics]. Quoted in Rodmell, *Stanford*, 353.

poised pencil, the ringing of a student error, and the seraphic smile which so often accompanied the solving of a technical shortcoming.²³ Admiration for his skill in orchestration is also widespread, and here, the occasional comparisons with other composers nearly always reflect in Stanford's favour. It is the inspiration and the emotive feeling behind Stanford's music that is frequently the cause for debate: the principal bone of contention with Shaw and his followers, and a source of nagging doubt with many another critic. There is a widely held sense of a certain aloofness and detachment in Stanford's larger-scale choral works – felt, perhaps, to be the unfortunate result of an English Gentleman unable to allow himself the slightest vulgarity of expression. Solid heartiness he achieved in his most successful secular works – *The Revenge* and the sets of sea songs, and a certain amount of red-blooded passion is allowed to shine through in the great Latin works – the *Requiem*, the *Te Deum* and the *Stabat Mater*. It is surely no accident that these are the very pieces which survived the composer's lifetime, and are still occasionally revived today. Stanford, it seems, though he expressed strong passion frequently enough in his conversation and in the written word, could not bring himself to do so often enough in his music. It was Elgar – the dark horse who came up, as it were, from behind – who was uninhibited in this respect, and whose first oratorio – the full-blooded *Dream of Gerontius* – fired the enthusiasm of the British public in a way that Stanford's 'mixolydian angels' could not.

Despite lingering doubts as to his true greatness, there were many critics of Stanford's period who held a very high opinion of him as a choral composer, and who entertained high hopes of the best of his music surviving into the more distant future. Overshadowed in his last years by the music of a younger generation of English composers – many of them his pupils – and unable to comprehend or sympathise with new approaches to harmony, instrumentation and texture, Stanford died a saddened and

²³ 'Charles Villiers Stanford by some of his pupils', *MusL*, July 1924, 193-209.

puzzled man. The fact that a large proportion of his music, like that of so many other recently deceased composers before and since, subsequently fell into a period of neglect should not be regarded in any sense as either a just or a final judgement of its quality. A rediscovery and fresh appraisal of Stanford's choral oeuvre has begun, and it is to be hoped that the opinions of the composer's contemporaries, outlined in the foregoing pages, will provide an illuminating backdrop to the reactions of twenty-first century musicians discovering his music anew.

Appendix I

CHARLES VILLIERS STANFORD: THE CHORAL MUSIC

List of press references, including reviews and previews of performances and publications, together with a representative selection of advertisements

Key to abbreviations of journal/newspaper titles

Ath	Athenaeum
BDG	Birmingham Daily Gazette
BDM	Birmingham Daily Mail
BDP	Birmingham Daily Post
CamChr	Cambridge Chronicle
CamDN	Cambridge Daily News
CamEx	Cambridge Express
CamRev	Cambridge Review
Choir	The Choir
ChMus	Church Musician
ChT	Church Times
ContRev	Contemporary Review
DChr	Daily Chronicle
DGr	Daily Graphic
DN	Daily News
DTel	Daily Telegraph
Exam	Examiner
FortRev	Fortnightly Review
GBS	George Bernard Shaw (in various journals: all references taken from 'Shaw's Music', Bodley Head, 3 vols.)
Graph	Graphic
Guard	Guardian
Haz	Hazell's Annual (all references taken from Lewis Foreman's 'Music in England 1885-1920')
LM	Leeds Mercury
ManGuard	Manchester Guardian
MusL	Music & Letters
MMR	Monthly Musical Record
MN	Musical News
MO	Musical Opinion
MP	Morning Post
MS	Musical Standard
MT	Musical Times
MW	Musical World
O&C	Organist and Choirmaster
PMG	Pall Mall Gazette

SatRev	Saturday Review
Strand	Strand Musical Magazine
T	The Times
WestRev	Westminster Review
Wo	World
YM	Year's Music
YP	Yorkshire Post

Key to classification of press references to performances and publications

Unmarked	=	simple mention of a performance with no qualification or comment on the music or its rendition OR simple mention of publication with no assessment of quality.
A	=	publisher's advertisement
1	=	mention of a performance with very brief passing comment on the quality of the music or its rendition OR mention of a publication with very brief comment on quality or content.
2	=	comments of two or three sentences on performances and/or music OR mention of publication with comments of more than a single word or sentence.
3	=	review of medium length (c.50-100 words for performances, c.40-80 words for publications)
4	=	a more substantial review with some analytical appraisal or detail (over c.100 words for performances, over c.80 words for publications)
5	=	'in depth' review with some detailed analytical appraisal (over c.300 words for performances, over c.200 words for publications)

The term 'preview' indicates either a list of works to be performed in a concert or festival, with or without critical comment, or, if referring to an individual work, a mention of that work, with or without critical comment. The rating awarded to the entry will give some indication of the detail of any critical or analytical content.

TABLE ONE: SACRED CHORAL WORKS

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments	
Die Auferstehung (The Resurrection) (‘The Resurrection’) (‘The Resurrection’) (‘Rise again’) (‘Rise again’) (‘Rise again’)	5	CamChr	1875 22 May	4	1	CUMS (Cambridge)	21 May 1875	review of performance		
		MT	1881 1 June		A			advert	list of Chappell’s Vocal Library	
		MW	1884 9 February	95	A			advert	list of Chappell’s Vocal Library	
		CamRev	1888 26 April	284		Trinity College, Cambridge	6 May 1888	list of chapel music		
		CamRev	1889 2 May	306-7		ditto	19 May 1889	ditto		
CamRev	1892 12 May	ii		ditto	22 May 1892	ditto				
God is our hope and strength (Psalm 46)	8	CamChr	1877 26 May	8	3	CUMS (Cambridge)	22 May 1877	review of first performance		
		Exam	1877 26 May	662-3	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MW	1877 26 May	366	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1877 1 June	279-80	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MMR	1877 1 June	98		ditto	ditto	mention of first performance		
		MT	1877 1 June	291-2	5			review of score		
		Ath	1878 12 January	64	3			review of score		
		PMG	1881 3 June	11	1	London (Richter Concert)	30 May 1881	review of performance		
		Ath	1881 4 June	760	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MMR	1881 1 July	139	1	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1884 1 November		A			advert for printed score	with Op.10 & Op.12	
		LM	1904 15 July	5	3	Ripon (Cathedral Choirs Festival)	14 July 1904	review of performance		
		YP	1904 15 July	9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
MT	1904 1 August		2	ditto	ditto	ditto				
Service in B flat (Morning, Communion, Evening) 10	10	MT	1879 1 June	332	A			advert (new publications)	advert repeated in July and August	
		MS	1880 10 January	31		St Paul’s Cathedral, London	11 January 1880	list of Sunday music		
		MS	1880 31 January	79		St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin	1 February 1880	list of Sunday music		
		MT	1884 1 November		A			advert for printed score	with Op.8 & Op.12	
		MN	1908 31 October	392		St Luke’s, Chelsea	18 October 1908	list of Sunday music		
		Evening Service only	MN	1893 10 June	539		St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin	1 June 1893	report of Choirs Festival	
		Te Deum & Jubilate only	MN	1894 23 June	589	1	Winchester Cathedral	June 1894	report of Diocesan Choirs Festival	
		Evening Service only	O&C	1899 1 June	35		St Saviour’s, Southwark	11 May 1899	report of performance	with orchestral accompaniment
		Nicene Creed only	MN	1901 11 May	450		Liverpool Church Choir Association	30 April 1901	notice of performance	
		Evening Service only	MN	1903 16 May	470	1	Liverpool Church Choir Association	28 April 1903	account of Choirs Festival	
		Morning & Evening Service only	MN	1903 23 May	493		Christchurch Cathedral, New Zealand	Easter Day 1903	notice of performance	
		Evening Service only	MT	1903 1 August	553	A			advert for full score & parts	Novello new publications
		Jubilate & Benedictus only	MT	1903 1 September	614	A			advert for full score & parts	Novello new publications
		Evening Service only	MN	1906 9 June	590		St Paul’s, Liverpool	31 May 1906	notice of Choirs Festival	
		Evening Service only	MN	1907 20 April	395		Penshurst Parish Church	12 April 1907	notice of performance	with orchestra
		Evening Service only	MN	1909 23 October	384		Basford Parish Church, Nottingham	14 or 17 October 1909	notice of performance	
		Evening Service only	MN	1909 23 October	384		St Mark’s, Tenby	3 or 10 October 1909	notice of performance	
		Evening Service only	MN	1912 22 June	612		St James, Birch-in-Rusholme	16 June 1912	notice of performance	
Evening Service only	MN	1912 13 July	40		St Peter’s, Ealing	30 June 1912	notice of performance	with orchestra		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
Evening Service in A	12	MT	1880 1 May	234		St Paul's Cathedral, London (Festival of the Sons of Clergy)	12 May 1880	notice of forthcoming service to include 'a new Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis' by Stanford	
		T	1880 13 May	11	3	St Paul's Cathedral, London	12 May 1880	report of Festival Service	Festival of the Sons of Clergy
		MW	1880 15 May	307	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Guard	1880 19 May	642	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MS	1880 22 May	323	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1880 1 June	298-9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	reprinted from the <i>Times</i>
		MT	1880 1 June	295-6	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MS	1880 15 May	319		St Paul's Cathedral, London	16 May 1880	list of Sunday music advert	first performance with organ accomp. Novello new publications
		MT	1880 1 July	364	A				
		CamRev	1880 17 November	xxiii		Trinity College, Cambridge	21 November 1880	list of chapel music	
		MT	1883 1 February	104		St Paul's Cathedral	25 January 1883	notice of performance advert for printed score	at Patronal Festival service with Op.8 & Op.10
		MT	1884 1 November		A				
		CamRev	1884 5 November	xxix		Trinity College, Cambridge	9 November 1884	list of chapel music	
		MT	1890 1 November	683		Sheffield	20 October 1890	report of Festival Service	with Edwin Lemare at the organ
		MN	1893 28 January	90	1	St Paul's Cathedral	25 January 1893	report of performance	with orchestra (Patronal Festival)
		MT	1893 1 February	79	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1893 11 February	124	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1893 23 September	264		Worcester Cathedral	September 1893	report of performance	Three Choirs Festival closing service with orchestra
		MN	1895 12 October	298		Newcastle Cathedral	13? October 1895	notice of performance	
		MN	1898 24 September	269	1	St Thomas, Newcastle	18 September 1898	report of performance	with orchestra
		MT	1899 1 October	669		Worcester Cathedral	September 1899	report of performance	Three Choirs Festival opening service with orchestra
		MN	1918 18 May	168		Sons of Clergy Festival (St Paul's)	8 May 1918	report of Festival Service	
		MN	1919 6 December	174		St Paul's Cathedral	24 November 1919	report of performance	Worshipful Company of Musicians' Service
Awake, my heart	16	DN	1881 4 November	3	2	St Paul's Cathedral, London	3 November 1881	review of first performance	London Church Choir Association
		DTel	1881 4 November	3	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		Guard	1881 9 November	1610-11	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		ChT	1881 11 November	770	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MT	1881 1 December	631-2	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MO	1881 1 December	101	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		CamRev	1882 6 December	152	2	CUMS, Cambridge	2 December 1882	review of performance	
		CamChr	1882 9 December	4	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1882 9 December	782	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1883 1 January	19	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1884 27 March	6	2	Bach Choir, London	26 March 1884	review of performance	
		Ath	1884 29 March	418-9	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1884 1 April	204	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1884 1 May	115		ditto	ditto	ditto	report of performance
		CamRev	1884 5 November	xxix		Trinity College, Cambridge	9 November 1884	list of chapel music	
		CamRev	1887 27 April	276		ditto	15 May 1887	ditto	
		CamRev	1888 8 November	73		ditto	11 November 1888	ditto	
		MN	1897 27 February	208		Lincoln's Inn, London	28 February 1897	list of Sunday music	
		CamRev	1897 13 May	336		Trinity College, Cambridge	16 May 1897	list of chapel music	
		MN	1897 17 July	64		Salisbury Cathedral	18 July 1897	list of Sunday music	
	MN	1912 22 June	612		Lincoln Cathedral	23 June 1912	ditto		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
The Three Holy Children	22	MW	1884 17 May	313					preview of 1885 Birmingham Festival
		MW	1884 29 November	749					report of Birmingham Festival Committee
		MT	1885 1 August	468, 476	4				detailed review of score
		MT	1885 1 August						preview of first performance
		MW	1885 8 August	495					preview of 1885 Birmingham Festival
		MP	1885 22 August	3	2				preview following rehearsal
		MW	1885 29 August	539	3				comments on score
		BDG	1885 29 August	5	5	Birmingham Festival	28 August 1885		review of first performance
		BDM	1885 29 August	2-3	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		BDP	1885 29 August	4-5	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DN	1885 29 August	3	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DTel	1885 29 August	3	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MP	1885 29 August	5	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		PMG	1885 29 August	4	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		SatRev	1885 29 August	287-8	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1885 29 August	10	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Guard	1885 2 September	1289-90	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1885 5 September	312	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Graph	1885 5 September	262	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MW	1885 5 September	555-7	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MS	1885 5 September	143-5	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		SatRev	1885 5 September	315-6	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MS	1885 12 September	162	2	ditto	ditto		letter referring to first performance and offering critical opinion
		MMR	1885 1 October	221-3	3	ditto	ditto		review of first performance
		MO	1885 1 October	18-19	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MO	1885 1 October	27-29	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1885 1 October	591-2	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Haz	1885 end of year	LF33	1	ditto	ditto		reference to first performance
		MT	1885 1 November	658-9	3	Birmingham	7 October 1885		review of second performance
		MT	1885 1 November	606		Wolverhampton	16 November 1885		notice of forthcoming performance
		ManGuard	1886 26 February	8	5	Manchester	25 February 1886		review of performance
		MS	1886 6 March	148	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1886 1 April	211-2	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1886 10 April	495-6	3	London Musical Society	7 April 1886		ditto
		DTel	1886 10 April	5	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Graph	1886 10 April	390	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
	MW	1886 10 April	237	3	ditto	ditto		ditto	
	T	1886 10 April	5	3	ditto	ditto		ditto	
	Guard	1886 14 April	542	3	ditto	ditto		ditto	
	MT	1886 1 May	274	3	ditto	ditto		ditto	
	MT	1887 1 April	219	2	Liverpool	15 March 1887		ditto	
(part only)		MT	1887 1 November	665		Birmingham Festival Choral Society	13 October 1887	notice of performance	
(part only)		MN	1894 22 December	539		Worcester Festival Choral Society	4 December 1894	ditto	Orchestra led by Elgar
'The heathen shall fear thy name' (part 1, no.6)		MN	1893 30 September	292		St Paul's Cathedral, London	1 October 1893	list of Sunday music	The Three Holy Children, no.6 – as anthem
'The heathen shall fear thy name' (part 1, no.6)		MN	1897 9 October	317		ditto	10 October 1897	ditto	ditto

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
Blessed are the dead	—	CamRev	1887 9 February	196		King's College, Cambridge	10 February 1887	list of chapel music	Evensong after funeral of Provost of King's Founder's Day service
		CamRev	1887 9 February	196		Trinity College, Cambridge	13 February 1887	list of chapel music	
		CamRev	1888 29 November	128		King's College, Cambridge	30 November 1888	list of chapel music	
		CamRev	1888 29 November	128		King's College, Cambridge	6 December 1888	list of chapel music	
		CamRev	1889 31 October	40		Trinity College, Cambridge	2 November 1889	list of chapel music	
The Lord is my shepherd	—	MT	1886 1 November	673	3			review of score	St Andrew, Ashley Place, London St Andrew, Ashley Place, London Cathedral Choirs Festival during Evensong during Leeds Festival
		MW	1887 5 February	99				list of new anthems	
		MMR	1887 1 March	65	3			review of score	
		CamRev	1887 27 April	276		Trinity College, Cambridge	7 May 1887	list of chapel music	
		CamRev	1889 2 May	306-7		ditto	11 May 1889	ditto	
		CamRev	1891 5 February	188		ditto	7 February 1891	ditto	
		MN	1897 6 February	136		London, SW	7 February 1897	list of Sunday music	
		MN	1897 23 October	364		Salisbury Cathedral	24 October 1897	ditto	
		MN	1898 29 January	117		London, SW	30 January 1898	ditto	
		YP	1911 21 July	6	1	York Minster	20 July 1911	report of service	
		MN	1911 29 July	104		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 August	526		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1915 23 October	394		Carlisle Cathedral	October 1915	notice of performance	
		MT	1915 1 December	745	1	St Nicholas, Bristol	10 November 1915	report of performance	
		MN	1920 17 April	356		Carlisle Cathedral	18 April 1920	list of Sunday music	
		MN	1920 17 April	356		Rochester Cathedral	18 April 1920	ditto	
	MT	1922 1 November	799		Leeds Parish Church	October 1922	report of performance		
O Praise the Lord of Heaven (Psalm 150)	27	MW	1887 16 April	300		Manchester Exhibition	3 May 1887	preview of performance	
		Graph	1887 30 April	455	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		ManGuard	1887 4 May	6	3	ditto	ditto	review of first performance	
		MW	1887 7 May	361	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MW	1887 7 May	353	3	ditto	ditto	review of score	
		MT	1887 1 August	491-2	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1888 28 July	138-9	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
Justorum animae	38/1	CamRev	1888 22 February	216		Trinity College, Cambridge	24 February 1888	list of chapel music	
Service in F (Morning, Communion, Evening) Communion & Evening Service only Morning & Evening Service only Communion Service only Morning & Evening Service only Evening Service only	36	MT	1889 1 December	744	4			review of score	Choirs Festival Evensong
		CamRev	1889 28 November	112		Trinity College, Cambridge	1 December 1889	list of chapel music	
		CamRev	1890 8 May	311		ditto	8 June 1890	ditto	
		CamRev	1892 27 October	33		ditto	30 October 1892	ditto	
		CamRev	1892 1 December	115		ditto	1 December 1892	ditto	
MT	1925 1 August	728	1	Salisbury Cathedral	1 July 1925	report of performance			
And I saw another angel	37/1	MT	1890 1 April	235	1			review of score	
		CamRev	1890 30 October	50		Trinity College, Cambridge	1 November 1890	list of chapel music	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(And I saw another angel)	(37/1)	CamRev	1892 27 October	33		ditto	1 November 1892	ditto	
		MN	1913 8 November	407		Leytonstone	31 October 1913	report of performance	local Church Choir Association
If thou shalt confess	37/2	MT	1890 1 April	235	1			review of score	
		MN	1897 1 May	422		Preston Parish Church	2 May 1897	list of Sunday music	
		MN	1897 10 July	40		St Mary's, Thorpe, Surrey	11 July 1897	ditto	
Eden	40	Haz	1890 end of year	LF40					mention of 'new oratorio' for 1891 Birmingham Festival
		ChMus	1891 1 March	41		Birmingham Festival			announcement of first performance
		MN	1891 6 March	7		ditto			ditto
		MN	1891 26 June	343	2				Stanford rehearsing in Birmingham
		MT	1891 1 July	420-1	2				rehearsal in Birmingham
		ChMus	1891 1 August	120		ditto			notice of forthcoming first performance
		MN	1891 14 August	485-7	1				preview of first performance
		MS	1891 12 September	218-9	5				detailed preview of score
		MN	1891 18 September	576					Stanford rehearsing in Birmingham
		MN	1891 25 September	592		London			notice of forthcoming performance by the Royal Choral Society
		MMR	1891 1 October	225					preview of Birmingham Festival
		MT	1891 1 October	598-9	3				preview of score
		DChr	1891 1 October	5	4	London			detailed report of London rehearsal (30 September)
		MN	1891 2 October	616	4				detailed review of score
		MS	1891 3 October	268		Birmingham			report of Birmingham rehearsals
		MS	1891 3 October	277					news of the indisposition of Mme Albani
		DGr	1891 5 October	7	2	ditto			report of rehearsals, with comments on the placing of the choir
		DN	1891 5 October	2	3	ditto			ditto
		MN	1891 9 October	1					news of a replacement soloist for Mme Albani
		BDG	1891 8 October	6	5	Birmingham Festival	7 October 1891		review of first performance
		BDM	1891 8 October	2	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		BDP	1891 8 October	8	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DGr	1891 8 October	11	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DN	1891 8 October	3	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DTel	1891 8 October	5	3	ditto	ditto		ditto (first, short notice)
		MP	1891 8 October	5	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		ManGuard	1891 8 October	8	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		PMG	1891 8 October	2	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1891 8 October	7	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DChr	1891 9 October	6	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
DTel	1891 9 October	3	5	ditto	ditto		ditto (second, substantial notice)		
MN	1891 9 October	629-30	3	ditto	ditto		ditto		
Ath	1891 10 October	493	3	ditto	ditto		ditto (first, short notice)		
Graph	1891 10 October	428	5	ditto	ditto		ditto		
MS	1891 10 October	286-9	5	ditto	ditto		ditto		
Guard	1891 14 October	1641-2	5	ditto	ditto		ditto		
GBS/Wo	1891 14 October	11/424-9	4	ditto	ditto		review of Birmingham Festival		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments		
(Eden)	(40)	Ath	1891 17 October	523-5	5	ditto	ditto	review of first performance			
		SatRev	1891 17 October	445-6	4	ditto	ditto	ditto			
		MN	1891 30 October	693		ditto	ditto	comments on popularity of various works: first perf. of <i>Eden</i> sold out			
		MMR	1891 1 November	245-7	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	review of first performance		
		MO	1891 1 November	54-5	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1891 1 November	660-1	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1891 1 November	688	A				advert for score		
		MT	1891 1 November	694	A/3	ditto	ditto	ditto	advert for score quoting extracts from reviews		
		CamRev	1891 12 November	74-5	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	descriptive article following first performance		
		DN	1891 19 November	3	3	Royal Choral Society, London	18 November 1891	ditto	review of performance		
		PMG	1891 19 November	2	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		T	1891 19 November	6	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		DGr	1891 20 November	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		DTel	1891 20 November	3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MN	1891 20 November	754	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Ath	1891 21 November	692	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		SatRev	1891 28 November	612	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MMR	1891 1 December	278-9	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1891 1 December	722-3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Haz	1891 end of year	LF43-5	3	Birmingham Festival	7 October 1891	ditto	brief account of the work as heard at the Birmingham Festival		
		MN	1892 12 February	156	2	Second Birmingham performance	4 February 1892	ditto	review of performance		
		MT	1892 1 March	153	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MN	1892 26 February	195	3	Hampstead Conservatoire	22 February 1892	ditto	ditto	concert promoted by Madame Albani	
		MT	1892 1 March	150	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		LM	1903 19 March	6	4	Leeds Philharmonic Society	18 March 1903	ditto	ditto		
		YP	1903 19 March	6	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1903 1 April	264	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		LM	1909 1 December	3	3	Leeds Philharmonic Society	30 November 1909	ditto	ditto		
		YP	1909 1 December	9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MN	1909 11 December	566	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1910 1 January	43	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Mass in G	46	MN	1893 20 May	463	2			notice of forthcoming first performance with brief description of music	
				ChMus	1893 1 June	102-3	1	Brompton Oratory, London	26 May 1893	ditto	brief comment on first performance
MN	1893 3 June			510	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	review of first performance		
MT	1893 1 July			411	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
Ath	1893 2 September			331	2				review of score		
DN	1894 24 January			3	4	Bach Choir, London	23 January 1894	ditto	review of performance		
DTel	1894 24 January			5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
CamRev	1894 25 January			172-3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	description of work following first performance		
DGr	1894 25 January			5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
Ath	1894 27 January			121	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
Graph	1894 27 January			87	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
Guard	1894 31 January			172	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto		
GBS/Wo	1894 31 January			111/101-4	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	Shaw speculates on the work's possible qualities (not having heard it)		
MT	1894 1 February			96-7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
ChMus	1894 15 February			1		ditto	ditto	ditto	notice of performance		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Mass in G)	(46)	MO	1894 1 March	357	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		MN	1895 12 October	298	1	Brompton Oratory, London	6 October 1895	brief mention of performance	
I heard a voice from heaven (revised version of 'Blessed are the dead')	—	DTel	1896 3 February	5				preview of Lord Leighton's funeral, mentioning Stanford's anthem	
		T	1896 3 February	7				ditto	
		DTel	1896 4 February	5	2	St Paul's Cathedral, London	3 February 1896	account of Leighton's funeral	
		T	1896 4 February	12	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1896 8 February	121	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1896 1 March	192		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DChr	1896 21 August	3	1	St Paul's Cathedral, London	20 August 1896	account of Sir John Millais's funeral	
		DN	1896 21 August	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Graph	1896 29 August	267		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1896 29 August	184		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1896 1 September	604		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1898 1 October	289-90	1	St Paul's Cathedral, London	September 1898	account of Sir George Grey's funeral	
		MN	1899 30 December	583		St Paul's Cathedral, London	19 December 1899	account of a memorial service	
		MT	1910 1 June	376-7	1	St Paul's Cathedral, London	20 May 1910	account of memorial service for King Edward VII	
		MN	1918 19 October	116		St Paul's Cathedral, London	16 October 1918	account of Sir Hubert Parry's funeral	
Service in A (newly completed setting)	12	MT	1896 1 December	814	3			review of score with newly written Morning & Communion settings	
Requiem	63	MN	1897 21 August	title page	1			preview of Birmingham Festival	
		MN	1897 25 September	title page	1			ditto	
		DChr	1897 29 September	3	3	London		report of London rehearsal for first performance	
		PMG	1897 30 September	4	4			preview of Birmingham Festival, with brief analysis of score	
		Ath	1897 2 October	461	1	Birmingham		report of rehearsal for first performance	
		DN	1897 5 October	8	2			brief comment on work prior to first performance	
		DTel	1897 5 October	7	5			detailed analysis of score	
		BDG	1897 7 October	5	5	Birmingham Festival	6 October 1897	review of first performance	
		BDM	1897 7 October	2-3	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		BDP	1897 7 October	5	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DChr	1897 7 October	6	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DGr	1897 7 October	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	includes sketch of Stanford in rehearsal
		DN	1897 7 October	2	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1897 7 October	10	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		ManGuard	1897 7 October	7	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MP	1897 7 October	5	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		PMG	1897 7 October	4	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1897 7 October	4	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1897 9 October	495-6	5	ditto	ditto	ditto (first article)	
		SatRev	1897 9 October	386-7	3	ditto	ditto	scathing dismissal by Runciman	
Guard	1897 13 October	1611	5	ditto	ditto	review of first performance			
CamRev	1897 14 October	12	2	ditto	ditto	brief review of work			
Ath	1897 16 October	531-2	5	ditto	ditto	review of first performance (second article)			
MN	1897 16 October	326-7	5	ditto	ditto	article quoting 8 newspaper reviews			

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments	
(Requiem)	(63)	MMR	1897 1 November	245-6	5	ditto	ditto	review of first performance		
		MO	1897 1 November	89-90	2	ditto	ditto	ditto (first article)		
		MO	1897 1 November	107	4	ditto	ditto	ditto (second article)		
		MT	1897 1 November	745-7	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Haz	1897 end of year	LF56-7	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	brief mention	
		YM	1897 end of year	150	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1897 18 December	862-3	2	RAM, London	16 December 1897	review of performance		
		MMR	1898 1 January	18	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1898 1 January	29	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MN	1898 12 February	168		Chicago	21 February 1898	notice of performance		
		DChr	1898 9 March	8	3	Bach Choir, London	8 March 1898	review of performance		
		DTel	1898 9 March	10	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		PMG	1898 9 March	4	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		DN	1898 10 March	6	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		T	1898 10 March	14	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Ath	1898 12 March	350-1	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MN	1898 12 March	257	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Guard	1898 16 March	416	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MMR	1898 1 April	87	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1898 1 April	244-5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Haz	1898 end of year	LF59		ditto	ditto	mention of performance		
		YM	1898 end of year			ditto	ditto	ditto		
		CamChr	1898 10 June	8	4	King's College, Cambridge	9 June 1898	review of performance		
		CamEx	1898 11 June	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		CamRev	1898 16 June	414	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MN	1898 18 June	603	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1898 1 July	480	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		LM	1898 1 December	6	4	Leeds Philharmonic Society	30 November 1898	ditto		
		YP	1898 1 December	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1899 1 January	45	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MN	1899 6 May	466	1	Finsbury Choral Association, London	27 April 1899	brief mention of performance		
		MT	1899 1 June	408	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		YM	1899 end of year	171		ditto	ditto	ditto		
		YP	1905 10 March	4	4	Düsseldorf	24 February 1905	review with quotation, in translation, from <i>Düsseldorfer Neueste Nachrichten</i>		
		excerpts only	MT	1905 1 April	242	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
			MT	1906 1 February	104-5	2	Paris	10 or 12 January 1906	brief account of concert	
MN	1915 27 March		255				mention of work in connection with First World War and Brahms			
MN	1915 3 April		276				ditto			
Agnus Dei only	MT	1923 1 May	345		Mutley Baptist Church, Plymouth	18 March 1923	notice of performance			
	CamRev	1924 11 June	438	2	CUMS, Cambridge	13 June 1924	notice of performance			
Tc Dcum	66	MN	1897 11 December	525	2			notice of commission for the 1898 Leeds Festival		
		MN	1898 9 April	352				list of works for Leeds Festival		
		MT	1898 1 July	473	2	Leeds		report of rehearsal for first performance		
		LM	1898 26 September	3	5			review and analysis of score		
		DChr	1898 28 September	3	1	London		report of London rehearsal		
MN	1898 1 October	title page				preview of Leeds Festival				

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Te Deum)	(66)	MMR	1898 1 October	231	2				brief comment on work prior to first performance
		YP	1898 4 October	4	3	Leeds			commentary on final rehearsal for first performance
		DTel	1898 5 October	10	3	ditto			preview from rehearsal and score
		DChr	1898 7 October	6	4	Leeds Festival	6 October 1898		review of first performance
		DGr	1898 7 October	7	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DN	1898 7 October	6	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DTel	1898 7 October	7	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		LM	1898 7 October	5	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		ManGuard	1898 7 October	6	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MP	1898 7 October	6	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		PMG	1898 7 October	3	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1898 7 October	9	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		YP	1898 7 October	5	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Graph	1898 8 October	488	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		CamRev	1898 13 October	9-10	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1898 15 October	535-6	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MN	1898 15 October	329-30	4	ditto	ditto		ditto (including analytical note from the <i>Times</i>)
		MN	1898 15 October	341-3	5				analysis of score
		MMR	1898 1 November	245-7	3	ditto	ditto		review of first performance
		MO	1898 1 November	92-3	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MO	1898 1 November	91	1	ditto	ditto		additional comment
		MT	1898 1 November	730-2	3	ditto	ditto		review of first performance
		Haz	1898 end of year	LF59	1	ditto	ditto		brief mention
		YM	1898 end of year			ditto	ditto		ditto
		MMR	1899 1 January	1-2	2	ditto	ditto		mention in review of 1898
		PMG	1899 11 February	3	3	London (Mme Albani's Concert)	10 February 1899		review of performance
		Guard	1899 15 February	228	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1899 18 February	219	1	ditto	ditto		brief mention of performance
		MN	1899 18 February	175-6	3	ditto	ditto		review of performance
		MMR	1899 1 March	63	2	ditto	ditto		brief review of performance
		MT	1899 1 March	175	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1899 1 May	316	2	Bridlington Festival	20 April 1899		ditto
		YM	1899 end of year			ditto	ditto		brief mention
		MN	1899 22 July	76-7	2	Hovingham Festival	12 July 1899		brief review of performance
		MT	1899 1 August	545-6	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		LM	1902 12 February	6	2	Leeds Choral Union	11 February 1902		brief review of performance
		MT	1902 1 March	192	1	ditto	ditto		mention of performance
		CamRev	1902 11 June	378	2	Cambridge (Dr Mann's Festival Choir)	5 June 1902		brief review of performance
		ManGuard	1902 28 November	5	4	Manchester (Hallé Concert/Richter)	27 November 1902		review of performance
		MT	1903 1 January	45-6	1	ditto	ditto		brief mention
		DN	1904 7 September	8	3	Gloucester Three Choirs Festival	6 September 1904		review of performance
		T	1904 7 September	8	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1904 10 September	358-9	2	ditto	ditto		brief review of performance
		MN	1904 17 September	246	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MMR	1904 1 October	185-6	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1904 1 October	657-9	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		LM	1905 10 March	8	1	Halifax Choral Society	9 March 1905		brief mention of performance
		YP	1905 10 March	6	2	ditto	ditto		brief review of performance

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Te Deum)	(66)	MT	1905 1 April	269	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1905 26 October	11	3	Norwich festival	25 October 1905	review of performance	
		PMG	1905 26 October	3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1905 26 October	4	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1905 28 October	585-6	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Graph	1905 4 November	598	2	ditto	ditto	brief review of performance	
		MN	1905 4 November	385		ditto	ditto	notice of performance	
		MMR	1905 1 December	223-4	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		MT	1905 1 December	807	1	ditto	ditto	brief mention	
		Haz	1905 end of year	LF72		ditto	ditto	notice of performance	
	MT	1919 1 April	185	1	Halifax Choral Society	26 February 1919	brief mention of performance		
Te Deum in B flat	10	MN	1900 28 April	392		Liverpool (Church Choirs Festival)	25 April 1900	report of Festival	
		MT	1902 1 June	383				notice of Stanford's Te Deum replacing Smart's at Coronation	
		MT	1902 1 June	387				mention of its orchestration for the Coronation	
		MN	1902 28 June	621-3	2			account of revisions to score for the Coronation	
		MMR	1902 1 July	134		London		report of final choral rehearsal for Coronation	
		MT	1902 1 July	487	A			advert for full score and parts	
		MT	1902 1 August	536	3			review of full score	
		DN	1902 9 August	3	1	Westminster Abbey (Coronation)	9 August 1902	mentioned with comments on plainsong and 'Dresden' Amen	
		Ath	1902 16 August	230-1		ditto	ditto	article on the Coronation Service	
		MT	1902 1 September	577-86	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1902 23 August	161		Canterbury Cathedral	9 August 1902	report of Service celebrating Coronation	
		MT	1902 1 December	809	1			comment on full score	
		MN	1906 1 December	514		London (Church Orchestral Society)	22 November 1906	mention of performance	
		MO	1909 1 April	472-3	1			article on 'Music in Durham Cathedral'	
		MN	1910 9 July	32-3		Liverpool Cathedral	29 June 1910	report of consecration of Cathedral Lady Chapel	
		MN	1910 26 September	308		Ely (Church Congress)	26 September 1910	notice of content of Opening Service	
		MMR	1911 1 July	185		Various (at Coronation celebrations)	various	comment on use throughout country	
MT	1911 1 August	525		Brighton Parish Church	25 June 1911	mention of performance			
MN	1912 3 August	87-8	1	Winchester Cathedral	14 July 1912	report of use at Thanksgiving Service			
MN	1918 16 November	148		St Paul's Cathedral, London	12 November 1918	report of use at Victory Thanksgiving Service			
MT	1919 1 August	425		Royal Albert Hall, London	28 June 1919	report of Victory Celebration			
The Lord of Might	83	DGr	1903 14 May	8		St Paul's Cathedral, London	13 May 1903	report of Festival of the Sons of Clergy	
		T	1903 14 May	11	4	ditto	ditto	critical comment on the work following first performance	
		Guard	1903 20 May	740	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1903 1 June	392		ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		MT	1906 1 March	196		Sheffield	18 February 1906	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 June	393		Sheffield Amateur Musical Society	spring 1910	ditto	
Arise, shine	—	MO	1905 1 November	88	A			advert for score	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
Evening Service in G	81	DTel	1907 9 September	11		Gloucester Cathedral (with orchestra)	8 September 1907		report of Three Choirs Festival
		T	1907 9 September	12		ditto	ditto		ditto
		MN	1907 21 September	249-51		ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1907 1 October	651		ditto	ditto		ditto
Stabat Mater	96	MN	1907 9 March	229					prospectus of Leeds Festival 1907
		MT	1907 1 April	237					ditto
		LM	1907 3 October	5	2				preview of score
		YP	1907 3 October	6	3	London			report of London rehearsal for first performance
		DChr	1907 4 October	3	3				preview of score
		YP	1907 4 October	6	5				detailed analysis of score
		MP	1907 9 October	5					preview of Leeds Festival programme
		DChr	1907 11 October	6	3	Leeds Festival	10 October 1907		review of first performance
		DGr	1907 11 October	10	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DN	1907 11 October	6	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DTel	1907 11 October	11	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		LM	1907 11 October	5	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MP	1907 11 October	6	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		PMG	1907 11 October	3	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1907 11 October	10	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		YP	1907 11 October	7	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1907 19 October	490	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Graph	1907 19 October	550	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MN	1907 19 October	341-2	4	ditto	ditto		ditto (first article)
		MN	1907 26 October	366	4	ditto	ditto		ditto (second article)
		MN	1907 2 November	390	4	ditto	ditto		ditto (third article)
		MMR	1907 1 November	242-3	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MO	1907 1 November	91-2	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1907 1 November	737	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Haz	1907 end of year	LF76	1	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MN	1908 11 January	39	1	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DTel	1908 31 January	9	3	Royal Choral Society, London	30 January 1908		review of performance
		PMG	1908 31 January	9	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1908 31 January	12	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MO	1908 1 February	347-8					ditto
		MN	1908 8 February	128-30	3	ditto	ditto		comments in Sawyer's 'Stocktaking of English Music'
		MT	1908 1 March	181	3	ditto	ditto		review of performance
		MN	1908 25 April	405					ditto
MN	1908 25 July	73					preview of Worcester Three Choirs Festival programme		
DN	1908 11 September	6	2	Worcester Three Choirs Festival	10 September 1908		ditto		
DTel	1908 11 September	5	3	ditto	ditto		review of performance		
PMG	1908 11 September	9	3	ditto	ditto		ditto		
T	1908 11 September	13	3	ditto	ditto		ditto		
Ath	1908 19 September	342	1	ditto	ditto		ditto		
MN	1908 19 September	244-7	2	ditto	ditto		brief mention of performance		
MMR	1908 1 October	222-3	1	ditto	ditto		review of performance		
MO	1908 1 October	29-30		ditto	ditto		brief mention of performance		
							ditto		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Stabat Mater)	(96)	MT	1908 1 October	645-7	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1908 end of year	LF79	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1910 18 June	644-5	2	Lincoln Festival	9 June 1910	review of performance	
		MO	1910 1 July	703-4	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 July	448	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1913 19 December	12	3	Bach Choir, London (at RCM)	18 December 1913	review of performance	
		DTel	1913 20 December	8	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 February	118	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1921 1 March	198	1	Westminster Choral Society, London	15 February 1921	brief mention of performance	
		DTel	1924 26 March	16	4	Westminster Choral Society, London	25 March 1924	review of performance	
		T	1924 28 March	12	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 May	452		Bradford Festival Choral Society	March 1925	mention of performance	
		MO	1925 1 October	31-2	2	Gloucester Three Choirs Festival	8-11 September 1925	review of performance	
		MT	1925 1 October	922-4	1	ditto	ditto	brief mention of performance	
		MT	1926 1 April	360		York Musical Society	24 February 1926	report of performance at an all-Stanford concert	
	Ave atque vale	114	DChr	1909 3 March	1	3	Bach Choir, London	2 March 1909	review of first performance
		DGr	1909 3 March	7	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DN	1909 3 March	8	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		PMG	1909 3 March	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1909 3 March	11	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1909 4 March	7	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1909 6 March	299	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1909 13 March	280	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1909 1 April	257	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1909 end of year	LF83	1	ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		MO	1909 1 April	490	2			review of score	
		DTel	1909 13 May	7	1	St Paul's Cathedral, London	12 May 1909	mention of performance at Festival of the Sons of Clergy	
		MN	1909 29 May	582	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1909 1 June	378		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		CamRev	1909 17 June	484-5	3	Cambridge Guildhall (CUMS)	11 June 1909	review of performance	
		CamChr	1909 18 June	7	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1909 4 September	207	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MN	1912 10 February	139	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MT	1921 1 April	283		Blackburn	14 February 1921	report of performance	
		MT	1925 1 January	65		Ealing Philharmonic Society, London	6 December 1924	report of performance	
	MT	1925 1 May	454		Preston Choral Society	March 1925	ditto		
Six Bible Songs	113	MN	1909 13 March	291	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MO	1909 1 April	490	1			brief review of nos.1-4	
		MN	1909 22 May	559	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MO	1909 1 June	653	A			ditto	
		MN	1909 4 September	207	A			ditto	
		MN	1910 25 June	675	2			review of nos.5 & 6	
'Song of Freedom' only		MN	1910 5 November	414	3			review of nos.1-4 'Song of Freedom' only	
		MN	1910 26 November	481		Liverpool Church Choir Association	17 November 1910	report of performance with associated choral hymn	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments	
'Song of Freedom' only 2 only (unspecified)	MT	1910	1 December	801		ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MT	1919	1 June	310		Newcastle Cathedral	7 May 1919	ditto	mention of performance	
Service in C (Morning, Communion, Evening)	MN	1909	13 March	291	A				Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	MN	1909	22 May	559	A				ditto	
	MO	1909	1 September	861	2				review of score	
	MN	1909	4 September	207	A				Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	MN	1910	21 May	558	3				review of score	
	MN	1912	10 February	139	A				Stainer & Bell advertisement	
Te Deum only	MN	1909	27 November	516		St Paul's Cathedral, London	18 November 1909		report of performance by the London Church Choir Association	
Te Deum only	MO	1909	1 December	387	1	ditto	ditto	ditto		
Evening Service only	MT	1922	1 August	573		Winchester Cathedral	13 July 1922		report of performance at the Southern Cathedrals Festival	
For all the Saints	—	MN	1909	13 March	291	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	—	MN	1910	6 August	127	A			ditto	
	—	MT	1915	1 November	666		St Peter's, Harrogate	6 October 1915		mention of performance
	—	MN	1918	16 November	156		Truro Cathedral	17 November 1918		list of Sunday music
O living will	—	MN	1909	13 March	291	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	—	MN	1910	6 August	127	A			ditto	
	—	MT	1924	1 August	748		Christ Church, Oxford	15 June 1924		report of performance on hall staircase
Benedictus & Agnus Dei in F	—	MN	1909	22 May	559	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	—	MO	1909	1 June	658	A			advert for new church music	
	—	MN	1909	4 September	207	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	—	MN	1910	18 June	647	2			review of score	
	—	MO	1910	1 August	800	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
Come, ye thankful people, come	120	MN	1910	16 June					score published as a supplement	
	120	MN	1910	15 October	340	1			notice in review section	
	120	MN	1910	29 October	396		Shoreham-on-Sea (Harvest Festival)	2 October 1910		mention of performance
Benedictus & Agnus Dei in B flat	—	MO	1910	1 August	800	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	—	MN	1910	27 August	187	A			ditto	
Ye choirs of new Jerusalem	123	MN	1911	28 January	87	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
	123	MN	1912	10 February	139	A			ditto	
	123	MN	1912	11 May	446	1			brief review of score	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments	
'Coronation' Gloria in B flat	128	MN	1911 1 April	305					mentioned in list of Coronation music	
		MN	1911 29 April	413	A				Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MO	1911 1 May	572	A				ditto	
		MN	1911 20 May	493	A				advertisement for Coronation Service Book	
		MN	1911 27 May	522	1				review of Coronation Service Book	
		MMR	1911 1 June	title page	2				ditto	
		MT	1911 1 June	382	2				ditto	
		DTel	1911 17 June	15	1				preview of Coronation music	
		T	1911 17 June	11-12	2				ditto	
		T	1911 23 June	15	1		Westminster Abbey (Coronation)	22 June 1911		account of Coronation Service
		MN	1911 24 June	611-12			ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1911 1 July	23	2		ditto	ditto		ditto
		MMR	1911 1 July	title page	1		ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1911 1 July	443-7	2		ditto	ditto		ditto
		MO	1911 1 October	65	1					review of version with organ
		Haz	1911 end of year	LF87			ditto	ditto		brief mention
		MN	1912 11 May	446	1					review of score
Festal Communion Service (incl. Gloria, above)	128	MN	1911 23 September	257	A				Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MN	1912 10 February	139	A				ditto	
		MO	1912 1 May	595	1				brief review of score	
Psalm 150 (chant setting)	—	MT	1911 1 November	744	A				in list of new Novello publications	
		MN	1912 1 June	534	1				review of New Cathedral Psalter	
Blessed City, heavenly Salem	134	Choir	1913 May	96	2				review of score	
		MN	1914 10 January	40	2				ditto	
Three Motets (Ye holy angels bright; Eternal father; Glorious and powerful God)	135	MN	1913 2 August	97					Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MO	1913 1 September	940	2				review of scores	
		Choir	1913 November	214	2				ditto	
		MN	1913 23 August	149					preview of Gloucester Festival programme	
		ditto	Ath	1913 11 September	291	1	Gloucester Three Choirs Festival	11 September 1913		report of performance
		ditto	DCh	1913 12 September	7	2	ditto	ditto		review of performance
		ditto	DTel	1913 12 September	8	1	ditto	ditto		brief review of performance
		ditto	MP	1913 12 September	6	3	ditto	ditto		review of performance
		ditto	PMG	1913 12 September	5	1	ditto	ditto		brief review of performance
		ditto	T	1913 12 September	4	3	ditto	ditto		review of performance
		ditto	MN	1913 20 September	236-8	1	ditto	ditto		article on Gloucester Festival
		ditto	MO	1913 1 October	19		ditto	ditto		ditto
		ditto	MT	1913 1 October	664-6	1	ditto	ditto		ditto
		ditto	MT	1921 1 April	286		Gloucester Choral Society	24 February 1921		mention of performance
		ditto	MT	1925 1 May	451		Sale & District Musical Society	22 March 1925		ditto
		ditto	MT	1925 1 April	344		Clapham Congregational Church	11 March 1925		mention of concert performance
		Glorious and powerful God (only)								

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
St Patrick's Breastplate	—	MT	1925 1 September	828		Torquay (choir recital)	9 August 1925	mention of performance	
For lo, I raise up	145	MT	1940 1 February	68	2			review of score	
		MO	1940 1 March	256	3			ditto	
Aviators' Hymn	—	MO	1917 1 August	680				mentioned in review column	
		MN	1917 29 September	197	2			review of score	
		Choir	1918 February	39	2			ditto	
Mass 'Via Victrix' (Gloria only)	173	CamChr	1920 16 June	5	2	King's College, Cambridge	15 June 1920	review of performance conducted by Stanford	
		CamDN	1920 16 June	3	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		CamRev	1920 18 June	426		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1920 1 July	489		ditto	ditto	ditto	
Morning Service in G (for congregation or small choirs)	—	MO	1921 1 October	61	A			advertisement	
Jesus Christ is risen today	192/3	MT	1923 1 February	111	2			review of score	
		MO	1923 1 May	765	3			ditto	
Lo! He comes with clouds descending	192/1	MT	1923 1 December	843	2			review of score	
		Choir	1924 February	39				in list of new music	
		MO	1924 1 March	607	4			review of score	
While shepherds watched their flocks	192/2	MT	1923 1 December	843	2			review of score	
		Choir	1924 February	39				in list of new music	
		MO	1924 1 March	607	4			review of score	
Service in D (Morning, Communion, Evening; Unison)	—	MT	1923 1 August	561	1			brief review of score	
		MO	1923 1 September	1152	3			review of score	
		Choir	1923 November	219				in list of new music	
How long wilt thou forget me?	—	MT	1929 1 September	826	1			brief review of score	

TABLE TWO: SECULAR CHORAL WORKS

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
To Chloris ('Madrigal')	—	CamRev	1880 26 May	121	2	CUMS Concert, Cambridge	May 1880	review of performance	
Three Cavalier Songs	17	CamRev	1881 7 December	117	1	CUMS Concert, Cambridge	December 1881	report of concert including only one of the Cavalier Songs	
		MT	1882 1 April	219	4			review of score	
		CamRev	1882 26 April	264	2	CUMS Concert, Cambridge	22 March 1882	review of performance	
		CamRev	1890 13 November	74	2	Cambridge Concert	12 November 1890	ditto	
		GBS/Wo	1893 17 May	11/885	2			glowing reference in discussion of other works	
		DGr	1894 10 May	4	1	Bach Choir, London	8 May 1894	review of concert	
		Ath	1894 12 May	622	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Graph	1894 12 May	567		ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		Ath	1899 21 October	562-3		Sheffield Festival	13 October 1899	ditto	
		MMR	1901 1 May	111	1	Dublin	26 March 1901	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 March	184	1	Crystal Palace, London	6 February 1904	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 December	830		Southport Festival	25 October 1906	ditto	
		MT	1907 1 January		1	Norton Lees Choral Society, Sheffield	13 December 1906	ditto	
		MN	1908 11 April	348		Queen's Hall, London	4 April 1908	ditto (Edward Mason's Choir)	
		MN	1909 6 February	137		Belfast	22 January 1909	ditto	
MT	1913 1 December	818		South London Musical Club	28 October 1913	ditto			
Elegiac Ode	21	MT	1884 1 February	93		Norwich Festival		notice of forthcoming Festival including 'new cantata' by Stanford	
		MT	1884 1 July	408		ditto		notice of forthcoming Festival including Elegiac Ode	
		MS	1884 12 July	7		ditto		ditto	
		MT	1884 1 September	520		ditto		ditto	
		DTel	1884 16 October	3	5	Norwich Festival	15 October 1884	review of first performance	
		MP	1884 16 October	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1884 16 October	6	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DN	1884 17 October	3	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1884 18 October	504-5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto (first article)	
		Graph	1884 18 October	407	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Guard	1884 22 October	1593-4	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1884 25 October	535	4	ditto	ditto	ditto (second article)	
		MS	1884 25 October	242	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		SatRev	1884 25 October	529-30	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1884 1 November	249-50	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1884 1 November	63	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1884 1 November	633-4	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1885 1 February	223-4	2	ditto	ditto	review of 1884 music: Stanford's true qualities shown in the work	
		Ath	1885 21 March	385	3	CUMS Concert, Cambridge	13 March 1885	review of performance	
		MS	1885 21 March	182-3	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1885 1 April	333	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
MT	1885 1 April	207-8	3	ditto	ditto	ditto			
CamRev	1885 29 April	ci	4	ditto	ditto	ditto			
PMG	1888 2 March	5	2	Bach Choir, London	1 March 1888	review of performance			

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments	
(Elegiac Ode)	(21)	DN	1888 3 March	6		ditto	ditto	mention of performance		
		DTel	1888 3 March	3	2	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
		T	1888 3 March	6	1	ditto	ditto	review of concert		
		Ath	1888 10 March	315-6	2	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
		SatRev	1888 10 March	290-1	1	ditto	ditto	review of concert		
		MMR	1888 1 April	91	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
		MT	1888 1 April	218	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		LM	1904 4 March	4	2	Halifax Choral Society	3 March 1904	review of performance		
		YP	1904 4 March	8	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1904 1 April	259	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance		
		MT	1904 1 October	663		Middlesbrough	1904-5 Season	notice of forthcoming performance		
		MT	1906 1 January	56	1	Lincoln	28 November 1905	report of performance		
		MT	1907 1 June	402		Reading	24 April 1907	ditto		
	The Revenge	24	MO	1886 1 July	467	2	Leeds	June 1886	Stanford's warm reception at rehearsal	
			MT	1886 1 August	466				programme of forthcoming Leeds Festival	
		MS	1886 14 August	100				ditto		
		MT	1886 1 October	577-9	3			description of score		
		MT	1886 1 October	617	A			advertisement for score		
		DTel	1886 8 October	3	3			preview of score		
		MP	1886 12 October	5	1			preview of Festival programme		
		DN	1886 15 October	3	5	Leeds Festival	14 October 1886	review of first performance		
		DTel	1886 15 October	3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		LM	1886 15 October	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MP	1886 15 October	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		T	1886 15 October	10	5	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		YP	1886 15 October	5	5	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		CamRev	1886 20 October	17	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Guard	1886 20 October	1554-5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Ath	1886 23 October	541	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		Graph	1886 23 October	435	1	ditto	ditto	mention of performance		
		MS	1886 23 October	256-7	2	ditto	ditto	review of first performance		
		MMR	1886 1 November	246-8	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1886 1 November	653-7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1886 1 November	696	A			advertisement for score, including comments from 6 papers		
		Haz	1886 end of year	LF34	1	ditto	ditto	brief mention of performance		
		MT	1887 1 January	37	1	Bristol	11 December 1886	report of performance		
		MT	1887 1 January	39	2	Glasgow	14 December 1886	ditto		
		DN	1886 15 December	3	3	London (Novello Oratorio Concert)	14 December 1886	review of performance		
		DTel	1886 16 December	3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		T	1886 16 December	7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1887 1 January	20-1	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
		MT	1887 1 January	39		Glasgow Choral Union (repeat)	21 or 23 December 1886	report of performance		
		DN	1887 20 January	3	2	Royal Albert Hall, London	19 January 1887	report of performance (RAH Choral Society)		
	T	1887 20 January	10	1	ditto	ditto	ditto			
	Ath	1887 22 January	137	1	ditto	ditto	ditto			
	MMR	1887 1 February	42-3	1	ditto	ditto	ditto			

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Revenge)	(24)	MT	1887 1 February	84	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1887 1 March	151-2	2	Crystal Palace, London	12 February 1887	report of performance	
		MT	1887 1 July	420-1	2	Cowley, Oxford	27 April 1887	report of four performances in Oxford within two months	
		MT	1887 1 July	420-1	2	Merton College, Oxford	26 May 1887	ditto	
		MT	1887 1 July	420-1	2	Keble College, Oxford	16 June 1887	ditto	
		MT	1887 1 July	420-1	2	Oxford Philharmonic Society	20 June 1887	ditto	
		MT	1887 1 June	346	1	Hampstead Choral Society, London	2 May 1887	report of performance	
		CamRev	1887 15 June	392	3	CUMS Concert, Cambridge	7 (or 9?) June 1887	review of performance	
		MT	1887 1 July	411-12		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MMR	1887 1 October	231-3	1	Worcester Three Choirs Festival	September 1887	ditto	
		MT	1887 1 December	740	2	Huddersfield Music Festival	2 November 1887	ditto	
		MT	1887 1 December	740-1	1	Bradford	7 November 1887	ditto	
		MT	1888 1 January	50		Bumley Vocal Union	14 December 1887	ditto	
		MT	1888 1 March	169	1	Leeds Philharmonic Society	1 February 1888	ditto	
		MT	1888 1 March	155-6	2	Birmingham Festival Choral Society	9 February 1888	ditto	
		MT	1888 1 August	471	1	Chester Festival	25 July 1888	ditto	
		MT	1889 1 March	150	1	Windsor (Eton College Music Society)	23 February 1889	report of performance	
		MW	1889 2 March	140		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MW	1889 28 December	937-8	1	Birmingham	December 1889	ditto	
		GBS/Star	1890 16 May	II/65-9	4	Bach Choir, London	10 May 1890	forcible opinion expressed in article entitled 'Gas and Gaiters'	
		MW	1890 17 May	395	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MW	1890 24 May	415	1	Hampstead Conservatoire, London	21 May 1890	ditto	
		MW	1890 13 December	997	1	Streatham Choral Society, London	8 December 1890	ditto	
		MN	1891 10 April	106		Liverpool	April 1891	ditto	
		MT	1891 1 October	596		Finsbury Choral Association, London	28 April 1892	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1891 2 October	614		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1892 6 May	436	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MN	1892 27 May	517	1	Bristol Choral Society	18 May 1892	ditto	
		MO	1892 1 March	238		Cardiff Festival		programme of forthcoming Cardiff Festival	
		MN	1892 22 July	80		ditto		notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1892 16 September	268		ditto		ditto	
		MN	1892 23 September	292	1	ditto	September 1892	report of performance	
		Ath	1892 24 September	426	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1892 1 October	17	2	ditto	ditto	ditto (condensed from the <i>Standard</i>)	
		MN	1892 11 November	465-7		ditto	ditto	article on successive Cardiff festivals mentioning this performance	
		MN	1892 2 December	532	1	South London Choral Association	November 1892	report of performance	
		MN	1893 4 March	205	1	Nottingham	23 February 1893	ditto	
		MN	1893 4 March	195	2			comment from unspecified provincial paper	
		MN	1893 22 April	371		Wrexham Musical Society	10 April 1893	report of performance	
		MN	1893 29 April	391		Farnham Choral Society	12 April 1893	ditto	
		MN	1894 24 February	180		Birmingham Festival Choral Society	February 1894?	ditto	
		MN	1895 23 March	269		Harrow, London	15 March 1895	ditto	
		MT	1895 1 June	399	2	Bishop Auckland	23 April 1895	ditto	
		MN	1895 4 May	418		Caerham Choral Society	24 April 1895	ditto	
		MN	1895 1 May	511		Oundle Choral Society	8 May 1895	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1895 2 March	194		Brighton & Hove Choral Society	5 December 1895	notice of forthcoming performance in 'Stanford' Concert	
		YM	1895 end of year	340		ditto		mention of performance	
		YM	1896 end of year	185		Dublin Musical Society	27 February 1896	ditto	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Revenge)	(24)	MN	1896 28 March	302-3	1	Newcastle/Gateshead Choral Society	20 March 1896	report of performance	
		YM	1896 end of year	40		Highbury Philharmonic Society	19 November 1896	mention of performance	
		MN	1896 26 December	561	1	Bradfield College, Berkshire	19 December 1896	report of performance	
		ManGuard	1897 22 January	6	4	Manchester (Halle Concert)	21 January 1897	review of performance	
		MN	1897 30 January	109	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MN	1897 6 February	132	2	Nottingham Sacred Harmonic Society	28 January 1897	ditto	
		YM	1897 end of year	166		Ealing Choral Society, London	early 1897	mention of performance	
		MN	1897 3 April	324		St Albans Oratorio Society	25 March 1897	report of performance	
		YM	1897 end of year	190		ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		YM	1897 end of year	182		Sidmouth Choral Society	14 May 197	ditto	
		MN	1897 21 August	169		Sheffield Musical Union	1897/8 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1898 30 April	431		Strabane, County Tyrone	22 April 1898	report of performance	
		YM	1898 end of year	164		Bermondsey	23 April 1898	mention of performance	
		MN	1898 7 May	456		Runcorn Philharmonic Society	April/May 1898	report of performance	
		MN	1898 26 March	311		Hovingham Festival	29 June 1898	notice of forthcoming performance	
		LM	1898 30 June	5	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		YP	1898 30 June	6	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1898 1 August	541	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		YM	1898 end of year	310		ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		YM	1898 end of year	204		Bury Choral Society	5 December 1898	ditto	
		YM	1898 end of year	164		Bermondsey, London	8 or 15 December 1898	ditto	
		MN	1898 31 December	618	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MN	1899 11 February	155		Glasgow	spring 1899	notice pf forthcoming performance	
		MN	1899 18 February	177		Worcester	24 January 1899	report of performance	
		YM	1899 end of year	205		Warrington Musical Society	8 February 1899	mention of performance	
		MN	1899 11 March	261	1	Bishopsgate Institute, London	2 March 1899	report of performance	
		MN	1899 22 April	426		Weston-super-Mare	13 April 1899	ditto	
		MT	1899 1 June	408	2	Finsbury Choral Association, London	27 April 1899	ditto	
		YM	1899 end of year	171		ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		MN	1899 13 May	503		Dover Choral Union	3 May 1899	report of performance	
		MN	1899 13 May	503		Bristol (St Mary's Church Choral Soc.)	5 May 1899	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 January	53	1	Barnstaple, Devon	2 December 1901	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 January	45	1	Gloucester Choral Society	19 December 1901	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 March	195	1	Dudley Vocal Union	5 February 1902	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 April	265	1	Harrogate Choral Society	14 March 1902	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 June	409		Heeley Wesley Choral Soc., Sheffield	8 May 1902	ditto	
		CamRev	1902 11 June	378	1	CUMS Concert, Cambridge	3 June 1902	ditto	
		MT	1903 1 January	52		Dunston Choral Union	4 December 1902	ditto	
		MMR	1903 1 May	95		Sheffield Choral Union	28 March 1903	ditto	
		MT	1903 1 May	332		Cirencester	14 April 1903	ditto	
		MT	1903 1 June	412	1	Battle, Sussex	7 May 1903	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 January	48		Auckland Musical Society	December 1903	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 March	191		Monmouth	9 or 10 February 1904	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 March	187	1	Glasgow	19 February 1904	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 April	259		Hull Harmonic Society	18 March 1904	ditto	
		MT	1905 1 January	50		Leeds	23 November 1904	ditto	
		MT	1905 1 January	52	1	Hawarden	17 December 1904	ditto	
	MT	1904 1 November	740		Bermondsey	1904/5 season	notice of forthcoming performance		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Revenge)	(24)	MT	1904 1 November	737		Edinburgh University Musical Society	1904/5 season	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 November	739		York	1904/5 season	ditto	
		MT	1905 1 March	195		Luton Choral Society	8 February 1905	report of performance	
		MT	1905 1 April	270		Bruton Choral Society	2 March 1905	ditto	
		MT	1905 1 April	264		Edinburgh University Musical Society	3 March 1905	ditto	
		MT	1905 1 May	337	1	Port-Glasgow	29 March 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 January	55	1	Cape Town, South Africa	30 October 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 January	50		Leeds	23 November 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 January	53		Bradford	25 November 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 January	46	2	St Margaret's, Westminster, London	28 November 1905	ditto	
		T	1905 8 December	4	2	Royal Choral Society, London	7 December 1905	review of performance	
		MT	1906 1 January	46	2	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1906 1 January	57	1	Westcliff-on-Sea	9 December 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 January	51		Nottingham	12 December 1905	ditto (West Bridgford Choral Society)	
		MT	1906 1 January	52		Beighton, Sheffield	Nov/Dec 1905	ditto	
		MT	1905 1 October	672		Leicester	1905/6 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1906 1 February	128	1	Uxbridge, London	10 January 1906	report of performance	
		MT	1906 1 April	262		Stroud Green Choral Society	26 February 1906	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 April	273	1	Wells, Somerset	27 February 1906	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 June	413		Clevedon, Somerset	9 May 1906	ditto	
		BDG	1906 6 October	4	1	Birmingham Festival	5 October 1906	brief review of performance	
		BDP	1906 6 October	9	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		Ath	1906 13 October	450-1	1	ditto	ditto	report of Festival	
		MMR	1906 1 November	242-3	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1906 end of year	LF74		ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		MT	1906 1 November	765		Painswick, Gloucestershire	1906/7 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1907 1 January	48	1	Norton Lees Choral Society, Sheffield	13 December 1906	report of performance	
		MT	1907 1 June	403		St Austell, Cornwall	6 February 1907	ditto	
		MT	1907 1 April	256	1	Birmingham	23 February 1907	ditto	
		MT	1907 1 April	265		Swindon	13 March 1907	ditto	
		MT	1907 1 April	264		Chatburn, Lancashire	18 March 1907	ditto	
		MT	1907 1 June	401	1	Nottingham University	23 April 1907	ditto	
		MT	1907 1 June	406		Rugby	16 May 1907	ditto	
		MT	1907 1 June	400		Weston-super-Mare	16 May 1907	ditto	
		MT	1908 1 January	43		Bristol	30 November 1907	ditto	
		MT	1908 1 February	118		Cape Town, South Africa	5 December 1907	ditto	
		MT	1908 1 January	52		Dudley Choral Society	11 December 1907	ditto	
		MT	1908 1 June	407		Dover Choral Union	26 April 1908	ditto	
		MT	1908 1 June	408		Leominster Choral Society	13 May 1908	ditto	
		MN	1908 10 October	320		South Shields Choral Society	9 December 1908	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1908 26 December	593		Chigwell School, Essex	18 December 1908	report of performance	
		MT	1909 1 April	262-3		Edinburgh Choral Union	1 March 1909	ditto	
		MN	1909 8 May	501		Chiswick, London	20 April 1909	ditto (Askew Road Wesleyan Church)	
		MT	1909 1 May	328		ditto	ditto	ditto (Askew Road Wesleyan Church)	
		MN	1909 3 July	8-9		Chiswick, London	24 June 1909	ditto (Askew Road Wesleyan Church)	
		MT	1910 1 January	47		Eltham Choral Society	13 December 1909	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 March	186		Valetta, Malta	10 February 1910	ditto	
	MN	1910 12 March	272		Boumemouth	March 1910	ditto		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Revenge)	(24)	MN	1910 26 March	308		Ilkley Vocal Society	17 March 1910	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 April	257		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1910 16 April	380		Deddington Musical Society	28 March 1910	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 May	331	1	Skegness Musical Society	31 March 1910	ditto	
		MN	1910 16 April	394	1	Bristol Choral Society	6 April 1910	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 May	312/321		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 May	321		Clevedon Philharmonic Society	6 April 1910	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 May	312		Birmingham	11 April 1910	ditto (Acocks Green Choral Society)	
		MT	1911 1 February	126	2	Penrith	7 December 1910	ditto	
		MN	1910 24 December	580		Berkhamsted School, Hertfordshire	17 December 1910	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 January	49		ditto	ditto	ditto	date noted as 10 December
		MT	1911 1 February	125		Ferry Hill Choral Society	late 1910/early 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 February	126	2	Milford-on-Sea	18 January 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 March	197		Retford Choral Society, Lincs.	17 February 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 April	260		Felixstowe Choral Society	early 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 April	267		Rhyl Choral Society	early 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 May	332	1	Worthing Choral Society	22 March 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 May	326	1	Edinburgh	29 March 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 May	323	1	Streatham Hill Choral Society	4 April 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 June	404	1	Rye Choral Society	2 May 1911	ditto	
		MN	1911 9 December	552		New Choral Society, Leeds	29 November 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 December	815		Windsor	1911/12 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1912 10 February	132		Horsham Musical Society	25 January 1912	report of performance	
		MT	1912 1 March	191		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 March	190		Chippenham Choral Society	14 February 1912	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 March	186	1	Longhope Choral Society, Gloucester	16 February 1912	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 May	336	1	Milford-on-Sea Choral Society	17 April 1912	ditto	
		MN	1912 4 May	420		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1912 27 May	410		Bristol Choral Society	20 April 1912	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 June	403		Maidstone	30 April 1912	ditto	
		MN	1912 28 September	259		Sunderland	November 1912	ditto	
		MT	1913 1 January	51		Hythe Choral Society, Kent	20 November 1912	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 October	669		Walton, Liverpool	12 December 1912	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1912 21 December	554		ditto (Walton Philharmonic Society)	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1913 1 February	116	1	Harpden Musical Society, Herts.	17? December 1912	ditto	
		MN	1913 18 January	55		Puiney Wesleyan Choir, London	9 January 1913	ditto	
		MT	1913 1 February	116		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1913 1 March	198				mentioned in humorous article 'Our Choral Society'	
		MT	1913 1 June	401	1	Nottingham University	17 April 1913	report of performance	
		MT	1913 1 June	403		Okehampton Choral Society	23 April 1913	ditto	
	MT	1913 1 June	403		Woking Musical Society	April/May 1913	ditto		
	MN	1913 20 September	239		Fulham & District Choral Society	Winter 1913/14	notice of forthcoming performance		
	MT	1914 1 January	54		Borrowash Choral Society, Nottingham	1 December 1913	report of performance		
	MT	1914 1 January	57		Newport, Isle of Wight	10 December 1913	ditto		
	MN	1913 20 December	544		Faversham, Kent	11 December 1913	ditto		
	MT	1914 1 March	191		Clifton Choral Society, Bristol	5 February 1914	ditto		
	MN	1914 25 July	66		Cardiff Festival	Autumn 1914	notice of forthcoming performance; Festival subsequently cancelled		
	MT	1914 1 December	710		Bristol Choral Society	28 October 1914	report of performance		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Revenge)	(24)	MT	1914 December	714		Oldham Musical Society	October/November 1914	ditto	
		MT	1915 January	45	1	Glasgow Bach Choir	20 November 1914	ditto	
		MT	1915 January	49		Newcastle & Gateshead Choral Union	25 November 1914	ditto	
		MT	1915 March	170		Canning Town, London	6 February 1915	ditto	
		MN	1915 10 April	299	2	Leeds Philharmonic Society	24 March 1915	ditto	
		MT	1915 May	305		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1915 May	303-4		Manchester Vocal Society	24 March 1915	ditto	
		MT	1915 May	304		Sheffield	25 March 1915	ditto	
		MT	1915 May	302		Barnstaple, Devon	12 April 1915	ditto	
		MT	1915 June	367	1	Liverpool	24 April 1915	ditto	
		MT	1915 June	369		Wesleyan Central Hall, London	15 May 1915	ditto	
		MN	1915 23 October	393		Darlington	unknown	mention of work in rehearsal	
		MT	1916 January	31		Greenwich, London	11 December 1915	report of performance	
		MT	1916 January	41		Birmingham	11 December 1915	ditto	
		MT	1916 February	108	1	Royal Choral Union, Edinburgh	3 January 1916	ditto	
		MT	1916 February	113	1	Oxford	15 January 1916	ditto (Oxford House Choral & Orchestral Society)	
		MT	1916 April	215	1	Halifax Choral Society	9 March 1916	ditto	
		MT	1916 November	518		Sheffield Amateur Musical Society	December 1916	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1917 January	41	2	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1917 February	88		Ealing Choral Society, London	10 December 1916	ditto	
		MT	1917 October	473		Christchurch, New Zealand	26 June 1917	ditto	
		MT	1918 June	278		The Leys School, Cambridge	March/April 1918	ditto	
		MT	1919 April	186		Potteries Choral Society, Hanley	February 1919	ditto	
		MT	1919 December	710		Stockton	18 December 1919	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1920 February	126	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1919 December	710		Darlington Choral Society	2 February 1920	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1920 March	199		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MO	1920 March	441	1	Birmingham Festival Choral Society	4 February 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 March	196		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1920 April	271		Looe Choral Society, Cornwall	12 February 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 April	278		Pontardawe, Swansea	13 February 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 April	278		Cardiff	6 March 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 April	277	1	Nottingham Philharmonic Society	6 March 1920	ditto	
		MN	1920 3 January	9		Victory Choir, Basingstoke	15 April 1920	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1920 February	105		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1920 May	631	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1920 May	330		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1920 May	393		Dover Choral Union	21 April 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 June	403	1	Leeds	28 April 1920	ditto	
		MO	1921 January	320	1	Rugby	8 December 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 October	691		Dulwich Philharmonic Society	1920/21 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1920 December	841		Honiton, Devon	1920/21 season	ditto	
		MT	1921 May	364		Beer Choral Society, Devon	8 April 1921	report of performance	
	MO	1921 March	500		Aberystwyth Choirs Festival	12-17 September 1921	notice of inclusion in forthcoming competitive festival		
	MT	1922 March	207		Norwich Festival Chorus	21 January 1922	report of performance		
	MT	1922 April	273		Lindfield, Sussex	22 February 1922	ditto		
	MT	1922 April	273		Guernsey	23 or 24 February 1922	ditto		
	MT	1922 June	434		St Andrews, Scotland	23 March 1922	ditto		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Revenge)	(24)	MT	1923 1 February	133		Portishead Choral Society	20 December 1922	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 May	357		Middlesbrough	28 March 1923	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 May	357		Harrogate Choral Society	4 April 1923	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 July	503		Winchester Musical Society	7 June 1923	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 April	361		Cardiff	2 March 1924	ditto	
		MO	1923 1 November	150		Kirkaldy Music Society	19 March 1924	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1924 1 May	458		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1924 1 May	459		Shrewsbury	27 March 1924	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 January	67		Blackpool Choral Society	19 November 1924	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 December	1135		Ealing	17 December 1924	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1925 1 March	262		Stratford-on-Avon	22 January 1925	report of performance	
		MT	1925 1 March	263		Blue Ribbon Choir, Cardiff	16 February 1925	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 April	357		Axminster Choral Society	18 February 1925	ditto	
		Carmen Saeculare	26	MT	1887 1 May	301		Buckingham Palace (State Concert)	11 May 1887
Graph	1887 25 June			671	2	brief summary of score			
MT	1887 1 September			547	5	review of score			
MT	1897 1 May			353	A	advertisement for Jubilee music			
The Voyage of Maeldune	34	MW	1889 14 September			Leeds Festival (first performance)	11 October	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MW	1889 28 September	667-8	3			brief analysis of score	
		MT	1889 1 October	598	2	ditto	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MW	1889 5 October	685		ditto	ditto	notice of this performance and a subsequent one by the Royal Choral Society	
		LM	1889 7 October	8	5			review of score	
		DN	1889 8 October	3	1	Leeds Festival (rehearsal)	7 October	brief comment on rehearsal	
		YP	1889 8 October	4	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1889 9 October	4	4			review of score	
		Graph	1889 12 October	450-1	4	ditto	ditto	detailed commentary following rehearsal	
		MS	1889 12 October			ditto	ditto	comments following rehearsal	
		MW	1889 12 October	707-8	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DN	1889 12 October	6	4	Leeds Festival (first performance)	11 October	review of performance	
		DTel	1889 12 October	3	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		LM	1889 12 October	3	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MP	1889 12 October	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1889 12 October	7	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		YP	1889 12 October	7	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Guard	1889 16 October	1568-9	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1889 19 October	529-31	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Graph	1889 19 October	483	1	ditto	ditto	brief reference to performance	
		MS	1889 19 October	320-1	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		MW	1889 19 October	726-7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1889 26 October	569	2	ditto	ditto	reference to article on Leeds Festival in the <i>Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung</i>	
		SatRev	1889 26 October	459-60	4	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		MMR	1889 1 November	246-9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1889 1 November	70-1	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1889 1 November	658-61	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Voyage of Maeldune)	(34)	Haz	1889 end of year	LF39	2	ditto	ditto	brief reference	
	PMG	1889 13 November	6	1	Royal Choral Society, London	13 November 1889	preview of performance		
	DN	1889 14 November	3	2	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
	PMG	1889 14 November	6	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	T	1889 15 November	13	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	Ath	1889 16 November	681	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MW	1889 16 November	815	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	Graph	1889 23 November	630	1	ditto	ditto	brief comment on performance		
	MO	1889 1 December	125	1	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MT	1889 1 December	723-4	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
	MT	1891 1 June	356	2	Sheffield	12 May 1891	report of performance		
	MN	1893 11 March	219	1	Brighton & Hove Choral Society	1893 season	notice of forthcoming performance		
	MN	1895 2 March	194		Brighton (Stanford Concert)	5 December 1895	ditto		
	YM	1895 end of year	340		ditto	ditto	mention of performance		
	MMR	1903 1 June	116		Sheffield	28 April 1903	report of performance		
	BDG	1903 14 October	8	2	Birmingham Festival	13 October 1903	review of performance		
	BDP	1903 14 October	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	DChr	1903 14 October	6	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	DGr	1903 14 October	14	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	DN	1903 14 October	9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	DTel	1903 14 October	10	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	PMG	1903 14 October	3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	T	1903 14 October	9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	Ath	1903 17 October	522-3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MMR	1903 1 November	201-2	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MT	1903 1 November	725-8	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MT	1904 1 April	257	1	Newcastle & Gateshead Choral Union	18 March 1904	report of performance		
	MN	1909 7 August	11		Chelsea Town Hall	22 July 1909	ditto		
	DTel	1920 26 April	18	3	Royal Choral Society, London	24 April 1920	review of performance		
	T	1920 26 April	12	4	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MN	1920 1 May	399	2	ditto	ditto	report of performance		
	MT	1920 1 May	402	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MT	1922 1 February	128		Basingstoke	15 December 1921	ditto		
	(Excerpt only)								
The Battle of the Baltic	41	DN	1891 21 July	6	1	Richter Concert, London (first perf.)	20 July 1891	brief report of performance	
	DTel	1891 21 July	3	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance		
	MP	1891 21 July	3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	PMG	1891 21 July	2	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	DGr	1891 23 July	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	T	1891 23 July	4	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MN	1891 24 July	422	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	Ath	1891 25 July	137	3	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	Graph	1891 25 July	115	2	ditto	ditto	ditto		
	MO	1891 1 August	414	1	ditto	ditto	brief report of performance		
	MT	1891 1 August	457-9	2	ditto	ditto	brief mention under 'London Musical Season'		
	MT	1891 1 August	473	4	ditto	ditto	more substantial review of work and performance		
	SatRev	1891 1 August	140	4	ditto	ditto	review of performance		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Battle of the Baltic)	(41)	Haz	1891 end of year	LF46	1	ditto	ditto	brief mention of performance	
		MN	1891 3 April	90	1	Hereford Three Choirs Festival	8 September 1891	notice of forthcoming performance	
		DChr	1891 9 September	5	2	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		DGr	1891 9 September	7	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DN	1891 9 September	3	1	ditto	ditto	brief review of performance	
		DTel	1891 9 September	3	3	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		MP	1891 9 September	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1891 9 September	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1891 11 September	564	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1891 11 September	560	3			review of score	
		Ath	1891 12 September	362-3	2	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		Graph	1891 12 September	303	1	ditto	ditto	brief reference to performance	
		Guard	1891 16 September	1494-5	4	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		SatRev	1891 19 September	333-4	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1891 1 October	223	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1891 1 October	6-7	2	ditto	ditto	ditto (reprinted from the <i>Athenaeum</i>)	
		MT	1891 1 October	596-7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1891 1 November	255	3			review of score	
		MN	1893 22 April	371	1	Edinburgh	11 April 1893	report of performance	
		MN	1894 30 June	611	1	Keble College, Oxford	14 June 1894	ditto	
		YM	1899 end of year	197		Dover College Musical Society	1898/9 season	mention of performance	
		MT	1905 1 January	49		Torquay, Devon	23 November 1904	report of performance	
		MT	1906 1 January	56	1	Marlborough Choral Society	13 December 1905	ditto	
		MN	1908 26 December	593		Ellacombe Choral Society	16 December 1908	ditto	
		MN	1910 19 March	281		Dover Festival	4 May 1910	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1910 1 June	379	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MN	1910 15 October	338		Crystal Palace, London	1910/11 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
MN	1915 13 February	123		Wimbledon Church Choir Association	28 January 1915	report of performance			
MT	1918 1 April	183		Barnstaple, Devon	29 April 1918	notice of forthcoming performance			
MT	1918 1 June	279		ditto	ditto	report of performance			
MT	1922 1 June	433		Biggleswade Choral Society	21 March 1922	report of performance			
Installation Ode	—	CamRev	1892 16 June	382	2	CUMS, Cambridge	13 June 1892	Installation of new University Chancellor	
		SatRev	1892 18 June	701	1	ditto	ditto	brief comment on performance	
		MT	1892 1 July	422-3	4	ditto	ditto	some detailed comment on the work and its performance	
Four Partsongs The Knight's Tomb (no.4) only	47	MT	1892 1 December	744	4			review of scores	
		MT	1904 1 July	463	1	Magpie Madrigal Society, London	1 June 1904	report of performance	
Six Elizabethan Pastorals (set 1) Corydon arise (no.2) & Diaphenia (no.3) only ditto Corydon arise + 2 others (unspecified) Corydon arise; Diaphenia; Sweet love for me (no.4) Corydon arise; Diaphenia; Phoebe (no.6)	49	MT	1893 1 January	44	4			review of scores	
		Ath	1893 20 May	646-7	2	Bach Choir, London	16 May 1893	review of concert	
		MT	1893 1 June	341-2		ditto	ditto	report of concert	
		CamRev	1893 15 June	406		King's College Musical Society	10 June 1893	report of Cambridge concert	
		CamRev	1894 8 February	205		Dr Mann's Festival Choir, Cambridge	6 February 1894	ditto	
MN	1894 30 June	611	1	Keble College, Oxford	14 June 1894	report of concert			

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
Corydon arise		MN	1894 8 December	490		Gateshead Choral Society	26 November 1894	report of concert in Newcastle Town Hall	
Corydon arise + 1 other (unspecified)		MN	1895 2 February	110	1	Bristol Madrigal Society (Ladies)	24 January 1895	report of first hearing of versions for upper voices	
Diaphenia		MN	1895 2 March	202		Madrigal Society (unknown location)	21 February 1895	report of concert	
Diaphenia		MN	1895 4 May	418		Potters Bar Choral Society, Herts.	27 April 1895	ditto	
Corydon arise		MMR	1901 1 June	135		Dublin	17 May 1901	ditto	
Corydon arise		MT	1903 1 January	52		Torquay, Devon	2 December 1902	ditto	
Sweet love for me; Phoebe		MT	1904 1 February	119		Manchester	19 December 1903	ditto	
Diaphenia		MT	1904 1 June	373		Madrigal Society (unknown location)	5 May 1904	report of Society's Anniversary Concert	
Diaphenia		MT	1905 1 February			Blackburn	9 January 1905	report of concert	
Corydon arise		MT	1906 1 June	419		Bognor Musical Society	25 April 1906	ditto	
Corydon arise		MN	1908 11 January	33	1	Timperley Vocal Society	16 December 1907	ditto	
Corydon arise		Choir	1910 June	114		White City, London	25 June 1910	mention of use as a choral competition piece	
Diaphenia		MN	1911 21 January	74		Bristol Madrigal Society (Ladies)	12 January 1911	report of concert including upper-voice version	
ditto		MT	1911 1 February	118		ditto	ditto	ditto	
Corydon arise		MT	1911 1 February	121		Liverpool	17 January 1911	report of concert	
Diaphenia		MT	1911 1 July	475		Exeter College, Oxford	30 May 1911	ditto	
Corydon arise; Phoebe		MN	1913 22 March	282		Manchester Vocal Society	12 March 1913	ditto	
To his flocks (no.1)		MT	1913 1 June	403		Woburn Male Voice Choir	23 April 1913	report of concert including male-voice version	
Sweet love for me		MT	1920 1 May	342		Darlington Choral Society	13 April 1920	report of concert	
Corydon arise		MT	1920 1 June	418		Coventry Choral Society	20 April 1920	ditto	
Diaphenia		MT	1924 1 April	362-3		Portsmouth	5 March 1924	ditto	
Corydon arise		MT	1924 1 June	553		Novello Choir, London	1 May 1924	report of the Choir's final concert	
Sweet love for me		MT	1924 1 December	1127		Huddersfield	28 October 1924	report of concert	
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The Bard	50	MN	1892 14 October	373				notice of completion of score	
		MN	1894 15 December	507		Cardiff Festival	19 September 1895	notice of forthcoming first performance	
		MN	1895 27 July	69-70		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		ChMus	1895 August	120		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1895 10 August	121	A			advertisement for Cardiff Festival	
		Ath	1895 7 September	330				notice of publication by Boosey	
		DChr	1895 20 September	6	4	ditto	ditto	review of first performance	
		DGr	1895 20 September	7	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DN	1895 20 September	3	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1895 20 September	3	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1895 20 September	8	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Graph	1895 21 September	354	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Guard	1895 25 September	1484	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1895 28 September	425-6	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1895 28 September	256-7	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MO	1895 1 October	17		ditto	ditto	report of first performance	
		MT	1895 1 October	672-3	4	ditto	ditto	review of first performance	
		Haz	1895 end of year	LF53	1	ditto	ditto	brief mention of first performance	
		YM	1895 end of year	247	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		CamRev	1896 18 June	395	2	CUMS, Cambridge	16 June 1896	report of performance	
		MT	1896 1 July	477	1	ditto	ditto	ditto (date given as 15 June)	
		YM	1896 end of year	184	1	ditto	ditto	brief mention of performance	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
East to West	52	MN	1893 29 April	399	4				review of score
		MN	1893 29 April	390		Royal Choral Society, London	10 May 1893		notice of forthcoming performance
		DChr	1893 11 May	5	3	ditto	ditto		review of (first?) performance
		DN	1893 11 May	8	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		PMG	1893 11 May	2	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1893 12 May	4	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1893 13 May	614	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DGr	1893 13 May	4	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		GBS/Wo	1893 17 May	11883-6	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		CamRev	1893 15 June	404	1	CUMS Jubilee Concert, Cambridge	12 June 1893		report of Jubilee celebrations
		Ath	1893 17 June	774	1	ditto	ditto		report of performance
		MT	1893 1 July	408		ditto	ditto		ditto
		MMR	1893 1 October	225	2				review of score
		CamRev	1893 9 November	80	2				reference to Saint-Saëns' comments following Cambridge performance
		Haz	1893 end of year	LF49					mentioned among new works of 1893
Six Elizabethan Pastorals (set 2)	53	SatRev	1894 9 June	622	3				review of scores
		MT	1894 1 September	620	3				ditto
		MN	1894 1 December	466	2				ditto
On a hill (no.1) & Shepherd Doron's Jig (no.6)		MN	1895 14 December	503	1	Windsor & Eton Madrigal Society	9 December 1895		report of performance
		MT	1925 1 February	167		Oxford Harmonic Society	9 January 1925		ditto
Phaudrig Crohoore	62	DChr	1896 6 October	4	1	Norwich	October 1896		report of rehearsal for Norwich Festival
		DChr	1896 10 October	10	4	Norwich Festival	9 October 1896		review of first performance
		DGr	1896 10 October	7	5	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DN	1896 10 October	5	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Graph	1896 10 October	456	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MP	1896 10 October	5	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1896 10 October	7	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DTel	1896 12 October	8	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Guard	1896 14 October	1585	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Ath	1896 17 October	533	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MN	1896 17 October	323-4	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MO	1896 1 November	111-2	3	ditto	ditto		ditto (re-printed from the <i>Athenaeum</i>)
		MT	1896 1 November	734-6	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Haz	1896 end of year	LF55	2	ditto	ditto		brief mention of performance
		YM	1896 end of year	76-7	1	ditto	ditto		ditto
		YM	1897 end of year	209		Bradford	24 October 1896		ditto
		MT	1897 1 January	46	1	Streatham Choral Society, London	21 December 1896		report of first London performance
		YM	1897 end of year	336		ditto	ditto		ditto
		MN	1897 30 January	107	3	Highbury Philharmonic Society, London	26 January 1897		review of performance
		YM	1897 end of year	168		ditto	ditto		mention of performance
MN	1896 21 November	448		Worcester Festival Choral Society	2 February 1897		notice of forthcoming performance		
MN	1897 27 February	207		ditto	ditto		report of performance		
YM	1898 end of year	196		St Albans Oratorio Society	1897/8 season		mention of performance		
YM	1898 end of year	228		Ilkley Choral Society	22 March 1898		ditto		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Phaudrig Crohoore)	(62)	MN	1898 25 June	619	1	St John's College, Cambridge	14 June 1898	report of performance	
		MN	1898 31 December	618	1	Bermondsey	15 December 1898	ditto	
		YM	1899 end of year	164		ditto	ditto	mention of performance (date given as 8 December)	
		YM	1899 end of year	207		Great Yarmouth Musical Society	December 1898	ditto	
		YM	1899 end of year	174		South London Choral Association	April 1899	ditto	
		YM	1899 end of year	174		Stoke Newington Choral Association	1898/9 season	ditto	
		DChr	1899 24 April	3	1	Crystal Palace, London	22 April 1899	report of performance	
		Graph	1899 29 April	548	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1899 29 April	438	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1901 1 June	135	1	Dublin (competition performances)	early May 1901	report of competition	
		BDG	1902 21 February	6	2	Birmingham	20 February 1902	review of performance	
		MMR	1902 1 April	74	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1902 1 April	258		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 June	407		Clifton Choral Society, Bristol	7 May 1902	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 March	187	1	Gloucester Choral Society	9 February 1904	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 April	259		Bradford	1 March 1904	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 November	740		Bermondsey	1904/5 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1904 1 November	741		Ripon	1904/5 season	ditto	
		MT	1905 1 April	267		Grantham	28 February 1905	report of performance	
		MT	1905 1 June	406		Wallsend (Newcastle)	3 May 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 January	53		Leeds Teachers' Choral Society	21 November 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 December	835		Dublin	7 November 1906	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 November	765		Edinburgh University Music Society	1906/7 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1907 1 June	406		Selhurst Musical Society	30 April 1907	report of performance	
		MT	1908 1 January	53		High Wycombe	4 December 1907	ditto	
		MN	1908 18 April	372-3		London	8 April 1908	report of performance by Munro Davison's Choral Society	
		MT	1908 1 June	408		Leamington Madrigal Society	14 May 1908	report of performance	
		ManGuard	1908 17 December	8	3	Manchester Vocal Society	16 December 1908	review of performance	
		MN	1909 2 January	22		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MN	1909 2 October	300		East Ham Teachers' Musical Society	16 December 1909	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1910 8 January	32		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MN	1910 19 March	298		Ormskirk Musical Association	8 March 1910	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 April	253		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1910 7 May	492		Nayland Choral Society	19 April 1910	ditto	
		MN	1910 19 November	466		Bedford	28 February 1911	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1911 11 March	248		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1911 1 April	265		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 May	322	1	Queen's Hall, London	4 April 1911	ditto	
		MN	1911 23 December	608		Armley Choral Society, Leeds	4 December 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 October	670		Glasgow	1911/12 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1912 27 January	99		Sheffield	16 January 1912	report of performance	
		MT	1912 1 March	188		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 June	402		Burton Choral Society, Cheshire	20 April 1912	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 November	741		Warrington Musical Society	6 November 1912	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1912 1 December	811		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1912 1 August	535		Newcastle	1912/13 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1913 8 March	235	1	West Kirby	25 February 1913	report of performance	
	MT	1913 1 April	261		ditto	ditto	ditto		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Phaudrig Crohoore)	(62)	MT	1914 1 January	57	1	Sidcup	2 December 1913	ditto	
		MN	1913 20 December	544		Chelmsford	9 December 1913	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 January	56	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 April	259		Crystal Palace, London	21 February 1914	ditto	
		MT	1918 1 November	522		Leeds Philharmonic Society	6 December 1918	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1918 7 December	174	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1919 1 April	185	1	York Musical Society	26 February 1919	ditto	
		MN	1920 31 January	98	2	Westminster Choral Society, London	20 January 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 1 May			Crosby, Lancs.	24 March 1920	ditto	
		MT	1921 1 April	288	1	Liverpool	9 March 1921	ditto	
		MT	1922 1 April	272		Bristol	28 February 1922	ditto	
		MT	1922 1 May	359		Irish Choral Society, Liverpool	21 March 1922	ditto	
		MO	1922 1 May	688		Maxwelltown	April? 1922	ditto	
		MT	1922 1 May	358		Dumfries	spring 1922	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 February	133		Gainsborough Musical Society	13 December 1922	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 March	207		Richmond, Yorkshire	12 February 1923	ditto	
		MO	1923 1 April	643		Manchester	10 March 1923	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 June	430		Budleigh Salterton Musical Society	19 April 1923	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 May	459		Overton, Hants.	25 March 1924	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 December	1129		Scarborough Musical Society	4 November 1924	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 January	67		Blackpool Choral Society	19 November 1924	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 January	68		East Herts Musical Society	20 November 1924	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 January	70		Teignmouth Choral Society	4 December 1924	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 April	358		Halifax Choral Society	5 March 1925	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 June	551		Burnside Choral Society	25 April 1925	ditto	
		MT	1926 1 April	360		York Musical Society	24 February 1926	ditto (Stanford Concert)	
		Shall we go dance (Elizabethan Pastorals, set 3)	67/3	MT	1912 1 March		1	West Kirby Choral Society	12 February 1912
9 Quartets from <i>The Princess</i>	68	MN	1898 19 February	192	4			review of scores	
		MN	1898 19 February	186-7	2	Northern Polytechnic, London	5 February 1898	review of People's Society concert	
The Last Post	75	DChr	1900 26 June	4		Buckingham Palace, London	25 June 1900	report of first performance at private concert	
		DChr	1900 12 September	6	3	Hereford Three Choirs Festival	11 September 1900	review of first public performance	
		DN	1900 12 September	4	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1900 12 September	7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		PMG	1900 12 September	4	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1900 12 September	4	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DGr	1900 13 September	11	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1900 15 September	354	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Graph	1900 15 September	404	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Guard	1900 19 September	1299	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1900 1 October	222-3	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1900 1 October	657-61	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1900 end of year	LF62	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	brief mention of performance

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Last Post)	(75)	CamRev	1901 12 June	367	3	CUMS, Cambridge	7 June 1901	review of performance	
		T	1901 13 September	8	1	Gloucester Three Choirs Festival	11 September 1901	report of performance	
		MMR	1901 1 October	221-3		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1901 1 October	668-72		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DGr	1901 11 October	5	1	Leeds Festival	10 October 1901	report of performance plus comments on Stanford's conducting of Verdi	
		DN	1901 11 October	5	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		LM	1901 11 October	5	2	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		PMG	1901 11 October	2	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1901 11 October	14	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		YP	1901 11 October	8	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1901 19 October	529-30	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1901 1 November	243	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MO	1901 1 November	107-8	3	ditto	ditto	ditto plus interesting comments on Stanford as conductor	
		MT	1901 1 November	731-4	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1902 1 January	53	1	Exeter Oratorio Society	13 December 1901	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 May	339	1	Bruton Choral Society	3 April 1902	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 June	407		Ealing Philharmonic Society	23 April 1902	ditto	
		MT	1902 1 June	409		Workshop Musical Society	1 May 1902	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 January	41		Wellington, New Zealand	24 October 1903	ditto	
		MT	1904 1 November	738		Darlington (Stockton Choral Society)	23 February 1905	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1905 1 April	267		ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1905 1 May	336		Dulwich Philharmonic Society	8 April 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 January	53		Plymouth Guildhall Choir	21 October 1905	ditto	
		MT	1906 1 May	337		Toronto, Canada	1905/6 season	notice of performance	
		MT	1906 1 June	416	1	Sheffield	8 May 1906	report of performance	
		MT	1907 1 June	403		St Budeaux Choral Society, Devon	12 February 1907	ditto	
		MT	1908 1 June	407		Bruton Choral Society, Devon	14 May 1908	ditto	
		MT	1909 1 April	262		Edinburgh University Musical Society	5 March 1909	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 December	798		Plymouth Guildhall Choir	22 October 1910	ditto	
		MN	1911 25 March	284		Aberdeen (400 voices)	14 March 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 June	399	1	Clifton Choral Society, Bristol	9 May 1911	ditto	
		MN	1912 24 February	180		Luton Choral Society	7 February 1912	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 April	262		Torquay Musical Association	20 March 1912	ditto	
		MN	1912 6 April	325		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 April	263		Liverpool	10 March 1914	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 December	710		Bristol Choral Society	28 October 1914	ditto	
		MT	1915 1 April	235	1	Liverpool	17 February 1915	ditto	
		MT	1915 1 October	621		West Bristol Choral Society	13 September 1915	ditto	
		MN	1916 5 February	126		Castle Douglas	17 January 1916	ditto	
		MN	1916 14 October	252	1	Belfast Philharmonic Society	6 October 1916	ditto	
		MT	1917 1 February	88		Ealing Choral Society, London	10 December 1916	ditto	
		MN	1918 20 July	28		Peterhead Choral Society	1917/18 season	ditto	
		MT	1918 1 March	121	1	Alexandra Palace Choir, London	2 February 1918	ditto	
		MT	1920 1 January	41	1	Westminster Choral Society, London	2 December 1919	ditto	
		MT	1919 1 November	633		Cecilian Choral Society, Bristol	31 January 1920	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1920 1 March	198	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance (Colston Hall)	
		MN	1920 1 May	393		Dover Choral Union	21 April 1920	report of performance	
		MT	1920 1 November	779		Dunedin, New Zealand	1919/20 season	ditto	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(The Last Post)	(75)	MT	1922 1 June	433		East Herts Musical Society	4 May 1922	ditto	
		MO	1922 1 October	35-6		Gloucester Three Choirs Festival	7 September 1922	ditto	
		MT	1922 1 October	705-9	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1922 1 December	877		Birmingham	11 November 1922	ditto	report of 'Armistice Night' Concert
Songs of the Sea	91	LM	1904 4 October	6	3	Leeds	October 1904		comments following rehearsal
		YP	1904 4 October	5	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		DGr	1904 8 October	10	3	Leeds Festival	7 October 1904		review of first performance
		DN	1904 8 October	8	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		LM	1904 8 October	6	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MP	1904 8 October	7	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		T	1904 8 October	6	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		YP	1904 8 October	10	4	ditto	ditto		ditto
		CamRev	1904 27 October	26	1	ditto	ditto		brief mention of performance
		MMR	1904 1 November	205	3	ditto	ditto		review of first performance
		MO	1904 1 November	114	2	ditto	ditto		ditto
		MT	1904 1 November	730-1	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
		Haz	1904 end of year	LF71		ditto	ditto		brief mention of performance
		MT	1905 1 January	52	1	Hawarden	17 December 1904		report of performance
		MT	1905 1 February	120		Shirehampton, Bristol	2 January 1905		ditto
		DN	1905 27 January	4	3	Queen's Hall, London	26 January 1905		review of first London performance
		T	1905 27 January	5	3	ditto	ditto		ditto
MT	1905 3 March	187-8	1	ditto	ditto		report of 'first performance with orchestra': LSO/Greene/RCM chorus		
MT	1905 1 March	195	2	Reading	1 February 1905		report of performance		
MT	1905 1 March	191	1	Gloucester	21 February 1905		ditto		
CamRev	1905 2 March	lix	3	CUMS, Cambridge	February 1905		review of performance with H.P. Greene and Percy Grainger		
Three songs only (unspecified)	MT	1905 1 April	264		Dublin	13 or 15 March 1905		report of performance	
	MT	1905 1 July	476		Crystal Palace, London	21 June 1905		ditto	
	MT	1905 1 July	479		Oxford	21 June 1905		ditto	
	BDP	1905 8 December	11	2	Birmingham City Choral Society	7 December 1905		review of performance	
	MT	1906 1 January	48	1	ditto	ditto		report of performance	
	MT	1906 1 January	47		Richmond Philharmonic Society	14 December 1905		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 January	45	1	Clifton College, Bristol	18 December 1905		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 March	191	1	Crystal Palace, London	3 February 1906		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 April	272	1	Bedford	20 February 1906		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 March	194	1	Gloucester Choral Society	20 February 1906		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 April	265	1	Glasgow	22 February 1906		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 April	264	1	Edinburgh	28 February 1906		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 April	266	1	Liverpool	12 March 1906		ditto	
	MT	1906 1 June	414		Western Counties Musical Association	25 April 1906		ditto	
	BDP	1906 28 May	12	2	Birmingham City Choral Society	26 May 1906		review of performance	
	MT	1906 1 July	491		ditto	ditto		report of performance	
	MT	1907 1 June	402		Reading	24 April 1907		ditto	
MT	1907 1 June	405		Kenilworth Madrigal Society	25 April 1907		ditto		
MT	1907 1 June	406	1	Cheltenham	15 May 1907		ditto		
MP	1907 14 October	3	1	Leeds Festival	12 October 1907		ditto		
CamRev	1907 7 November	66	2	Cambridge	31 October 1907		report of Symphony Concert		

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Songs of the Sea) Three songs only (unspecified)	(91)	MT	1908 1 January	43		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1908 22 February	195	1	Manchester	13 February 1908	report of performance	
		DTel	1908 15 October	5		Bristol Festival	14 October 1908	ditto	
		MN	1908 24 October	353		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1908 1 November	245	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1908 21 November	461		Guildhall School of Music, London	5 November 1908	ditto	
		MT	1909 1 April	262-3	1	Edinburgh	19 March 1909	ditto	
		MN	1909 24 April	440	1	Queen's Hall, London	16 April 1909	ditto (Stock Exchange Concert)	
		MN	1909 17 July	66-7		Leeds (soloist Walter Mason)	10 July 1909	ditto	
		MN	1909 23 October	369-70	1	Southport Triennial Festival	October 1909	ditto	
Two songs only (unspecified)		MN	1910 19 February	184		Bedford Musical Society	8 February 1910	ditto (soloist H.P. Greene)	
		MT	1910 1 April	252		Glasgow	15 March 1910	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 June	393		Sheffield	spring 1910	ditto	
		MN	1911 1 April	309		Aberdeen Male Voice Choir	25 March 1911	ditto (title given as 'Fleet', but 'Sea' seems more probable)	
		MT	1911 1 December	815		Windsor	1911/12 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1912 4 May	420		Milford-on-Sea Choral Society	17 April 1912	report of performance	
		MN	1913 22 February	169		Gloucester Three Choirs Festival	early autumn 1913	preview of Festival programme	
		MN	1914 7 March	238		St Peter Mancroft, Norwich	24 February 1914	report of performance by Church Choir	
		MT	1915 1 January	42-3	1	Barfield Mixed Choir, Birmingham	25 November 1914	report of performance	
		MT	1915 1 April	234		Liverpool Philharmonic Society	23 February 1915	ditto	
Drake's Drum only		MN	1915 27 March	247	2	Queen's Hall, London	18 March 1915	ditto (Stock Exchange Choir)	
		MN	1915 11 September	236		Queen's Hall, London	2 September 1915	ditto (Promenade Concert)	
Three songs only (unspecified)		MT	1915 1 October	620		Midland Musical Society, Birmingham	9 October 1915	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1915 4 December	537-8	2	Liverpool (soloist H.P. Greene)	23 November 1915	report of performance	
Drake's Drum; The Old Superb only		MT	1916 1 March	161		Bournemouth	31 January 1916	ditto	
		MN	1916 25 November	342		Royal Choral Society, London	25 November 1916	notice of performance conducted by Stanford	
		MN	1916 2 December	355	1	ditto	ditto	report of first performance of new version with <i>mixed</i> chorus	
		MT	1917 1 January	33	1	ditto	ditto	ditto (but no mention of mixed chorus)	
		MT	1917 1 October	460		Bolton Choral Society	1917/18 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1918 18 March	96		Royal Choral Society, London	2 March 1918	report of performance	
		MT	1918 1 April	170		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1918 1 October	475		Manchester	October 1918	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1919 1 June	311		Salonica (General Hospital)	24 February 1919	report of performance	
		MT	1919 1 February	91		Woking	15 March 1919	notice of forthcoming performance	
Drake's Drum; The Old Superb only		MT	1919 1 May	242		Hamilton Choral Union, Glasgow	9 April 1919	report of performance	
		MN	1919 18 October	131	1	Weston-super-Mare	13 October 1919	ditto	
		MT	1920 1 March	205		Newcastle	25 January 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 1 April	254		Croydon Philharmonic Society	28 February 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 1 October	704		West Cornwall Musical Society	9 September 1920	ditto	
		MN	1920 25 December	590	1	Manchester	8 December 1920	ditto	
		MT	1920 1 October	704		Chatham Choral Society	1920/21 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1922 1 April	272		Bradford	15 March 1922	report of performance	
		MT	1922 1 May	345		Westminster Choral Society, London	4 April 1922	ditto	
		MO	1922 1 May	687	1	Aberdeen Male Voice Choir	4 April 1922	ditto	
Unspecified selection		MO	1923 1 April	643		Manchester	10 March 1923	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 June	430		Boston Choral Society, Lincs.	26 April 1923	ditto	
		MO	1922 1 October	27		Royal Choral Society, London	28 April 1923	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1922 1 October	729		ditto	ditto	ditto	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Songs of the Sea)	(91)	MT	1923 1 November	799		Ipswich Male-Voice Choir	10 October 1923	report of performance	
		MO	1924 1 January	375	1	City of Birmingham Choir	5 December 1923	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 February	172		Liverpool	13 January 1924	ditto	
Three songs only (unspecified)		MO	1924 1 December	263		Liverpool (Stanford Memorial Concert)	21 October 1924	ditto	
ditto		MT	1924 1 December	1127		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 January	68		Exeter Oratorio Society	2 December 1924	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 January	69		Lymington	4 December 1924	ditto	
Unspecified selection		MT	1925 1 March	261		Birmingham City Choir (Kenilworth)	4 February 1925	ditto	
Ode to Wellington	100	DTel	1908 15 October	5	3	Bristol Festival	14 October 1908	review of first performance	
		MP	1908 15 October	5	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		PMG	1908 15 October	6	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1908 16 October	12	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1908 17 October	483	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DN	1908 17 October	4	3	ditto	ditto	reported at second-hand by E.A. Baughan	
		MN	1908 24 October	353	1	ditto	ditto	brief report of performance	
		MMR	1908 1 November	245	3	ditto	ditto	review of first performance	
		MO	1908 1 November	87	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1908 1 November	725	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1908 end of year	LF79	1	ditto	ditto	mention of performance	
		MN	1909 18 December	583		Leeds Festival	14 October 1910	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MN	1910 19 February	181		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DChr	1910 15 October	5	2	ditto	ditto	review of performance	
		DN	1910 15 October	5	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		LM	1910 15 October	3	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1910 15 October	10	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		YP	1910 15 October	7	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1910 22 October	498	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1910 22 October	357-8	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1910 1 November	245	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 November	719-21	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
Four Part-Songs for Male Voices	106	MO	1908 1 November	88	1			review of scores	
Four Part-Songs	110	MO	1908 1 November	88	1			review of scores	
Heraclitus (no.4) only		MN	1909 8 May	500		St James' Hall, London	4 May 1909	report of performance by Smallwood Metcalfe's Choir	
Heraclitus		MT	1910 1 April	242		ditto	9 March 1910	ditto	
Heraclitus		MT	1910 1 April	242	1	Temple Church, London	10 March 1910	report of performance by Temple Church Choir	
Valentine's Day (no.1)(version for upper voices)		MT	1915 1 January	49	1	Blackburn Ladies' Choir	14 December 1914	report of performance	
Heraclitus		MT	1920 1 February	125		Avonmouth Choral Society	17 December 1919	ditto	
Valentine's Day		MN	1920 1 May	393		Richmond Choral Society (Yorks.)	13 April 1920	ditto	
Heraclitus		MT	1922 1 July	512		Queen's College, Oxford	2 June 1922	ditto	
Heraclitus		MT	1925 1 January	72		Cardiff Musical Society	26 November 1924	ditto	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
Ode to Discord	—	DChr	1909 10 June	5	2	Queen's Hall, London	9 June 1909	review of first performance	
		DGr	1909 10 June	7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DN	1909 10 June	7	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1909 10 June	6	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		PMG	1909 10 June	3	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1909 10 June	12	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1909 12 June	709-10	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1909 1 July	150-1	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1909 1 July	467	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1909 end of year	LF83	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	mention of performance
		MN	1912 12 October	300		ditto	ditto	ditto	mentioned in note marking Stanford's 60 th birthday (from <i>Evening Standard</i>)
		MO	1909 1 July	703	2				comment on the work
		MO	1909 1 July	717	3				review of score
		MN	1909 23 October	382-3	2	Eastbourne	7 October 1909	ditto	review of performance
		MN	1909 14 August	148		Brighton Festival	2-5 February 1910	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MMR	1910 1 March	52-3	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	report of performance
		MT	1910 1 March	166		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MN	1910 7 May	510	2	Norwich Philharmonic Society	28 April 1910	ditto	ditto
		MT	1910 1 June	392		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MN	1910 17 September	254-5		Liverpool	17 January 1911	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MT	1910 1 October	661		ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MN	1911 28 January	98-9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	review of performance (conducted by Stanford)
		MT	1911 1 February	121	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
	Songs of the Fleet	117	MN	1910 1 October	287	A			advertisement of score
		MO	1910 1 October	18	1	Leeds Festival	13 October 1910	notice of forthcoming first performance	
		LM	1910 14 October	7	4	ditto	ditto	review of first performance	
		MP	1910 14 October	8	5	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		PMG	1910 14 October	10	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		T	1910 14 October	10	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		YP	1910 14 October	7	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		DTel	1910 15 October	15	4	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Ath	1910 22 October	498	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1910 22 October	357-8	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1910 1 November	245	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1910 1 November	719-21	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1910 end of year	LF86		ditto	ditto	ditto	mention of performance
		MT	1911 1 January	52	1	Scarborough	7 December 1910	ditto	report of performance
		T	1910 9 December	13	2	London Choral Society	8 December 1910	ditto	review of first London performance
		DTel	1910 10 December	15	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MN	1910 17 December	551	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MT	1911 1 February	116	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto
		MN	1911 7 January	15		Ealing Choral Society, London	20 December 1910	ditto	mentioned in review of the year's music
		MT	1911 1 February	117	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	report of performance
	MN	1910 17 September	254-5		Liverpool	17 January 1911	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance of 'New Songs of the Sea'	
	MT	1910 1 October	661		ditto	ditto	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance	
	MN	1911 28 January	98-9	3	ditto	ditto	ditto	review of performance (conducted by Stanford)	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Songs of the Fleet)	(117)	MT	1911 1 February	121	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1911 11 February	146		Leeds Parish Church Choir	2 February 1911	ditto	report of performance (conducted by Bairstow)
		MT	1911 1 May	331	1	Peebles	22 March 1911	ditto	report of performance
		MT	1911 1 May	330		Aberdeen Male Voice Choir	25 March 1911	ditto	
		MT	1911 1 June	397		Richmond, Surrey	2 May 1911	ditto	
		MN	1911 20 May	490-2	2	West Kirby & Hoylake Festival	12 May 1911	ditto	
		MN	1911 3 June	546-8	2			ditto	review of score
		DN	1911 6 July	5		Queen's Hall, London	5 July 1911	ditto	report of performance at Institute of Naval Architects' Concert
		DTel	1911 6 July	9	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	review of performance
		T	1911 6 July	10	2	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MMR	1911 1 August	203	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	report of performance
		MT	1912 1 January	54	1	Windsor & Eton Choral Society	8 December 1911	ditto	
		MN	1912 30 March	315	1	York	11 March 1912	ditto	
		MT	1912 1 October	672		Peterhead Choral Society, Aberdeen	1912/13 season	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MT	1912 1 October	672		Aberdeen Choral Union	1912/13 season	ditto	
		MT	1913 1 June	392		Alexandra Palace Choral Society	3 May 1913	ditto	report of performance
		MN	1913 12 July	43		Leeds Parish Church Choir	1 July 1913	ditto	(Bairstow's Farewell Concert)
		MT	1913 1 December	827	1	Avon Vale Musical Society, Bath	12 November 1913	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 January	55		Armley, Leeds	9 December 1913	ditto	
		MN	1914 7 February	123		Greenwich, London	17 January 1914	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 March	189		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 April	263		Glasgow	5 March 1914	ditto	
		MT	1914 1 December	708		London Choral Society	9 November 1914	ditto	
		MT	1915 1 January	44	1	Bristol	9 December 1914	ditto	
		MN	1915 24 April	336		London Choral Society	28 April 1915	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MT	1915 1 June	364	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	report of performance
		MT	1915 1 June	369		Wesleyan Central Hall, London	15 May 1915	ditto	
		MN	1915 27 November	508	1	London Choral Society	18 December 1915	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MT	1916 1 June	304		Pinner Choral Society, London	10 May 1916	ditto	report of performance
		MN	1916 25 November	347	1	Leeds Philharmonic Society	14 November 1916	ditto	
		MT	1916 1 October	471		Halifax Choral Society	16 November 1916	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MT	1917 1 February	88		Ealing Choral Society	10 December 1916	ditto	report of performance
		MN	1916 25 November	342		Bach Choir, London (Queen's Hall)	12 December 1916	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MN	1916 23 December	402	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	report of performance
		MT	1917 1 January	34	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1917 1 March	131		Alexandra Palace Choral Society	10 February 1917	ditto	
		MT	1917 1 April	184		Ilkley Vocal Society	9 March 1917	ditto	
		MT	1917 1 October	460		Royal Choral Society, London	24 November 1917	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MN	1917 1 December	338-9	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	report of performance
		MT	1918 1 January	41	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		Haz	1917 end of year	LF108		ditto	ditto	ditto	mention of performance
		MT	1917 1 October	460		Bradford Choral Society	1917/18 season	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		Haz	1918 end of year	LF109		Royal Choral Society, London	1918 season	ditto	mention of performance
		MT	1919 1 October	563		Glasgow Choral Union	1919/20 season	ditto	notice of forthcoming performance
		MT	1919 1 October	563		Stirling Choral Society	1919/20 season	ditto	
		MT	1920 1 April	254		Alexandra Palace Choral Society	6 March 1920	ditto	report of performance
		DTel	1920 26 April	18	1	Royal Choral Society	24 April 1920	ditto	review of concert
		T	1920 26 April	12	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
(Songs of the Fleet)	(117)	MN	1920 1 May	399	1	ditto	ditto	report of performance	
		MT	1920 1 June	402	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MN	1920 17 July	58	2	Royal College of Music, London	7 July 1920	report of concert	
		MT	1920 1 October	704		CUMS, Cambridge	1920/21 season	notice of forthcoming performance	
		MT	1920 1 November	770		Sittingbourne, Kent	1920/21 season	ditto	
		MT	1922 1 January	58		Crosshills Choral Union	26 November 1921	report of performance	
		MT	1922 1 April	273		Halifax Choral Society	3 March 1922	ditto	
		MT	1922 1 June	434		Norwich Philharmonic Society	spring 1922	ditto	
		MT	1923 1 January	62		Ealing Choral Society, London	9 December 1922	ditto	
		MO	1924 1 January	375		Lincoln Musical Society	28 November 1923	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 January	74		ditto	ditto	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 January	60	3	HMV studios	date unknown	review of recording conducted by Stanford	
		MT	1924 1 April	363		Scarborough Philharmonic Society	11 March 1924	report of performance	
		MT	1924 1 May	459		Penrith Musical Society	28 March 1924	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 May	455		Queen's Hall, London	9 April 1924	ditto	
		MT	1924 1 July	651		Bristol University Male Choir	5 June 1924	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 May	440		Clapton Wesleyan Church, London	23 March 1925	ditto	
		MT	1925 1 November	1006-8		Leeds Festival	October 1925	ditto	
		MT	1926 1 April	360		York Musical Society	24 February 1926	ditto (all-Stanford concert)	
		MT	1926 1 May	454		Colchester Musical Society	25 March 1926	ditto	
Eight Part-Songs	119	MO	1910 1 November	125	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
The Witch (no.1) only		MT	1912 1 February	121		Aberdeen University	12 December 1911	report of performance	
Nos. 2-8 only		MN	1912 6 April	327	3			review of scores	
The Blue Bird (no.3); Chillingham (no.7)		MN	1912 13 April	357-8	3			letter commenting on features of these two songs	
The Witch; Chillingham		MN	1912 27 April	395	1	Queen's Hall, London	17 April 1912	report of performance by the Oriana Madrigal Society	
ditto		MT	1912 1 May	319		ditto	ditto (given as 19 April)	ditto	
The Witch		MN	1913 27 December	582	1	Darlington	10 December 1913	report of performance	
ditto		MT	1914 1 January	53	1	ditto	ditto	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1914 1 March	192		Liverpool Philharmonic Concert	27 January 1914	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1915 1 April	231	1	Oriana Madrigal Society, London	11 March 1915	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MN	1919 15 March	90	1	Liverpool Philharmonic Choir	18 January 1919	ditto	
The Witch		MT	1920 1 May	342	1	Darlington Choral Society	13 April 1920	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1923 1 March	206		Elizabethan Singers, Oxford	29 January 1923	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1923 1 June	430		Blackpool Lyric Choir	25 April 1923	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1923 1 December	871		Cecilian Glee Club, Middlesbrough	October/November 1923	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1924 1 May	458		Leeds Philharmonic Choir	1923/4 season	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1924 1 December	1128		Tudor Singers, Liverpool	7 November 1924	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1925 1 January	67		Blackpool Choral Society	19 November 1924	ditto	
The Blue Bird		MT	1925 1 May	456		Glasgow Orpheus Choir	March/April 1925	ditto	
Eight Part-Songs	127	MO	1912 1 February	360	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
		MO	1912 1 March	423	1			review of scores (first batch)	
		MO	1912 1 May	595	1			review of scores (second batch)	
Wilderspin (no.7) only		MT	1915 1 April	231		Oriana Madrigal Society	11 March 1915	report of performance	

Title of work	Opus	Journal	Journal date	Page(s)	Rating	Performance location	Performance date	Type of notice	Further comments
Sixteen Part-Songs (M. Coleridge settings) Volume 2 only	119/127	MN Choir	1912 21 September 1912 July	228 134	2			report of issue in two volumes review of second book (Op.127)	
My Land (SA) and The Angler's Song (SATB)	—	MN	1912 25 May	512	1			review of scores (Year Book Press)	
Lullaby (SS)	—	MN	1914 14 March	250	2			review of score	
Fairy Day (3 Idylls for Female Chorus) Fairy Dawn (no.1) only	131	MN MN	1915 19 June 1920 17 April	493 348	A 1	Trinity College of Music, London	25 March 1920	Stainer & Bell advertisement report of performance	
The Invitation (unison song)	—	MN	1915 19 June	493	A			Stainer & Bell advertisement	
A Carol of Bells (choral version)	—	MT MT MO	1918 1 January 1920 1 October 1920 1 November	41 698 128	1 2 2	Royal Choral Society, London	24 November 1917	report of performance review of score ditto	
Merlin and the Gleam	172	MT MO MT	1920 1 April 1920 1 September 1925 1 April	254 923 358	2 A	Alexandra Palace, London Blackburn Glee & Madrigal Society	6 March 1920 24 February 1925	review of performance by Alexandra Palace Choral/Orchestral Society Stainer & Bell advertisement report of performance	
At the Abbey Gate	177	DTel T MT MT	1921 7 March 1921 7 March 1921 1 April 1922 1 June	14 8 270 439-40	2 3 3 1	Royal Choral Society, London ditto ditto Toronto, Canada	5 March 1921 ditto ditto 24 or 25 April 1922	review of first performance ditto ditto report of performance	
Six Irish Airs (arr. SATB)	—	MO	1922 1 October	87	2			review of scores	
Fineen the Rover (unison song)	—	MO	1923 1 November	176	1			review of score	
The Morris Dance (SATB)	—	MO	1924 1 February	533	1			review of score	

Appendix II

CHARLES VILLIERS STANFORD (1852-1924)

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS OF HIS CHORAL MUSIC

1(a) Sacred music for use in Anglican or other Church Services

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
How beautiful upon the mountains (anthem)	—	Bible	1868	unpublished	SATB and organ	Earliest extant anthem, written on Christmas Day 1868
Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in F (The 'Queens' Service')	—	Book of Common Prayer	1872	Stainer & Bell, 1995	SATB/soli/divisions and organ	Written for Queen's College, Cambridge
Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in E flat	—	Book of Common Prayer	1873	Cathedral Music, 1996	SATB/soli/divisions and organ	Written for Trinity College, Cambridge
Pater Noster (Latin motet)	—	Lord's Prayer	1874	RSCM, 2002	SSAATTBB unaccompanied	Written as a student exercise in Leipzig
In memoria aeterna (Latin motet)	—		1874	unpublished	SSAATTBB and organ	Completed in Leipzig, 7 November 1874 for Trinity College
In memoria aeterna (second setting)	—		1876	OUP, 2004	SSAATTBB unaccompanied	Completed in Berlin, 23 November 1876 for Trinity College
Morning, Communion and Evening Service in B flat	10	Book of Common Prayer	1879	Novello, 1879	SATB and organ	First sung in Trinity College Chapel, summer 1879. Te Deum scored for 1902 coronation; remainder scored & publ. 1903
Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in A	12	Book of Common Prayer	1880	Novello, 1880	SATB/divisions, organ and orchestra	Commissioned for the Festival of the Sons of Clergy at St Paul's Cathedral in May 1880
Morning and Communion Service in A	12	Book of Common Prayer	c.1895	Novello, 1895	SATB and organ	Written at the insistence of Novello to complement the Evening Canticles
Awake, my heart (anthem)	16	Klopstock, tr. H.F. Wilson	1881	Boosey, 1881	Bar. solo, SATB and organ	Composed August 1881; first performance in St Paul's Cathedral, 3 November 1881 by London Church Choir Association
If ye then be risen with Christ (Easter anthem)	—	Bible	1883	Boosey, 1883	SATB and organ	Composed January 1883
Two Short Anthems: (i) And I saw another angel (for All Saints) (ii) If thou shalt confess (for St Andrew's Day or general use)	37	Bible	c.1885	Novello, 1889	SATB and organ	Composed about 1885; published in Novello 'Short Anthem' series
Blessed are the Dead (funeral motet)	—	Bible	1886	Novello, 1886	SATB unaccompanied	Composed Jan/Feb 1886; first sung at Henry Bradshaw's funeral in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 5 February 1886
The Lord is my Shepherd (anthem)	—	Bible	1886	Novello, 1886	SATB and organ	Composed May 1886

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
Three Latin Motets: (i) <i>Iustorum animae</i> (ii) <i>Coelos ascendit hodie</i> (iii) <i>Beati quorum via</i>	38	Bible Bible Latin hymn	c.1888-90	Boosey, 1905	SATB/divisions unaccompanied SSAATTBB unaccompanied SSATBB unaccompanied	Composed c.1889 for Trinity College, and used as 'Introsits'; dedicated to Alan Gray and the Trinity College Choir
Morning, Communion and Evening Service in F	36	Book of Common Prayer	c.1889	Novello, 1889	SATB/divisions; optional organ	Composed c.1889; parts performed at Trinity College, Nov 1889
Why seek ye the living among the dead? (anthem)	—	Bible	c.1890	Free Church Hymn Book	SATB and organ	Composed c.1890, published 1890 in FCHB, part 2, no.86
Communion Service in G	46	Book of Common Prayer	1892	Novello, 1893	SATB soli, SATB and organ	Adaptation of the composer's <i>Mass in G</i> , for Anglican liturgical use
I heard a voice from heaven (funeral motet)	—	Bible	early 1896	Novello, 1910	S solo, SATB unaccompanied	A re-working of <i>Blessed are the Dead</i> , first sung at Lord Leighton's funeral, St Paul's Cathedral, 3 February 1896
Morning, Communion and Evening Service in G	81	Book of Common Prayer	c.1900?	Houghton, c.1903-5; Stainer & Bell from 1912	S/Bar soli, SATB and organ	Exact year of composition unknown; dedicated to Sir George Martin; Evening Service scored for 1907 Three Choirs Festival
The Lord of Might (anthem)	83	R. Heber	1903	Boosey, 1903	SATB, orchestra and organ	Commissioned for the Festival of the Sons of Clergy, St Paul's Cathedral, 13 May 1903; edition for choir and organ published
Arise, shine, for thy light is come (Christmas anthem)	—	Bible	c.1905	Houghton, 1905 Stainer & Bell from 1912	SATB and organ	Exact year of composition unknown
Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis on Gregorian Tones	98	Book of Common Prayer	c.1900?	Houghton, 1907 Stainer & Bell from 1912	SATB and organ	<i>Te Deum</i> , <i>Benedictus</i> and <i>Communion Service</i> composed later(?) and published in 1921 by Stainer & Bell
Sing unto God, O ye kingdoms	—	Bible	c.1908	Broadbent & Son, c.1908	SATB and organ	
O living will (motet)	—	A. Tennyson	c.1908	Stainer & Bell, 1908	SATB and organ	Dedicated to Walter Parratt
For all the Saints (choral hymn)	—	Bishop W. How	1908	Stainer & Bell, 1908	SATB and organ	The hymn tune 'Engelberg'
Six Hymns (or Chorales) to follow the Six Bible Songs: (i) Let us with a gladsome mind (ii) Purest and highest (iii) In Thee is gladness (iv) Pray that Jerusalem (v) Praise to the Lord (vi) O, for a closer walk with God	113	John Milton Latin hymn Lindemann tr. Winkworth Scottish Psalter J. Neander W. Cowper	c.1909	Stainer & Bell, 1909-10	SATB and organ	To be performed with the associated Bible Songs for solo baritone and organ, or separately as short anthems
Morning, Communion and Evening Service in C	115	Book of Common Prayer	c.1909	Stainer & Bell, 1909	SATB and organ	<i>Te Deum</i> scored (brass/timpani) and <i>Evening Service</i> scored (full orchestra) 1910
<i>Benedictus qui venit; Agnus Dei</i> in F	—	Book of Common Prayer	c.1909	Stainer & Bell, 1909	SATB and organ	These and the following settings (in B flat) were written in response to liturgical changes which required the inclusion of these texts (formerly omitted); Stanford's intention seems to have been to provide settings which could be used in conjunction with any of his <i>Communion Services</i>
<i>Benedictus qui venit; Agnus Dei</i> in B flat	—	Book of Common Prayer	c.1909	Stainer & Bell, 1910	SATB and organ	

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
Come, ye thankful people, come (Harvest anthem)	120	H. Alford	1910	Stainer & Bell, 1911	SATB and organ	Composed in May 1910
Ye choirs of new Jerusalem (Easter anthem)	123	St Fulbert tr. R. Campbell	1910	Stainer & Bell, 1911	SATB and organ	Composed in December 1910
Festal Communion Service in B flat	128	Book of Common Prayer	1910-11	Stainer & Bell, 1911-12	SATB, orchestra and organ	Gloria in excelsis composed December 1910 and first sung at the Coronation of George V, 22 June 1911; rest of Service published 1912
St Patrick's Breastplate (choral hymn)	—	St Patrick tr. C.F. Alexander	1912	Stainer & Bell, 1913	SATB and organ	A free arrangement, with different treatment for each verse; scored for organ, brass, side drum and cymbals, 1912
Blessed City, heav'nly Salem	134	Latin hymn tr. J.M. Neale	1913	Stainer & Bell, 1913	SATB and organ	Composed in January 1913
Three Motets: (i) Ye holy angels bright (ii) Eternal Father Who didst all create (iii) Glorious and powerful God	135	Richard Baxter Robert Bridges Anon	1913 Feb. 1913 Mar. 1913 Easter 1913	Stainer & Bell, 1913	SSAATTBB unaccompanied SSATBB unaccompanied SATB unaccompanied	Choral variations on Darwall's 148 th ; f.p. Gloucester, 11 Sept. 1913
Thanksgiving Te Deum	143	Book of Common Prayer	1914	Stainer & Bell, 1914	SATB/divisions, brass/timpani or organ	Organ score 1914; Brass/timpani score published 1915; the 'thanksgiving' intended is unclear (see Rodmell <i>Stanford</i> , 286)
For lo, I raise up (anthem)	145	Bible	1914	Stainer & Bell, 1939	S solo, SATB/divisions and organ	
Aviators' Hymn (choral hymn)	—	A.C. Ainger (from Ps 104)	1917	Stainer & Bell, 1917	SATB and organ	
Lighten our darkness (anthem)	—	Book of Common Prayer	1918	RSCM, 2002	SATB and organ	Composed 3 March 1918 for W. Parratt and the Choir of St George's Chapel, Windsor
Magnificat (Latin)	164	Bible	1918	Boosey, 1919	SSAATTBB unaccompanied	Completed September 1918; dedicated to Parry <i>In memoriam</i>
Mass in D minor	169	Latin Mass	?	unpublished	?	Date of composition unknown; autograph missing
Mass	176	Latin Mass	?	unpublished	?	Date of composition unknown; autograph missing
Mass	—	Latin Mass	?	unpublished	SSAATTBB	Performed 4 August 1920 in Westminster Cathedral, London; autograph missing
Morning Service in G (for congregation or small choir)	—	Book of Common Prayer	?	Stainer & Bell, c.1921	Unison voices and organ	
Veni creator spiritus (choral hymn)	—	Latin hymn, tr. J. Cosin	1922	Stainer & Bell, 1922	SATB soli, SATB and organ	Completed 15 April 1922 for the wedding of Katharine McEwen
Three Anthems: (i) Lo! he comes with clouds descending (Advent) (ii) While shepherds watched their flocks (Christmas) (iii) Jesus Christ is risen today (Easter)	192	C. Wesley N. Tate <i>Lyra Davidica</i>	1922	Novello, 1923	SATB and organ B solo/SATB and organ SSAATTBB and organ	
Morning, Communion and Evening Service in D	—	Book of Common Prayer	c.1923	OUP, 1923	Unison voices and organ	
How beauteous are their feet (anthem for Saints' Days)	—	I. Watts	c.1923	Novello, 1923	SATB and organ	

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
When God of old came down from Heav'n (anthem for Whitsuntide)	—	J. Keble	c.1923	Stainer & Bell, 1923	SATB and organ	
The earth is the Lord's (anthem)	—	Bible	c.1923	Stainer & Bell, 1924	SATB and organ	
Be merciful unto me (anthem)	—	Bible	?	Stainer & Bell, 1928	SATB and organ	
How long wilt thou forget me? (anthem)	—	Bible	?	Stainer & Bell, 1928	SATB and organ	
Offertory Sentences	—	Book of Common Prayer	?	Stainer & Bell, 1930	SATB and organ	

1(b) Carols and Miscellaneous Church Music

The Saints of God (hymn tune)	—		1888	Jenkinson Collection, 1923	SATB and organ	
Fairest Scene of all Creation (hymn tune)	—	Canon Neville	1893	Novello, 1893	SATB and organ	Written for the Royal Wedding, July 1893
As with gladness men of old (hymn tune)	—	W. Chatterton Dix	c.1894	Novello, 1894	SATB and organ	
O Praise God in his Holiness (chant setting)	—	Psalm 150	c.1909	Novello, 1909	SATB and organ	
A Carol of the Nativity	—	A.C. Coxe	c.1909	Daily Express/Houghton, 1909; Novello from 1913	SATB and organ	
Once in Bethlehem of Judah (carol)	—	C.F. Alexander	c.1911	Morgan & Scott, 1911	SS and organ	Included in <i>Carols Ancient and Modern</i> , Book 2
There came a little Child to earth (carol)	—	E.E.S. Elliott	c.1911	Morgan & Scott, 1911	SATB and organ	Included in <i>Carols Ancient and Modern</i> , Book 1
In the Snow (carol)	—	K.W. Lundie	c.1912	Elkin Matthews, 1912; also Morgan & Scott, 1912	SATB and organ	Included in <i>Carols Ancient and Modern</i> , Book 3
Various Hymn Accompaniments	—	—	c.1912	Wm. Clowes & Son, 1912		Included in <i>Varied Harmonies for Organ Accompaniment ... of certain tunes in Ancient & Modern</i>
But lo! There breaks a yet more glorious day (hymn)	—	Bishop W. How	c.1914	Hodder & Stoughton, 1914		Also published in <i>Daily Telegraph</i> , <i>Daily Sketch</i> & <i>Glasgow Herald</i>

1(c) Hymn Tunes (in alphabetical order)

Airedale	<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1904
Alverstone	ditto

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
Blackrock						ditto
Christiana						<i>The Church Hymnal</i> , 1874
Consolation						<i>The Methodist Hymn Book</i> , 1904
Deirdre (Irish air)						<i>The English Hymnal</i> , 1906
Engelberg						<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1904
Fanad Head (Irish air)						<i>The Church Hymnal</i> , 1936
Fitzroy						<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1915
Gartan (Irish air)						<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1916
Geronimo						<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1904
Glencolumbkil (Irish air)						<i>The Church Hymnal</i> , 1936
Holland						<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1904
Joldwynds						ditto
Luard			1891			ditto
Molville (Irish air)						<i>The Church Hymnal</i> , 1936
Ockley						<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1904
Orient			1894			<i>The Methodist Hymn Book</i> , 1904
Remember the Poor (Irish air)						<i>The Church Hymnal</i> , 1936
St Basil the Great						<i>Hymns A & M</i> , 1916
St Columba (Irish air)						<i>The English Hymnal</i> , 1906
St Patrick's Breastplate (Irish air)						ditto
Stanford						<i>The Church Hymnal</i> , 1873

1(d) Larger scale sacred works intended primarily for concert performance

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
The Resurrection (<i>Die Auferstehung</i>) (An Easter Hymn)	5	F. Klopstock tr. C. Winkworth	1874	Chappell, 1881; also Ditson (Boston)?1878	T solo, chorus & orchestra (organ ad lib)	Inscribed 'In memoriam C.L.A.H., Sept.21, 1874; first performed Cambridge, 21 May 1875; revised 1876
God is our hope and strength (Psalm 46)(Cantata in 5 movements)	8	Bible	1875	Novello, 1877	SATB soli, chorus, orchestra & organ	Completed in Leipzig, 27 May 1875; dedicated to CUMS and first performed by them, 22 May 1877
The Three Holy Children (Oratorio in two parts)	22	Bible	1885	Stanley Lucas, 1885; 3 rd edn. Boosey, 1899	SATB soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed 10 February 1885; first performed at Birmingham Festival, 28 August 1885
O Praise the Lord of Heaven (Psalm 150)	27	Bible	1887	Forsyth Brothers, 1887	S solo, chorus, orchestra & organ	Composed March 1887; first performed at the official opening of the Manchester Exhibition, 3 May 1887
Eden (Oratorio in three acts)	40	R. Bridges	1890	Novello, 1891	Six soloists, chorus & orchestra	Completed December 1890; first performed at the Birmingham Festival, 7 October 1891, cond. H. Richter
Mass in G (Latin)	46	Latin Mass	1892	Novello, 1893	SATB soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed 22 October 1892; dedicated to Thomas Wingham; f.p. Brompton Oratory, London, 26 May 1893
Requiem (Latin)	63	Latin Requiem Mass	1896	Boosey, 1897	SATB soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed 1 September 1896; dedicated to Lord Leighton; f.p. at Birmingham Festival, 6 October 1897, cond. Stanford
Te Deum (Latin)	66	Latin text	1897	Boosey, 1898	SATB soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed 30 January 1897; dedicated to Queen Victoria; f.p. at Leeds Festival, 6 October 1898
Stabat Mater (A Symphonic Cantata in 5 movements)	96	attrib. J. di Todi	1906	Boosey, 1907	SATB soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed 15 March 1906; f.p. at Leeds Festival, 10 October 1907
Ave Atque Vale (Choral Overture)	114	Bible	1908	Stainer & Bell, 1909	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 31 December 1908; dedicated to Haydn & Tennyson; f.p. by Bach Choir at Queen's Hall, London, 2 March 1909
Mass 'Via Victrix' 1914-1918	173	Latin Mass	1919	Boosey, 1920	SATB soli, chorus, orchestra & organ	Completed 14 December 1919; <i>Gloria</i> performed in a special concert in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 15 March 1920; no record found of a complete performance

2(a) Secular choral works with orchestra

The Golden Legend (Cantata)	—	H.W. Longfellow	1875	unpublished	?	Incomplete and unperformed; autograph dated 29 January 1875
Three Cavalier Songs (first version)	17	R. Browning	1880	Boosey, 1882	Bar. solo, male chorus & piano	Composed 1880; f.p. (complete) CUMS Concert, Cambridge, 22 March 1882
Three Cavalier Songs (second version)	17	R. Browning	1893	?	Bar. solo, male chorus & orchestra	Completed 5 August 1893; f.p. Bach Choir, 8 May 1894

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
Elegiac Ode (President Lincoln's Burial Hymn)	21	W. Whitman	1884	Stanley Lucas, 1884; reprinted by Boosey, 1900	S/Bar soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed July 1884; f.p. at Norwich Festival, 15 October 1884
The Revenge (Ballad)	24	A. Tennyson	1886	Novello, 1886 (vocal sc.) 1887 (full score)	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 11 January 1886; f.p. at Leeds Festival, 14 October 1886
Carmen Saeculare (Ode)	26	A. Tennyson	1887	Novello, 1887?	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 4 February 1887; dedicated to Queen Victoria; f.p. (private) at Buckingham Palace, 11 May 1887
The Voyage of Maeldune (Ballad in 10 sections)	34	A. Tennyson	1889	Novello, 1889	SATB soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed 1 May 1889; dedicated to Tennyson; f.p. at Leeds Festival, 11 October 1889
The Battle of the Baltic (Ballad)	41	T. Campbell	1891	Novello, 1891	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 11 January 1891; dedicated to George Grove; f.p. St James's Hall, London, 20 July 1891, cond. H. Richter
Installation Ode (Latin)	—	A. Verrall	1892	Clay & Sons, 1892	Chorus & orchestra	Written for the Installation of the Vice-Chancellor (Spencer C. Cavendish), Cambridge University, 11 June 1892
The Bard (A Pindaric Ode)	50	T. Gray	1892	Boosey, 1895	B solo, chorus & orchestra	Completed 22 September 1892; f.p. Cardiff Festival, 19 September 1895
East to West (Ode in 3 movements)	52	A.C. Swinburne	1893	Novello, 1893	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 14 January 1893; dedicated to The President and People of the United States; f.p. Royal Albert Hall, London, 10 May 1893, cond. J. Barnby
Phaudrig Crohoore (Irish Ballad)	62	J. Sheridan Le Fanu	1895	Boosey, 1896	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 2 July 1895; dedicated to William Le Fanu; f.p. at Norwich Festival, 9 October 1896
Our Enemies Have Fallen (Choral Song)	68	A. Tennyson	1898/9	Boosey, 1898	Chorus & orchestra	No.8 from <i>A Cycle of Songs from 'The Princess'</i> ; scored 15 March 1899; perf. by RCM chorus & orch., Buckingham Palace, 30 June 1899, cond. W. Parratt
Last Post (Choral Song)	75	W.E. Henley	1899	Boosey, 1900	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 15 May 1899; f.p. (private) at Buckingham Palace, 25 June 1900
Songs of the Sea (Solo songs with optional chorus)	91	H. Newbolt	1904	Boosey, 1904 (vocal sc.); 1905 (full score)	Bar. solo, male chorus & orchestra	Composed March 1904; f.p. Leeds Festival, 7 October 1904
Song to the Soul (Choral Song)	97b	W. Whitman	1913	unpublished	Chorus & orchestra	Composed 1 May 1913; unperformed
Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington	100	A. Tennyson	1907	Boosey, 1907	S/Bar soli, chorus & orchestra	Completed 10 February 1907; dedicated to Hallam Tennyson; f.p. at Bristol Festival, 14 October 1908
Choric Ode	—	J.H. Skrine	1907	unpublished	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 2 June 1907; f.p. Bath, 19 July 1909, cond. A.E. New
Ode to Discord: A Chimerical Bombination in Four Bursts	—	C.L. Graves	1908	Boosey, 1909	S/Bar soli, chorus & orchestra (optional organ & hydrophone)	Completed 6 January 1908; f.p. Queen's Hall, London, 9 June 1909, cond. L. Ronald

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
A Welcome Song	107	Duke of Argyll	1908	Boosey, 1908	Chorus & orchestra	Completed 10 March 1908; f.p. Franco-British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, London, 14 May 1908
Songs of the Fleet (Solo songs with mixed chorus)	117	H. Newbolt	1910	Stainer & Bell, 1910	Bar. solo, chorus & orchestra	Completed January 1910, f.p. Leeds Festival, 13 October 1910
Fairy Day: Three Idylls for Female Chorus	131	W. Allingham	1912	Stainer & Bell, 1913	Female chorus & small orchestra	Completed 6 November 1912; dedicated to the St Cecilia Society of New York and their conductor Victor Harris; Fairy Dawn (no.1) performed at Trinity College of Music, London, 25 March 1920
Merlin and the Gleam (Cantata with Epilogue)	172	A. Tennyson	1919	Stainer & Bell, 1920	Bar. solo, chorus & orchestra	Completed August 1919; dedicated to H. Plunket Greene; f.p. Alexandra Palace Choral Society, London, 6 March 1920
At the Abbey Gate (Choral Song)	177	C.J. Darling	1920	Boosey, 1921	Bar. solo, chorus & orchestra	Composed November 1920; f.p. Royal Albert Hall, London, 5 March 1921

2(b) Part-songs and Madrigals (not exhaustive)

How beautiful is night	—		1870	unpublished	SSA & piano	
To Chloris	—	E. Waller	c.1873	?, 1873 & 1893; E. Donajowski, 1900	SATB unaccompanied	
Six Part-Songs	33		c.1889	unpublished	SATB unaccompanied	
Four Part-Songs:	47		July 1892	Novello, 1892	SATB unaccompanied	
(i) Soft, soft wind		C. Kingsley				
(ii) Sing heigh-ho!		C. Kingsley				
(iii) Airly Beacon		C. Kingsley				
(iv) The Knight's Tomb		S.T. Coleridge				
Six Elizabethan Pastorals (Set I):	49		Aug 1892	Novello, 1892	SATB unaccompanied	Dedicated to Sir Walter Parratt
(i) To his flocks						
(ii) Corydon, arise!						
(iii) Diaphenia						
(iv) Sweet love for me						
(v) Damon's Passion						
(vi) Phoebe						
Peace, come away	—	A. Tennyson	1892	Novello, 1892	SATB unaccompanied	Dedicated to Tennyson in Memoriam; dated 11 October 1892
Six Elizabethan Pastorals (Set II):	53		Oct 1893	Novello, 1894	SATB unaccompanied	Dedicated to Charles Harford Lloyd
(i) On a hill there grows a flower		N. Breton				
(ii) Like desert woods		E. Dyer?				
(iii) Praised be Diana						
(iv) Cupid and Rosalind		T. Lodge				

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
(v) O shady vales (vi) The Shepherd Doron's Jig		T. Lodge R. Greene				
Six Elizabethan Pastorals (Set III): (i) A Carol for Christmas (ii) The Shepherd's Anthem (iii) Shall we go dance? (iv) Love in Prayers (v) Of Disdainful Daphne (vi) Love's Fire	67	E. Bolton M. Drayton N. Breton N. Breton M.N. Howell E. Dyer (or T. Lodge)	1897	Boosey, 1897	SATB unaccompanied	Dedicated to Lionel Benson and the Maggie Madrigal Society
A Cycle of Nine Quartets from <i>The Princess</i> : (i) As thro' the land (ii) Sweet and low (iii) The splendour falls (iv) Tears, idle tears (v) O swallow, swallow (vi) Thy voice is heard (vii) Home they brought her warrior dead (viii) Our enemies have fallen (ix) Ask me no more	68	A. Tennyson	1897	Boosey, 1898	SATB & piano	
Out in the windy west	—	A.C. Benson	1898	?, 1899	SATTBB unaccompanied	Published in <i>Choral Songs in Honour of Queen Victoria</i>
Hush, sweet lute	—	T. Moore	?	Augener?, 1898; repr. Augener, 1929	TTBB unaccompanied	
Six Irish Folksongs: (i) Oh! breathe not his name (ii) What the bee is to the flow'ret (iii) At the mid hour of night (iv) The sword of Erin (v) It is not the tear (vi) Oh, the sight entrancing	78	T. Moore	c.1901	Boosey, 1901	SATB unaccompanied	
God and the Universe	97/2	A. Tennyson	1906	Boosey, 1906	SATB/divisions unaccompanied	An arrangement of the second of the <i>Songs of Faith</i>
Eleven Two-Part Songs	—		various	?, 1893-1907	SA & piano	
Four Part Songs for Male Voices: (i) Autumn Leaves (ii) Love's Folly (iii) To his flocks (iv) Fair Phyllis	106	C. Dickens Anon. c.1600 H. Constable 'J.G.' c.1600	1908	Stainer & Bell, 1911	TTBB unaccompanied	
The Shepherd's Sirena	—	M. Drayton	c.1909	Year Book Press, 1909	Two voices & piano	

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
Four Part Songs: (i) Valentine's Day (ii) Dirge (iii) The Fairies (iv) Heraclitus	110	C. Kingsley W. Cory W. Cory W. Cory	c.1910	Stainer & Bell, 1910	SATB unaccompanied	<i>Heraclitus</i> (no.4) also published as a solo song; all 4 songs also published in arrangements for SSAA (1910)
Three Part Songs: (i) A Lover's Ditty (ii) The Praise of Spring (iii) The Patient Lover	111		c.1908	Curwen, 1908	SATB unaccompanied	
Eight Part Songs: (i) The Witch (ii) Farewell, my Joy (iii) The Blue Bird (iv) The Train (v) The Inkbottle (vi) The Swallow (vii) Chillingham (viii) My heart in Thine	119	Mary Coleridge	1910	Stainer & Bell, 1910	SATB unaccompanied	
Eight Part Songs: (i) Plighted (ii) Veneta (iii) When Mary thro' the garden went (iv) The Haven (v) The Guest (vi) Larghetto (vii) Wilderspin (viii) To a Tree	127	Mary Coleridge	1911	Stainer & Bell, 1912	SATB unaccompanied	
My Land	—	T.O. Davis	May 1911	Year Book Press, 1911	SA & piano	
The Angler's Song	—	John Chalkhill	May 1911	Year Book Press, 1911	SATB unaccompanied	
Lullaby	—	F.D. Sherman	c.1913	Stainer & Bell, 1913	SS & piano	
Off for (to) the Cruise	—	F.G. Watts	1913	Stainer & Bell, 1913	SATB unaccompanied	
Six Songs for Two Sopranos: (i) A Welcome Song (ii) To Music (iii) Autumn (iv) The Chase	138	Herrick Herrick Shelley Rowley	c.1914	Curwen, 1914	SS & piano	

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
(v) Meg Merrilies (vi) Oh, sweet content		Keats Dekker				
On Time	142	J. Milton	May 1914	Stainer & Bell, 1914	SSAATTBB unaccompanied	Dedicated to the Bristol Madrigal Society
Ten Part Songs	156		c.1917	unpublished	SATB unaccompanied	
On windy way when morning breaks	—	J. Rundall	1917	Year Book Press, 1917	SSA & piano (ad lib.)	
Sailing Song	—	Eliza Cook	c.1917	Year Book Press, 1917	SS & piano (ad lib.)	
The rose upon my balcony	—	W.M. Thackeray	c.1918	?, 1918	SS & piano	Published in series of 'Singing Class Music' (no.103), ed. T.F. Dunhill
The Haymaker's Roundelay	—	Anon.	c.1918	?, 1918	SS & piano	ditto (no.104)
Claribel	—	Tennyson	c.1918	?, 1918	SA & piano	ditto (no.105)
A Carol of Bells	—	L.N. Parker	c.1917	Enoch, 1919	SATB unaccompanied	Arrangement of solo song; performed by the Royal Choral Society, London, 24 November 1917
Acrostic Ode to Old Comrades	—	C.E. Stredwick	c.1920	unpublished	ATBB unaccompanied	
Flittermice	—	J. Rundall	c.1922	Year Book Press, 1922	SS & piano	
The Valley	—	P. MacGill	1922	Year Book Press, 1922	SATB unaccompanied	
Two Old Irish Melodies: (i) My love's an arbutus (ii) The Foggy Dew	—	A.P. Graves	c.1922	Boosey, 1922	SATB unaccompanied	Arrangements of traditional solo songs
Blow, winds, blow	—	Anon.	c.1922	Year Book Press, 1922	SSA & piano	
The Border Harp	—	W.H. Ogilvie	c.1922	Year Book Press, 1922	SSA unaccompanied	
Allen-a-Dale	—	W. Scott	c.1922	Year Book Press, 1922	SSA & piano or 2 violins	
Shadow Dancers	—	W.H. Ogilvie	c.1922	Year Book Press, 1922	SSA & piano or 2 violins	
Six Irish Airs: (i) Oh for the swords (ii) How dear to me the hour (iii) Quick! We have but a second (iv) They know not my heart (v) Lay his sword by his side (vi) My gentle harp	—	T. Moore	c.1922	Curwen, 1922	SATB unaccompanied	Arrangements of traditional solo songs
My gentle harp	—	T. Moore	c.1922	?, 1922	SATB unaccompanied	Arrangement of traditional solo song

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
The Peaceful Western Wind	—	T. Champion	c.1923	OUP, 1923	SSA & piano	
Virtue	—	G. Herbert	c.1923	OUP, 1923	SA & piano	
The Morris Dance	—	Traditional	1923	Cramer, 1923	SATB unaccompanied	
Lady May	—	Henry Chappell	c.1923	Year Book Press, 1924	SSA & piano or 2 violins	
On Music	—	T. Moore	c.1923	Year Book Press, 1924	SATB unaccompanied	Arrangement of traditional solo song
Four Part Songs: (i) Battle Hymn (ii) One Sunday after Mass (iii) The Royal Hunt (iv) St Mary's Bells	—	A.P. Graves	?	Boosey, 1928	ATBB unaccompanied	

2(c) Unison songs (not exhaustive)

Carmen Familiare: Sanctae Trinitatis Collegii	—	A.W. Verrall	1888	MacMillan & Bowes, 1888		Performed at a 'Smoking Concert', Trinity College, Cambridge, 7 June 1888
A Carol	—	A.T. Quiller-Couch	c.1893	Cassell, 1893		Dedicated to Frank Robinson
Summer's Rain and Winter's Snow	—	R.W. Gilder	c.1893	Novello, 1893		
Worship	—	J.G. Whittier	c.1893	?, 1893		
The Flag of Union	—	A. Austin	c.1893	Novello, 1893		
Britons, guard your own	—	A. Tennyson	c.1908	unpublished?		
The British Tars	—	J. Hogg	c.1908	Year Book Press, 1909		
The Invitation	—	A. Macy	c.1913	Stainer & Bell, 1913		
Ulster	—	W. Wallace	1913	Stainer & Bell, 1913		
Dirge of Ancient Britons	—	M. Sykes	1914	unpublished?		
A Berserker's Song	—	M. Sykes	1914	unpublished?		
Three Songs for Kookoorookoo and Other Songs	—	C. Rossetti	c.1916	Year Book Press, 1916		
The Sea King	—	B. Cornwall	c.1922	Year Book Press, 1922		

Title of work	Opus	Text source (if known)	Date	Publisher	Scoring/instrumentation	Further comments
Fineen the Rover	—	R.D. Joyce	c.1923	Year Book Press, 1923		
Answer to a Child's Question	—	S. Taylor Coleridge	c.1923	OUP, 1923		
The Winter Storms	—	W. D'Avenant	c.1923	OUP, 1923		
Wishes	—	W. Allingham	c.1923	OUP, 1923		
A Runnable Stag	—	J. Davidson	c.1923	Cramer, 1923		
Satyr's Song	—	J. Fletcher	c.1923	Cramer, 1923		
Songs from the Elfin Pedlar (in two books)	—	Helen Douglas Adam	1923	Stainer & Bell, 1925		
Coo-ee: A Song of Australia	—	W.H. Ogilvie	?	A.W. Ridley, 1927		
The Sower's Song	—	Carlyle	?	Cramer, 1927		

Appendix III

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS/JOURNALS

With details of Editors and Critics*

*The identities of critics are often highly elusive, due mainly to the sheer quantity, during the period in question, of unsigned reviews and articles. The information gathered here is drawn largely from Christopher Kent's two articles in the *Victorian Periodicals Review* (see Bibliography), augmented by occasional other sources and by personal observation.

Journal	Editors (where known)	Dates	Critics (where known)	Appointment	Dates
<i>Athenaeum</i>	Charles Dilke	1830-46	Henry F. Chorley	music critic	1833-68
	T.K. Hervey	1846-52	Campbell Clarke	music critic	1868-70
	Hepworth Dixon	1853-69	Charles Gruneisen	music critic	1870-79
	John Doran	1869-71	Ebenezer Prout	music critic	1879-89
	Norman MacColl	1871-1900	Henry Frost	assistant music critic to Prout; music critic	? - 1889 1889-98
	Vernon Rendall	1901-16	John Shedlock	music critic	1898-1916
<i>Birmingham Daily Gazette</i>			Thomas Anderton	music critic	? - ?
			Andrew Deakin	music critic	1876-94
<i>Birmingham Daily Post</i>			Stephen Stratton	music critic	1877-1906
			Ernest Newman (William Roberts)	music critic	1906-19
			A.J. Sheldon	music critic	1919-31
<i>Daily Chronicle</i>	H.W. Massingham	1890-?	Henry Coates	music critic	c.1909

Journal	Editors (where known)	Dates	Critics (where known)	Appointment	Dates
<i>Daily Graphic</i>			Charles L. Graves	music critic	1870s
			Richard Streatfeild	music critic	1898-1912
			Philip Page	music critic	1910-1913?
			Ernest Newman	music critic	1923-6?
<i>Daily News</i>			Henry J. Lincoln	music critic	1866-86
			Percival Betts	assistant music critic to Lincoln; music critic	1886-?
			Edward Baughan	music critic	1902-12
			? Graham	music critic	c.1909
			F. Gilbert Webb	assistant music critic	? - ?
			Alfred Kalisch	assistant music critic to Baughan; music critic	1912-33?
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>			Campbell Clarke	music critic	1855?-70
			Joseph Bennett	music critic	1870-1906
			L.W. Thomas	music critic in Bennett's absence	1884-5
			Robin Legge	music critic	1906-31
			Ernest Kuhe	assistant music critic	c.1890s-1930s
			William Kingston	assistant music critic	c.1909
			Herbert Hughes	assistant music critic	1911-32

Journal	Editors (where known)	Dates	Critics (where known)	Appointment	Dates
<i>Examiner</i>	William Minto	1874-78	Hermann Klein	music critic	1878-80
<i>Fortnightly Review</i>	Frank Harris	1886-94	Vernon Blackburn	music critic	1893-1907
	William Courtney	1894-1928			
<i>Graphic</i>			James Davison	music critic	1874-85
			Joseph Bennett	music critic	1870s-1906
			Percival Betts	music critic	after 1884
			C.L. Cleaver	music critic	c.1909
<i>Manchester Guardian</i>			George Fremantle	music critic	1867-95
			J.A. Fuller Maitland	London music critic	1884-89
			Arthur Johnstone	music critic	1896-1904
			Ernest Newman	music critic	1905-6
			Samuel Langford	music critic	1906-27
			Neville Cardus	assistant music critic	1917-27
<i>Monthly Musical Record</i>	Ebenezer Prout	1871-4	Ebenezer Prout	music critic	1871-4
	Charles A. Barry	1874-6	Charles A. Barry	music critic	1874-6
	John Shedlock	1900s	William A. Barrett	music critic	? - ?

Journal	Editors (where known)	Dates	Critics (where known)	Appointment	Dates
<i>Morning Post</i>			William A. Barrett	music critic	1867-91
			Henry S. Edwards	frequent music contributor	? -?
			Arthur Hervey	music critic	1892-1908
			Francis E. Barrett	assistant music critic music critic	1891-1908 1908-?
	Fabian Ware	? -1911	J.H. Dickens	music critic	c.1909
	H.A. Gwynne	1911-37	William McNaught	assistant music critic	1908-18
<i>Musical News</i>	Thomas L. Southgate	1891-?	Thomas L. Southgate	music critic	1891-?
	Edwin H. Turpin	1891-?	Edwin H. Turpin	music critic	1891-?
<i>Musical Standard</i>	Thomas L. Southgate	c.1868-73	Thomas L. Southgate	music critic	c.1868-73
	Edwin H. Turpin	1880-86	Edwin H. Turpin	music critic	1880-86
			Edward Baughan	music critic	1909-?
<i>Musical Times</i>	Henry Lunn	1863-87	Henry Lunn	music critic for provincial Festivals	c.1863-87
			Joseph Bennett	frequent contributor	1870s-1906
			Charles L. Graves	occasional contributor	? - ?
	William Barrett	1887-91	William Barrett	music critic	1887-91
	Edgar F. Jacques	1891-97	Edgar F. Jacques	music critic	1891-97
	Frederick G. Edwards	1897-1909	Frederick G. Edwards	music critic	1897-1909
	William G. McNaught	1910-1918	William G. McNaught	music critic	1910-1918

Journal	Editors (where known)	Dates	Critics (where known)	Appointment	Dates
<i>Musical World</i>	James W. Davison	1843-85	James W. Davison	music critic	1843-85
	Joseph Bennett (assistant ed.)	1880s	Joseph Bennett	frequent contributor	1880s
	Francis Hueffer	1886-88	Francis Hueffer	music critic	1886-88
	Edgar F. Jacques	1888-91	Edgar F. Jacques	music critic	1888-91
<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i>	Frederick Greenwood	1865-80	J.A. Fuller Maitland	music critic	1880-84
	John Morley	1880-83	Hugh R. Haweis	music critic	1884-?
	William Stead	1883-90	Charles L. Graves	occasional contributor	? - ?
	E.T. Cook	1890-	Vernon Blackburn	music critic	1893-1907
			Nicholas Gatty	music critic	c.1909
<i>Saturday Review</i>	Walter Pollock	1883-94	William Barclay Squire	music critic	1888-94
	Frank Harris	1894-98	John Runciman	music critic	1894-1916
<i>Standard</i>	William Mudford	1874-99	Henry Frost	music critic	1888-1901
	Byron Curtis	1900-?			

Journal	Editors (where known)	Dates	Critics (where known)	Appointment	Dates
<i>Times</i>			James Davison	music critic	1846-78
	Thomas Chenery	1877-84	Francis Hueffer	music critic	1878-89
	George Buckle	1884-	J.A. Fuller Maitland	music critic	1889-1911
			Robin Legge	assistant music critic	1891-1906
			Henry S. Edwards	occasional music critic	? - 1906
			Henry C. Colles	assistant music critic music critic	1905-11 1911-43
			A.H. Fox-Strangways	assistant music critic	1911-25
<i>World</i>			Louis Engel	music critic	1890s
			George Bernard Shaw	music critic	1888-94
			Robert Hichens	music critic	1894-c.1897
			Alfred Kalisch	music critic	1899-1912
<i>Yorkshire Post</i>	Charles Pebody	1886-?	Herbert Thompson	music critic	1886-1936

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